

T. Haweis



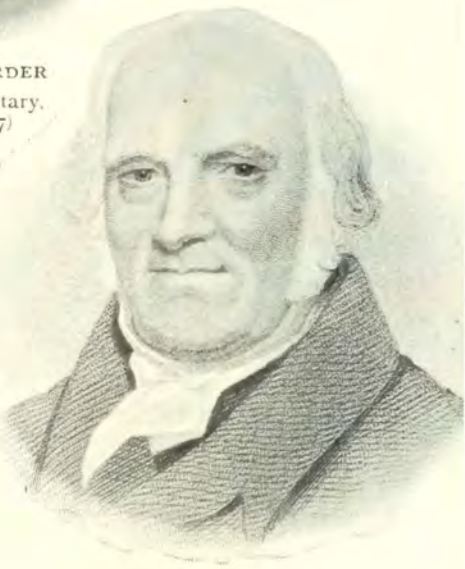
John Eyre
(Home Secretary, 1798 to 1803)
(Foreign Secretary, 1800 to 1803)



George Burder
(Foreign Secretary, 1803 to 1827)



John Love
(Foreign Secretary, 1795 to 1800)



David Bogue

THE HISTORY

OF THE

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY

1795–1895

BY

RICHARD LOVETT, M.A.

AUTHOR OF

'JAMES GILMOUR OF MONGOLIA,' 'NORWEGIAN PICTURES,' ETC.

WITH PORTRAITS AND MAPS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE

THE appearance of these volumes so long after the celebration of the Centenary of the London Missionary Society demands a word of explanation. As no complete record of the Society's origin and work was in existence, the Directors decided some years before 1895, that what. it is hoped, may by its merit commend itself as the Standard History, should be prepared. It was then the wish of all concerned—and the arrangement would have been ideal—that the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw Thompson himself should undertake the duty. He at first entertained the idea and began to collect materials for such a work. No one regrets more keenly than the author that Mr. Thompson had finally, after cherishing the project for a considerable time, to give up all hope of being able to accomplish it.

After one or two attempts in other directions, towards the end of the year 1893 the Directors, through their Home Secretary, the Rev. A. N. Johnson, M.A., approached the author to ascertain whether he could entertain the proposal to prepare a full and complete history of the first century of the Society's administration and achievements. The writer, not altogether unskilled in estimating literary tasks, thought he realized in some degree the difficulty, the laboriousness, and yet the importance of the burden which Mr. Johnson sought to impose upon him. He finally

consented to undertake it from a sense of duty, and from the conviction that such a story might be told so as to become, not merely a record of noble achievement in the past, but also a stimulus, and a guide through the somewhat intricate problems of the present-day missionary administration.

The task is now completed. How far these volumes fall short of what they should be none can more fully realize than the writer. They have taken nearly six years; partly because their preparation was an extra task, added to a not inconsiderable daily burden of work and responsibility; partly because they have somewhat rudely shocked the author's belief in his competency to judge the time and labour such an undertaking involved. Had he realized six years ago that the work would have demanded *half* the patient research, the weary plodding through letters, reports, books, and material of many kinds, and the prodigal expenditure of time it has required, he would never have dared to undertake it. But having put his hand to the plough he has not looked back. Friends of the Society have from time to time expressed to him their gladness in anticipation of the volumes. If their joy in studying them is but a tithe as keen as his in saying farewell to them he will be amply repaid for all his toil.

The author gratefully acknowledges the interest the Directors have taken in the work, and the free and unreserved manner in which everything in their possession has been placed at his disposal. The letters, journals, manuscripts, minute-books, and material of every kind in the Society's possession have been entrusted to him to make what use of them he saw fit. And their use was

rendered the more pleasant and serviceable by the ready and willing co-operation of every official at the Mission House whom he has found it needful to consult.

The aim steadily kept in view has been to present to the reader an accurate and complete picture of the origin and the administration of the Society, and of the great results which have been achieved by the consecrated men and women who have, on the one hand, maintained the home administration, and on the other carried through the complex toil which the Society has undertaken in so many of the great mission-fields of the world. The author has striven to bring the reader to that point of vantage which he himself occupied only after studying vast masses of material, very little of which survives in the text. Not unfrequently the labour of a week survives only in a line: and sometimes the reading and research of a month has been compressed into a page. Nevertheless he has striven wherever possible to let the workers speak for themselves. Consequently men may be estimated by the letters they have written; the story of noble deeds has been given, where possible, in the words of those who lived them; the important facts have been so presented that it is hoped the reader may get at their inner as well as their outer meaning, and at the secret of the success or the failure of the work attempted. History possesses a charm as a narrative of thrilling episodes in the past, as a picture of movements which have powerfully affected life and thought in days that are gone. But missionary history is hardly worth the telling, unless it leads the reader to bring the experience of the past to bear upon the missionary problems of to-day, and enables him to solve the problems of to-day by the insight and the instinct,

as it were, that reward the patient investigator into the deeds and the purposes of those who have gone before. A knowledge of the history of all the societies is of little service unless the conscience of the reader is enlightened. his love for those for whom Christ died deepened, and his zeal for the furtherance of the great missionary cause strengthened.

Although these two volumes are bulky, again and again in their production important documents and whole pages of illustrative incident, of valuable and suggestive personal experience on the part of missionary workers, have had to be omitted, very often after having been actually in type. To give the details fully, to trace as one would have liked to do collateral influences and results, to do full justice to every worker and every portion of the field, would have required six volumes rather than two. And it would have been much easier to write the six, and to make them interesting, than the two. It has often taken more anxious ponderings and more precious hours to decide what had to be left out, than to finally settle what was to go in. The work of compression has been severe; but it is hoped that nothing which can fairly claim admission has been omitted. If here and there the skeleton rather than the appropriately clothed form is discernible. this is the explanation.

Much consideration was given to the plan of the book. and the method of treating the history contemporaneously over the whole field in periods of ten or twenty years was considered less satisfactory than that finally adopted. The origin and founding of the Society are first described; then the home administration and the inner working during the first twenty-five years. This was the critical period during

which the main principles and methods were settled which have been followed throughout the century. The story of the various missions follows, for the most part in chronological order, the plan adopted in this section being to give the entire history of each mission in consecutive chapters. The story of home administration from 1820 to 1895 concludes the work.

Throughout, one chief aim has been the attempt to do full justice to quiet and diligent workers, and to unobtrusive but faithful service. It has, of course, been necessary to give considerable space to the achievements of such men as Henry Nott, John Williams, Dr. Vanderkemp, Robert Moffat, David Jones, David Griffiths, Ringeltaube, Benjamin Rice, Dr. Morrison, Dr. Medhurst, James Gilmour, and John Wray. But the author has also sought to place the reader where he can estimate rightly the work and character of relatively unknown workers, equally deserving to be held in remembrance by the side of their more famous colleagues. Such men, for example, were Thomas Jefferson, Henry Bicknell, Henry Royle, James Read, William Ashton, David Johns, George Pratt, Thomas Powell, John Hay, William Beynon, W. B. Addis, and a host of others, records, often unhappily far too brief, of whose devoted service are contained in these volumes.

This principle has been allowed full scope also in the selection of the portraits introduced. Wherever possible, the men and women chosen have been those not likely to be familiar to the reader. Many famous men like Griffith John of Hankow, Muirhead of Shanghai, and Chalmers of New Guinea, are unrepresented because, except in the case of the officials actually in office during the Centenary year, *no portraits of living workers have been admitted.* And as

only a limited number could be admitted, men like John Williams, Robert Moffat, and Dr. Turner, with whose likenesses all are familiar, have given place to quiet workers like Aaron Buzacott, William Ashton, and Thomas Powell. The valuable work done by missionaries' wives is recognized by portraits of Mrs. Mault, Mrs. Porter, and Mrs. Mullens. As typical native chiefs and preachers, Pomare, Papeiha, Khame, Devadasan, Ruatoka, and Andrìambèlo have been selected, two in this list being still (1899) alive.

In this connection it is noteworthy that the Society has been so honoured during the century by the Great Head of the Church as to be able to take a prominent place in many of the great achievements for the uplifting of humanity which the nineteenth century has witnessed. It was first of modern Protestant Societies to begin work in Polynesia, in China, in Madagascar. The refusal of the Directors of the East India Company to allow Haldane and Bogue with their two colleagues to go to India, led the Society to exert very powerful influence upon the movement which, in 1813, threw all India open to missionary labour. James Smith was martyred by the officials of Demerara; but this crime gave the impetus needful to carry the work of emancipation through its last stages. The work of Vanderkemp, Philip, Moffat, and Livingstone in Africa has profoundly influenced the colonial policy of Great Britain toward native races. And not the least noteworthy achievement of the century has been the constant and powerful reflex action upon the faith and zeal and self-sacrifice of the home churches of such great achievements as the mission to Tahiti, the conversion of Imèrina in Madagascar, and the mission to New Guinea.

The author gratefully acknowledges the help he has received from many willing coadjutors. Throughout he

has had the advantage of the co-operation of Mr. Henry Johnson, whose constant and intelligent assistance has rendered the book much more complete and useful than it could otherwise have been. He has read and summarized vast masses of correspondence, investigated many points of detail, and, last but not least of his services, prepared the full and complete appendix of missionary workers, and the copious index to each volume. Mr. Wardlaw Thompson has read a large portion of the proofs and enriched them with many valuable suggestions. The veteran Indian missionary, the Rev. J. O. Whitehouse, has also gone through a large portion of the proofs, and from his unrivalled knowledge of the stations occupied and workers employed, given much aid of the highest value. The Rev. J. L. Green and the Rev. W. N. Lawrence gave much time to the careful reading of the Polynesian section, and Mr. Green read also the portion devoted to the West Indies; while the Rev. Harry Scott and the Rev. A. E. Hunt read the New Guinea section. The highly important section on India, perhaps the most difficult and yet in many ways a most attractive portion, owes very much to careful reading by and helpful suggestions, the outcome of many years' residence in India, from the Rev. E. P. Rice, B.A., the Rev. T. E. Slater, and the Rev. A. Parker. The China section is enriched by much valuable aid kindly rendered by the veteran, Dr. John Chalmers. In addition to the above, the author is indebted to one and another for help on particular points, which cannot here be specified, but for which he presents his most grateful acknowledgements. He also desires to express his sense of the invaluable aid rendered in the typographical work, and in all the mechanical work, by Mr. Horace Hart and his Staff at

the University Press, Oxford, and by Mr. Frowde and his Staff in London. From first to last all the resources of that great establishment have been unreservedly taxed to make the work, in its preparation, typography, and execution, all that even a fastidious book-lover can desire.

And now it goes forth in the hope and with the prayer that the Great Head of the Church will deign to make this record of what He by His grace and truth has enabled His servants to accomplish in the heathen world during the past century, an inspiration for yet larger and more unremitting and more fruitful service during the new century upon which we have entered.

LONDON, *April*, 1899.

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ORIGIN AND EARLY WORK OF THE SOCIETY

'How shall we liken the kingdom of God? It is like a grain of mustard seed, which, when it is sown upon the earth, though it be less than all the seeds that are upon the earth, yet when it is sown, groweth up, and becometh greater than all the herbs, and putteth out great branches; so that the birds of the heaven can lodge under the shadow thereof.'—*Mark* iv. 30-32 (R. V.).

'We are commanded "to love our neighbour as ourselves"; and Christ has taught us that *every* man is our neighbour. But do we display this love while we allow gross darkness to cover the Pagan and Mahometan nations, and are at no pains to send them the glad tidings of salvation through the sufferings and death of the Son of God?'—Mr. Bogue's appeal 'To the Evangelical Dissenters who practise Infant Baptism,' August, 1794.

'Let it be remembered that Britain, Christian Britain, was once an island of idolatrous barbarians; and such it had yet remained, unless some of God's dear people in distant countries had formed the benevolent plan of sending missionaries hither. Let us in return "go and do likewise."'—Mr. Burder's Address, January, 1795.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF THE SOCIETY

THE London Missionary Society, like the other great religious and philanthropic organizations which sprang into existence at the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, is a child of the evangelical revival in England originated by Whitefield and the Wesleys. The first quarter of the eighteenth century was one of the worst periods in the religious history of the English people. Men like Swift and Sterne could find a place in the Anglican Church; nonconformity was living a life of decorous dullness, producing little or no effect upon the religious experience of the age; infidelity, advocated by such writers as Collins, Shaftesbury, and Bolingbroke, was rampant; while the masses of the people had sunk to an almost incredible level of ignorance and brutality. During the closing years of the century this condition of affairs had been altered greatly for the better. The enormous and energetic Methodist Societies had sprung into vigorous life, every other section of the Nonconformist Church had been stimulated into energetic action, the Church of England had been shaken out of its spiritual torpor, and upon the hearts of all evangelical Christians had been laid the burden of the world's sin and sorrow and needs in a way quite new in English history. One of the first results of this great change was the founding of the organization now known all the world over as the London Missionary Society.

The last decade of the eighteenth century and the first

of the nineteenth century were years of political and social upheaval. Across the Channel the Revolution was remaking France, while at the time multitudes in England believed it was only consummating her ruin. In Great Britain the fierce social and political struggle was rising, to be terminated for a time only by the great Reform Bill of 1832. Napoleon Bonaparte was springing into power while the scheme of the Society was taking shape in the minds of its founders. The year in which the Duff sailed on her beneficent errand saw the Battle of Cape St. Vincent, and the issue of Edmund Burke's *Letters on a Regicide Peace*. Ere the Society was ten years old, in 1798, Irish aspirations had been crushed at Vinegar Hill; in 1799 the huge district of Mysore in India passed under British sway; in 1800 the Act of Union linked Ireland to Britain by a bond which the former has ever since struggled to destroy; in 1803 British arms won the field of Assaye, and in 1805 the British fleet gained the crowning victory of Trafalgar. It was a time of stress and of poverty at home, of conflict and of victory abroad. Yet amid movements so tremendous, and in the midst of influences apparently so unpropitious, this and other great Christian agencies full of hope and of blessing for men grew into forceful life.

The honour of leading the van in the formation of the great modern missionary agencies does not belong to the London Society; that is the glory of the Baptist Church. About 1788 William Carey wrote his famous pamphlet, 'An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen,' which was published at Leicester in 1792. On May 31, 1792, he preached at Nottingham his epoch-making sermon on Isa. liv. 2, 3, in which he enforced the two great themes, the basis of all sound missionary effort: 'Expect great things from God'; 'Attempt great things for God.' Profound and heart-searching was the effect of this thrilling deliverance upon the little company of ministers and others who heard it, but they were beginning to separate without transforming

spiritual impression into practical effort. The psychological moment in the history of modern missions had come. Seizing Andrew Fuller's arm as the audience was beginning to disperse, Carey cried, 'And are you, after all, going again to do nothing?' The appeal was irresistible. The ministers held a meeting, and recorded the minute, fraught with hope and blessing to untold millions, 'That a plan be prepared against the next ministers' meeting at Kettering for forming a Baptist Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen.' At Kettering on October 2, 1792, the Society was founded. On March 20, 1793, at Leicester, William Carey and John Thomas were solemnly set apart for mission work in India, and on June 13 they sailed—not in an East Indiaman but in a Danish vessel.

In July, 1794, Dr. Ryland, of Bristol, received a letter from Carey, the first news which had come to hand since he sailed, and as soon as he read it he sent for Mr. Bogue, of Gosport[1], and Mr. Steven, of the Scotch Church, Covent Garden, who happened then to be in Bristol for the purpose of preaching special sermons at Whitefield's Tabernacle, to share his joy in this first account of missionary work in India. After leaving Dr. Ryland, Mr. Bogue and Mr. Steven, together with Mr. Hey, minister of the Independent Church at Castle Green, Bristol, held a meeting in the parlour of the Tabernacle for prayer, and for consultation on the best way in which they could arouse the public mind to the grievously neglected duty of attempting to send the Gospel to the heathen. Because of this meeting that room was often in after days called 'the cradle of the Missionary Society[2].' An immediate and direct result of these events was the preparation by Mr. Bogue of the paper published in the *Evangelical Magazine* for September, 1794, with what now appears to be the curious heading, 'To the Evangelical Dissenters who practise Infant Baptism.' This address was one of the first and

[1] For a letter from Mr. W. H. Wills, giving additional particulars of this meeting, see Appendix.

[2] See Bennett's *Memoirs of the Life of David Bogue*, 1827, p. 170.

one of the most important steps in the great and providential work of originating the London Missionary Society. And this fact is but one of the manifold illustrations of the spiritual law, that one great thing attempted for God by a necessary and immediate sequence leads on to others. John Wesley, shut out of Epworth Church, preaches the Gospel in the open air; and, little as many desired it, the Church of England was thus aroused into more vigorous life. William Carey sends home the story of his first six weeks in Bengal, and no sooner is the letter read than the Holy Spirit puts it into the hearts of His servants to originate a second organization, that shall in time achieve greater things for God and man than even William Carey or Mr. Bogue ever dreamed.

As Mr. Bogue's address is the seedling from which has sprung the tree 'whose leaves are for the healing of the nations,' it deserves more than a passing mention here. It puts the case clearly, it bases the appeal upon a firm foundation, and it contains much that is, if anything, even more applicable to 1894 than to 1794.

'CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,

'God has favoured us with the knowledge of the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. Our obligations to Him on this account are inexpressible; and, I trust, we are often prompted from the fulness of our hearts to ask, *What shall we render unto the Lord for all His benefits?* If in many things we are anxious to make a suitable return, there is one thing with respect to which, if weighed in the balance of the sanctuary, we shall be found wanting. A survey of the state of the world presents to us more than one-half of the human race destitute of the knowledge of the Gospel, and sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death. Their deplorable condition it is utterly impossible for words to describe! And what have we done for their salvation? There are hundreds of millions of poor Pagans ignorant of the true God, and falling down before stocks and stones. There are hundreds of millions more blinded

by the delusions of Mahomet; and unacquainted with Jesus, as the only mediator between God and man, whom to know is eternal life. If we have never thought of these things, there is much reason to lament our criminal unconcern for the honour of God, and for the salvation of the perishing souls of men. If they have been the subject of our serious consideration; with such a scene before our eyes, what methods have we employed that all these myriads of Pagans and Mahometans might be delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son?

'While we are forced to acknowledge that we have as a body done nothing, we may justly reflect we are under the strongest obligations to do everything in our power. We all know that it is the supreme end of our existence to glorify God. But can we suppose that though we endeavour *personally* to live to His honour, our obligations are fulfilled, while we have employed no methods *as a Christian body* to lead our brethren in Pagan lands to glorify Him also, by making them acquainted with His nature, government, and grace? We profess "to love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." But are we not bound thereby "to shed abroad the sweet odour of His name in every place," till it be diffused throughout all the dark paths of the earth, the habitations of ignorance and cruelty? We are commanded "to love our neighbour as ourselves"; and Christ has taught us that *every* man is our neighbour. But do we display this love while we allow gross darkness to cover the Pagan and Mahometan nations, and are at no pains to send to them the glad tidings of salvation through the sufferings and death of the Son of God? Perhaps we have not considered our duty resulting from that command which was directed from the supreme authority to every follower of the Lamb: *Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.* That has not yet been done. It ought to be done without delay; and every Christian is called upon to act his part, and cannot without criminality withhold his exertions towards procuring obedience to the command

of his Redeemer and his Lord. *Gratitude* calls loudly to us to be active instruments in the hands of Christ, in proclaiming to the most distant parts of the earth that grace of which we hope we have ourselves been made partakers. *Justice* too unites her strong and imperious voice, and cries, "Ye were once Pagans, living in cruel and abominable idolatry. The servants of Jesus came from other lands, and preached His Gospel among you. Hence your knowledge of salvation. And ought ye not, as an equitable compensation for their kindness, to send messengers to the nations which are in like condition with yourselves of old, to entreat them that they turn from their dumb idols to serve the living God, and to wait for His Son from heaven? Verily their debtors ye are."

'But it may be asked, "Why are we in particular called on to exert ourselves in this work? Will it satisfy you if I answer, that I am one of you, and think myself on this account obliged to speak more immediately to you? A connection with a society or denomination of Christians should certainly influence us to seek the welfare of that society, and authorizes us to invite its members to discharge the duties incumbent on them. Besides, all other bodies of professing Christians have done, and are doing, something for the conversion of the Heathen. The labours of the Church of Rome have been far more abundant than those of all other sects whatever. O that they had but conveyed Christianity *pure* to the blinded Pagans! The Church of England has a society of considerable standing, for the propagation of the Gospel. The Kirk of Scotland supports a similar institution. The Moravian Brethren have, if we consider their numbers and their substance, excelled in this respect the whole Christian world. Of late the Methodists have exerted themselves with a most commendable zeal. An association is just formed by the Baptists for this benevolent purpose; and their first missionaries have already entered on the work. *We alone* are idle. There is not a body of Christians in the country, except ourselves, but have put their hand to the plough. We alone (and it must

be spoken to our shame) have not sent messengers to the Heathen to proclaim the riches of redeeming love. It is surely full time that we had begun. We are able. Our number is great. The wealth of many thousands of individuals is considerable. I am confident that very many among us are willing, nay desirous, to see such a work set on foot, and will contribute liberally of their substance for its support. Nothing is wanting but for some persons to stand forward, and to begin.

'We have the greatest encouragement, Brethren, to engage in this work of love. The sacred Scripture is full of promises, that the knowledge of Christ shall cover the earth, as the waters cover the channel of the sea; and every promise is a call and a motive to enter on the service without delay. It is the cause of God, and will prevail. Should we even fail in the attempt, we shall not lose our labour; for though the heathen should not be gathered by our means, "yet we shall be glorious in the eyes of our God." But we have no reason to expect such an issue. For all who are engaged have met with such success, as to animate others to unite their vigorous endeavours. In no one place have pious and persevering missionaries laboured in vain.

'Some perhaps may ask, what can we do? We are willing to assist; but how can our assistance avail? Need I say, Brethren, that our duty is to use the means of divine appointment? In every age of the Church, the propagation of the Gospel has been by the preaching of the ministers of Jesus Christ. By the same method are we to propagate the Gospel now. It is highly probable that some zealous men would present themselves, who are well qualified to go immediately on a mission among the heathen. But in general they will require some previous instruction; and therefore it will be necessary to found a *Seminary* for training up persons for the work. An able and eminently pious minister in a central situation must be sought for to superintend it. And as the education of a missionary must be in many respects widely different from that of those who preach in Christian countries, it

may be expected that every man of talents will unite his endeavours to render the plan of instruction as well adapted to answer the end in view, and in every respect as complete as possible. For the support of the seminary, and of the missionaries, funds must be provided. And I do not think I am too sanguine in my expectations when I say I am fully persuaded, that in every congregation among us annual subscribers will be found, and an annual collection granted; and that the produce of these, aided by occasional donations, and by legacies from the lovers of our Lord Jesus Christ, will be sufficient for maintaining at least twenty or *thirty* missionaries among the heathen. What pleasing and glorious effects may result from their labours, it is impossible for the human mind to calculate.

'With objects before us so grand, and prospects so delightful, I conjure you, Brethren, to exert yourselves in the cause of your Redeemer, and of perishing souls. An insulated individual, and not having an opportunity of consulting with others, I take this method of recommending the subject to your serious attention. Think of it in your most pious moments. Let it be matter of prayer before God; and make it the topic of your conversation one with another. As it is the duty of pastors of the Church "to be forward to every good work," I call upon the ministers of the metropolis to consult together on this important subject, and without loss of time to propose some plan for the accomplishment of this most desirable end; that "our Lord Jesus Christ may have the Heathen for His inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession."

'*26th August*, 1794.'

Mr. Bogue's appeal fell upon soil that had been prepared for its reception in several different directions. The establishment of the *Evangelical Magazine* in 1792 had prepared, on the one hand, a medium for placing it in the hands of serious readers, and had already done something towards bringing into fellowship evangelical clergymen, nonconformist ministers, and laymen of both sections. The Rev.

John Eyre, the founder and principal editor of the magazine, was a prime agent in the origination of the London Missionary Society. He had been educated, first at the Countess of Huntingdon's College at Trevecca, then at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and about 1786 he became minister of the Episcopal Chapel at Homerton. In conjunction with Matthew Wilks he established the periodical, which still (1899) maintains a vigorous existence, and which was for many years almost an official organ of the Missionary Society. The magazine for November, 1794, contained a long and careful review, written by Dr. Haweis, chaplain to Lady Huntingdon, of a book called *Letters on Missions; addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches.* This book, written by the Rev. Melville Horne, a clergyman of the Church of England, who had been chaplain of Sierra Leone, and who had tried to establish there a mission among the natives, attracted a good deal of attention. The writer quotes the great missionary words, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature,' and asks, 'What monies have we subscribed, what associations have we formed, what prayers have we offered up, what animated exhortations have we given to our flocks and to one another, on the subject of missions?' He sketches the history of missions by the Jesuits, Moravians, and Methodists, and infers, 'I fear I should be too liberal were I to say that there are in the whole heathen world one hundred thousand genuine converts.' He then indicates how, in his opinion, missions might be carried on, instancing, for example, the South Seas and India. The style is vehement and eager, but the reviewer says, 'No good man can be offended with his cause or his manner of pleading it; and as to the herd of nominal Christians, whether ministers or people, *surdo narras fabulam.* . . . Could such a society be formed upon Mr. Horne's large scale, below which little or no good can be expected, we have the pleasure to inform the public that one gentleman has pledged himself for £100, and that we have £500 more engaged from another respectable minister [Dr. Haweis

himself], for the equipment of the first six persons who shall be willing to devote themselves, and be approved by such society for a mission to the South Sea Islands.'

Horne's book exerted considerable influence, not only in stimulating missionary zeal, but also in emphasizing the fact that evangelical adherents of the different Churches at home ought to *combine* in the great enterprise, thus showing in the most practical way that differences of ecclesiastical polity, and also to some extent even in doctrine, need not hinder aggressive Christian work. The Rev. John Eyre himself was so deeply moved by the review and by the book itself that at a meeting held in the Dissenters' Library, Red Cross Street, he discussed the great questions it raised with Messrs. Waugh, Love, and Steven, who happened to be there. On his return from this meeting he called on Matthew Wilks, at the Tabernacle, and repeated to him the conversation; and this led the two ministers to begin a fortnightly meeting at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, for conference and prayer on the subject of missions.

Another movement not without considerable influence in the origination of the Society is best illustrated by what was taking place during 1793 and 1794 among the ministers of Warwickshire. On June 27, 1793, they met to discuss the question, 'What is the duty of Christians with respect to the spread of the Gospel?' They resolved 'That it is the duty of all Christians to employ every means in their power to spread the knowledge of the Gospel both at home and abroad'; 'that we unite in a determination to promote this great design in our respective connexions'; 'that we will immediately recommend to our friends the formation of a fund for the above purpose'; 'that the first Monday of every month, at seven o'clock in the evening, be a season fixed on for united prayer to God, for the success of every attempt by all denominations of Christians for the spread of the Gospel[1].' Dr. Williams, then minister of Carr's

[1] For interesting particulars of this meeting, held in the house of Rev. J. Moody of Warwick, see *Independency in Warwickshire*, Sibree and Caston, 1855, pp. 139–141.

Lane, Birmingham, and afterwards President of Rotherham Academy, was appointed to draw up a circular letter, and a collection was made amounting to £5 5*s*. The letter of Dr. Williams was sent to the different associations of Independent ministers throughout England and Wales, and became a powerful factor in developing the rapidly-growing opinion, that the time had come for energetic action in the attempt to win the world to the Saviour.

In London, after the issue of Mr. Bogue's appeal, events moved rapidly. The association already referred to, initiated by John Eyre and Matthew Wilks, led to the first meeting in London, which formally considered the practicability of founding a new missionary society. It was held on November 4, 1794, at Baker's Coffee House, Change Alley, Cornhill, which at that time was used for an hour or two every Tuesday morning as a place for chat and the interchange of news by the London ministers. This memorable gathering consisted of David Bogue, minister of the Independent Church at Gosport; Joseph Brooksbank, pastor of the Independent Church assembling at Haberdashers' Hall, London; John Eyre; John Love, minister of the Scotch Church in Artillery Street, and afterwards one of the first Secretaries of the Society; John Reynolds, of Camomile Street Independent Church; James Steven, minister of the Scotch Church, Crown Court; Matthew Wilks, minister of Moorfields Tabernacle; and John Townsend, minister of the Independent Church, Bermondsey. 'It was a small but glowing and harmonious circle of ministers of various connexions and denominations. From that time there appeared a gradual increase of cordial friends to the perishing heathen, though many respectable characters whose early patronage of this cause was desired yielded to cautious hesitation, and some were perhaps disposed to attach presumption to the undertaking[1].' Those present decided to invite other ministers to their meetings, and for greater convenience secured a larger room at the Castle

[1] *Sermons preached at the formation of the Missionary Society*, p. vi.

and Falcon, in Aldersgate Street. This inn was chosen probably not only as a central place, but also because it was kept at that time by a Mr. Dupont, who was a regular attendant at Spa Fields Chapel and at the Tabernacle. These meetings were attended not unfrequently by leading country ministers who happened to be passing through London. The first hour was spent in prayer and in the reading of those parts of Scripture which bear directly upon the conversion of the heathen, and then a conference was held bearing especially upon missionary affairs.

Unfortunately no minutes have come down to us of the earliest of these meetings. The first of which any record is extant in the minutes of the Society took place on January 8, 1795. Present, John Eyre (in the chair), Matthew Wilks, Isaac Nicholson, Principal of Cheshunt College, James Steven, Robert Simpson of Hoxton Academy, T. Williams of Rose Lane, J. Cockin of Halifax, and John Love. At the next meeting, held on January 15, there were present the following ministers :—Waugh (in the chair), Eyre, Knight, Townsend, Steven, Rooker, Wilks, John Knight, Brooksbank, Smith of Cambridge, Love, Simpson, Platt, Williams, and Cockin.

We quote the minutes in full, since this was the second meeting of note in the organization of the Society and from its decisions important consequences followed :—

'Some time was employed in prayer, in which Messrs. Waugh, Knight, Wilks, Rooker, Cockin, and Eyre engaged.

'The minutes of last meeting were read and confirmed. A short account was given to the Ministers present for the first time of the progress of this design of sending missionaries to the heathen.

'It was moved, seconded, and unanimously resolved, that Ministers who favour this design, and desire to exert themselves in promoting it by bringing forward a general meeting of Ministers and others for the purpose of organizing a Society to act efficiently in the affair, do signify the same by putting down their names in a book to be provided for the purpose.

'It was resolved that the Rev. Mr. Eyre be appointed Treasurer, and the Rev. Mr. Love Secretary of this meeting.

'It was resolved that a Committee be appointed for the purpose of corresponding with Ministers in the country: and that the following gentlemen be of that Committee, viz. Messrs. Waugh, Wilks, Eyre, Smith, Steven, Brooksbank, Platt, Love.

'It was resolved that next meeting of this Society be on the first Tuesday of February, at half-past ten, and thenceforward once a fortnight.'

Among the minutes of the meeting held on February 17, 1795, is this statement :—

'The form drawn up for the subscription of those who become members of this meeting was read and approved and subscribed by the Ministers present.' The form here referred to stands upon a fly-leaf of the old minute-book, and is headed, 'London, Feb. 17th, 1795.' It runs :—

'We whose names are here subscribed, declare our earnest desire to exert ourselves for promoting the great work of introducing the Gospel and its ordinances to heathen and other unenlightened countries, and unite together, purposing to use our best endeavours, that we may bring forward the formation of an extensive and regularly organized society, to consist of evangelical ministers and lay brethren of all denominations, the object of which society shall be to concert and pursue the most effectual measures for accomplishing this important and glorious design.

ALEXANDER EASTON	JOHN TOWERS
JOHN LOVE	JOHN TOWNSEND
JOSEPH BROOKSBANK	ALEXANDER WAUGH
EDWARD EDWARDS	JAMES WESTON
J. A. KNIGHT	MATTHEW WILKS
JOHN KNIGHT	T. WILLIAMS
W. F. PLATT	JOHN EYRE
JOSEPH RADFORD	JAMES KNIGHT
WILLIAM ROBY	GEORGE JERMENT
JAMES STEVEN	JONATHAN SCOTT

JOHN REYNOLDS	ROBERT SIMPSON
SAMUEL GREATHEED	THOMAS BECK
WILLIAM MOORE	WILLIAM GRAHAM
WILLIAM LOVE	ANDREW DUNCANSON
GEORGE TOWNSEND	T. PRIESTLEY
THOMAS BEST	T. HAWEIS
HENRY ATLEY	JOHN HUMPHREYS.'

This document is of special interest and importance. The last six names stand on the reverse of the page, and at an early date the affixing of signatures appears to have ceased.

At a meeting held on January 8, Mr. Love had been appointed to write a circular letter 'to some Ministers in or near London,' and with this letter there was widely disseminated an address, printed in the *Evangelical Magazine* for January, 1795, from which we take two or three paragraphs.

'The address which appeared in the *Evangelical Magazine* of last September, on the subject of sending missionaries to preach the Gospel among Pagan nations, seems to have awakened considerable attention. Many acknowledge the desirableness of the object; some lament, with tears, its having been so long neglected, and numbers only wait with anxiety for an opportunity of exerting themselves in so glorious a cause.

'That something may be done *with effect*, it is hoped that not only Evangelical *Dissenters* and *Methodists* will be found generally disposed to unite in instituting a *Society* for this express purpose, but that many *Members of the Established Church*, of evangelical sentiments, and of lively zeal for the cause of Christ, will also favour us with their kind co-operation. Indeed, the increase of union and friendly intercourse among Christians of different denominations at home is one of the happy effects which will immediately flow from an institution of this nature.

'In order to the organization of such a society, it has been proposed that a *General Meeting of Ministers* should

be held in London early in the ensuing summer. In the meanwhile, that such a meeting may be brought forward with advantage, it is earnestly desired that ministers and others, who favour the design, would immediately begin to *exert* themselves in their particular spheres.'

After enforcing the value of personal canvass in arousing sympathy and in obtaining subscriptions, and emphasizing the need for 'extraordinary prayer,' the address continues:

'But the ardour of our joy is somewhat damped by the opposite consideration, that, even among serious and opulent professors of religion, *some* are to be found of a timid, cold. contracted spirit, who lose all their zeal in a false prudential delicacy; and who are ever crying out, "A lion is in the way," when any benevolent scheme is projected, so arduous and extensive as this before us!—With such an object in view, obstacles and opposition are to be expected; but what difficulty presents itself in this case, which by sovereign grace heretofore has not been, and may still be, surmounted? Even the temper of the times, which some would insinuate as unfavourable to our views, is, however specious, no valid objection. That divine oracle is a sufficient reply, "He that observeth the winds will not sow." Besides, the faithful page of history tells us that times of the most gloomy and unpromising aspect have, by the wisdom and power of the great Head of the Church, "rather tended to the furtherance of the Gospel." Was it not in the reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, that "so mightily grew the word of the Lord, and prevailed"?'

The Committee of Correspondence issued on January 27 the first circular letter sent out in connection with the Society. It recounted what had been already done, and announced the intention of securing 'early in the ensuing summer a general meeting of ministers and lay-brethren, delegated from all parts of the country, to plan and organize a Society.'

This document was signed by Joseph Brooksbank, John Eyre, John Love, William F. Platt, John Reynolds, William Smith, James Steven, Alexander Waugh, Matthew Wilks.

In addition to these appeals, the Rev. George Burder of Coventry had drawn up an address which he submitted to the committee meeting at the Castle and Falcon; and this, after being carefully revised by Messrs. Eyre and Wilks, was very widely circulated. It enables the reader to appreciate the arguments which influenced our fathers in originating the great work of the Society, and it clearly sets forth the spirit in which they entered upon it. It is only by a careful study of these different documents that the reader can fairly comprehend the religious life of 1795. Further, no one well acquainted with missionary work to-day can fail to see how accurate and how apt is most of their reasoning. Mr. Burder's address was included in the official account of the meetings at which the Society was founded, because it 'deserves to be transmitted to posterity'; and the lessons it enforces have yet but very imperfectly been mastered by Christian people:—

'*An Address to the serious and zealous Professors of the Gospel, of every denomination, respecting an attempt to evangelize the Heathen.*

'It is now almost eighteen hundred years since the Friend of Sinners left our world, and left it with this gracious charge to His disciples—"Go ye forth, and teach *all nations*." At the same time He assured them that, thus employed, they should, in all ages, and in all places, enjoy His presence.

'Thus commissioned and encouraged, the willing disciples gladly obeyed their Master's last command, and found His promise verified. For when, full of the Holy Ghost, they proclaimed salvation to *Jerusalem sinners*, thousands were pierced to the heart with a sense of sin, and cordially welcomed the blessings of the Gospel. A glorious church was quickly formed, and additions were continually made to it "of such as should be saved."—"So mightily grew the word of God, and prevailed." And when, dispersed by persecution, "they went everywhere preaching the word," glorious indeed was the progress of truth, triumphant over

all the opposition of earth and hell. In the course of about 300 years, notwithstanding every possible obstacle was thrown in the way, great parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa were evangelized. A dark cloud indeed afterwards covered the earth. First, Arianism, and then Mahometanism ruined the East; and Popery, by the introduction of dangerous doctrines and superstitious rites, tarnished the glory of Christianity in the West. A long and awful night succeeded. At length the day-spring from on high revisited the earth. The apostolic spirit revived in the glorious Reformers. A part of Christendom regained, and has, in a measure, ever since preserved the light and power of sacred truth.

'But it is astonishing and lamentable to reflect how few and feeble the efforts of Christians, since that period, have been to evangelize the Pagan part of the world. Some indeed have been valiant in preaching the Gospel at home. Others have done worthily by their excellent writings, in contending for primitive doctrine against internal enemies. But oh! where is the primitive zeal? Where are the heroes of the Church—men who would willingly spend and be spent for Christ; who have the ambition not to tread in a line made ready for them, but to preach Christ, where, before, He was not named? Men who count not their lives dear, so that they might win souls to Christ?

'We ought indeed to admire that peculiar providence which inclined a number of conscientious and persecuted Protestants to quit their native island, and to venture on the barren shores of America, where they not only established Gospel churches among themselves, but planted others among the native Indians.

'But oh! what a melancholy proportion of the inhabitants of the globe still remain in the shadow of death! It has been computed that 481 millions are absolute Pagans, destitute of the true God, and of Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent.

'During the last fifty years there has been a great revival of true religion among ourselves. Many thousands

of Britons have been brought to the knowledge of redemption. Jesus has become precious to multitudes, who were blind Pharisees or atrocious sinners. Much laudable zeal has been discovered by ministers and private Christians, in their endeavours to spread the Gospel in their respective neighbourhoods; and many a town, and many a village, can boast some new edifice, in which the free grace of Jesus is proclaimed, and His worthy praise resounded. Conscious, also, that hitherto their efforts have been enfeebled for want of union, societies of Christians begin, in several parts of the kingdom, to associate in a regular manner, and, in limited districts, to form new plans of usefulness, and to establish funds for the more effectual promotion of vital godliness.

'Among the generous designs of lively Christians, we rejoice to hear that more than a few, unacquainted with each other's wishes, have, in different places, expressed most vehement desires to do something for the poor heathen; and, without any present specific plan of co-operation in view, have actually begun to lay by a little money, that they may be ready to contribute to so glorious a work, as soon as ever Providence may favour them with an opportunity.

'Modern discoveries in geography have perhaps contributed to enlarge the desires of Christians in this respect. Captain Cook and others have traversed the globe, almost from pole to pole, and have presented to us, as it were, a new world, a world of islands in the vast Pacific Ocean—some of them as promising in the disposition of the people as in the appearance of the country. May we not reasonably hope that a well-planned and well-conducted mission to one or more of these, seconded with the earnest prayers of thousands of British Christians, will be attended with the blessing of God, and issue in the conversion of many souls?

'Enterprises of this kind, supported by the Danes, the Moravians, the society in Scotland, and many others, have had some success: although some of them have been conducted on plans which experience has now taught us

were very imperfect. The late attempt of our Christian brethren of the Baptist denomination, so highly honourable to their active zeal and true philanthropy, is already said to wear a promising aspect. This much at least we may infer, that when a benevolent scheme of this sort is adopted, neither money is withheld nor missionaries denied. Oh that we may soon hear of multitudes of Hindoos flying to Christ as doves to their windows, and uniting together in praising the Lamb!

'May we not indulge a hope that the happy period is approaching, when the Redeemer shall take unto Him His great power and reign? "He *must* increase. His name *shall* be great." And is there not a general apprehension that the Lord is about to produce some great event? Already have we witnessed the most astonishing transactions; and is it not probable that the great Disposer of all is now about, by shaking terribly the nations, to establish that spiritual and extensive kingdom which cannot be shaken? Let us then, utterly and sincerely disclaiming all political views and party designs; abhorring all attempts to disturb order and government in this or any other country; vigorously unite, in the fear of God, and in the love of Christ, to establish a Missionary Society upon a large and liberal plan, for sending ministers of Christ to preach the Gospel among the heathen.

'Many thanks are due to some late writers on this important subject. About three years ago Mr. Carey, of Leicester, published "An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen; in which the religious State of the different Nations of the World, the Success of former Undertakings, and the Practicability of further Undertakings—are considered." We beg leave to recommend the perusal of this well-meant pamphlet to our readers; and to remind them that it derives no small addition of value from this consideration, that the author "has given to his precepts the force of example," by becoming a missionary himself, and is now a preacher on the banks of the Ganges.

'The Rev. Melville Horne is also entitled to public thanks for his "Letters on Missions: addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches." That gentleman has also been a volunteer in the service; and was, for a time, chaplain of Sierra Leone, in Africa; and though he declined the arduous task, for reasons which he very candidly assigns, he has pleaded the cause of missions in a manner more masterly and spirited than any of his predecessors. He has ably detected the mistakes which have too often occasioned the miscarriage, or small success, of former attempts: and, taught by painful experience, has pointed out a more excellent way. We most sincerely hope that this bold and zealous production will have the most beneficial effects, both in promoting and directing future missions. We must refer to both of these publications for answers to those objections which are so commonly started by *Laodicean professors*. We must not dream of missions destitute of difficulties; but these worthy men have showed, and experience has abundantly proved, that the difficulties are not insuperable. There is also every reason to believe that they may be lessened, both in their number and degree. But were it otherwise, ought we not to blush at being deterred from the God-like attempt by difficulties scarcely considered when fame or worldly gain is the object? The brave officers of the army and navy hide not themselves at home in inglorious ease and safety when the dangers of their country call them to the camp or the ocean. Cook and other navigators have voluntarily exposed their lives in unknown tracts, in fields of ice, and in the abodes of savages. Our merchants venture into the burning and frozen regions, and trade with men of every colour and clime, for uncertain riches. And are there not yet among us numbers of ministers and pious youths, who would gladly fly to the ends of the earth, bearing with them the glad tidings of salvation? Let us but make the trial, and it will assuredly be crowned with success?

'Dear brethren, let it be remembered that Britain, Christian Britain, was once an island of idolatrous barbarians;

and such it had yet remained, unless some of God's dear people in distant countries—(Oh that we knew their names! We *shall* know them in glory)—unless they had formed the benevolent plan of sending missionaries hither. Let us in return "go and do likewise." Look on the terrestrial globe. Let Africa, Hindostan, and China attract your notice. Behold the astonishing clusters of the South Sea Islands. Let us meet for prayer and consultation; let us set on foot a liberal subscription; let us look out for preachers of an apostolic spirit; let them, well provided for, depart in sufficient numbers to strengthen each other's hands; let them cultivate a friendly intercourse with the natives, and by living among them in habits of friendship, adopt the most prudent means of leading them into a gradual acquaintance with the glorious truths of Revelation.

'Surely such an attempt as this will be acceptable to our God, whether it meets with all desirable success or not. It will manifest, at least, that we love His name and prize His salvation; and He will say to us, as to David, "Thou didst well that it was in thine heart." This, however, we are sure of, that all endeavours to prevent the spread of the Gospel are extremely provoking to Him. St. Paul says that the Jews "filled up the measure of their sins by forbidding the apostles to speak to the Gentiles, that they might be saved; and thus the wrath of God came upon them to the uttermost" (1 Thess. ii. 16). By parity of reason we may justly conclude, that it is highly pleasing to God, that they who have tasted that He is gracious, should exert their utmost endeavours to convert others. If to present a cup of cold water in His name be an acceptable service, surely it is a service of a superior nature to present the cup of salvation.

'Let us do something *immediately*. Life is short. Let us "work, while it is called to-day"; the night of death approaches; and our opportunities of being useful will close for ever. "Whatsoever then our hands find to do, let us do it with all our might," and that without delay.

'To make an entrance on this great work, we beg leave

to propose, in the first place, that Gospel-ministers will take the pains to stir up their respective auditories to a more close and serious consideration of the object in view, and to confer with them upon it. We then wish that some estimate may be formed of what each society may be able and ready to contribute annually, to a common fund, without injury to themselves or to their ministers. This done, we earnestly desire that a minister, or some other intelligent person, be deputed by the united congregations of each county or counties to meet in London as soon as possible in the course of the ensuing summer, there to confer in a solemn manner on this important affair; and, if the attempt be resolved upon, to choose a committee, resident in London, connected with corresponding committees in different parts of the country, to carry the plan that may then be adopted into execution, as soon as circumstances will admit.'

As a consequence of these appeals, and of the meetings held at the Castle and Falcon, it was resolved to hold a general meeting, for the purpose of constituting the new Society, in London on August 18, 19, and 20, and three ministers were appointed to preach. This date was afterwards altered to September 22, 23, and 24, 1795, and no less than six ministers were appointed to preach. The official notice convening this conference was signed by Joseph Brooksbank, John Eyre, Samuel Greatheed, John Love, William F. Platt, John Reynolds, William Smith, James Steven, Alexander Waugh, Matthew Wilks. A postscript ran: 'N.B.—A consultation of the friends of the institution will be held at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, at six o'clock, on the Monday evening preceding the general meeting, when your attendance will be particularly acceptable.'

Like other postcripts, that appended to the notice contained important matter, for it was at *this* meeting, on the evening of September 21, intended to be merely preparatory, that the Society was actually founded. A very large number of ministers and laymen assembled. Sir Egerton

Leigh[1] was placed in the chair, Mr. Boden of Hanley (Independent), prayed. Mr. Steven, minister of Crown Court Scotch Church, 'opened the business of the meeting by relating what steps had been taken to bring the Society to its present state.' Mr. Love, the acting secretary, 'after a short and pertinent preface,' read many letters, promising help and prayers; from Mr. Small of Axminster, on behalf of the Western Association of twenty congregations, Mr. Tozer of Taunton, Mr. Burder, on behalf of the Warwickshire Association, Mr. Best of Cradley, Mr. Heath of Rodborough, Mr. Mantill of Westbury, Mr. Alliot, on behalf of the associated churches in Nottingham and Derby, Mr. Parry of Little Baddow, Essex, a gentleman of Glasgow, and from a synod of Burgher Seceders in Scotland. As some of these letters, which all promised hearty co-operation, expressed doubts on the subject of securing missionaries, Dr. Haweis (Church of England) next set forth the possibility of getting missionaries, and read some striking letters which had been already received from persons willing to offer themselves for the work of evangelizing the heathen.

It was then resolved, with perfect unanimity, 'that it is the opinion of this meeting, that the establishment of a society for sending Missionaries to the heathen and unenlightened countries is highly desirable.' The Rev. John Eyre, in words broken by his joyous emotions, then read the sketch of a 'plan' prepared by the committee, as proper to be submitted to the general meeting the next day, which was approved. The devotion and the enthusiasm exhibited at this meeting were very marked, and all hearts were full of thankfulness and hope. A subscription list was opened, 'and the liberal contributions and annual subscriptions of that evening sufficiently demonstrated that this excellent cause would never fail for want of pecuniary assistance.' The Rev. Rowland Hill, of Surrey Chapel, closed with prayer.

[1] For details of this good man's life, and of his evangelistic work in the Midlands, see *Independency in Warwickshire*, Sibree and Caston, 1855, pp. 393-398.

On Tuesday morning, September 22, at ten o'clock, a large congregation assembled in the old Spa Fields Chapel belonging to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. More than two hundred ministers were present. Mr. Kirkman read the prayers. Mr. Sibree, of Frome, gave out the hymn 'O'er those gloomy hills of darkness,' and so great was the excitement, we are told, that many broke out into sobs and tears. Dr. Haweis prayed; Mr. Leggatt, of Strood, gave out the hymn 'Captain of Thine enlisted host,' and then Dr. Haweis preached from the great missionary text, Mark xvi. 15, 16, 'And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.'

A passage or two from the introduction to the discourse will help us to appreciate the conditions under which the Society came into being.

'It is with thankfulness and delight,' began the preacher, 'that I look round on this great congregation, assembled for the noblest purposes that can interest the best feelings of the human heart. No schemes of worldly advantage—no projects of vain ambition—no selfish ends or aims—contaminate our views. Nor will the *confused noise of the warrior, or garments rolled in blood*, mark our progress. We meet under the conduct of the Prince of Peace, and, unfurling the banner of His cross, desire to carry the glad tidings of His salvation to the distant lands, deep sunk in heathen darkness, and covered with the shadow of death. The petty distinctions among us, of names and forms; the diversities of administrations, and modes of church order, we agree, shall this day all be merged in the greater, nobler, and characteristic name of Christians; and our one ambition be, to promote no partial interests, since Christ is not divided, but with united efforts to make known abroad the glory of His person—the perfection of His work—the wonders of His grace—and the transcendent blessings of His redemption—where His adorable name hath never yet been heard; but the god of this world still reigns the

uncontrolled tyrant over the bodies and the souls of men.'

The preacher then proceeded to consider—1. Where we must go. 2. Who are to be sent. 3. What they must preach. 4. The result of their mission. Under the first head he clearly sets forth that the field is the world, and that, in his judgement, the most hopeful part to begin with is Polynesia. Under the second he sets forth his views upon the education of missionaries—views not without advocates in these days, and yet the experience of the century is, on the whole, adverse to and not corroborative of them.

'But, secondly, *whom shall we send, and who will go for us?* I answer, such as the Lord hath prepared and qualified for the arduous task. Men, whose lives are not dear unto themselves, but ready to spend and be spent in the honourable service. Men, really moved by the Holy Ghost to devote themselves to the work,—not daring blasphemously in the face of God and the congregation to make such a confession, merely to procure a mission from man, and pave the way to honour and emolument over a conscience that knows it *hath lied to the Holy Ghost*.—Men, who have an internal evidence of the Spirit, *witnessing, with their spirits, that they are the children of God*;—a divine ardour, prompting them to prefer the salvation of men's souls to every earthly consideration,—and to determine on this pursuit, in the face of every difficulty and danger which may attend it. Such are the men the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls sends, such are the instruments we must seek.

'Nor need we despair of finding them, if not in the schools of learning, or the seminaries of theology, yet among the faithful, in our several congregations.

'Not that I think lightly of the advantages of education, or despise attainments of learning of any kind. Few have been found more indefatigable in the pursuit of these acquirements than some whom I am now addressing, and if we are treated with insolent contempt by those who imagine

themselves the only wise and learned, we have to regret that our abilities have not equalled our application.

'But here also God hath in His hands the hearts of all men. There may be found among the sons of the Prophets some who, glorying in the cross, will feel it their privilege to lift up the standard, and proclaim the crucified Lord to their fellow sinners of the heathen. Not that the knowledge of the dead languages, however desirable, is essential to the communication of Gospel truth in the living ones. A plain man,—with a good natural understanding,—well read in the Bible,—full of faith, and of the Holy Ghost,—though he comes from the forge or the shop, would, I own, in my view, as a missionary to the heathen, be infinitely preferable to all the learning of the schools; and would possess, in the skill and labour of his hands, advantages which barren science would never compensate.

'But who shall judge of the *qualifications of missionaries?* I reply, such as have themselves been taught of God; and whose age and experience, in the good ways of our Saviour, enable them to discern between the ebullitions of mistaken zeal and the deliberate devotedness of one truly sent and moved by the Holy Ghost.

'I am, my brethren, an Episcopalian, and by choice, as by education, attached to the Established Church, and wish to see her a glory in the earth; and I am persuaded there is not one of you, my friends, of whatever denomination, but would delight therein. Yet I am no bigot. I neither suppose salvation restricted to her pale, nor the approbation of her rulers, however desirable, essential to an evangelical mission. Indeed, it is an axiom, to which every real Christian will accede, that no dignity of office, whether Bishop or Archbishop, nor a whole Presbytery, however wise or learned, if they have not themselves experienced the divine call, and been inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost, to take the sacred ministry upon them (and the great Shepherd and Bishop of Souls hath already pronounced that otherwise He will regard them as thieves and robbers), such men, I say, can be no more capable of judging the qualifi-

cations of a missionary, than the stupid Omiah to solve the most difficult proposition in Euclid, or a deaf man to decide on the beauty of harmonical composition.'

As to the message—

'We appeal to the experience of all ages, what ever did, or ever can control the unruly wills and affections of sinful men, but the preaching the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom, saith St. Paul, *the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.* Without this, what could a missionary effect in a heathen land? How poor, how unavailing would be all the weapons of vain philosophy and false Christianity? *Imbelle telum sine ictu.* Brethren, our whole success will depend upon this one point;—if Christ be preached,—only preached, always preached,—then shall we see the power of His death and resurrection, and the Lord will add again *daily to His church of such as shall be saved.*'

The sermon closes with this appeal:—

'We know the time approaches when Ethiopia and Saba shall stretch out their hands unto God: when "the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and be turned unto the Lord, and all flesh shall see the salvation of our God." From which extremity of the earth the lightning shall flash, we know not; but one thing we know, that when the blessed period fixed in His eternal counsels arrives, He will provide the means, and raise up the instruments, to fulfil all His pleasure. We hope He will favour and graciously accept our humble efforts to this end, and cause many to say, "Here am I, Lord, send me." It would take up too much of your time at present to suggest the steps most eligible to be pursued. These will be the subject of repeated consideration, and matured by the united wisdom of a body far superior to any individual. In one thing only I indulge the fullest confidence, that nothing will be wanting to furnish every necessary supply for a numerous mission. "The silver and the gold are thine." These have often been lavished by our fellow citizens to procure luxuries from the ends of the earth; and sometimes more fearfully to deluge the world with blood. Let us teach them a nobler use of

riches, and procure for ourselves greater indulgences, the luxury of doing good; and, instead of destroying men's bodies, employ them to save their souls.'

At the close of the sermon the hymn beginning

From all that dwell below the skies

was sung, and Mr. Lambert, of Hull, concluded the service with prayer. All persons desirous of joining the new society were asked to assemble in the area of the chapel. But so great was the interest that hardly an individual in the great audience moved. The Rev. Thomas Kingsbury, of Southampton, having been called upon to preside, offered prayer. The Rev. George Burder was appointed secretary for the day. After an address by the Rev. John Eyre, a committee consisting of Thomas Haweis, Rowland Hill, John Eyre, Samuel Greatheed, John Hey, George Lambert, David Bogue, James Steven, Alexander Waugh, John Reynolds, John Love, John Saltern, and Thomas Kingsbury were appointed to bring forward the plan of the Society. They retired to consider this document, which had already been practically settled in previous discussions, and during their absence Matthew Wilks presided, gave out the hymn

Indulgent God, to Thee we pray,

and delivered a congratulatory address.

The committee soon returned and presented the following constitution:—

PLAN OF THE SOCIETY.

I. *The Name*—THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

II. *The Object*—The sole object is to spread the knowledge of Christ among heathen and other unenlightened nations.

III. *The Members*—Persons subscribing one guinea or more annually; every benefactor making a donation of ten pounds; one of the executors, on the payment of a legacy amounting to fifty pounds or upwards; and ministers, or other representatives of congregations in the country, which

subscribe or collect for the use of the Society fifty pounds annually.

IV. *General Meetings*—To be held annually in London on the second Wednesday of May, and oftener if necessary, to choose a treasurer, directors, secretary, and collectors, and to receive reports, audit accounts, and deliberate on what farther steps may best promote the object of the Society. At every such meeting one sermon, or more, shall be preached by one or more of the associated ministers, and notice given as is usual on such occasions; the president for the day shall open and conclude the meeting with prayer, and sign the minutes of the proceedings. All matters proposed shall be determined by the majority of the members present.

V. *The Direction*—To consist of as many directors annually chosen out of its members as circumstances may require. At the first meeting twenty-five shall be elected, with power to associate with themselves such an additional member as may be judged by them expedient, when the extent of the Society is ascertained. Three-fifths, and no more, of these directors shall reside in or near London; where all monthly meetings shall be held for transacting the business of the Society. Not less than seven shall constitute a board. For greater facility and expedition they may subdivide into committees, for managing the funds, conducting the correspondence, making reports, examining missionaries, directing the missions, &c.; but no act of these committees shall be valid till ratified at a monthly meeting. No expenditure exceeding £100 shall be made without consulting all the directors, or £500 without calling a general meeting of the subscribers. Annual subscribers of £10 or upwards, and benefactors of £100 and more, may attend, if they please, with the directors, at any of the monthly meetings. On any emergency the directors shall call a general meeting of the Society, to whom their arrangements shall be submitted: nor shall they enter upon a new mission till they obtain the general concurrence.

VI. *The Funds*—Arising from donations, legacies, sub-

scriptions, collections, &c., shall be lodged, as soon as collected, in the hands of the treasurer. The directors shall place in the public funds all monies so paid, whenever they exceed £300, until they are required for the use of the mission; excepting it appears to them prejudicial to the interests of the Society.

VII. *Salaries*—The secretary shall receive such a salary as the directors may appoint: but the directors themselves shall transact the business of the Society without any emolument.

This was approved, and at three o'clock the meeting adjourned.

In the evening a sermon was preached by the Rev. George Burder, of Coventry, in Crown Court Meeting House, Covent Garden. A contemporary account tells us that 'before the commencement it was crowded to such a degree as to prevent a considerable number of ministers from gaining access to the doors. So great was the pressure of the people as to excite apprehension that Mr. Burder would be unable to proceed; but to our agreeable disappointment he had no sooner begun his discourse than the most serious and pleasing attention pervaded the whole congregation.' The sermon was preached from Jonah iii. 2, 'Arise, go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach unto it the preaching that I bid thee.' Mr. Hey, of Bristol, Mr. Waugh, of London, and Mr. Parsons, of Leeds, took part in the service. At the close, Mr. Kingsbury again presided; the plan of the Society was read aloud, and the committee who had prepared it were requested to nominate a list of gentlemen to serve as directors.

On Wednesday, September 23, at ten in the morning, service was held at the Haberdashers' Hall Meeting House, when a sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Greatheed, of Newport Pagnell, from Luke x. 29, 'And who is my neighbour?' The other ministers taking part were Mr. Lowell, of Woodbridge, Mr. Sloper, of Devizes, Mr. Saltern, of Bridport, Mr. Herdman, of South Petherton,

Mr. Smelle, of Great Grimsby, and Mr. Whitridge, of Oswestry. At the close of the service a second business meeting was held, over which Dr. Hunter, of the Scotch Church, London Wall, presided, and a list of twenty-five Directors were nominated.

'A vast congregation assembled in the evening at the Tabernacle an hour before the appointed time. Thousands are said to have gone away unable to get in. The front seats of the four extensive galleries, containing room for one hundred and fifty persons, were occupied wholly by ministers; besides whom many others were dispersed through the congregation.' The Rev. J. Hey, of Bristol, preached from Eph. i. 10, 'That in the dispensation of the fulness of times He might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth; even in Him.' The other ministers taking part were Mr. Slatterie, of Chatham, Mr. Ralph, of Maidstone, Mr. Jay, of Bath, Mr. Rooker, of Goldhill, Mr. Beaufoy, of Long Sutton, and Mr. Townsend, of Ramsgate. After the service, Matthew Wilks read the names of the Directors.

On Thursday morning, September 24, 1795, the ministers assembled between 8 and 9 a.m. in the schoolroom connected with Surrey Chapel. They discussed the financial prospects of the Society, and then Matthew Wilks proposed that the first attempt of the Society should be to send missionaries to the South Seas. Dr. Haweis was asked to speak on this subject at the close of the morning service, and gave in the name of one volunteer ready to go; Mr. Bogue mentioned another, and seven names in all were registered. Service began at ten o'clock. Another very large congregation assembled, and the sermon was preached by Rowland Hill from Matt. xxiv. 14, 'And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world for a witness unto all nations: and then shall the end come.' Mr. Percy, of London, read prayers; and Mr. Wood, of Rowell, Mr. Griffin, of Portsea, Mr. Audley, of Cambridge, Mr. Douglas, of Newmarket, and Mr. Ray, of Sudbury, took part. Then Dr. Haweis, 'in a speech of considerable

length, assigned various reasons for making the first missionary attempt among the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands.' In the course of this speech he referred to Captain Wilson's offer of service and to his very remarkable history.

The last of this great series of public services was held at Tottenham Court Road Chapel on Thursday evening Mr. Edwards, curate of the chapel, read prayers. Mr. Jefferson, of Basingstoke, Mr. Cook, of Maidenhead, and Mr. Golder, of Croydon, took part; Mr. Bogue preached from Hag. i. 2, 'Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts, saying, This people say, The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built.'

Mr. Bogue set himself the task of dealing with the various objections which had been urged against the new Society. They are instructive, since they indicate the feeling on this subject one hundred years ago, and they show, moreover, that so far as some of these objections are concerned, although the original holders of them have long since departed, their children are with us to this day. The preacher classified them as follows:—

'1. The work itself is so very arduous that success cannot be hoped for.

'2. The time for the conversion of the heathen is not yet come, because the millennium is still at the distance of some hundred years.

'3. What is there in the state of the Christian Church at present that flatters with peculiar hopes of success for a mission to the heathen? Many ages have elapsed and little has been done; what makes the time now so favourable? Are we better than our fathers?

'4. The governments of the world will oppose the execution of the Society's plans, and defeat its design.

'5. The present state of the heathen world is so unfavourable with respect to religion that little hope can be entertained of success.

'6. How and where shall we find proper persons to undertake the arduous work of missionaries to the heathen?

'7. Whence will the Society and the missionaries be able to find support?

'8. There is no door opened by Providence for the entrance of the Gospel. We should wait till such an event takes place, and then diligently improve it.

'9. What right have we to interfere with the religion of others?

'10. We have heathen enough at home, let us convert them first before we go abroad.'

Two passages in the sermon are of special interest. The first refers to the constitution of the Society, and is a portion of the preacher's answer to the third objection he deals with:—

'In the present century, the nature of the Church of Christ, as a spiritual kingdom, and not of the world, has been better understood than it ever was since the days of Constantine; and Christians have felt their obligations to send the Gospel to the heathen nations. Some efforts have been made by different sects, but, with one exception, feeble in comparison of what might have been; and I know not that any denomination has missionaries among the heathen, much exceeding in number the apostles of our Lord. Every one, however, who is awake, hails with joy the dawning of a bright day of true Christian zeal for the spreading of the Gospel in the world, and salutes with affection the various societies engaged in this divine work. We have now before us a pleasing spectacle, Christians of different denominations, although differing in points of church government, united in forming a society for propagating the Gospel among the heathen. This is a new thing in the Christian Church. Some former societies have accepted donations from men of different denominations; but the government was confined to one. But here are Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Independents, all united in one society, all joining to form its laws, to regulate its institutions, and manage its various concerns. Behold us here assembled with one accord to attend the funeral of *bigotry*: and may she be buried so deep that not

a particle of her dust may ever be thrown up on the face of the earth. I could almost add, cursed be the man who shall attempt to raise her from the grave.'

The other is the peroration, of which we quote the beginning and the close:—

'Why should we be cast down at the prospect of difficulties in the way? Let our whole dependence be placed in the wisdom, power, and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. He can exalt every valley, level every mountain and hill, make the way to places plain, and the crooked straight; and by removing every stumbling-block prepare the rough for His servants, and make the triumph of the cross glorious in the eyes of the nations of the earth. To attempt is noble. To fail here is more honourable than to succeed in most other pursuits. Should we fail of success, while we may be grieved that the heathen are still to remain in darkness, we shall have no reason to repent of our undertaking. Will the future part of our life roll on more unhappy or disreputable, because we attempted without effect to extend the boundaries of the kingdom of Jesus Christ? Will it tinge our cheeks with shame, when we are laid upon a death-bed, that we were strenuously engaged in an unsuccessful effort to spread the knowledge of Christ among the heathen? or will it cover us with blushes, when we approach the throne of God at the judgment, to have it said by an attending spirit, "That man was an ardent supporter of an unsuccessful society, whose object was to bring the heathen to seek salvation through the blood of the Redeemer's cross." But I hope better things, even the success of our plan for the salvation of the heathen, though I thus speak.

'This year will, I hope, form an history in the epoch of man; and from this day by our exertions, and by the exertions of others whom we shall provoke to zeal, the kingdom of Jesus Christ shall be considerably enlarged both at home and abroad, and continue to increase "till the knowledge of God cover the earth as the waters cover the sea." When we left our homes, we expected to see a day of

small things, which it was our design not to despise, but to cherish with fond solicitude. But God has beyond measure exceeded our expectations: He has made a little one a thousand, and has inspired us with the most exalted hopes. Now we do not think ourselves in danger of being mistaken when we say that we shall account it through eternity a distinguished favour, and the highest honour conferred on us during our pilgrimage on earth, that we appeared here and gave in our names among the *Founders of the Missionary Society*, and the time will be ever remembered by us, and may it be celebrated by future ages, as the era of Christian benevolence.'

After the sermon, Mr. Thresher, of Abingdon, gave out the hymn, 'All hail the power of Jesus' name.' Mr. Crole, of London, prayed, and Mr. J. A. Knight, of London, 'closed with a short exhortation.'

'Thus concluded the solemn services of the conference, long, long to be remembered by thousands; all appearing to unite in this sentiment, *it was never so seen in our Israel.* Some of the ministers present on Monday evening, finding so large an assembly pass a resolution with cheerful unanimity, that *a missionary society was desirable*, could not, for a time, proceed for tears of joy.

'The grandest object that ever occupied the human mind,—the salvation of souls,—was presented in such a variety of views, and in so striking a manner, by the preachers, that every serious person awoke as from a dream, filled with surprise that so noble a design had never before been attempted by them, and longing, by future exertions, to redeem lost opportunities. Many ministers, who before doubted whether the Lord's time for such an attempt were come, are now completely satisfied, and join with equal ardour in a cause so glorious. The great number who attended as delegates from various parts of the kingdom, the multitudes who thronged the largest places in London, the countenance and liberal donations of the wealthy, the appearance of so many ministers in one place, and in so conspicuous a situation, were grand and pleasing. The

suitableness of the hymns, and the fervour with which they were sung, and, above all, the most evident and uncommon outpouring of the Spirit on the ministers, in their sermons, exhortations, and prayers, impressed the whole congregation with a solemnity and pleasure not usual even in religious assemblies, and constrained them all to say, *This is a new Pentecost*; nor was it a doubt with any whether the Lord was among us or not.

'Another consideration that rendered these seasons unspeakably delightful was the visible union of ministers and Christians of all denominations; who, for the first time, forgetting their party prejudices and partialities, assembled in the same place, sang the same hymns, united in the same prayers, and felt themselves one in Christ. This sentiment was so universal, that when Mr. Bogue, in the course of his sermon, said, "we are called together this evening to *the funeral of bigotry*, and he hoped it would be buried so deep as never to rise again," the whole vast body of people manifested their concurrence, and could scarcely refrain from one general shout of joy. Such a scene was, perhaps, never before beheld in our world, and afforded a glorious earnest of that nobler assembly, where we shall meet all the redeemed, and in the presence and before the throne of the Lamb shall sing, as in the last hymn of the service, *Crown Him, crown Him, crown Him Lord of all!*[1]'

On Friday evening, September 25, 1795, the last of this series of remarkable meetings was held. It was a general meeting, convened, as that on the Monday evening had been, for business, and was held at the Castle and Falcon. The Rev. W. Percy, of Greenwich, was in the chair. Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, Duck's-foot Lane, Thames Street, was elected Treasurer, and the gentlemen appointed who formed the first Board of Directors. It was then decided that the first attempt should be to send missionaries to 'Otaheite, or some other of the islands of the South Sea.' The Directors, if they saw their way to prepare a mission

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1795, pp. 424, 425.

before the next general meeting in May, 1796, were empowered to spend all moneys needful for that purpose. It was further resolved 'that missions be attempted to the Pelew Islands or Sumatra; to the Coromandel coast; to Tartary by Astracan, and to the coast of Africa from Sierra Leone, as may be found most advisable from circumstances.'

'The Rev. James Knight suggested the propriety of instituting a prayer meeting in reference to the important concerns of this Society, to be holden once a month. This proposal was cordially approved, and referred to the Directors to be considered and digested by them as circumstances may require.'

The first Board of Directors was composed of the following gentlemen, twenty ministers and fourteen laymen :—

Mr. J. Alday, Carlisle Street, Soho.
J. Audley, Esq., of Cambridge.
Rev. James Boden, Hanley Green, Staffordshire.
Rev. D. Bogue, A.M., Gosport.
Rev. Joseph Brooksbank, Newington Green.
Rev. George Burder, Coventry.
Robert Cowie, Esq., Islington.
Mr. R. Campbell, Marybone Street.
Rev. John Eyre, A.M., Hackney.
S. Foyster, Esq., Tottenham Street.
Rev. Samuel Greatheed, Newport Pagnell.
J. Hardcastle, Esq., Duck's-foot Lane.
Rev. R. Hill, A.M., Surrey Chapel.
Rev. T. Haweis, LL.B., M.D., Aldwinkle.
Rev. John Hey, Bristol.
Rev. George Lambert, Hull.
Sir Eger. Leigh, Bart., Warwickshire.
Rev. Herbert Mends, Plymouth.
J. Neale, Esq., St. Paul's Churchyard.
Rev. W. F. Platt, Holywell Mount.
Rev. Edward Parsons, Leeds.
Rev. John Mead Ray, Sudbury.
Rev. J. Reynolds, Hoxton Square.
Rev. John Saltern, Bridport.

Rev. J. Steven, Thornhaugh Street.
Mr. R. Steven, Upper Thames Street.
W. Taylor, Esq., Southampton.
Rev. A. Waugh, Alsop's Buildings.
D. West, Esq., Southampton Row.
Rev. Mat. Wilks, Old Street Road.
Rev. E. Williams, D.D., Rotherham.
John Wilson, Esq., Islington.
Thomas Wilson, Esq., Wood Street.
Joseph Wilson, Esq., Milk Street.

Among the other resolutions passed is one to the effect 'that the Directors publish as soon as possible a report of the proceedings of the general meeting, together with the sermons.' This was done immediately, and issued under the date of October 5, 1795. This has ever since been considered the *first annual* Report of the Society. We cannot conclude the sketch of these ever-memorable meetings better than by using some sentences found in this document:—

'Looking back to this singular epoch, we cannot avoid expressing our sense of the condescension and tender mercy of our God, who hath benignly smiled on this rising institution. To Him the unfeigned gratitude and praises of many are, we hope, on this account, frequently ascending like clouds of fragrant and acceptable incense.

'Let not, however, the appearance of success and prosperity in this arduous undertaking seduce our vain hearts into carnal confidence, security, and presumption. "Let us rejoice with trembling." "Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast as he that putteth it off." The great difficulties of the warfare have not yet been encountered. In vain do men flow in crowds to the places of worship, in vain "is gold lavished out of the bag, in vain do songs and shouts of triumph shake the starry vault," if there are not in secret places those agonizing wrestlings of faith and compassionate supplication, which bear some proportion to the magnificent object, the conversion of heathen nations. To these deep-felt, unostentatious, and truly Christian exer-

cises, apply yourselves, with your utmost might, ye children of the living God, ye friends of Zion, *ye who love Jerusalem, and mourn for her.*

'May we not allude to those words of our Lord, "This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting"? When fit messengers are found, great and mighty must be the operation of grace in their souls, raising them to such degrees of knowledge, courage, and spiritual energy, as hitherto we have seldom witnessed. For this end, your humble united cries must pierce the heavens, and, rendered efficacious by the blood of the everlasting covenant, bring down from on high the Lord God of Elijah, Jesus, the Lamb of God, the Spirit of Jesus, and of the apostles and witnesses of the Lamb. You must bear your missionaries on the wings of your faith and love, through those vast waters and unknown dangers which are between them and the objects of their concern and exertion. And when they are set down in the midst of crowds of ungodly, Christless savages, will you forget them? Will you slightly regard their work? Will you contemplate the solemn spectacle with dry eyes? "Bear witness against us, ye blessed benevolent angels who rejoice in the repentance of a sinner, *let all the bright lights of heaven become dark over us, yea, let the terrors of God set themselves in array against us, if we forget thee, O Jerusalem, if we prefer thee not above our chief joy.*"'

Thus broadly and firmly were laid the foundations of the London Missionary Society. The wonderful story of what has been done through its agency during the century which has passed away, and the power and energy with which the Society has entered upon its second hundred years of work for the salvation of the world, are the best testimony to the faith and enthusiasm and sanctified common sense of the men who laid them. They were a remarkable company. Their sympathies were wide, and their energy seemingly exhaustless. Most of them were concerned also in the founding in 1799 of the Religious Tract Society, and in 1804 of the Bible Society. Nor did they

neglect home claims. They were also instrumental in founding some of the most active home missionary agencies, and many of the most helpful philanthropic institutions of the nineteenth century. Among the names given on p. 39 are those of many men of whom it is true in a sense far beyond the realization of any but those who have looked closely into their deeds, that although they have all long since 'rested from their labours,' yet through the societies and institutions they commenced their 'works do follow them' in blessing to large numbers who have never even heard their names.

AUTHORITIES.—The Original Minute-Book of the Society for 1795; The First Annual Report; *The Evangelical Magazine* for 1795; *The Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, by Dr. John Morison; *Sermons Preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society*, London, 1795; *The History of the London Missionary Society*, by William Ellis, Vol. I., 1844 (only volume issued); *Independency in Warwickshire*, Sibree and Caston, 1855. This book is full of details of interest; and most of the memoirs of contemporary ministers contain references to the origin of the Society.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY INNER HISTORY: 1795–1820

BEFORE we turn to the picturesque and stimulating details of the missions in foreign lands, we shall attempt to sketch some of the most important features of the home history of the Society during the first quarter of a century. An adequate conception of the working of the central force will render it easier to gauge accurately the power exerted on the distant circumference.

The Board of Directors, appointed at the general meeting, September 22, 1795, lost no time in getting to work. They assembled for executive action at the Castle and Falcon, on September 28, and held on that day two meetings. In the morning, with Rowland Hill in the chair, they accepted Captain Wilson's offer of his services as captain of the expedition intended for Otaheite; they appointed the Rev. John Love and Mr. William Shrubsole as joint secretaries; and adopted the following 'Rules for the Examination of Missionaries.'

'1. No man shall be a missionary of this Society unless the Committee of Directors appointed for the examination of missionaries are unanimously satisfied that he possesses an eminent share of the grace of God, and appears to have a call to this particular work.

'2. It is not necessary that every missionary should be a learned man; but he must possess a competent measure of that kind of knowledge which the object of the mission requires.

'3. Godly men who understand mechanic arts may be of signal use to this undertaking as missionaries, especially in the South Sea Islands, Africa, and other uncivilized parts of the world.

'4. Every missionary must be well apprized of the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking, and be willing through divine help to encounter them.

'5. Every candidate shall express his desire and motives in writing directed to the Secretary, to be communicated by him to the body of Directors at their monthly meeting.

'6. Every candidate shall send or bring with him a certificate with regard to his experience in the Christian life, and his standing in the Church, from the minister or other respectable member of that congregation to which he belongs, countersigned by a Director.

'7. If the Committee are unanimous in approving the candidate on the fullest examination, he shall be immediately accepted; if two-thirds or more approve, his case shall stand over for further enquiry; but if two-thirds do not approve, he shall be immediately rejected.

'8. From the time of a person's being chosen to this work to his being actually sent out, he shall be subject to the will of the Directors, who shall do whatever is in their power to promote his fitness for his particular destination.'

At the evening meeting Mr. Joseph Wilson presided, and various business details were decided.

On September 29 two meetings were again held. In the morning the Rev. Alexander Waugh presided, and arrangements were made for an earnest appeal, on behalf of the Society's work, to London ministers who were not yet members, and to ministers and private Christians in every part of England. Messrs. Bogue, Steven, and Love were appointed to draw up two circular letters, the first seeking the co-operation of ministers and friends in Scotland; the second addressed to Foreign Protestant Churches. Arrangements were also made for a personal canvass of the London ministers. At the evening meeting, with Mr. Saltern in

the chair, the relation in which the missionaries would stand to those connected with other institutions was brought up by a message which had been received from Dr. Coke, the well-known Wesleyan leader. He was informed 'that it is the purpose of this Society to act as brethren towards missionaries from other denominations.'

Morning and evening meetings were also held at the Castle and Falcon on October 1. Mr. Bogue was requested 'to draw up a memorial on the most useful mode of employing missionaries in the interval between their approbation and embarkment, and during their passage.' The Examination Committee was constituted, to consist of all the London ministers on the Board together with Messrs. John Wilson and R. Steven. On October 2 only one meeting of the Board was held, with Matthew Wilks in the chair, and the following committees were appointed: Funds, Correspondence, Reports, Examination, Provision and Conveyance. The duty of the last on this list was to manage all details connected with the equipment of the expedition to Tahiti.

The life and energy which had been so powerfully manifested throughout the September meetings dominated all the early proceedings of the Board. Tahiti by no means exhausted the faith and the zeal of Dr. Haweis and his colleagues, and at the meeting on October 2 he presented 'a memorial on the subject of an African mission,' for which he was duly thanked, and which bore fruit at an early date. It was also resolved 'That the monthly meetings of the Directors be held on the second Monday of each month, at half-past five o'clock in the afternoon.'

In this way the executive body, which has for a century acted as the mainspring of the Society's work, was fairly started upon the great task. It was composed of able and devoted men; it was sustained by the prayers, the sympathy, the faith, and the active help of a large number of earnest Christian people. The good ship left port under a sunny sky and with a favouring breeze. The storms and tempests were all to come, and many a hard and much-needed lesson

was to be learned by its able crew in the immediate future in that most severe and yet most fruitful of all schools—experience. The study of a few of these in some detail may be of service in these latter days to those who are called in the good providence of God to lade the same great ship with richer cargoes, and to sail her over wider seas.

From the first it was evident to those who looked beneath the surface that the Society would stand or fall very largely by the kind of men who enlisted for service in the mission field. The Board was apparently keenly alive to the supreme importance of securing godly and sagacious men; and yet here, if anywhere, its earlier proceedings, judged by results, are most exposed to damaging criticism. The original regulations of the Board on this subject have just been quoted. Of these 2 and 3 led to somewhat disastrous results. From the first—as now—there were two views concerning the best training for missionary service. The abnormal conditions of the time possibly influenced many in consenting to what was contrary to their own sounder judgment. A great mission to the South Seas had been decided upon with acclamation by the Society in general meeting assembled. Doubtless many of the Directors felt that it was hardly possible in the face of the enthusiasm they had so recently witnessed to keep rigidly to the course of true wisdom, and to insist that no man should be sent forth until he had received at least two or three years' intellectual and spiritual training, and had evidenced his fitness for the foreign field by exhibiting his capacity to stand the searching discipline of college training. To require such calm and dispassionate views was, perhaps, to expect far more than ordinary mortals could give. It is also practically certain that many connected with the management of the Society had most erroneous views, first as to what heathen life was like, and secondly as to the type of man best fitted to deal with it. 'Godly men who understand mechanic arts' were by not a few of the fathers placed much higher in the scale of

usefulness among uncivilized nations than the student, the preacher, the man of scholarly and disciplined mind. The enormous waste of resources caused by the practical adoption of this view in the early years of the Society's work is an object-lesson for succeeding generations.

Representatives of the opposite view were not wanting, but they were overborne for the time. It was not until experience with unwelcome lessons came to their support that the views these advocated finally and completely triumphed. Such men held it to be little short of folly to expect warm and fervent religious feeling to compensate for lack of mental force and intellectual and spiritual training. They themselves experienced the same intense yearning for the salvation of the heathen, but they did not believe that this would necessarily keep undisciplined minds and natures from errors of the most serious kind. Unable to enforce their own views in this matter, all that such could at first achieve was to secure that intending missionaries should at least have all the training it was possible to give them in the few months which elapsed between their acceptance and the sailing of the Duff.

On November 9, 1795, the Board decided that married men might be accepted as candidates, the minute running: 'Married men, with their wives, are eligible for the mission, if approved by the Committee of Examination.' As a result of this, six of those who embarked on the Duff were married, but only two of them had any children. On March 14, 1796, the minute-book contains the following entry: 'The Committee of Examination recommend Mr. Buchanan as a proper person to be employed as a mechanic in the missionary work. Resolved that Mr. Buchanan be admitted as a missionary, and that an annuity of five guineas be allowed from the Society to his aged mother.' Buchanan was one of the company left on Tongatabu, and on his return to England in 1800 his connection with the Society was dissolved. Presumably the annuity also ceased at that date, but of this there seems to be no record. In the case of Main, who in the end turned out badly, the Board paid the

sum of twenty-four guineas in order to secure his discharge from the army.

At the general meeting held at the Castle and Falcon on May 11, 1796, 'it was moved and seconded that every missionary accepted by this Society shall subscribe a Confession of Faith, to be drawn up for this purpose. But the previous question was moved and carried, and the original motion was rejected.' No other result, perhaps, on a motion of this kind could be expected, and in the light of a century's experience no other result appears desirable. As a matter of fact, almost every early missionary would have had no difficulty whatever in signing the full Westminster Confession. The missionaries on the Duff, who during the voyage formed themselves into a little church, were hardly as liberal in this respect as the general meeting. In the very full journal of their voyage, which has been preserved, under the date January 18, 1797, an entry covering many folio pages exhibits the almost total inability of the great majority either to perceive or to recognize that truth may have more than one side and be capable of more than one presentation. Some of them, we read, 'entertained a suspicion that Brother Jefferson and Brother Cock were not quite sound in their religious principles. Knowing that both of them had been members of Arminian Societies, they were fearful that the old leaven had not been thoroughly purged out.' The origin of this suspicion was a conversation which Cock had held with Henry 'concerning the extent of Christ's death,' in which the former 'at first showed some reluctance to declare his sentiments,' but finally was driven to affirm that Christ died for all men. Brother Jefferson, 'who did not appear to show so much openness,' 'seemed to evade giving a direct reply to the question by quoting several passages of Scripture which speak of the Redeemer as dying for all.' It was the daily custom for the whole company of missionaries to meet and discuss in a kind of open debate some set passage of Scripture. The astute president on the day following this fateful conversation chose Romans viii. 29, 30. Brother Cock, not



ROWLAND HILL



MATTHEW WILKS



JOSEPH HARDCASTLE
(Treasurer, 1795 to 1815)



ALEXANDER WAUGH



WILLIAM SHRUBSOLE
(Home Secretary, 1795 to 1798)

unwisely, asserted that the interpretation of the passage was too difficult for him; Jefferson, that he had not yet arrived at any decisive judgment on the doctrine of 'final perseverance.' This state of affairs was so serious that Captain Wilson was called in, regular meetings of the whole company were held, the accused were examined and cross-examined, and finally, after a very long theological discussion, significant to us only because of the confident assertion by Captain Wilson, as a matter freely admitted on all hands, 'that the Missionary Society was quite Calvinistical,' the meeting was adjourned to the next day, January 19, when both the erring brothers were formally excommunicated. Some twenty folio pages of the journal describe how the two were led to see that in this case truth was with the majority, and on January 29 they were by open vote of all the brethren readmitted into 'the Church of Christ on board the Duff.'

The meeting of Directors held at the Castle and Falcon on May 9, 1796, marks an epoch in the history of the Society. The decision then reached was of the highest importance in the later development of the work abroad, inasmuch as those present framed and adopted what has ever since been known as 'the fundamental principle' of the London Missionary Society. Mr. Thomas Wilson was in the chair, and the Directors present were Messrs. Waugh, Sir Egerton Leigh, Neale, Robert Steven, Hardcastle, Wilks, Eyre, Platt, Cowie, Joseph Wilson, Alday, Haweis, Burder, Brooksbank, Campbell, Hill. The all-important decision is thus entered in the minute-book:—

'As the union of God's People of various Denominations, in carrying on this great Work, is a most desirable Object, so, to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissention, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that our design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government (about which there may be differences of opinion among serious Persons), but the Glorious

Gospel of the blessed God to the Heathen: and that it shall be left (as it ever ought to be left) to the minds of the Persons whom God may call into the fellowship of His Son from among them to assume for themselves such form of Church Government, as to them shall appear most agreeable to the Word of God.'

In the original record for the word Presbyterian, 'Presbytery' stood, and for Episcopacy, 'Prelacy,' these being scored through and the others written above. In this liberal, sound, and sagacious manner the fathers shaped the foundation-stone of the Society. It is believed that the framer and mover of the resolution was Dr. Waugh[1]. The minute-book does not assign it to any member. Whatever appearance of alteration a hundred years have brought has been due, not to any change of view on the part of Directors or supporters of the Society, but to the fact that those attached to Episcopacy and Presbyterianism have very naturally thrown, for the most part, their sympathy and their support into those special denominational societies which have sprung into existence since 1796.

The catholic basis of the Society, and the warm sympathy it had called forth in various sections of the Church of Christ in Great Britain, were emphasized by the annual meetings of 1797. The last of the four sermons was preached on the morning of May 12 in the ancient historic Church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the tomb of Gower and Bishop Andrews, the scene of the trial and sentence of John Rogers, and one of the noblest architectural monuments of London. The preacher was the Rev. Melville Horne, Vicar of Olney, who had been so influential in some of the movements out of which the Society sprang.

The Report for 1797 thus portrays the scene:—

'Such an assemblage of ministers of all denominations was scarce, we believe, ever remembered before. All

[1] *Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society*, ii. p. 1. See also *A Memoir of Alexander Waugh*, by James Hay and Henry Belfrage, p. 223. London, 1830.

prejudices and illiberal distinctions laid aside, and a demonstration afforded that all *good men* may hold the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, and zealously unite in the great and glorious object of communicating the Gospel to their perishing fellow-sinners, whilst each reserves the right of private judgment respecting the preferable modes of worship or ecclesiastical discipline. Surely no real Christian in England, Scotland, or of any foreign church, could have been present without feeling a reviving glow of animating zeal, an unspeakable delight to see the unhoped-for union of men of all denominations, and the pleasing expectation that the time is approaching when we shall all be less warped by educational prejudices—escape from the repulsion of bigotry—feel that Christ and His kingdom is not divided—that one great object ought to swallow up all lesser differences, and one uniform purpose to fill every bosom—to know nothing else at home or abroad but Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'

In the course of 1797 the question of the qualifications which should be possessed by those intending to become missionaries continued to provide matter for warm debate. At a meeting of Directors held on May 12, Mr. Bogue read a paper recommending the institution of seminaries for the special training of missionary students, and at the same meeting Mr. Cowie read a memoir on 'A Mission to Indostan,' and an essay from the *Evangelical Magazine* was read, entitled 'Thoughts on Obtaining Missionaries.' It was resolved, 'That it is the opinion of this Society that the Plan recommended in the above essay be taken into the most solemn consideration of the Directors on Monday morning next at 10 o'clock, and be considered by the Society on Monday afternoon at 4 o'clock, both these meetings to be at the Scots' Hall.'

The essay here referred to was printed in the *Evangelical Magazine* for May, 1797, and is signed 'Philadelphos.' Its main contention was that many leading ministers were fit to be missionaries to the heathen; that such were not always the most eager to proffer their services; and that in

this case their elder brethren should assume the responsibility of nominating them. The drift of the argument may be gathered from the following extracts:—

'Every one who thinks seriously and with attention upon a mission to the heathen, must perceive at once the greatness of the enterprise, as well as the necessity of a peculiarity of talents to fit him for so great a work. He does not imbibe that absurd notion that men who have but one talent, and little or nothing to sacrifice, are the only proper persons for carrying the light of divine truth to their heathen brethren; but while he contemplates with pleasure, he also beholds with solemn awe the august work of a mission to the heathen; and, like Moses, diffidently concludes that he is unable to plant the Church of God in a wilderness. Is it any wonder, then, that he exclaims, with the same venerable leader of Israel, "O my Lord! send, I pray Thee, by the hand of him whom Thou wilt send."'

'To offer one's self as a missionary necessarily includes that the person himself at least has formed some preconceived notion that he may be qualified for such an honourable office. Those alone who have already rejected some that have had such notions are best able to tell us what were their feelings in performing so painful a part of duty.'

'When, brethren, ye are met in your several societies, the forwardness of your plans exceeding all expectations, Jesus smiling on you with His blessed presence, and cherishing in you love, zeal, unanimity, and every grace, and when a mission is so far completed as to need nothing but able ambassadors to carry it into execution—then let a committee of the most aged and experienced among you be chosen to nominate, with prudence and firmness, as many of their younger brethren as may be necessary to effect the generous purpose. Let this nomination be announced in proper season to the whole Society, who must of necessity judge by ballot of the propriety or impropriety of the several names contained in it.'

'We would also be far from restricting your choice to

those who are already preachers of the Gospel. It is perhaps well known to you all that there are many of the laity among you who might prove as able missionaries, if their abilities were called forth to action, as any of the clergy. Let these hidden jewels be found out, ordained, and sent forth to labour in God's harvest, that they at last may shine as the sun for ever in the kingdom of their Father, after having turned many of the heathen unto righteousness.'

This very weighty matter was fully and seriously discussed on May 15, at the adjourned meeting held in the Scots' Hall, Crane Court, Fleet Street, 'a retired and commodious place,' which had been kindly offered for that purpose. The treasurer, Mr. Hardcastle, read a thoughtful paper[1], in which he suggested the following resolutions, all of which were finally adopted:—

'1. That the Society, being aware of the great importance of the question respecting the best means of procuring missionaries, invite and request the opinion of the friends of the institution thereon, to be transmitted to their secretary.

'2. That from a survey of the state of the heathen world, they are of opinion that it is encouraging for missionary exertions; and that it is peculiarly the duty of ministers of the Gospel to devote themselves to the promotion of the kingdom of Christ in whatever part of the world their services may tend to accomplish this great object.

'3. That the ministers in the direction, and those present in the Society, consider it to be their duty to enter upon a solemn examination of themselves as in the immediate and awful presence of God; whether it appears to be His sacred will concerning them, that they should personally bear His name among the heathen; that they will accompany this examination with prayer for His direction and influence, that they may be enabled faithfully to follow the deliberate conviction of their hearts.

[1] This is printed *in extenso* in *Evangelical Magazine*, June, 1797, and in the Report for 1797.

'4. That is recommended to every minister connected with this institution, who is zealous for the honour of Christ, and in whose situation no insurmountable objection to missionary labour exists; to promote the same solemn process within his own breast.

'5. That the Directors be desired to revolve in their most serious thoughts the situation, the gifts and the spirit of those ministers who are within the circle of their acquaintance, and where any appears to them, considering all circumstances, qualified and suited for the service of Christ among the heathen, suggest the same to him, and earnestly recommend the subject to his serious and deliberate consideration.

'6. That it be recommended to all associated bodies of evangelical ministers to take the state of the heathen world into serious discussion in all their meetings, and particularly to consider of those individually among them who appear adapted to this important work.'

Various efforts were made to carry out these plans. The Board resolved on December 26, 1797, 'that Dr. Haweis, Mr. Maurice, and Mr. Cowie be a committee to draw up an Address to excite and encourage ministers of standing and respectability to accompany the missionaries to Jamaica, India, and other places; and to intimate that the families of persons who are willing to go shall be suitably provided for.' On February 12, 1798, the Board further resolved, 'should any man of approved piety and ability, and having a family, offer himself to this Society, his life shall be insured to the amount of such a sum as shall be agreed on for the benefit of his family, should he die in the missionary service.'

So far as the records show the only serious attempt to act upon these resolutions was that made by Mr. Robert Haldane of Edinburgh, in conjunction with David Bogue. These men sought to organize a mission to India. Two ministers who had just left the Church of Scotland and joined the Independent Church, the Rev. Greville Ewing and the Rev. William Innes, were associated with Mr. Haldane,

who intended to meet the whole cost of the enterprise by selling his beautiful estate of Airthrey. Mr. Bogue thus describes the enterprise:—

'The plan of sending out young men unaccustomed to the task of religious instruction never appeared to me calculated to produce the end we had in view. I always thought it the duty of more experienced men to lead the way, and offer themselves for the service of the heathen; but, like you, I thought myself too old for the office of a missionary. But, about eight months ago, I received an invitation from my friend, Mr. Haldane, to accompany him to Bengal, to assist him (along with two others who were to be applied to) in carrying into execution a plan for the conversion of the heathen, which he had formed about a year before. After weighing the subject maturely, I accepted his call, and declared my readiness to go. The two others we had in view, Mr. Ewing and Mr. Innes, (whom some of your Bristol people know), have likewise agreed to go with us. What you mention, as to age, and the uncertainty of the climate agreeing with me, is just. But these things must be left in the hands of the great Head of the Church: I am a necessary link of the chain. As we are to live in the close union of brothers, it would not do unless we knew each other; and, from what we know, could place some dependence on suitableness of disposition, &c. Though a more suitable and a younger person could be found, he wants the qualification of old friendship and acquaintance which I possess. The plan was formed on the supposition of the persons composing it, who actually do compose it. Every person we had in view has agreed to go. May we not hope there was something of the hand of God directing in this matter[1]?'

As soon as his intention became known, the most strenuous and persistent efforts were made by some of his friends and many of his congregation to dissuade Mr. Bogue.

[1] *Memoirs of the Life of David Bogue*, Bennett, p. 205. London, 1827. See also the very full account of the plan and the steps taken to carry it out in *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane and James A. Haldane*, chapter v.

The purpose, however, which these friends could not change was effectually frustrated by the East India Company, who, notwithstanding great pressure of many kinds which was brought to bear upon them, to the lasting disgrace of that great corporation, absolutely refused to allow these gentlemen to proceed to India in the capacity of missionaries. The attempt, though apparently fruitless at the time, had a powerful influence upon that movement of public opinion which ultimately compelled the East India Company to grant missionaries free access to all parts of India under their control.

Meanwhile no settled scheme for a better education of intending missionaries had yet been worked out and approved. Some of the accepted men were under the superintendence of a small committee of London ministers. Others were placed under the care of Mr. Bogue and other country ministers. On December 2, 1798, Mr. Bogue preached on board the Duff while lying off Portsmouth, waiting for the convoy with which she was to sail a second time for Tahiti. The success of her first voyage had aroused the greatest excitement in all those circles connected with missionary work. No tidings had yet come to hand of the disasters at Tahiti and Tongatabu. The erroneous conviction that once landed upon the distant islands of the Pacific the missionaries would practically be able to support themselves, seems to have prevented much serious thought concerning the future career of so large a body of new missionaries. Mr. Bogue did not share the sanguine views of many. In his sermon, which was not at all palatable to many of his audience, he uttered wise words of warning. 'Some will tell you that you are in no danger of shipwreck because you carry Christ and His Gospel. But you know a certain old missionary who said, "Thrice have I suffered shipwreck; a day and a night have I been in the deep."' The preacher's heart sank within him as he studied the faces before him. He had never believed in the hasty methods of selection which had hitherto been followed; nor did

he approve of combining missionary and commercial enterprise. Events, sooner even than he could have anticipated, confirmed the soundness of his judgment. To make this clear we must retrace our steps a little.

On May 11, 1798, while one of the anniversary services was being held in Christ Church, Spitalfields, a note was brought in and handed to Dr. Haweis, announcing the safe arrival in the previous December of the Duff at Canton on her way home. Just before the Rev. Aaron West began his sermon on 'The apostolic missionary as delineated in the qualifications and actions of St. Paul,' the doctor, with what feelings we can easily imagine, stepped into the pulpit and thrilled the great congregation with the welcome news. On July 11, 1798, the Duff reached London, and the marvellous success which had attended her voyage aroused new and even more ardent enthusiasm on behalf of Tahiti. It was a time of great social and political strain all over Europe. The Report read at the fifth annual meeting, May 8, 1799, states: 'The rapid and astonishing changes which have been recently produced in some of the governments of the world we behold with emotions and views in some respects peculiar to those who survey all human events through an evangelical medium, and as subordinate to the dispensations of grace. We are sure that the administration of all things is in the hands of our exalted Lord, whose wisdom will order, and power effect the purposes of His own will, and so overrule ambition, folly, wickedness, infidelity and profaneness as to set up and establish that kingdom which is an everlasting kingdom, and that dominion which shall never be destroyed.'

The Report later on continues:—

'When the welcome arrival of the Duff had called us into the house of God again, on August 6 last, to testify our thankfulness for mercies so distinguished, we could not but feel the obligations laid upon us to renew our exertions, and pursue an object so plainly pointed out by the happy coincidences attending our first successful

voyage. You, therefore, at a special general meeting, held the next day, most cordially and unanimously resolved—"That the Directors be authorized to employ a ship belonging to the Society on another voyage to the Pacific Ocean, for the purposes of supplying our brethren who have settled there, with assistance in their labours; of adding to their number, where circumstances may render it necessary; and of planting the Gospel in other islands of that ocean, where it shall appear most eligible, from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances."

'The season advancing required peculiar diligence; and as so much was to be done in a few weeks, our renewed efforts immediately commenced. The Committee of Provision and Conveyance engaged to accomplish everything respecting the ship; and the Committee of Examination set themselves to the arduous task of looking round for a sufficient number of well qualified missionaries, in addition to the few they had already accepted, and of making preparations for their equipment. We are overwhelmed at the reflection of the wondrous goodness of God, in the spirit instantly stirred up from one end of the kingdom to the other. Offers of service poured in upon us. Single and married brethren, with their wives, presented themselves, ready to quit everything dear to them, and embark in the self-denying service. The candidates soon were more numerous than our ship was capable of conveying. All appeared with testimonials of their Christian conduct from their ministers and others. Carefully and repeatedly they were examined, as to their experience, principles, abilities, and motives, and such of them selected as appeared the most proper for the work.

'Among these were men not only apt to teach, as preachers and catechists, the truth as it is in Jesus, but botanists, agriculturists, ingenious artizans in several branches, and, what we very particularly needed, six of the brethren were instructed in the knowledge of medicine and surgery, and two of the sisters in the practice of midwifery. For two of these medical persons, and one of the most

valuable mechanics, we were indebted to our coadjutors in missionary labours in Edinburgh, one of the best schools for the science of medicine; and from the same Society we have lately received the liberal present of £400 in token of their affection and esteem, and as fellow-workers and sharers with us in all our mercies. Every individual of these missionaries left, apparently, comfortable stations, and some of them we know relinquished even advantageous prospects. We had reason to believe none were urged by necessity, or a love of change, to engage in the work, but by a deliberate choice, as the state in which they could most effectually glorify God in their bodies and in their spirits, which were His. Such as were approved, but could not be admitted, retired with regret, to wait another opportunity, which we hope will ere long be afforded them.

'They embarked in October, and had an unpleasant passage to Portsmouth, where the vessel lay for several weeks, detained by contrary winds, yet no man's heart failed, nor did our gracious women show less courage and fidelity. Some of the Directors, in parting with them, parted with their dearest connections, rejoicing that those united to them in the endearing ties of blood and friendship could make such a noble sacrifice of themselves to Christ, and were counted worthy to share in this honourable service. Thursday, December 20, 1798, they moved from their native shores, probably to revisit them no more: the silver doves, with their olive branches, floated from their mizentop, and displayed the blessed emblem of their design.'

Mr. Robson, who had been mate under Captain Wilson, was placed in charge of the Duff for this second voyage; the Rev. Mr. Howell of Knaresborough was joined with Captain Robson as superintendent of the missionaries, who numbered thirty, ten of them being married, and there were seven children. This transaction now appears to have been a conspicuous example of zeal outrunning discretion. The Lord can work with many or with few; in great spiritual crises a nation may sometimes be born in a day; but if there is one lesson more emphatically taught than

another in the history of the practical working of the Christian Church, it is the importance of spending time and care on the training of Christian workers and on the development of Christian work. Before the Duff sailed on her second voyage, the large majority of the first contingent sent out in her had proved unequal to their task. A swifter discipline almost at once so sifted this second company of thirty as to prove that, notwithstanding the fair promise, there was but very little wheat among the chaff.

The Duff finally sailed from Portsmouth, December 20, 1798, and on February 19, 1799, off Cape Frio, she was captured by the French privateer Le Grand Buonaparte. The captured missionaries, separated from the women and children, were sent—some in prize vessels and others in their capturer—to Monte Video on the Rio de la Plata, whither the Duff preceded them. On March 23 the women and children were landed, and shortly afterwards the men. At the end of a month the French captain told Captain Robson the Duff had been sold, and offered him, in exchange for bills on the Society, one of his prizes, in which he could either return or proceed on the mission. On April 21 the missionaries debated the situation. The first plan was to go to Tahiti by way of the Cape of Good Hope, or if that could not be managed to sail to Sierra Leone, and see if a mission could be commenced there. But the prize was sold for cash, and so this plan failed. Finally Captain Carbonelle, the French captain, agreed with the Portuguese who had purchased his prize vessel, the Postillihio, that he should convey the whole body to Rio Janeiro, Captain Robson and his crew working the ship. On May 8 they embarked, on the very day of the anniversary meeting of the Society that year in London, and on May 9 sailed, leaving behind at Monte Video three of the crew. After a miserable voyage, constantly fighting with contrary winds, they were on June 5 captured by a Portuguese fleet. One of the two records of this voyage which have been printed, thus describes this expe-

rience—the turning-point in the religious history of the expedition :—

'This second captivity was peculiarly trying: some of us ill, others scarcely recovered from the indisposition of Nature's sorrow, with infants so young, compelled to enter open boats on the trackless ocean, some taken to one ship, some to another, while we were scarcely able to ask each other whither we were going, or bid adieu; or if we had even made the inquiry, those who were conveying us were incapable of giving us the information. What in such a state could have reconciled the mind to that which was so opposite to flesh and blood, but the fullest conviction that it was the Lord's will, and that the Judge of all the earth doth right. How evidently did the events of this day speak the mind and will of God. We had been detained by contrary winds, fully three times longer than it was expected. Twice had we arrived near the desired port, and twice been prevented from entering it. If we had been but one day sooner we should have reached the harbour without interruption, and if but one hour later the fleet would have been out of sight. But we were detained till the very day, yea, the very hour, at which the fleet was off this port, that we might arrive near to the very spot whither we had come in the Duff, with the same reasonable expectations and pleasing prospects, and there be again captured. This appeared to us so replete with sovereignty, and to speak so clearly the mind and will of God, that we were constrained to say, "It is the Lord's doing, and marvellous in our eyes," and were ready to conclude that the language of Providence in this mission was the same as to the prophet Ezekiel, "For thou art not sent unto a people of a strange speech, and of an hard language, whose words thou canst not understand, but to the house of Israel"; though I do not believe that the Almighty by this providence stamped either the missionary cause or missionaries with His disapprobation, or that it is sufficient to produce discouragement in those who have the purposes and promises of a faithful God, who hath given us

His assurance, "In due time ye shall reap, if ye faint not[1]."'

Distributed among three vessels of the fleet, the whole party were conveyed to Lisbon, the great majority of the missionaries reasoning, as imperfectly educated men not unnaturally might in such circumstances, that God meant in this way to teach them that it was not His will for them to go to Tahiti. The fleet reached the Rock of Lisbon on September 21. On October 4 and 5, except Captain Robson, who had to stay to settle up his accounts, and Mr. Hughes and Mr. Hill, who could not leave because of the illness of their wives, the missionaries sailed for England, the larger number in the packet Prince of Wales, the rest in the Fortitude. Early in October, after various alarms, owing to the war then raging, they anchored safely in Falmouth Harbour. Mr. and Mrs. Hill, with Captain Robson, reached London on November 12. Mrs. Hughes died at Lisbon on October 27. Mr. Hughes sailed from Lisbon on November 21, was captured by a French privateer on December 5, recaptured by a Guernsey cutter on December 15, and landed at Plymouth on January 21, 1800. Thus ended the second great missionary expedition undertaken by the Society.

The first reference to the disaster in the home records is a minute of a special meeting, dated August 3, 1799, when it was resolved, "That, as in consequence of the capture of the Duff the funds of the Society have suffered very considerably, a subscription be opened for repairing the loss, and that the Directors and other friends present do set down their names with the sums which they mean to subscribe"; which was accordingly done, and the sum of £1173 subscribed.' In the record there is a supplementary list of £321, and as this is the first list in the Society's records of donations to meet an unexpected emergency, it may be of interest to reproduce both donors and their gifts.

[1] *A Visible Display of Divine Providence; or, the Journal of a Captured Missionary.* By William Gregory, p. 215. London, 1800.

Joseph Hardcastle	£100	Brought forward	£751
Robert Cowie	100	William F. Platt	10
Do. for Mr. Cowie of Bengal	21	John Rainier	21
James Neale	100	Thomas Hodson	100
Thomas Haweis	100	William Clarke	50
Joseph Reyner	100	John Townsend	5
William Sims	100	Chris. Sundius	21
Matthew Wilks	20	Henry Cox	25
John Eyre	20	David Cook	20
Henry Boase	50	Andrew Mackie	10
Robert Campbell	10	Robert Curling	50
George Durant	20	Do. for Jesse Curling	100
William Shrubsole	10	Robert Steel	10
	£751		£1173

By Directors since.

George Gaviller	£50	Samuel Favel	£21
David Whitaker	40	Robert Haldane	105
Samuel Yockney	10	John Walcot	20
Thomas Williams	5	William Skinner	20
George Wolff	50		

On August 5 a meeting of Directors was held at St. Paul's Coffee House, a letter drawn up to be sent to Monte Video, immediate steps taken for the financial relief of the missionaries, and an address to the public issued informing them that the loss to the Society would be 'not less than £10,000.' On August 16 the Board received a second and even more painful shock on the arrival in London of tidings that eleven of their missionaries had left Tahiti under circumstances which did them little credit. By the end of October most of the captured missionaries were in London. Although no full record of what took place occurs, it is obvious at once, first, that many of those who had put their hand to this work considered their engagement with the Society to be now at an end; secondly, that many of them as soon as they reached England became clamorous for money. The Examination

Committee had been empowered to deal with them, but on November 12 a special meeting of the Board was held 'to consider what is necessary to be allowed to those missionaries who have returned and do not continue with the Society. The names of the several missionaries who have declined being read, with the sums they have already received, it was resolved that the sum of £40 allowed Mr. Beattie be final.' Then follow similar resolutions, the amounts only varying, respecting Cooper, Fitzgibbon, Gregory, Jones, Levesque (Peter and John), Parry, James Smith, Soddy, and Vardy, closing in five cases with the phrase, 'and that it be final.'

This unhappy incident proved a sharp discipline, and it exerted a healthy influence upon the later course of events. Thirty missionaries began this disastrous voyage, of whom ten were accompanied by their wives. Of these no less than *twenty-three* ceased to have any connection with the Society's work shortly after their return to England; but one of these, the Rev. John Jerard, succeeded the Rev. George Burder as pastor of the Independent Church at Coventry in 1804. Of the remaining seven, two, Clark Bentom and John Mitchell, gave three or four years' service in Canada. Hayward and Charles Wilson did good work in Tahiti; Waters and Youl spent a few years on that island—the former till 1805, the latter till 1807; and James Read passed a long life of valuable labour in South Africa.

The history of the men whom the Duff carried to Tahiti in 1796 enforces similar lessons. By 1800, less than four years after sailing, twenty out of the thirty had proved either unequal or unfaithful to the work, while three had been killed in the mission service. Jefferson and Eyre, Bicknell, Henry, and Nott remained faithful to the work amid all discouragements and trials, and to their labours, especially those of Nott and Jefferson, the final victory in Tahiti was due. This summary of results indicates that the methods of 1796 and 1798 did not quite give the results that were so ardently desired. There must have been

something radically wrong in the method of selection and education which resulted in leaving—after the lapse of only ten years—simply *nine* effective workers out of a company of *sixty*. Experience, thus dearly bought, exerted its due influence, and the records of the Society may be searched in vain for any parallel to this most unsatisfactory beginning.

The capture of the Duff led the Directors energetically to set about communicating with the missionaries left on Tahiti, who had now been there nearly three years without any direct communication with England. An agreement was made with the owners of the Royal Admiral, a vessel engaged in carrying convicts to Port Jackson, to carry out twelve missionaries to reinforce the South Sea Mission. She was to call first at Port Jackson, and then go on to Tahiti and Tongatabu. The original idea had been to strengthen the missions at both of these islands, also the Marquesas, and four of the missionaries were commissioned to open a new mission at the Sandwich Islands. The latter plan had to be abandoned, as the Royal Admiral was unable to proceed to that group of islands. Crook's return to England before the Royal Admiral sailed suspended the Marquesas Mission, and finally only twelve new men embarked. In the Report presented on May 14, 1800, the Directors say, and their words reflect doubtless with accuracy the general opinion at that date:—

'The consideration of the great attention already paid to the introduction of missions into the islands of the South Seas, and the uncertainty we are in as to their eventual success, led us to conclude that it will be prudent to suspend any further proceedings or determinations respecting those regions, till we receive such ample information from thence as may throw light upon our future path. We have complied with what we esteemed our duty, in making an attempt there upon an extensive scale; but as the dispensation of the Gospel in heathen countries is a blessing too high and important to rest on human volitions or exertions, we now think it incumbent on us to wait the

intimations of divine Providence, and to regulate our future proceedings accordingly. On the return of the Royal Admiral, we may hope to receive such comprehensive information from Captain Wilson as will assist our judgments to decide on future measures.'

The capture of the Duff as just narrated, and the disastrous tidings also which came to hand from Tahiti, led to Mr. Bogue's appointment as tutor to the missionary students. His biographer tells us:—

'On another point, also, he differed from some who were ardently attached to the Missionary Society. He entertained higher ideas of the qualifications of missionaries; and while many thought that such men as were to be found in the ranks of the Christian church were fit to be sent to teach the heathen, he considered it necessary to call them out of the ranks, and at once prove and improve them, previously to sending them to the ends of the earth. Some of those who embarked on the second voyage to the South Seas had been allured by the flattering accounts given of the first. But those who quit their native shores from impure and inferior motives, will generally betray the fatal secret before they reach the opposite coast; for a long voyage plucks off masks, and makes fellow-passengers well known to each other. It was therefore manifest, before the Duff had proceeded far on its voyage, that another vessel was needed to fetch back those who ought *not* to go to the heathen. Heaven kindly sent one: it was the Grand Buonaparte French privateer, which overtook the unfit adventurers on the eastern shore of South America, and sent them home again. This seasonable interposition of Providence demands our gratitude, not only for arresting those who might have blasted all the hopes of that harvest which the first labourers have so abundantly reaped, but also for rendering this discovery of the unfitness of some a lesson of wisdom to the Society, which has since taken better care to send none but well qualified men[1].'

In the year 1789, by the advice and with the help of well-

[1] *The Life of David Bogue*, p. 217.

to-do friends, Mr. Bogue had begun at Gosport an academy for training theological students intended for the Independent ministry. Here not a few able ministers came under his influence, notably Dr. Bennett, the father of Sir Risdon Bennett, and John Angell James, the famous minister of Carr's Lane Chapel, Birmingham.

The steps by which this new responsibility came to be placed upon Mr. Bogue were the following. Mr. Haldane, baulked in his purpose of visiting India, soon found other methods of employing his missionary fervour. On February 24, 1800, a letter from him was read to the Board offering £200 towards the starting of a seminary for missionary students. On April 28 a second letter from him was read, offering 'a donation of £500 from him and Mr. Spear of Manchester, if such a plan be adopted as they approve.' The Board at once appointed a committee, consisting of Messrs. Waugh, Wilks, Hardcastle, Durant, Nicol, Haweis, and Eyre, 'to draw up the outline of a plan, and present the same to the Directors.' This committee on May 5, 1800, presented a most instructive report to the Board. It is entered in the old minute-book in the neat and legible handwriting of John Eyre.

'The Committee appointed to consider Mr. Haldane's letter, and to draw up the outline of a plan for missionary instruction, delivered the following report:—

'The Committee appointed to draw up the outline of a plan of a seminary for the instruction of missionaries—on maturely considering the nature of the qualifications which different missions require, and also the various talents which are occasionally necessary in the same mission, and reflecting also on the sum which it would be advisable for the Society to appropriate to this object—are of opinion, that the Society, continuing to act upon an extensive scale, are incompetent, as to their funds, to afford a course of academical instructions beyond a limited number of individuals; and that, with respect to the rest, the present mode of communicating religious improvement, by a Committee of Ministers, is highly advantageous and

ought to be continued. The same principle applies to those accepted missionaries who reside in the country, and whose progress in religious knowledge and devotedness to this peculiar service must be the charge of one or more of those ministers, in their vicinity, who are in connection with the Society.

'The Committee also strongly recommend two things in reference to this description of missionaries.

'(1) That, in general, a year should elapse, from the date of their acceptance to their actual entrance on the work itself, in order that their characters may be more fully ascertained, their minds more enlarged by appropriate instruction, and their stability more satisfactorily proved, or full opportunity given them to change their purpose. It is, however, admitted that particular cases may occur in which missionaries may be so well known and their qualifications so well ascertained as to justify the Directors in sending them out without any limitation of time.

'(2) That they should carry with them some acquaintance with agriculture, or those branches of mechanics which admit of an useful application in uncivilized countries; as it has frequently occurred that those working tradesmen who have offered themselves, although possessed of the knowledge of arts very useful in the extended and refined state of things here, have been entirely unacquainted with the sorts of knowledge adapted to a country altogether rude and barbarous, and which occasion the first movements towards civilization. Such persons, being also unqualified for the higher branches of missionary duty, are unfit to be sent out till they have acquired that degree of agriculture or mechanical knowledge which is here referred to.

'But although a high degree of intellectual improvement cannot be communicated to all the missionaries, and it be admitted that without it many may be of great service in particular branches of duty, yet it is also certain that a proportion of them ought to possess superior talents and more extensive knowledge than has yet been found, with the exception of a few among those who have offered

themselves to our Society, or than can be communicated to them by the present plan, which engages only a small portion of the short space they usually enjoy the advantage of it. A mission to India or any other civilized country requires to be undertaken by men whose understandings have received considerable enlargement by a previous attention for a longer term to the sources of knowledge. And those who are designed for uncivilized nations should contain some among them who are qualified to take a direction and preside in some degree over their brethren. On these accounts the Committee think it would be a prudent and beneficial measure to appropriate out of the funds of the Society an annual sum not exceeding £500, for the purpose of imparting a judicious missionary education to a certain number, whose natural endowments and devotedness of heart point them out as suitable persons to receive this advantage.

'If this suggestion should be adopted, it will be requisite to consider in what way the sum specified can be most usefully employed. And the Committee are decidedly of opinion that it would be inexpedient to purchase or hire, on their own account, any house or building for *this* purpose, as that would unavoidably be connected with an establishment far too expensive for this limited plan. They also think that, on the ground of economy, and in order that the attention of the students may be subject to as little interruption as possible, a situation remote from the Metropolis is to be preferred. They therefore recommend that a suitable instructor in the country may be selected for this purpose, whose attachment to this cause, as well as talents for this service, may be approved by the Directors. And, as it will be extremely desirable that they should all acquire a knowledge of surgery and the medical art, the situation will doubtless be fixed upon with particular reference to this important circumstance.

'It is not the design of the Committee to suggest at this time an accurate plan or system of instruction for these students. That will be a proper subject of consideration

after the measure itself is adopted. They propose therefore to give only their general impressions on this subject.

'The communication of knowledge, and the formation or rather strengthening of good dispositions, will be the leading objects of this institution. With respect to the former, although it be admitted that some acquaintance with the enlarged circle of the sciences in their principles and relations may be requisite, and it may therefore be desirable to acquire at least the knowledge of their rudiments, yet as our design is not to form mathematicians, philosophers, or even linguists, it would be unwise to appropriate a great portion of their limited term to these inquiries.

'All knowledge may perhaps be useful, but not in the same degree; and as it is Scriptural knowledge that is the desirable qualification for a Christian missionary, the direction of their studies will point more directly towards this great object.

'Whether the time allotted them to pursue their studies, and their attention to other subjects, will admit of their acquiring a knowledge of the languages in which the holy Scriptures were written, we do not determine. Our desire is to communicate to them a sound judgment and comprehensive acquaintance with the principles of divine revelation, rather than to give them the talents for criticism, or perplex them with unedifying controversies which have disturbed the peace, without promoting the knowledge, the faith, or the charity of the Christian Church.

'It is, however, not only Christian knowledge in general that they are intended to acquire. They must attend especially to missionary subjects. The lectures delivered to them must have this point continually in view. Their reading and course of study must have this direction. Their whole education must be missionary, and therefore conducted on a plan dissimilar from other seminaries, and even from those where the Christian ministry in this country is the object.

'The communication of Christian and missionary knowledge must be connected with the promotion of similar dispositions in the heart. This is to be the principal point

aimed at in the intended institution. While in other seminaries they are attending to the principles of logic, the rules of composition, the rudiments of language or of science, which are admitted to be useful in the stations which those students are intended to occupy, in ours, the instructions must chiefly refer to the heart, and instead of cherishing the desire of shining in the world by distinguished talents, must aim at subduing every elating thought, and at mortifying the vain propensities of our nature. Our students are to learn how they may be patient and submissive under disappointments, persevering under long discouragements, ready to meet sufferings or even death, if such should be the divine appointment. The education of a missionary is to prepare him for a work in which he must calculate on labour and danger, opposition and reproach. When he leaves his native country and friends, and goes forth to seek the salvation of the untutored heathen, he is to take this for his motto, "I am crucified to the world, and the world is crucified to me," and therefore the great scope and tendency of the instruction he is to receive are to impress upon his heart the self-denying principle, as it relates to temporal things and animates the springs of faith and hope in respect to the future world. Thus he may be expected to unite great activity with great meekness, faith with patience, and at length, we trust, great success with humility and praise.

'This is the outline of the plan which appears to us desirable to be pursued in reference to the instruction of those who may be selected to receive its advantages, and who for the space of two years should be entirely devoted to this object, from which we are encouraged to expect that very beneficial effects will arise, both to the Society itself and to the cause of Christ among the heathen.

'As the execution of this plan, however, will be attended with the expense already mentioned, it will be incumbent to the Directors to adopt reasonable and prudent measures to secure and limit its advantages to the institution which supports it. It must be admitted that, even in sincere minds, there may remain some degree of constitutional

flexibility, under the influence of which some of our students may, on finishing their studies, be induced to prefer that the exercise of their ministry should be in this country rather than among the heathen. In this or other cases which may probably occur, the funds of the Society would be applied perhaps to a useful purpose, but yet in an illegitimate and unauthorized channel, and remote from the design of the in titution. To guard against this deviation and yet to preserve that freedom of mind which it is desirable that a missionary should possess, the Committee recommend that, previously to the admission of a student into their seminary, he should be required to subscribe a solemn declaration that his sincere intention and his sole object in applying for this instruction are that he may devote himself, as a missionary of our Society, to the service of Christ in heathen or other unenlightened countries. And he should come under a legal obligation also to be personally responsible for all the expense to which the Society shall have been subject on his account, provided he refuses or in any way declines to embark and continue for a specified time in the missionary work of our institution.

(Signed)

'JOSEPH HARDCASTLE, THOMAS HAWEIS,
ALEXR. WAUGH, GEORGE DURANT,
JOHN EYRE, MATTW. WILKS.'

At the general meeting held on May 16, 1800, it was resolved 'That a sum of money, not exceeding £500 per annum, be appropriated to the education and general improvement of a certain number of missionaries for the space of two years, subject to such enlargement or diminution in particular cases in respect to time as to the majority of the Directors should be deemed expedient previous to their active entrance upon the work which may be assigned to them.'

At the Board meeting on July 21, 1800, it was resolved:—

1. 'That the sum of £500 which Messrs. Haldane and Spear have the intention of giving to this Institution shall,

agreeably to the desire of Mr. Haldane, be applied, so far as it reaches, to enlarge the number of pupils.

2. 'That the Rev. Mr. Bogue shall be invited to undertake the office of tutor.'

The minutes for August 4, 1800, contain the following:—'A letter from the Rev. Mr. Bogue was read, stating his willingness to accept the office of Tutor to the Missionary Seminary in consequence of the invitation of the Committee. It was received with universal satisfaction.' In this way the chief problem connected with education was settled for some years. And from this time the academy at Gosport sent out more workers to the foreign than to the home field. In describing Mr. Bogue's method of discharging his new duties, Dr. Bennett writes—

'For this purpose, the tutor drew up appropriate courses of lectures; and his oral instructions showed how near missions lay to his heart, and how anxious he was to see such men go forth as Christ might not disdain to own for His "ambassadors to the Gentiles." The duties and dangers of missionaries were exhibited in the happiest way; and the spirit in which they should be met was so pointed out as powerfully to inspire the vital principle of a good missionary. But the chair of the professor in the missionary college was not always furnished with a velvet cushion. The formation of the seminary was the work of a majority only, and a minority is not always able to yield with a good grace. There have not ceased to be men of influence in the Society, who sincerely think that the best education for missionaries is none at all; and the next best is that which consists in teaching them to make wheelbarrows and plant turnips, rendering them useful mechanics and agriculturists rather than good divines or preachers. David Bogue, however, was deeply convinced that Christ, instead of sending His apostles to learn to catch fish, called them away from ships and nets to follow Him, and learn to become fishers of men[1].'

[1] *The Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D.*, p. 220.

In later days, as we shall see, the Society followed various methods, at times supporting institutions of its own, but gradually coming to the wise plan of utilizing as far as possible for their purpose the educational facilities of the best theological colleges of the day.

Many of the ablest early missionaries on the Society's staff were trained under Mr. Bogue. In proof of this it is only needful to recall such names as William Charles Loveless of Madras, Robert Morrison, John Wray, Carl Pacalt of South Africa, John Hands of Bellary, Robert May of Chinsurah, William Milne, William Ellis, Richard Knill, William Reeve, and Charles Mead of South India, David Jones and David Griffiths of Madagascar. Few colleges have so noble a record as the small homely but fruitful seminary, dominated for so many years by the strong personality of its principal. Here and there in the minutes incidents both amusing and instructive crop up in connection with the life there. For example, on July 29, 1805, it was resolved 'that five pounds per annum, in addition to thirty pounds already allowed, be paid for the board and lodging of each student at Gosport, and two guineas per annum be allowed each student for pocket-money.' There were no college buildings at Gosport, and so each student had to find his own lodgings in the town. On July 9, 1804, 'a letter from Mr. Morrison, a student at Gosport, was read and referred to the Rev. Mr. Waugh to prepare an answer on the subject of marriage, with a view that the substance of it be entered on the minutes as a precedent to govern the Directors on any future occasion of a similar nature.' Mr. Waugh lost no time in settling this weighty matter, and on September 10 the fateful minute is duly recorded. It runs: 'It is the opinion of the Directors, that no missionary, while under their care and living in this country, ought to form any connection with a young woman leading to marriage, or raise any expectations in her mind of that estate, without previously consulting and obtaining the explicit approbation of the Directors.'

Turning to another aspect of the early influence of the Society, the student of its history is struck by the deep and widespread interest its operations aroused. Not only in the United Kingdom but in many parts of the Continent of Europe, and on the other side of the wide Atlantic, devout souls had been longing for some such manifestation of God's presence and power among men. In Edinburgh and Glasgow the Society's example led to the formation of organizations which were anxious to co-operate in work in the foreign field. The Moravian missionaries had been at work for many years, and although the great Wesleyan Society had not yet taken that organized form in which it has been known to the last three generations, Wesleyan missionaries had gone forth to America and the West Indies. The broad catholicity of the London Missionary Society movement naturally brought it at once into connection with all these and kindred associations of Christian workers. The early minutes abound in proofs of this. For example, as early as September 29, 1795, resolutions were adopted that a full account of the foundation of the Society should be sent to ministers and friends in Scotland, and to all Foreign Protestant Churches seeking their co-operation. The response from all was prompt and hearty. Most of the local societies in Scotland, organized soon after the foundation of the Missionary Society, became auxiliaries of the London Society; while on the Continent, from places as far apart as Rotterdam and Basle, Frankfort and Norrköping, letters of sympathy and liberal contributions came promptly in response to this appeal. Here are a few extracts from the minutes in proof of this:—

March 14, 1796. 'A very friendly communication having been received some time ago from the Associate Synod of the Burgher denominations in Scotland; Resolved, that an answer be written by the Secretary for Foreign Correspondence expressing the satisfaction which the Society feels in the view of the approbation and concurrence of so respectable a body of Christian ministers.'

May 4, 1796. 'A general address and some information

on the subject of Missions was read from the Missionary Society at Paisley, and it was resolved that the Directors embrace with cordial regard their brethren at Paisley, and are happy to express their delight in associating them with us in the great labour of love.'

May 13, 1796 (General Meeting). 'Resolved, that this Society receives with great satisfaction the letters from our Christian brethren in Scotland, and appoint their Secretary, Mr. Love, to signify to them their cordial assent to the proposal they have made of correspondence, union, and co-operation.'

September 12, 1796. 'A letter from the Aberdeen Missionary Society was read, requesting the correspondence and co-operation of this Society.'

November 28, 1796. 'Dr. Haweis read a letter he had written to Mr. Mortimer, Secretary to the Associated Body of Lutheran Ministers in Germany.'

January 22, 1798. 'A letter from Dr. Vanderkemp to Dr. Haweis was read, giving information that several thousand copies of this Society's address to the Christian people of Holland had been printed, and read with great avidity: and that a Society had been formed at Rotterdam, named the Netherland Missionary Society, the Secretary of which, in due time, would correspond with the Directors.'

February 12, 1798. 'A letter from the Rev. Mr. Mason, Secretary to the Missionary Society at New York, addressed to Mr. Love, was read, communicating the good wishes of that Society, and soliciting such intelligence as might prove useful to them.'

March 11, 1799. 'Three foreign letters were then read, one from Frankfort, with a remittance of £25 8*s.* for the use of the Society; another from the committee at Basle inclosing a note for £133 1*s.* 6*d.*; and another from Baron von Shirnding, offering to send missionaries to Nootka Sound and Africa, and to co-operate cordially with the Society; which were all referred to the Committee of Foreign Correspondence.'

April 29, 1799. 'The Treasurer presented a letter which

he had received from the Missionary Society at Edinburgh with a remittance of £400. A letter from the Rev. Olavus J. Sundelin of Norrköping, in the province of Gotland, in Sweden, was read; and another from the Rev. Melchior Esslinger of Zurich, expressing their approbation of our institution and their good wishes for its success. A letter also from the Committee of Foreign Correspondence to the Society *De fide et Christianismo* in Sweden was read and approved.'

These extracts—and they are only samples of a large number in the early archives of the Society—illustrate the wide area over which the revived interest in Christian missions extended at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The societies in Edinburgh, Basle, Rotterdam, East Friesland, and at the Cape of Good Hope continued for some years not only to contribute considerable sums to the parent Society, but also, as we shall see, especially in South Africa, to support missionaries who were upon the Society's staff. It is to be regretted, from the point of view of the Society, that the multiplication of local and denominational agencies has during the century somewhat contracted the sphere of the Society's influence. At the same time all true friends of Christian missions rejoice in the enormous extension of the work which has been brought about by this development.

These early records are also very instructive in their treatment of finance, and of administrative matters. The method of electing Directors necessarily claimed early attention, and for some time those to go off each year were determined *by lot*. There is no clear proof of what one surmises from scanning the records, that this method was followed in the belief that God would be led more directly to superintend the selection when made in this fashion. Experience, however, proved that the lot occasionally removed the most zealous and useful workers; and after a not very lengthy trial this method was dropped. For example, the first time it was used, in 1797, Mr. Hardcastle was excluded. It is significant that the minute im-

mediately following runs: 'the Treasurer shall always be a Director.'

Finance was relegated to one of the five special committees constituted October 2, 1795. The duties of the committee were defined in a minute passed on October 12. 'The Committee of Funds are to devise proper methods for augmenting and collecting supplies, and depositing them in the hands of the Treasurer; they are to correspond with distant members of their own committee as circumstances may require, assigning particular districts to individuals, and requesting them to preach in any or all of the associated congregations within those districts, whenever it may be expedient to have recourse to general collections.' In this, as in all other matters, the first Directors had to feel their way, and it was many years before anything like modern scientific method was applied to missionary finance. In the work of winning the heathen world for Jesus Christ money is essential; but money is by no means that prime factor which it has sometimes appeared even to energetic and devout helpers of the work. Many men of first-rate business abilities have been from the first connected with the Board of Directors. They have had their full and legitimate influence in the conduct of affairs—sometimes too much influence, in the opinion of competent judges—and they have on the whole exercised it with great energy and wisdom. Yet the experience of the past, no less than the best-developed theory and practice of mission work to-day, enforces the view that a great missionary society cannot be run exactly along the lines of a large wholesale house of business. Visions at times floated before some of the Directors a century ago of a society that could be made at least largely to pay its own way. The missionary ships were to carry out cargoes of missionaries, and recoup the Society through the return cargoes of merchandise. And there was some very tangible basis for such visions. But the Society never for any long period has paid its way, or been free from deficits. The least satisfactory periods in the Society's life have been

those in which the Directors thought more of paying their way than of saving the world, and scrutinized their balance-sheet more closely than the promises and the commands of the Gospel.

In the early days faith, enthusiasm, generous contribution on the part of individuals, desire to share in so novel a form of Christian service, all played their part in swelling the sums available for aggressive work. And not the least significant fact in this connection is that the fathers in every case decided upon the work to be done, settled the new field of missionary enterprise, selected and set apart the workers, accepted, in short, the fullest responsibility, *before* they had fully worked out the financial problem. And history has justified them. When men become fellow-workers with Him whose word is 'the silver and the gold are Mine,' the work to be done, the quality of the workers, the faith, love, and zeal which govern all who co-operate, the motive that lies at the basis of every action—'freely ye have received, freely give'—these are all-important. Having these, God sends the funds; without these, all the money of the world is powerless to save a heathen soul.

Our fathers, between 1795 and 1820, dispatched the Duff, sent Vanderkemp to Africa, began work in India, the West Indies, China, Java, Siberia, Canada, and other parts of the world. They rapidly opened one mission after another, and when the workers had started for the field they turned their attention to the successful organization of finance. In the opinion of many contemporaries and of some of their own sympathizers this was unbusinesslike and Quixotic. But the missions have prospered, and the funds have come. Generous personal subscriptions and the collections made by various bodies of ministers and laymen in different parts of the country were the main sources of revenue. Sometimes the receipts were augmented from quite novel and unexpected quarters. The minute-book for May 12, 1800, contains the following record:—

'Mr. Cook presented the sum of £18 16*s.* from Messrs.

Jones, Witherick, Bennie, Craig, Chapman, and Dunn, seamen on board H. M. Ship Bellerophon, as a donation to the Society, being the first division of their prize money arising from the victory obtained over the French Fleet off Egypt on August 1, 1798, under the command of Lord Nelson. It was also intimated that more would follow. Resolved, that the Directors receive the above donation of the seamen with the most lively sense of their zeal and love to the cause of Christ; and request that Mr. Cook would intimate to them the great cordiality and esteem of the Directors, as soon as possible.'

The Duff cost nearly £5,000, and an equal sum was spent in fitting her out. A considerable part of this cost was recouped by the sum of £4,100 received from the East India Company for the cargo of tea she brought back from China. The conditions were that for a freight of 300 tons the Company was to pay £16 per ton, and half that rate for as many tons above 300 as she should be able to carry. In the accounts for 1799, it is recorded that the Directors received from Mr. Chapman, their printer, £2,000 for the copyright payment on the account of the first voyage of the Duff, he receiving a discount of £46 0*s.* 6*d.* 'for prompt payment.'

As early as 1803, when the Society's income was £3034, the Directors informed the constituents that 'the disbursements of the past year have greatly exceeded its income, and rendered it necessary to dispose of some part of that property which the Directors would have been glad to have retained as the basis of its permanent support.' Seven years after, the income, having in the interval more than doubled, began to decline, and again the statement is made that 'as our missions are multiplied and many more labourers are sent forth, especially in South Africa and the East, the Society will require, notwithstanding the utmost economy in the management of their affairs, an augmented income to meet the constantly-growing expenditure.' From that day to the present there has been a frequent repetition of the same difficulty and the same

appeal, while again and again response has been given in large gifts and in permanent increase. God has never yet failed His servants.

On June 25, 1806, a Home Committee was appointed for the management of all the internal concerns of the Society except those which appertain to the Committee of Examination,' and the list of its duties begins:—

'1. The Committee shall endeavour to attract a more general attention to the interests of the Society on the part of the public by means of a more extensive circulation of our Reports, Transactions, &c.

'2. To promote the enlargement of the Funds by applications to ministers for public collections in town and country, and to individuals who are likely to aid it.

'3. To inspect all accounts of expenditure and address them for payment to the Treasurer.'

Shortly after this, although no minute referring to it stands in the books, the most fruitful method of sustaining and augmenting the funds was adopted by the appeal to systematic and extensive *local* effort. In the *Evangelical Magazine* for January, 1807, there is an article headed 'Missionary Union' which gives the first outline of local auxiliaries. After referring to the work of the Society, and the many new openings before it, the article continues:—

'To accomplish these noble purposes it is proposed to establish Auxiliary Societies both in London and throughout the country, in which many persons, not blessed with affluence, and whose convenience it would not suit to become Annual Subscribers, may unite their efforts, and by small but regular contributions afford a valuable assistance to the Society. This is especially desirable in those places where no collections are regularly made for this institution; and, where such are made, the amount will form a respectable addition to them.

'To these Societies regular communications will be made from the Directors of the Missionary Society, so that at their meetings the state and progress of the work will

be made known. The Transactions, and occasionally other printed accounts, will be sent free of expense. By these means, not only will the Society derive a valuable pecuniary assistance, but the prayers of thousands of God's people will be engaged for the success of missionary efforts; and, it is hoped, the heart of many a pious youth will be warmed with holy zeal to go forth to the heathen with the good news of salvation.'

Ten regulations, 'respectfully offered for the consideration of the religious public,' follow. The chief of these were that a payment of one shilling a quarter should constitute a member, a Committee should be organized, an annual meeting held, and collectors appointed. All communications to be addressed to Rev. George Burder; or to Mr. D. Langton, Assistant Secretary, at J. Hardcastle's, Esq., 9 Old Swan Stairs, London.

In the Report of the annual meeting[1] given in the same volume it is stated, 'Some observations on the utility of forming Auxiliary Societies in aid of the funds were made, recommending a plan which appeared in this magazine in Jan. last; printed copies of which were dispersed among the ministers for the use of their congregations.' In the Report for 1807 stands this paragraph:—

'The plan lately proposed for annually augmenting the funds by means of *Auxiliary Societies* (in which the poor of the flock, by the periodical contribution of small sums, may materially enlarge the funds, and be induced by regular information in their stated meetings to offer up their intercessions for the prosperity of this Institution) the Directors beg leave to recommend to the ministers of Christ who honour us with their presence.'

The plan thus originated slowly but surely extended, and has ever since been the most active and successful method of raising the annual income. The first reference to the actual formation of such an Auxiliary Society that we have been able to trace occurs at the end of the Report for 1807 in a list of 'Sums received from June 1 to

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1807, p. 282.

July 1, 1807,' and it runs, 'Auxiliary Society at Rev. Mr. Roby's, Manchester, £11 2*s*.' In the list at the end of the Report for 1808 we find under London, 'Auxiliary Society, Fetter Lane, £35 9*s*. 6*d*. Ditto Wells St. Hackney, £15 11*s*. 2*d*.'; and under 'the Counties of Great Britain and Ireland,' 'Auxiliary Society, Manchester, £11 2*s*. Do. Reading, £6 6*s*. 6*d*.' In the supplementary list at the end of the same Report is, 'Assistant Missionary Society at Cambridge, £8 4*s*.' The Report for 1809 contains a longer list—Cambridge, Colchester, Fetter Lane, Hackney, Hope Chapel, Hackney, Peckham, Reading, South Molton, and Walthamstow. The Report for 1812 contains these words: 'The ministers of the Gospel, both in town and country, are respectfully requested to assist by public collections, by the formation of Auxiliary Societies in their respective congregations or neighbourhood, and above all by employing their friendly influence in procuring annual subscriptions.' In the Report for 1814, only seven years after the adoption of this new method, the Directors state:—

'To the Auxiliary Societies, both in town and country, the thanks of this meeting are especially due. The addition made to their number, and to their efficiency, during the past year has been very great; we cannot specify them, but those of Bristol and the West Riding of Yorkshire have been eminently productive; nor have those of several smaller districts, towns, and particular congregations been less meritorious. The female friends in the metropolis, at Tottenham Court Chapel, at the Tabernacle, at Hoxton, at Surrey Chapel (and at other places, equal in zeal though not in numbers) have done worthily, and have shown the world what great and good effects may be expected from the exertions and influence of pious females.'

The first statement of account printed by the Society stands at the end of the Report for 1796, and is as follows:—

Dr.	£	s.	d.
July 1, 1796. To Subscriptions and Donations to the 30th of June	5491	3	6
By Public Collections, and Persons without Signatures, &c.	5267	11	0½
To Cash, received for the Sale of the First Volume of Missionary Sermons	250	0	0
To ½ Year's Dividend on £3000 3 per cents. £45			
To do. £1500 4 per cents. £30			
To do. £1000 5 per cents. £25	100	0	0
	£11088	14	6½[1]

Cr.	£	s.	d.
July 1, 1796. By Cash for purchase of £10,500 3 per cent. Consols at different times	7124	7	6
Do. do. of £3000 4 per cents.	2518	5	0
Do. do. £1000 5 per cents.	1010	0	0
Do. for Sundry Disbursements for Stationary, Printing, &c.	177	8	5
	£10830	0	11
Balance in hands of Treasurer	258	13	7½
	£11088	14	6½

Besides the above Balance of £258 13*s.* 7½*d.* the Treasurer has in his hands the engagement of the Rev. Dr. Haweis for £500, payable on the equipment of the first six Missionaries for the South Seas.

The account for the year ending June 1, 1805, that is, at the end of ten year's work, is as follows :—

Dr.	£	s.	d.
June 1, 1804. To Balance	100	16	5
To Collections, Donations, Subscriptions, &c., London and Vicinity	1977	17	4
Do. Country	1818	11	11
Legacies	499	5	9
To £3537 10*s.* 4*d.* 4 per cents. sold	2607	16	0
To do. £3300 5 per cents. sold	3300	0	0
To one Year's Dividend on £1600, 3 per cent. Consols	480	0	0
Ditto on £3300, 5 per cent.	165	0	0
Half Year's do. on £9007 10*s.* 4*d.*, 4 per cent. Consols	180	15	0
Do. do. £5500 do.	110	0	0
Received from Sierra Leone Co.	8	7	3
	£11248	10	7[1]

Cr.	£	s.	d.
By Disbursements	5690	16	8
By Purchase of £3700 5 per cent. Navy	3305	6	0
By ditto of three Exchequer Bills	2001	17	6
Balance in Treasurer's hands	252	9	11
	£11248	10	7

[1] These figures are printed exactly as they stand in the Report. It is curious to observe that they do not cast up correctly.

The disbursements, amounting to £5,690 16*s.* 8*d.*, are accounted for as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
East India and Ceylon Missions . . .	313	17	6
Missions to Newfoundland, Quebec, and New Carlisle	204	16	3
Missions to the South of Africa . . .	2541	3	5
Disbursements for Otaheite	271	11	1
Mission to Surat—Outfit, passage, &c. . .	1347	0	0
Gosport Seminary	312	17	0

The rest is home expenditure, only two items of which fall under the heading of salaries:—

'Mr. David Langton, Under-Secretary, his salary, £42.

'Mr. Thomas Lee, Collector, his percentage on £840 collected by him £42.'

The financial views of the founders of the Society, and the directions in which these were compulsorily modified by the pressure of work and experience, are admirably set forth in the Report for 1818:—

'There is a diminution in the Income of the Society, so far as it arises from Annual Subscriptions and other Voluntary Contributions for the year just expired, when compared with that of the preceding year; and a still greater defalcation in the same source of supply, when compared with the proceeds of the year, ending April 1, 1816. That such would be one of the results of the serious distresses which have prevailed during the last two years, through the country at large, it was natural to expect; and it leads the Directors as confidently to look for the return of former abounding liberality, in proportion as the pressure which has restrained it is removed.

'It was an expectation formed by the founders of the Society, and long cherished by its Directors, and also one which appeared so reasonable, that nothing but contradictory experience could have weakened it—that the expences of our Missionary settlements, and especially of those formed in countries where a considerable population is found, would be merely temporary; and that a few years would, at least, render the several stations self-supported.

if not contributory to the expences of spreading the Gospel embraced by themselves, among their kindred heathen. Thus, it was presumed, that the Funds, disengaged from the earlier stations, would be applicable to the formation of new ones; and an unlimited progress in the Society's operations be provided for, without any considerable progressive augmentation of income. But this hope has not been realized in the case of any mission yet undertaken by the Society. On the contrary it is found, not only that the Missionaries derive little or no support from the places in which they reside, but that their claims on the Society augment in proportion as their families enlarge. It may also be observed (as it stands in near relation to the subject) that the families of the Missionaries are occasioning further and very serious demands on the Funds of the Society, which are urged upon the Directors with considerable importunity, not merely by various Missionaries abroad, but by their friends at home; and which, if met, even to a limited extent, will, from the large and increasing number of those to whom they refer, become a heavy and growing charge upon them.

'These circumstances afford weighty points of consideration to the members of the Society at large; and they impose upon the Directors the necessity of distinguishing, in their estimates of the expences and income of the Institution, between those charges which, arising from the missions already established, must be considered as *permanent*, and those which, depending on the undertaking of new missions, may be regarded as *conditional* or *contingent*. The charges of the first class, while they are peremptory, as having the force of positive engagements, to which all the resources of the Society are pledged, are already of a very great amount; and they will be augmented every year by each new mission, in which expences of the latter class are incurred. Indeed, it may be stated, as a point not to be viewed with indifference, that, added to the cost of the education of the Students already engaged, and the charges of management (which must also be considered

of the same class) the actual amount of this division in the expenditure of the Society, during the last year, amounts to three-fourths of its revenues from ordinary sources. It follows, therefore, that limitations are approaching, and that not slowly, to the extension of the Society's operations, which will ill comport with the enlarged and benevolent hopes and expectations of its members; or that the reserved Funds, which afford solidity to the system, must be progressively absorbed, unless the growing disproportion be checked by a decrease in the expenditure of the existing missions, or by a renewed and progressive advance in the income of the Society.

'It will be the duty of the Directors to do everything in their power consistently to economize, as well as enlarge the Funds; but in the latter of these labours, especially, they must chiefly rely, in due dependence on Divine Providence, on the zeal and energy of their Christian brethren through the United Kingdom, by whom the Institution has been founded, and is supported. And it is in order to shew to their constituents in every part of the country, more clearly than they would most probably otherwise apprehend it, the need which really exists, not merely for the continuance, but the augmentation of liberality, that this view of the financial prospects of the Society has been given by the Directors; judging that, as their close inspection of its affairs causes them to foresee the advancing evil, it is their duty to give timely notice of it to the members at large, in order that, by their zealous efforts in supporting the Funds, they may counteract its silent though certain operation. . . .

'Having recited the proceedings of this Society in the great work of evangelizing the heathen, we cannot refrain from expressing our unfeigned pleasure in witnessing the progress and success of other Societies in our own country, and abroad; we perceive with delight the zeal with which they are animated, the liberality with which they are supported, and the blessed effects which have already attended their labours. The great object which for many ages and

generations seemed to be unnoticed, or was thought unattainable, has now taken full possession of the minds of our fellow Christians, of almost all denominations, and we hope will become a kind of national—of universal concern. We cannot, therefore, but indulge the hope, that the glorious season, long predicted, is at hand, when the name of Jesus shall be exalted in every land and by every tongue.

'Whilst the Directors reflect with pleasure on the extent to which the efforts of the Society have been carried, and on the continuance of that efficient support which has been derived from the annual subscribers, from numerous congregations, and the auxiliary societies in town and country, to whom we most thankfully make our acknowledgments, we beg leave to remind our friends, that what has already been achieved bears no proportion, or at most a very small proportion, to the crying necessities of a perishing world.'

It was at the annual meeting at which these words were first read, on May 14, 1818, that the resolution which changed the title of the Society was proposed and carried; viz. 'That the title of this Society be in future The Missionary Society, usually called the London Missionary Society.'

The table showing the annual income of the Society from year to year, and printed in the Appendix to Volume II of this history, deserves careful study. The first five years were experimental and abnormal. But in 1801 the General Purposes Fund assumed a settled form, and for that year it amounted to only £1,788. Since then it has slowly and steadily increased, and for the year ending March 31, 1895, amounted to £73,377. Calculated to the same date the *total* sum raised by the Society's friends towards the evangelization of the world has been £5,618,123; and in addition to this the native churches, together with their friends and helpers abroad, have raised a further sum of £981,752.

In this connection it may be well to note how admirably the Society was served by its early officials and by the many ministers and laymen of the first rank who gave so freely

of their time and effort to its concerns. The first treasurer, Mr. Joseph Hardcastle, held office from his election in 1795 until just prior to his death in 1817. He was the *beau ideal* of a great city merchant. Sprung from a good Yorkshire stock, he achieved wealth by his business energy, maintaining a spotless record for character and integrity. Early in life he took an active interest in the abolition of the slave trade and the founding of the Sierra Leone Company, and during his closing years he was largely instrumental in securing that the new charter of the East India Company gave all missionaries free access to India. The Society owes an incalculable debt to his interest, energy, and guiding wisdom during its first twenty years' work. For many years all its business meetings were held on his premises at Old Swan Stairs.

When the Society was founded in 1795, Mr. Hardcastle's business house was in Duck's-foot Lane[1], and occasionally the Directors met there. During 1800 the great majority of the meetings were held in St. Paul's Coffee House, where on May 10, 1799, the Religious Tract Society was founded. But in 1801 Mr. Hardcastle, who was in partnership with Mr. Reyner, moved to No. 9, Old Swan Stairs. This building is still (1899) standing, and is in the arrangement of the interior much as it was then. The minute-book for November 16, 1801, contains this entry:—

'The kind proposal of the Treasurer and his partner to accommodate the Society with the use of a room at his house for the sittings of the Directors having been taken into consideration, it was

'Resolved, that it be occupied, and that the thanks of the Meeting be given to Messrs. Hardcastle and Reyner for their generous offer.

'Resolved, that the next meeting of Directors be held at No. 9, Old Swan Stairs, and that they be summoned to meet on Monday next.'

[1] More correctly Duke's-foot Lane, so called because centuries ago it led to the house of a Duke in Thames Street.

As ordered by the above minute the first meeting on Mr. Hardcastle's premises was held November 23, 1801. From that date until the year 1814 the Directors' meetings were regularly held at No. 9, Old Swan Stairs.

In a letter to his son, dated 'Hatcham, Sept. 8, 1801,' Mr. Hardcastle writes :—

'We have succeeded, much to our satisfaction, in procuring very commodious premises at the water-side, close by Old Swan Stairs, a little above London Bridge. The counting-house looks directly upon the river, and, I believe, when you see it, you will consider it to be extremely pleasant.'

A large room on the first floor still exists, evidently without having undergone any considerable structural alteration, and there is very good reason to believe that this is the identical apartment in which for fourteen years the Directors' meetings were held, in which the Bible Society was born, and where also the meetings of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society were held[1]. In 1814 the growing necessities of the Society and the arrival of missionary curios, especially from the South Seas, compelled the Directors to seek larger accommodation. They removed to 'a set of rooms in Old Jewry, near Cheapside ; being the second story of that spacious building, late in the occupation of the London Institution, and formerly residence of the Lord Mayors of the City. These rooms, nine in number, are well adapted to their intended purpose[2].' The first meeting of the Directors in their new and larger home at No. 8, Old Jewry, appears to have been held on August 29, 1814. At that meeting a letter of thanks to Mr. Hardcastle was adopted and recorded on the minutes, from which we quote the opening sentences :—

[1] See an interesting paper, fully illustrated, by Mr. Henry Morris in the *Sunday at Home* for March, 1896, in which the evidence for the identity of this room is clearly set forth. (It has since been re-issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society as a pamphlet with the title, *A Memorable Room.*

[2] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1814, p. 406.

'London, August 29, 1814.

'SIR,

'The Directors of the Missionary Society, having thought it expedient to engage some rooms in which the curiosities sent by our missionaries may be deposited, and judging that the apartments being centrally situated will be convenient for the meeting of the Directors in future, beg leave to take this opportunity of tendering to you their most sincere and cordial thanks for the kindness and generosity with which you have favoured the Society for many years past, by accommodating them with the use of your rooms at Old Swan Stairs, and for the refreshments perpetually offered to the Directors at their meeting there. The Directors, Sir, feel obligations which they are absolutely incapable of expressing; it is impossible for them to find any words adequate to their grateful sentiments; they can only entreat you to accept this sincere declaration of their gratitude, accompanied with wishes equally sincere and cordial, that you may continue to enjoy, in the fullest measure, the rich blessings of that glorious Gospel which you have long promoted by your counsel, your example, your fortune, and the friendly accommodation afforded to the Missionary Society.'

From the letter of acknowledgment sent by Mr. Hardcastle we take one sentence:—

'In resigning a pleasure and an honour which I have so highly valued and so long enjoyed, I shall cherish, to the close of my life on earth, the recollection that these humble apartments have been consecrated by the associations of many eminent servants of God for sacred consultations: by the various measures of Christian benevolence which originated there; by the elevated devotion which has ascended thence to heaven; and by the condescending presence of Christ, which I believe has been in the midst of you.'

Compelled by failing health to resign his office, Mr. Hardcastle was succeeded by his friend and then partner William Alers Hankey, who held the post from 1816 to 1832. The

first two Secretaries were the Rev. John Love, 1795–1800, who retired from office on his return to Scotland; and William Shrubsole of the Bank of England, who resigned in 1798. From 1798–1800 John Eyre acted as Home Secretary; and from 1800 to 1803 combined with this the post of Foreign Secretary also. In 1803 the Rev. George Burder became Secretary, a post which he retained and which he filled with great skill and power until 1827. The first paid official was Thomas Lee, the collector, whose name appears in the Report for 1799. Mr. David Langton was appointed paid Under-Secretary in November, 1802. In 1811 Samuel Tracy became the first salaried Home Secretary, retiring in 1816, to be succeeded by the Rev. John Arundel, who discharged the duties from 1819 to 1846. When Mr. Burder relinquished the Foreign Secretaryship in 1827, he was followed by William Orme, 1828–1830, and he in turn was succeeded by a man who had served prominently in the foreign mission-field, William Ellis, 1833–1841. These men, of course, differed greatly in gifts and capacity, though they were more nearly alike in zeal for and enthusiasm on behalf of the Gospel. But a Society was singularly fortunate which could number in its first list of officials such men as Joseph Hardcastle, William Hankey, John Eyre, and George Burder.

Another matter which fills considerable space in the early records was a scheme for establishing and maintaining evangelistic work in France. The stupendous events which had so recently transpired in that country had deeply stirred the hearts of evangelical Christians in England. In the Report for 1800 the motives which impelled our fathers to contemplate this new department of work are very clearly expressed:—

'The entire abolition of papal authority in France and its appendages, the overthrow of that system of superstition, which, in the judgment of Protestants, constituted the corruptions of Christianity, and formed the great apostacy from it, are events of transcendent importance to the cause of religion: the principles of infidelity which were originally

produced out of that system have been permitted in a great degree to be instrumental in its overthrow, and these fatal and destructive principles, it is supposed, have obtained in those countries a prevalence almost universal. It is however necessary to recollect that repeated declarations and assurances have been given by those who exercise the powers of government in France, that the freedom of religious professions will be respected; and this principle is engrafted also on their existing constitution. We contemplate therefore this situation of things as a providential arrangement, by which a fair and inviting opportunity is afforded for the exertion of Christian zeal and benevolence, with the prospect of abundant success.'

The widespread interest in the religious needs of the Continent at this time had also been deepened in different parts of the kingdom by the Christian work which had been carried on among the considerable number of French and Dutch prisoners of war then immured in English prisons. The Report for 1801 specially refers to this service:—

'The number of French and Dutch prisoners in different parts of the kingdom is very great; that it may be presumed they stand much in need of religious instruction; and that it would be a work of facility and importance to print and distribute suitable tracts among them. In consequence of this representation, two hundred pounds have been appropriated to this object; a committee has been appointed to select suitable tracts, and also to take measures that they may be duly distributed; and, by the exertions of our reverend brethren and friends at Plymouth, Portsmouth, Bristol, Liverpool, and Sherness; of Mr. Morris late of Newport Pagnel, and Mr. Pewtress, of London, upwards of thirty thousand tracts, in the French and Dutch language, together with some Testaments and Bibles, have been distributed among 23,000 prisoners of those two nations.'

Preaching and direct mission-work not being practicable in the existing political relations of France and Great

Britain in the early years of the century, the thoughts of the Directors naturally turned to the press. Mr. Bogue, in this as in so many of the early movements of the Society, taking the initiative, suggested the preparation of an edition of the New Testament in French, with a very carefully written special preface, 'adapted to the actual state of religion in those countries, and tending to remove the misapprehensions of those who have no deep-rooted prejudice against Christianity itself, but have not learnt to distinguish its own pure and holy nature from the appendages by which it has been disfigured; and also to vindicate this treasure of heavenly wisdom from the charges of infidels, and rescue it from the unfounded aspersions of its ignorant or depraved adversaries.

On May 17, 1802, the Board appointed Dr. Haweis, Mr. Bogue, Mr. Hardcastle, and Mr. Alers a deputation to visit France and ascertain what steps could most advantageously be taken to forward this work. It was decided to issue a large edition in French of the New Testament, with the preface above referred to, which had been written at the request of the Directors by Mr. Bogue. Dr. Haweis, having broken his arm by a fall from his horse, was unable to visit France, and finally at the end of September Messrs. Bogue, Wilks, and Hardcastle started for Paris. 'The booksellers' shops were searched for some days before a single copy of the Scriptures could be found.' They conversed with friends, concerted such measures as were possible under the circumstances, and returned more deeply impressed than ever with a sense of the darkness and the needs of France. Their elaborate report is entered on the minutes for October 25, 1802, and the chief conclusion is almost as pertinent to-day as then: 'The Bible and an evangelical ministry are the principal things requisite to promote the cause of the Redeemer in that country.' The Directors based upon this report the following resolutions:—

1. That 2,000 copies of the New Testament, with Mr. Bogue's special preface, be printed and circulated in France, at a cost of about £115.

2. That the following be printed and sold : 5,000 Bibles and Testaments, cost about £625; 5,000 Watts' First Catechism, £8; 5,000 Watts' Second Catechism, £20; 5,000 Assembly's Catechism, £25; 4,000 Testaments in Italian and 2,000 Bogue's Preface in ditto, £70: in all an expenditure of £848.

3. That a Committee be formed to consider the best means of circulating a periodical like the *Evangelical Magazine* in France.

4. That an address to the Protestants of France be issued.

5. That Rev. Samuel Tracy be appointed agent of the Society in Paris for six months to come.

6. That an application be made for six suitable persons to be sent over to England to receive suitable instructions under the patronage of this Society with a view to the exercise of the Protestant Ministry in France.

These measures were pushed forward as actively as possible. The Report for 1803 states that at Besançon nearly 12,000 persons signed an application for Protestant ministers; and at Arras nearly as many. This effort had been rendered possible by the Peace of Amiens, which, in 1802, terminated the war which had raged between England and France since 1793, but early in 1803 the ambition of Napoleon renewed the struggle, and greatly hindered all such works of beneficence in France itself as those planned by the Directors. But it was not allowed to drop, and in the early records there are many references to the distribution of the Word of God and of religious literature in both France and Italy.

The missionary zeal, so far from checking home work, became a powerful stimulus to energy and labour in many new fields. Proof of this is found in the following passage from the Report for 1798:—

'Nor have we been destitute of some tokens of divine approbation at home, in the spirit of prayer and zeal diffused among our congregations. A host of faithful labourers have arisen from those who form the Missionary Society, and are going forth continually in their several neighbourhoods,

preaching the Gospel to the poor, and teaching their children, who, through the neglect of others or their own carelessness and insensibility, have hitherto been destitute of the means of instruction. We cannot help observing with thankfulness that many of the most vigorous steps which have lately been pursued for spreading the Gospel at home, originated from this Society. In lamenting our past neglect of our heathen brethren, we have felt more the value of souls than we ever did before. In amending this error we have looked around us at home, and have found that much is to be done everywhere; that the pursuit of one object, so far from interfering with the other, excites greater zeal, quickens greater diligence, and causes us to strive more abundantly for the salvation of all.'

The French prisoners, meanwhile, were not forgotten. The preparation and publication of the tracts for this purpose was one of the earliest missionary works undertaken by the Religious Tract Society, which had been founded in 1799. As early as 1800 cordial co-operation in missionary work with the Missionary Society began—a co-operation even closer and stronger to-day.

One of these developments of home work in the early years of the century was fraught with important consequences. Among the students sent to Mr. Bogue at Gosport in 1802 was Joseph Samuel Christian Fredric Frey, a German Jew, who had come from Berlin and who had been baptized in 1798. He was intended for work in South Africa, but at his own request was appointed to labour among the Jews in London. He began in 1805 by giving lectures on the Old Testament, and preaching, first at Jewry Street Chapel, and then at Sion Chapel. On February 24, 1806, a series of thirteen resolutions bearing upon this work were adopted by the Board. The first runs, 'The Missionary Society, taking into serious consideration the duty of Christians in general, and especially of themselves, as a Society united for the purpose of spreading the Gospel, to promote by all due means the conversion of the Jews to the Faith of Christ Jesus:—will in dependence on Divine

assistance devote to it a greater degree of attention.' The ninth was 'that a plan be formed for visiting, instructing, and relieving such sick persons among the Jews as may be inclined to apply.'

For a time matters connected with this work appeared to go smoothly, but the minutes soon present evidence that the Jews were more eager to secure monetary relief than they were either to listen to Mr. Frey's lectures, or to read the special catechism which had been prepared for their instruction. On March 23, 1807, it was resolved 'that as many difficulties and inconveniences have been felt by the Directors in affording pecuniary aid to Jews, it be referred to the committee for Jewish affairs to consider under what principle it will be safe, suitable, and honourable for this Society to act in future with regard to applications for pecuniary assistance which may be made by Jews professing an attachment to the Christian religion.' This led to considerable discussion, and finally on May 7, 1807, it was resolved 'that in future the funds of this Society shall not be applied to the support of destitute Jews, unless in the opinion of the committee, after due inquiry, the persons applying appear to have embraced the Christian faith, or are sincerely desirous of obtaining instruction therein.' On November 9 a scheme was drawn up for what was to be practically a new Society to work among the Jews. This was approved, and 'the chapel in Artillery Street' was secured for Mr. Frey's use. On April 27, 1808, a motion was made 'that the Jewish Mission be entirely separated from the Missionary Society,' consideration of which was finally postponed for three months.

It is evident that considerable divergence of view by this time existed between Mr. Frey on the one hand and the Directors on the other, as to the right method of working the mission to the Jews. On December 19, 1808, the Board reaffirmed its strong desire to carry on Christian work among the Jews, but went on to say 'they are of opinion that the proposition submitted by Mr. Frey, which respects the taking of poor children from their parents in

order to maintain them in a charity school, and to educate them as Christians, is ineligible.' At the same meeting it was resolved to raise Mr. Frey's salary to £200 per annum. In a letter dated January 10, 1809, and entered upon the minutes under January 23, Mr. Frey resigned his connection with the Society, and shortly afterwards the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews was formed, and has been worked until the present time upon an independent basis.

The want of immediate and evident success in the South Sea Mission was a serious source of anxiety to the Directors during 1800, 1801, and the next ten years. 'Patience and perseverance,' they remark in the opening sentence of the Report, read May 13, 1801, 'are essential ingredients in the missionary character. Whoever attempts to spread the knowledge of Christ among barbarous and idolatrous nations must labour with indefatigable zeal, and expect to encounter numerous difficulties.' During these years they tested the truth of these words in their application to the work at home. The love of some waxed cold; impatient souls were daunted by the absence of immediate and unquestioned successes; in a sense also the Directors were wounded in the house of their friends. The lofty ideal of Christian union which the Society had attempted to realize—and not wholly without success—has been proved by the experience of the century to be very far even yet from anything like full realization. Missionary agencies began to multiply, and at this, in so far as they furthered the spread of the Gospel among the heathen, the friends of the Society rejoiced in the past, as their sons do to-day. Still the historian may be allowed to indulge his regret that closer union, at any rate in the vast work of foreign missions, has not proved possible. In 1801 there sprang into being the great Society which has in many respects outstripped all her sisters, both elder and younger—the Church Missionary Society. The first reference to it in the Society's archives occurs in the Report for 1801, already quoted:—

'Among other acceptable proofs of an increasing zeal for the introduction of our Saviour's kingdom among the heathen, we notice with satisfaction the association which has lately been formed by several pious and respectable clergymen and other eminent members of the Church of England for promoting that object. These worthy characters being of opinion that their exertions as a separate and distinct society might be more beneficial than by an union with ours (which comprehends other denominations as well as members of the establishment), have accordingly formed a Missionary Institution, whose operations are intended to be more especially directed toward the continent of Asia and Africa; our most ardent prayers shall be offered for a distinguished benediction on their zealous endeavours, and we trust we shall have to unite our thankfulness and joy on account of their abundant success.'

To complete this survey of the home administration of the first five and twenty years, we must briefly glance at the important decisions taken which led to active mission work in so many parts of the world, and at the men who were chiefly concerned in making these decisions effective.

It was only in the course of years that the management of this great and ever-growing work assumed carefully and fully organized form. At first the whole Board of Directors considered these questions, the way in which they were dealt with depending largely upon the character and influence of the leading man or men interested in the particular question under discussion. Gradually the necessary subdivision into committees for special fields came to pass. At the meeting on May 21, 1810, Mr. Hardcastle laid on the table 'a plan for regulating the committees,' and on May 28 the foreign work was arranged as under:—

1. The missions in India to be managed by a committee of four, each of them to correspond with specific stations, viz. Mr. Cowie with Vizagapatam and Madras; Mr. Shrubsole with the Birman (*sic*) and Surat Missions;

Mr. Steinkopff with the German missionaries in Ceylon; Mr. Bogue with the China Mission.

2. Africa. A committee of two to manage these missions. Mr. Hardcastle, the Cape Directors, Dr. Vanderkemp, and brethren at Bethelsdorp, and the Great Namacquas; Mr. R. Steven, the Orange River and Stellenbosch.

3. The West Indies. A committee of three. Rev. G. Collison to correspond with Demerara; Mr. Waugh with Trinidad; Mr. Josiah Roberts with Tobago.

4. Otaheite, &c. Rev. Matthew Wilks and Mr. W. Shrubsole.

5. New Brunswick, &c. Rev. J. Humphrys.

Resolved, that the following letter be addressed to each of the Directors mentioned.

'DEAR SIR,

With a view to secure a regularity in our future correspondence with the several missionaries on a plan which may not press too much on the convenience of any of the Directors, it is proposed that each station, or in some cases two stations, shall be committed to the special care and superintendence of one Director who shall be inclined to undertake it with a fixed and serious attention to correspond therewith, with constancy and regularity, managing and giving directions for the management of all concerns relating thereto previously approved by the Board of Directors, and considering himself under a sacred and solemn responsibility as to the discharge of his duty in relation to this object.'

On May 27, 1816, the same foreign committees were appointed, but all had grown larger, No. 1 having ten; No. 2, nine; Nos. 3 and 5 amalgamated, nine; and No. 4, twelve.

After the annual meeting in 1817, on May 26, the Board still further elaborated the standing orders and sub-committees Space forbids the reproduction here of a scheme which with but comparatively little modification has continued in force through the century. The chief points

were that the Board appointed four missionary and four home standing committees. Each Director to be on at least one mission committee; each committee to keep minutes and report duly to the Board. The Mission Committees were Eastern, comprising China, India, Malacca, and Ceylon, thirteen members; Western, comprising South Seas, West Indies, and America, thirteen members; Southern, comprising Africa, Madagascar, and the Isle of France, twelve members; Northern, comprising Siberia, Malta, Continent and Home Lascars. The Home Committees were—Examination, all ministerial Directors in or near London, and country ministers when passing through; Equipment, six members; Auditors, four members; and Funds, 'whatever relates to the promotion of the funds,' eight members.

Turning now to the missionary work, some of which preceded but the greater portion of which succeeded this organization of superintendence, it has already been noted that the imagination, the affection, and the executive energy of the Society were at first very largely centred in the South Seas. The powerful personality of Dr. Haweis, strengthened by his generous contributions, controlled this movement. But not even in his case did these romantic and fascinating islands of the sea exhaust missionary faith and enthusiasm. Some very influential members of the Society had been in favour from the first of strenuous effort to lay hold upon the vast millions of India and China. One inevitable accompaniment, further, of such an outburst of spiritual enthusiasm as that in which the Society was born was the advocacy by ardent friends of almost every kind of possible and impossible missionary enterprise. It will vivify our conception of the vigorous infancy and youth of the Society if we briefly trace these various movements from the home centre.

On September 24, 1795, during the organization of the Society, the great expedition to Tahiti was enthusiastically carried. The minutes for October 5, 1795, state that 'a memorial on the subject of an African Mission was read

by Mr. Haweis.' At the anniversary meeting on May 13, 1796, 'Mr. Bogue presented a memoir on a Mission to Madagascar by Captain Byrn (*sic*); another by himself on a Mission to Surat, on the Malabar coast; another on a Mission to the West India Islands; and the Reverend Mr. Love presented a memoir on a Mission to the North Shore of the Caspian Sea.' It was resolved that these all be referred to the Directors, with power to carry them or any of them into effect if they think proper. On September 19, 1796, it was resolved 'that a mission to the Foulah country appears to be most expedient and practicable.' By the Directors present at the same meeting Mr. Burder was requested 'to obtain information respecting the existence and circumstances of the Welsh Indians, supposed to dwell in North America,' with a view to mission-work among them. Mr. Burder's search resulted in a curious paper inserted in the *Evangelical Magazine* for 1796, in which he indicates that evidence exists for the belief that a Welsh prince crossed to America in the eleventh century 'with a numerous train of followers,' and that his descendants, still speaking Welsh, were to be found among the Choctaw Indians on the Mississippi and Missouri. Mr. Burder thought that when fuller tidings of these people were obtained, 'a host of zealous ministers of Christ in Wales would gladly undertake mission-work among them. The information never was forthcoming, and the Welsh Indians turned out a myth.' Towards the close of 1796 India greatly exercised the minds of the Directors, and the steps that were taken have been described on pages 54–56. On June 12, 1797, the Directors resolved 'that it appears extremely desirable that two missionaries should be sent to India, as speedily as opportunities offer, or conveyance can be obtained in a Danish or American ship; and that Serampore on the Ganges appears to be the most proper place for their disembarkation.' They also resolved that two missionaries should be sent to 'Quebec or any other part of Canada.'

Upon the minutes for June 26, 1797, we read 'that

Mr. Forsyth be accepted as a missionary for India.' This minute begins the great work of the Society in India. We shall necessarily refer again to Mr. Forsyth when we come to trace his work. He is pre-eminently one of those of whom we would fain know much more. Unfortunately, the records of his work are very imperfect. It is, however, both curious and suggestive that the first missionary sent by the Society to the millions of India should also have been both able and willing to maintain himself. On the threshold of the second century of the Society's work the conviction deepens that if hundreds of those Christian people who are not compelled to work for their living, and who are not nearly so much needed in this favoured land as they are in India, would go forth, as Nathaniel Forsyth did, and make India their home, and try to create there a Christian atmosphere and to live helpful Christian lives, the coming of the kingdom of God in that vast dependency of the British Crown would be greatly hastened.

On July 24, 1797, another landmark was set up. 'The Directors being perfectly satisfied with the character, abilities, and missionary spirit of Dr. Vanderkemp at Dordrecht, do unanimously and cordially resolve that he be accepted as a missionary.' Towards the close of 1797 the condition of Jamaica was such as to induce the Board to take active steps towards a mission for that island. Some correspondence passed with Dr. Coke of the Wesleyan Church, who appeared to think that his Church had an exclusive right to mission-work in that island. The Directors expressly state in reply their view, that there was ample room in Jamaica for all the workers who could be sent. and on November 27, 1797, it was resolved to send out four missionaries as soon as possible; but it was many years before the first missionaries from the London Missionary Society were able to begin work there. On the same date it was decided to send a mission to Hindostan, the missionaries to land at Tranquebar.

Under the stimulus of the return of the Duff in July, 1798, renewed activity in undertaking new work set in.

On February 18, 1799, a committee, consisting of Hardcastle, Bogue, Cowie, Captain Wilson, and Steven, was appointed to 'consider missions to the British settlements in Asia'; a mission was appointed for 'Canada or any of the Indian tribes in or bordering upon the British possessions in North America'; a minister was chosen for Twillingate in Newfoundland, the Society to aid him for three years; and a mission was to be undertaken to 'the Indians mentioned in Vancouver's *Voyages on the West Coast of North America*,' 'when the providence of God shall facilitate our intercourse with that part of the continent; and a committee composed of Bogue, Wilks, Reyner, Yockney, and Cowie be formed to consider a mission to the West India Islands.'

In 1804 work was begun both in Ceylon, and by Ringeltaube, Des Granges, and Cran in South India. On May 28, 1804, after several long minutes referring to the intended mission to Surat, there is this entry: 'The Committee of Examination reported that they had examined Mr. Robert Morrison, who had offered himself for a missionary to the heathen, and recommended him as a suitable person to be employed by the Society. Resolved that Mr. R. Morrison be accepted, agreeably to the recommendation of the Committee, and that he be sent to the Seminary at Gosport as soon as convenient.' This entry really begins the Society's work in China, and in 1807 Morrison was on his way to that huge empire, then and for many years later so closely barred against the Gospel.

In 1805, 'when the Directors learnt that in the course of Divine Providence the populous and important town of Buenos Ayres had become a part of the British Empire [1],' a mission to that port was undertaken, and a student from Gosport, named David Hill Creighton, sent out to begin the work. Before he reached his destination Buenos Ayres was retaken by the Spaniards, and after staying

[1] Report for 1807.

some time in Monte Video, Creighton returned to England in October, 1807, and early in 1808 was engaged to work with the Hibernian Society.

In 1807 a more successful enterprise was undertaken. On Feb. 8, 1808, John Wray landed in Demerara and thus began mission-work in the West Indies. On April 11, 1808, Richard Elliot began work on Tobago, but removed to Le Resouvenir, Demerara, in 1814. In November, 1811, Mr. B. Bloomfield sailed for Malta; and in 1816 Isaac Lowndes was appointed to a Greek Mission, beginning work at Zante in 1819. On May 18, 1814, John Le Brun reached Port Louis, Mauritius, his work there being preparatory also to the opening of the Madagascar Mission. On May 26, 1814, Joseph Kam, Gottlob Bruckner, and John Christopher Supper, students of the Netherlands Missionary Society, who had been educated at Berlin and Rotterdam, landed at Batavia to begin the mission in Java which the Directors had undertaken at the urgent request of Robert Morrison. On May 20, 1817, Edward Stallybrass left London for St. Petersburg to the Buriat or Mongol Mission, settling down at Selinginsk in July, 1819. Madagascar had been close to the heart of Vanderkemp, and of some of the most influential Directors, but it was not actually resolved upon until the year 1817. Bevan and Jones sailed to Mauritius Feb. 9, 1818; reached Tamatave on a visit of inspection August 18, 1818; and actually began work there, Jones on Nov. 20, 1818, Bevan Jan. 6, 1819. Thus originated what has proved to be one of the most romantic and inspiring missions of the century.

Thus within twenty-five years from its foundation the Society had not only done much to stimulate Christian work in Great Britain and upon the Continent, but it had also carried the Gospel to the South Seas, to South Africa, to China, to India, and to Madagascar.

The wide area covered by the Society's work, and the rapid extension of enterprise and labour in the vast field of heathendom, are illustrated by the following table of stations and missionaries contained in the Report for 1820.

Already the grain of mustard seed was shooting up into the tall strong tree.

SOUTH SEAS.

GEORGIAN (or Windward) ISLANDS.

OTAHEITE. *Matavai.*—Charles Wilson.
Papeete (or Wilks' Harbour).—W. P. Crook and Robert Bourne.
Papeuridi (District of Papara).—Henry Bicknell and Samuel Tessier.

EIMEO. *Papetoai.*—William Henry, James Hayward.
Oponohu Harbour.—David Darling, George Platt, and John Gyles.

SOCIETY (or Leeward) ISLANDS.

RAIATEA. J. M. Orsmond, L. E. Threlkeld, and John Williams.

HUAHEINE. John Davies, Henry Nott, Charles Barff, and William Ellis.

ULTRA GANGES.

CHINA. *Canton.*—Robert Morrison, D.D.

MALACCA. *Malacca.*—William Milne, C. H. Thomsen, W. H. Medhurst, and Robert Fleming.

PULO PENANG. Thomas Beighton and John Ince.

JAVA. *Batavia.*—John Slater.

SINGAPORE. Samuel Milton.

AMBOYNA. Joseph Kam.

EAST INDIES.

CALCUTTA. Henry Townley, James Keith, John Hampson, and Samuel Trawin—George Gogerly (*Printer and Catechist*).

CHINSURAH. J. D. Pearson, John Harle, and George Mundy.

BENARES. Matthew Thomson Adam.

VIZAGAPATAM. John Gordon, Edward Pritchett, and James Dawson.

MADRAS. W. C. Loveless, Cornelius Traveller, and Thomas Nicholson.

BELLARY. John Hands, William Reeve, and Joseph Taylor.
BANGALORE. Andrew Forbes and Stephen Laidler.
SOUTH TRAVANCORE. Charles Mead, Charles Mault, and John Smith.
SURAT. James Skinner and William Fyvie.

RUSSIA.

SIBERIA. *Selinginsk.*—Edward Stallybrass, William Swan, and Robert Yuille.
SAREPTA. Cornelius Rahmn (about to remove to Astrachan).

GREEK MISSION.

ZANTE. Isaac Lowndes.
MALTA. Samuel S. Wilson.

AFRICA.

WITHIN THE COLONY.

STELLENBOSCH. J. Bakker.
THE PAARL. Evan Evans.
TULBAGH. Ariel Vos.
CALEDON INSTITUTION. (*Vacant.*)
PACALT'S-DORP. J. G. Messer.
BETHELSDORP. George Barker, F. G. Hooper, Erasmus Smith, and Jan Goeyman (*native*).
THEOPOLIS. J. G. Ullbricht.

BEYOND THE COLONY.

CAFFRARIA. (No Missionary at present.)
GRIQUA TOWN. William Anderson, Henry Helm—and B. Berend, P. David, Piet Sabba, *natives*.
NEW LATTAKOO. Robert Hamilton—J. Hendrick, *native*.
BETHESDA. Christopher Sass.
NAMAQUALAND. *Africaner's Kraal.*—Robert Moffat.
Warm Bath.—(*Vacant.*)
Steinkopff.—James Kitchingman.
Bethany.—H. Schmelen.

AFRICAN ISLANDS.

MAURITIUS. John Le Brun and David Jones.

MADAGASCAR. (*Vacant.*) It is intended soon to recommence the mission.

WEST INDIES.

DEMERARA. *George Town and the West Coast.*—John Davies, Richard Elliot, and James Mercer.
Le Resouvenir.—John Smith.

BERBICE. *New Amsterdam.*—John Wray.

TRINIDAD. Thomas Adam.

During the first quarter of a century of its history the Society was involved in two matters of the highest importance, both of which necessitated an appeal to the force of public opinion, and to political action. The first was the opening of India to Christian missionaries; the second was the right of teaching and of working among the slaves in the British West Indies. The latter subject will be dealt with fully in the history of the West Indies Mission. To the other we must here devote a little space.

It is not at all to the credit of the great historic corporation, the East India Company, that it threw the weight of its vast influence at the beginning of the nineteenth century *against* the evangelization of India[1]. In 1813 it became necessary for the Company to secure a renewal of the charter under which its powers were exercised. This was the Society's opportunity. Aided by William Wilberforce and other Christian public men, public opinion was roused and parliamentary action invoked. A special general meeting was held at the New London Tavern on April 5, 1813, at which a petition was adopted and ordered to be signed as widely as possible, and then presented to the Houses of Parliament.

In the Report for 1814 the successful result of this agitation is recorded:—

'When this Society last assembled, every member of it felt deeply interested in the applications made to the Legislature, (from all classes of pious men, and from all parts of our country,) for permission to send missionaries

[1] See pp. 55, 56.

to India. The public feeling was never more warmly expressed. Nine hundred petitions (a number unequalled on any other occasion) claimed liberty to preach the gospel to the millions of India. The Legislature of our country, attentive to the public voice, decided in favour of the petitioners, and an Act for the purpose requested passed both houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent on July 21, 1813. This Society cannot forget how much they owe to those honourable members of both houses of Parliament who readily presented their petitions, and supported them by their manly and pious eloquence. Their thanks are also due to his Majesty's Ministers, who, in the most polite and obliging manner, listened to their representations. The happy effect of this Act has already been experienced, and liberty allowed for missionaries to proceed to the East.'

For twenty-five years the Society had the effective aid and lasting benefit of the ability, the counsel, and the liberality of most of the prominent men who passed through all the deep spiritual excitement and enthusiasm out of which it sprang. The losses by death were relatively few. The chief were John Eyre in 1803; Joseph Hardcastle in 1819; and Thomas Haweis in 1820. And of these three two had been spared for many years to be the strength and stay of the new enterprise. From 1820 the change in the personnel of the Society became much more rapid. In quick succession many of the old standard-bearers fell, leaving the work to younger hands.

The Report for 1820 admirably sums up the work of the first quarter of a century:—

'Twenty-five years have now elapsed since the formation of this Society. It arose amidst the tumult of widely extended war, to disseminate principles which will ultimately secure the peace of the world. It arose amidst the heat of intestine divisions, in a spirit of union and kindness which, in some future era, will bind together the whole human race in one harmonious and affectionate brotherhood. It arose during a period of infidelity and blasphemy, which

had no parallel in the annals of any preceding age, to convey to barbarous and remote nations the blessings of the Gospel, which were contemptuously rejected even in the very centre of Protestant Christendom. Let us pause, for an instant, at the first considerable division of the Society's history, which has since elapsed, and, as from an eminence, take a momentary survey of its progress and present extent.

'For many years its stations were few, its success small, its disappointments numerous, its disasters sometimes severe. Thousands, whose hearts glowed with the most lively hope, when the first Missionaries embarked for Otaheite, had soon to learn, that patience also was a duty. At length came glad tidings from Africa, and we were cheered and encouraged by the intelligence, that the poor, despised, degraded Hottentots, had received the Gospel of the grace of God. About the same time the Society sent out Missionaries to India; and from that period its operations have been gradually extending in the East and in the West, in the North and in the South; and the evidences of its usefulness and success becoming, year after year, more numerous, determinate, and satisfactory. By the blessing of God on its exertions, it has now 50 Missionary Stations; in connection with which are about 140 labourers, including in this number, Missionaries, Assistants, Native Teachers, Schoolmasters, &c.

'While the Directors contemplate, with a high degree of satisfaction, the progress and present state of the Society, they also derive the sincerest pleasure from the recollection that, during the period under review, so many other Missionary Societies, as well as kindred Institutions, have been formed, with the same common object; and do most cordially rejoice in the success with which their efforts have been respectively crowned. If the formation of this Society, under Providence, tended, in a considerable degree, to awaken the attention of the Christian world, both at home and abroad, to the perishing condition of the heathen, and to the obligation of sending to them the Gospel of

Jesus Christ—therein also the Directors rejoice, yea, and will rejoice, while they give all the praise and glory to God. Nor can they refer to the formation of the Missionary Society, without at the same time adverting to the exalted and generous principles of Christian union and affection which animated the multitudes who participated, more or less directly in the proceedings on that memorable occasion. And it is with the more pleasure that the Directors refer to this circumstance, because they conceive there are just grounds for concluding that much of that noble spirit of Christian unanimity and philanthropy which at present animates the members of various Protestant denominations, both in this and foreign countries, in their intercourse with each other, may, under Providence, be attributed to the existence of the Missionary Society—to the truly evangelical temper displayed by the individuals who were active in its formation—to the broad and liberal principles on which it was founded, and to the seeds of Christian unity and affection which it has been instrumental in disseminating.

'The liberal basis of this Society, and the catholic spirit which it was instrumental in diffusing, at once suggested the formation of other highly benevolent and useful Institutions on the same general principles, and tended to dispose the members of various religious communities to cordial union and co-operation in their management and support. Those Institutions[1] are now imparting, in their various spheres of labour, the most important benefits, not only to our own country, but even to distant nations; while one, standing pre-eminent, seems already to overshadow the world with its branches, and to present its fruit for the moral healing and health of people of almost every language. But it is impossible that the Directors can contemplate this subject without experiencing emotions of

[1] Viz. the *Religious Tract Society*; the *British and Foreign Bible Society*; the *Hibernian Society*; the *British and Foreign School Society*, as well as several *Missionary Societies*, not only in the United Kingdom, but also in foreign countries.

very peculiar pleasure, when they recollect that the Missionary Society set the example of various denominations of Christians incorporating for the joint prosecution of a common religious object; merging in the great principles of their common faith, all minor differences of sentiment; in the spirit of Christian love and union, all sectarian and exclusive feeling; associating, combining, and co-operating upon that universal ground on which all true believers, in Jesus Christ are viewed by Him, and in Him, irrespective of their peculiar distinctions, many of which, perhaps, in a more advanced state of the Christian Church, will be regarded only as the badges of her nonage and immaturity.

'Nor do the Directors thus advert to the liberal principles on which this Society was constituted, to the catholic spirit which it was the means of diffusing, and to the subsequent institution of various other Societies, on a like comprehensive basis, with the view of arrogating any praise, or claiming any superiority in favour of its constituents, over those of other similar and kindred Institutions, who, they are persuaded, are themselves actuated by the same principles, and have been instrumental also in extending the prevalence of the same spirit; but they simply state them as important historical facts, which it is only an act of common justice to this Society to record, while they ascribe the undivided honour and glory to God, from whom alone all right dispositions, as well as "all just works, do proceed."'

The movements and progress which we have sketched, and the extracts quoted from the old minute-books, give the reader an accurate picture of the breadth and variety of the missionary energy of those first years. It was the epoch of beginnings. The spirit animating the supporters of the Society was in the highest degree admirable. They felt the pressure of the world's need; they knew the sweetness and power of the Gospel in their own hearts and lives; they knew very little of the regions and the peoples to which they were so eager to dispatch missions; and how these various missions were to be sustained after they

had been begun seems almost to have been something in the nature of an after-thought. But they were full of faith, full of zeal, full of love for men, and, although, as we look back upon their marvellous story, here and there we seem to espy vulnerable points in both their principles and their methods, yet, on the whole, in the light of all that God has wrought during the century just closed, we cannot but feel that history has more than justified them.

[AUTHORITIES.—Minute-books and Annual Reports of the Society; *Evangelical Magazine*, 1795–1820; *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. David Bogue, D.D.*, by James Bennett, D.D., London, 1827; *Memoir of Joseph Hardcastle, Esq.*, London, 1860; *A Memoir of the Rev. A. Waugh, D.D.*, by James Hay and Henry Belfrage, London, 1830; *Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane and of James Alexander Haldane*, by Alexander Haldane, London, 1852; and other memoirs of fathers and founders; the Journal kept on board the Duff during her first voyage; *A Visible Display of Divine Providence, or, the Journal of a Captured Missionary*, by William Gregory, London, 1800; *Some Interesting Particulars of the Second Voyage of the Duff*, by W. H[owell], Knaresborough, 1809.]

NOTE ON PRONUNCIATION OF POLYNESIAN WORDS.

POLYNESIAN dialects abound in vowel sounds, perhaps above any other language, and reject all double consonants, possessing *invariably vowel terminations*, both of their syllables and words. Every final vowel is, therefore, distinctly sounded. The natives sound the vowels with great distinctness: *a* as a in father, *e* as a in fate, *i* as i in marine, *o* as o in no, *u* as oo in root. *ai* has the sound of i in wine. Thus—

Tahiti	*is pronounced*	Tah-hee-te
Pomare	,,	Po-ma-re
Tamatoa	,,	Tah-mah-to-ah
Huahine	,,	Hoo-ah-hee-nay
Atehuru	,,	Ah-tay-hoo-roo
Afareitu	,,	Ah-fah-ray-ee-too
Atua	,,	Ah-too-ah
Taata	,,	Tah-ah-tah
Aimata	,,	Eye-mah-tah.

These examples will enable the careful reader to approximate the true pronunciation of Polynesian names.

POLYNESIA

'Sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise from the end of the earth; ye that go down to the sea, and all that is therein, the isles, and the inhabitants thereof.'—*Isa.* xlii. 10.

'And so the Word had breath, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds,
In loveliness of perfect deeds,
More strong than all poetic thought;

'Which he may read that binds the sheaf,
Or builds the house, or digs the grave,
And those wild eyes that watch the wave
In roarings round the coral reef.'

TENNYSON, *In Memoriam.*

'I John, your brother and partaker with you in the tribulation and kingdom and patience which are in Jesus, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the Word of God and the testimony of Jesus.'—*Rev.* i. 9.

CHAPTER III

THE MISSION TO TAHITI

A MISSION to Otaheite[1] had as early as 1787 been one of the dreams of Carey, 'the inspired cobbler.' He, like many others, had been enabled to enter into that world of romance—all the more attractive because there was in it so much of fact—by the adventurous voyages of Wallis and Bligh and Cook. The tragic death of the greatest of these captains in 1779, on the beach of Hawaii, helped to deepen the impression their deeds had made upon the mind of the nation. These pictures of lovely scenes, of stirring adventure, of human degradation and need had also powerfully touched the imagination of Dr. Haweis. A mission to these dusky islanders, so gentle, so favoured by nature, so likely to be easily influenced for good, as he pictured them in his mind, had become the cherished purpose of his heart. His grandson, the Rev. H. R. Haweis, possesses among a number of valuable MSS. relating to the period this memorandum in the handwriting of Dr. Haweis:

'The reading the voyages to the South Seas, and especially to Otaheite, had led my thoughts earnestly to desire, whilst Lady Huntingdon was striving to send missionaries to America, to make some effort to send some to Otaheite and the Southern Isles. On canvassing the matter, I think in 1787 or 1789—I am not sure as to a year,

[1] The O is an article before proper nouns. We shall always refer to the island under its true name of Tahiti.

it might perhaps be earlier—she offered me two of her students if I would prepare them for the work, and take on myself the expense of their equipment and voyage, which I offered to do. Two young men of the name of Price and Waugh offered themselves, and were accepted, and taken under the care of Dr. Walker and myself at Bath, and afterwards for a year put under the care of the Rev. Mr. Spencer at Wingfield, and were reported to me as having make creditable progress in study. On going to Spa Fields I immediately began to look out for the means of carrying into execution the plan I had laid of sending missionaries to Otaheite, and hearing that Captain Bligh was appointed to go thither in the Bounty, I got access to him, and stating my wishes, prevailed on him to let my two young men accompanying him in the Bounty, if I could obtain the leave of the Government. My application having thus met with a favourable issue, it gave me confidence that now this long wish of my heart would be effected.'

But Dr. Haweis met with unexpected difficulties. Price and Waugh before embarking wished to be ordained. Through Romaine Haweis applied to the Bishop of London, who refused; then to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who granted him an interview, but 'the result was a polite refusal.' Dr. Haweis reminded the young men of their promise to go wherever God might send them, but in vain, for he continues:—

'I soon found that they thought themselves qualified to set up for preachers at home. Thus after every step had been taken, and every favourable opportunity afforded, they deserted me at the moment of embarkation. The detail of their after proceedings left me nothing to regret that they had not been sent on a service they would have disgraced.'

The desire to promote a South Sea Mission never left Dr. Haweis, and was rekindled when he became acquainted with 'that precious man of God,' Mr. Eyre, of Hackney, who, as editor of the *Evangelical Review*, pressed Dr. Haweis to help him in writing and reviewing. Dr. Haweis was

thus brought into direct association with the other fathers and founders of the Society, and exerted a most powerful influence in all the discussions and action which ensued in 1795.

After the sermon in Surrey Chapel by Rowland Hill, on the morning of September 24, 1795, Dr. Haweis, by special request, broached the proposal that Otaheite or some one of the South Sea Islands should be the first point of attack. This he did in 'a speech of considerable length,' and 'in a very energetic and convincing manner.' Those who may be curious on the subject-matter of the address will find it in two forms, first as an article in the *Evangelical Magazine* for July, 1795, and secondly as a memoir appended to the volume of 'Sermons preached in London at the Formation of the Missionary Society,' and published in November, 1795. It occupies in the latter form twenty-four closely printed pages, and is of great value, as much for the light it throws upon the amount of knowledge possessed about foreign people and their missionary requirements by the best informed men in 1795, as for the share it has had in moulding the history of the century. It is also a curious and most valuable standard by which to judge the progress the world has made during the last hundred years.

A beginning should be made, Dr. Haweis argues, 'first, where the difficulties are least.' The main difficulties are:—

(1) 'An inhospitable climate.'

(2) 'Absolute governments,' a reason which shuts out China and Japan, both, because of their immense populations, 'desirable objects for a mission.'

'It is known, that though Christians have access to both, they are guarded with the most scrupulous attention. A little island near Naugasacki in Japan is allotted the Dutch, from which, on pain of death, no creature dares to move: when the annual ship arrives, a few are admitted under a guard into the city, till the short traffic being completed they are again prisoners for the sake of gain, till the returning year. He is a dead man that steps over the limits.

It is the same at Canton in China; though the prison is not quite so strait, it is as effectual, and to transgress the bounds of either would alike be fatal: besides the inutility even of the attempt, without a previous knowledge of these strange and difficult languages. I agree with those who think a missionary is not fit for his work if he cannot truly say, I count not my life dear unto myself, but it is no more correspondent with Christian principles, than human prudence, to tempt God, where we are called only to trust Him in the path of duty. It is presumption, not zeal, that would take the bull by the horns.'

(3) 'Established prejudices of false religion.' This excludes India and the Mahometan lands, and in the former 'our brethren, the Baptists, have at present prevented our wishes; though there is room for a thousand missionaries.'

(4) 'The acquirement of languages.' On the coast of Africa in every few leagues a new government and a new language are found. An Indian missionary must learn at least three. Chinese 'presents difficulties nearly insuperable from the amazing number of its characters.'

Where, then, are the fewest difficulties found? In the South Seas, (1) because of the climate, (2) because food is there so easily obtained.

'The natives, not harassed by labour for daily bread, or as slaves, have abundant time for instruction. Every man sitting under his cocoa or bread-fruit tree is at hand, and the very sound of a hammer, a saw, or a smith's bellows will hardly ever fail to attract an audience. Two hundred thousand inhabitants are reckoned in Otaheite alone; all ranged round its beautiful shores, and accessible by a thousand canoes, with a facility that no other road can ever afford.'

(3) Because the government 'seems monarchical but of the mildest nature,' and 'where we have more to apprehend from being caressed and exalted than from being insulted and oppressed.'

(4) There are no religious prejudices.

'Every guilty creature feels the necessity of atonement in

some shape or form. They have their victims, and their Gods: we are yet but little acquainted with these; but the little that we do know affords the strongest evidence that their priests, if there are such, are not invested with any persecuting power, nor can the people be averse to hear us on a religious subject, whom they reverence as their superiors almost in every other.'

(5) Their language is easily acquired—'I am assured a corporal of Marines, after three months' stay on the island, spoke it fluently'—and it is understood, 'with little variation,' over all 'the immense field of these scattered islands.'

Dr. Haweis had what was, for his day, the best obtainable and, apparently, reliable evidence for all these assertions. But this was based upon the reports of men who, though intelligent and acute observers, had yet sketched only the merest surface life of the islanders. They had looked at them mainly from the standpoint of the man of the world, and had no more conception of the true nature of the Tahitian savage than many of our military men and civilians have of the spiritual needs and the religious capacity of the Hindu, or than the commercial man in China, who has little or no sympathy with Christianity, has of the religious capabilities and achievements of the native converts. Dr. Haweis supported his views by his deeds. He gave £500 towards the mission, his energy and enthusiasm entitle him to be called the Father of Polynesian Missions, he lived through the long and weary night of toil, and he was permitted to see the first great triumphs of the Gospel in the islands of the Southern Sea. But he would have given very different reasons in 1820, the year of his death, for selecting Tahiti as a mission-field, from those which he urged so eloquently in 1795.

The project of a mission to Tahiti and the surrounding islands instantly and deeply aroused the enthusiasm of the Society's friends all over the kingdom. As soon as the Directors had organized themselves into the needful

committees they began to enrol missionaries, and to receive the contributions which flowed in rapidly and liberally. The expedition, from the standpoint of the practical man, and of worldly common sense, appears wildly utopian in plan, and doomed to certain failure in execution. Looking back upon it through the varied experiences of a hundred years, it has more than justified itself, more than justified the faith of the men who believed that God was with them, and would lead them on to success; although between the first onset and the final victory they were to tread strange and unimagined pathways.

It soon became clear to the Directors that the shortest way to their end was to purchase and equip their own vessel. It is hard for this generation to comprehend an England when there were no steamships, when a voyage to India occupied five or six months, when the greater part of the Pacific Ocean was practically an unknown sea. We can go from London to Samoa in six weeks; in 1795, unless you were able to charter your own vessel, it might take you six years, and even in your own vessel the voyage would last as many months as it now takes weeks.

In all great enterprises one supreme requisite is the right leader. Very early in the movements which led to the founding of the Society Captain James Wilson had offered his services to Dr. Haweis for this purpose, on the understanding that he would expect no remuneration. This man had passed through an extraordinary career, both in regard to his outward deeds and adventures, and also in his spiritual experience. His father was a captain, and his early years were passed at sea. He visited America during the Revolutionary struggle, and was present in 1775 at that famous event in the world's history—the Battle of Bunker's Hill. On his return from America he went to India, where, among his many adventures, he was enabled to relieve Sir Eyre Cootes' force from impending famine near Cuddalore. Shortly afterwards he was captured, and the story of his imprisonment by Hyder Ali, his escape and recapture, is almost beyond belief. We are

able to quote his own account of this terrible time from a hitherto unpublished letter written by himself:—

'DEAR BROTHER AND SISTER,

'After a most cruel imprisonment of three and twenty months, on the third of May, 1784, I arrived at Madras. I am at present first officer of the Intelligence, belonging to the Honourable Company, which is a pretty good berth at present, as trade is very dead in this part of the world. I suppose you long to hear of my sufferings. As I have surmounted them, and it cannot afflict you, only while you are reading them, you shall have a short account of them. In the year 1781 I was appointed third lieutenant to the Honourable Company's ship Yarmouth.

'In the year 1782 we were sent to Madras to attend the operations of the army, when we were unfortunately taken by the Fameux, a French frigate of 44 guns, the 15th June. On the 20th we were sent ashore at Cuddalore, and on the 30th the French governor told us to get ready, for we were to be delivered over to Hyder Alley, the thought of which frightened me so that I determined to make my escape, if possible, out of the garrison, which I did an hour before we were to have marched out.

'After I got clear of the garrison I proceeded as fast as possible towards Tranquebar, a Danish settlement, eighteen leagues from Cuddalore. I swam across Porto Nova river, the Coleroon, and two or three more rivers, that were full of sharks and alligators; went through several jungles that were frequented by tigers, not daring to go up the high road on account of Hyder's horse, till I at last by break of day got within six miles of the place, when I was surrounded by fifty of Hyder's horse. They took me prisoner, stripped me naked, tied my hands behind me, and marched me between two horses thirty-five miles in the heat of the sun to a place called Chihlimbrum. They then put my hands and legs in strong irons, kept me ten days in a dark dungeon, gave me nothing to subsist on but Conge water, and at last took me out with my

hands in irons, and a rope round my arm about two inches thick and five fathoms long. In this condition I marched to a place called —— [1]. They gave me nothing to eat but a little dirty rice, which soon occasioned a violent flux. Having nothing to cover me, and being exposed to the heat of the sun all day, my skin was burned all off me, so that I became like a young bird just come out of the shell. My hair, that was thick and long, turned quite grey and came all off. In this condition, after thirty days' march to Seringapatam, I was put in prison along with 112 of Colonel Bailey's soldiers, where I remained with my hands and legs in irons, and in a sickly state, till we were released. Out of 112 of the soldiers there were only 32 came out alive.

'Dear brother and sister, what must I have felt the day my irons were knocked off! I assure you I was not able to walk without the assistance of two soldiers. The next day I joined all the gentlemen, who, after hearing my story, declared that I had suffered more than anybody that had been taken during the war. We all marched down together with light hearts, such as are only known to those who have suffered as we have done. On the third of May I arrived at Madras, to the unspeakable surprise of all my acquaintances, who had given me over for dead.

'I immediately proceeded to Bengal, and on July 1, 1783, was appointed first officer of the Intelligence. I am now five and twenty, and you are six and forty. If I were alongside of you, I don't know but that they would take me to be the eldest. I don't know what good living may do. My hair is just sprouting out. I beg you will write to my mother and sisters, and brother John, and let them know that I still remember them,

'Truly yours,

'JAS. WILSON.

'Intelligence, Calcutta. September 1, 1784.'

[1] Name illegible in MS.

Neither his sufferings nor his marvellous escapes had softened Captain Wilson's heart. 'He returned to life and health with all the same corrupt propensities, the same unrenewed heart, the same forgetfulness of God and contempt of His word and commandments[1].' He resumed his seafaring life, and was repeatedly in peril of various kinds. But at length he amassed what he considered a competence, and determined to settle down quietly in England. Mr. Thomas, afterwards one of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, was a fellow-passenger in the ship that carried him home. They often discussed Christianity, and at length Thomas observed to the chief mate that he should have much more hope of converting the Lascars than Captain Wilson. The old sailor finally settled down at Horndean, in Hampshire. After two years' residence, a conversation accidentally began with the Rev. John Griffin, minister of Orange Street Chapel, Portsea, led him first to read Burn's *The Christian Officer's Panoply*. This led him to the Bible; and then a sermon by Mr. Griffin made such a deep impression upon his mind, that he yielded to the truth and the power of the Gospel. Through reading in the *Evangelical Magazine* an account of the intended mission to the South Seas, his thoughts were led in that direction. He accompanied his pastor, Mr. Griffin, to the meetings at which the Society was organized, and his whole previous life had tended to make him just the man that the occasion required. He obtained an introduction to Dr. Haweis, offered his services as captain of the ship to be sent out, wrote at Dr. Haweis' suggestion his offer to the Directors, by whom it was gladly accepted. In all the details relating to the purchase and fitting of the Duff he was consulted, visiting London frequently for that purpose. He sold his house at Horndean, and so arranged his own affairs as to be able to give all the time and attention that the successful conduct of the great enterprise might require. There are many signs of God's providential guidance of the affairs of the infant Society:

[1] *Memoirs of Captain James Wilson*, by John Griffin, 2nd edition, p. 23.

in none can His hand be more clearly traced than in this choice of the captain. Well may his biographer say :—

'Through the whole of his eventful story we discover a beautiful and admirable development of the leadings of Divine Providence. Who would have looked for a commander of a Christian mission in an impious and infidel sailor, chained in a prison at Seringapatam? Who would have expected to have found the man who returned from India contradicting and blaspheming the faithful leader in the missionary cause, within five years afterwards on the quarter-deck, in the midst of prayer and praise, carrying the everlasting Gospel to the isles of the Pacific Ocean? Who that reads the history of his eventful life can hesitate to confirm the exclamation of the Moor-man, "This is God's man[1]!"'

While Captain Wilson was busy collecting his crew and securing his stores, special committees in different parts of the country were testing those who offered their services as missionaries. Their experience, confirmed all through the century, indicates that committees cannot be too careful in this matter. Enormous waste, both of money and of time, is caused when unfit persons are accepted for this service. It is, of course, not given to man to read the heart of his fellow-men perfectly. Those who from time to time appear at a disadvantage before committees occasionally render splendid service in the field. Yet never was there greater need than now for laying it down almost as an axiom in the case of both men and women, that if there is any doubt, either as to health or moral fibre, or intellectual and spiritual quality, the verdict should go *against* the candidate. Better far, after exercising to the best of their ability the faculty of insight, for a committee to lose one suitable candidate now and then, than to allow others who appear somewhat doubtful even to begin the work. The old minute-books of the Examination Committee are evidence that our fathers took pains in sifting and searching the men

[1] *Memoirs of Captain James Wilson*, by John Griffin, 2nd edition, p. 134.

who came before them. But the story of Tahiti and the events that happened there did not confirm, with regard to many of the men sent out, the accuracy of their judgment.

By the time the Duff was ready for sea, the list of accepted missionaries comprised thirty names, exclusive of wives and children. Four only were ordained ministers: James Fleet Cover, John Eyre, John Jefferson, and Thomas Lewis. Of these Cover and Eyre were married, the wife of the latter, though he was only twenty-eight, being sixty-four years old! The remaining twenty-six were Henry Bicknell, carpenter; Daniel Bowell, shopkeeper; Benjamin Broomhall, harness maker; John Buchanan, tailor; James Cooper, shoemaker; John Cock, carpenter; William Crook, gentleman's servant; Samuel Clode, gardener; John A. Gillham, surgeon; Peter Hodges, blacksmith; William Henry, carpenter; John Harris, cooper; Edward Hudden, butcher; Samuel Harper, cotton manufacturer; Rowland Hassell, weaver; Seth Kelso, weaver; Edward Main, tailor; Isaac Nobbs, hatter; Henry Nott, bricklayer; Francis Oakes, shoemaker; James Puckey, carpenter; William Puckey, carpenter; William Smith, linen draper; William Shelley, cabinet maker; George Veeson, bricklayer; James Wilkinson, carpenter. Of these, Hassell, Henry, Hodges, and Hudden were married. The six wives and three boys, one named Cover, aged twelve, and two named Hassell, one aged two years, the other sixteen weeks, completed this strange company. Not included in the printed list, but among those afterwards left at Tongatabu, was Samuel Gaulton, who is described as 'a probationer.' The reason why there was so undue a proportion of handicraftsmen and tradesmen was, undoubtedly, the belief that the natives would speedily see the value of European civilization, and be glad to learn trades.

In addition to Captain Wilson, the Duff carried William Wilson, the captain's nephew, as chief officer; Thomas Godsell, second officer; James Falconer, third officer;

a crew seventeen in number, an apprentice, and a boy—twenty-two in all. They were picked men, many of them being church members. So different was their behaviour from that usually met with on board ship, that during the six weeks' delay at Portsmouth it 'excited no small measure of surprise and wonder at its novelty,' and on the China station during the return voyage won for the ship the nickname of 'The Ten Commandments.'

A solemn service, dedicating the missionaries to their new and lofty work, was held in Zion Chapel on the evening of Thursday, July 28, 1796. 'As notice of the designation had been given from the pulpits of the friends of the Institution in London on the preceding Sabbath, several thousands of people were assembled long before the time of worship commenced. So crowded and serious an assembly has been seldom seen on any occasion. Every ear was attentive to the judicious and solid discourse of the preachers; and every heart seemed to feel when those servants of God, who had freely offered themselves in this arduous undertaking, solemnly pledged themselves to persevere in the name and strength of the Lord[1].'

The order of proceedings in the handwriting of Dr. Haweis is still extant[2]. The hymn 'Come, Holy Ghost' was sung, and then prayers were read by the Rev. John Eyre. Then the hymn 'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness' was given out by the Rev. W. F. Platt. Prayer was offered by Mr. Walker, and then Dr. Hunter preached the sermon from our Lord's instructions to the Seventy, Luke x. 1, 2 and following verses, and at the close of this the Doxology was sung. The missionaries then came forward and stood around the communion rails, within which the following ministers had taken their places: Dr. Williams (Independent), Dr. Haweis (Episcopalian), Alexander Waugh (Presbyterian), Matthew Wilks (Calvinistic Methodist), John Love (Scotch Seceder), and John Reynolds (Independent). Dr. Williams gave an elaborate charge to the

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1796, p. 342.

[2] MSS. in possession of Rev. H. R. Haweis.

missionaries based upon Gen. xvii. 1. Then the ministers in turn, taking a Bible from the table, presented it to a missionary, saying with each presentation, 'Our beloved brother, go, live agreeably to this word (putting the Bible into his hand), and publish the Gospel of Jesus Christ to the Heathen, according to your gifts, calling, and abilities. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' To which each missionary replied, 'I will, the Lord being my helper.' The Commendatory Prayer was then offered by Dr. Haweis, and the service brought to a close by singing the hymn 'Captain of Thine enlisted host.' 'Such a sight was truly impressive, not merely on account of its novelty, or the advantages that may result to the heathen world, but for the cordial affection which so happily subsists, and evidently increases in ministers of different denominations, who, previous to this Institution, had neither fellowship nor intercourse with each other[1].'

All being ready for the ship's departure, a farewell Communion Service was held on the evening of August 9, in the Haberdashers' Hall Meeting-house. Dr. Haweis presided, and the following ministers took part—Reynolds, Hunter, Wilks, and Eyre. A contemporary account states, 'If ever God was present in the assemblies of His saints, surely He was present on that occasion.' On August 10, 1796, at 6 a.m., the mission-flag, 'three doves argent, on a purple field, bearing olive branches in their bills,' was hoisted, and the anchor weighed. Everything augured well. The morning was fine, the breeze favourable, and as the vessel began to glide down the Thames those on board sang—

> Jesus, at Thy command,
> We launch into the deep.

At Woolwich an immense crowd had collected to see the ship pass by, and reaching Gravesend at noon, the vessel anchored for the night. Dr. Haweis and two London

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1796, p. 342.

ministers, Matthew Wilks and Thomas Brooksbank, accompanied the missionaries, intending to stay on board the Duff until she joined the convoy and finally sailed for Tahiti. Dr. Haweis kept a journal of this trip, full of details of very great interest to the reader of to-day :—

'*Saturday, August* 13.—Hailed in the night by a man-of-war ; "Whither bound?" "Otaheite." "What cargo?" "Missionaries and provisions." Sent a midshipman on board to take a note of us and our destination.'

'*Sunday, August* 14.—At ten o'clock I was able to preach from 2 Cor. xii. 10. The circumstances of many of us as well as my own made it a precious word. At two, again, on the quarter-deck heard Brother Brooksbank. Too unwell to hear Brother Wilks, who preached at six. It was a real Sabbath, I believe, to us all, and a time of refreshing from the presence of the Lord. Few such Sabbaths before, since the creation of the world, have been thus kept on the deep, or such men of God, missionaries and mariners, found to make the audience.'

'*Tuesday, August* 16.—We arrived very early at Spithead this morning, and found the convoy gone, to our great disappointment. We had hurried and inconvenienced ourselves to no purpose ; but we must begin to learn patience and faith.

'Multitudes visit us from all parts. Captain Wilson all attention, wrapt up in his awful charge, will not leave the ship to visit any friends on shore.

'The missionaries rise daily in our estimation. I have heard many of them speak and pray; their gifts and abilities far exceeding expectations. I was particularly affected with Nott's prayer and address ; my spirit has not on the voyage had a greater refreshment.'

'*Thursday, September* 24.—Looked at the vane as soon as I rose, which I had so many times done before with disappointment—found the wind veered to the north. Hastened on board. The scene beautiful beyond description, the day fine, the breeze gentle, the men-of-war leading the way, and about sixty vessels under sail, falling down

with the tide. Came to an anchor when the tide turned. Called all hands on the quarter-deck, captain, mates, missionaries, mariners. If the wind be fair we are separating. Ah! what a thousand considerations rushed on my mind. I preached from Heb. iii. 1; sung "Jesus, at Thy command," and after commending them to God and the work to which He had appointed them, we closed with "Blest be the dear uniting love," sung with peculiar sensibility and many tears. I then went round to every missionary to give him my parting benediction, and shook them by the hand; to the good women the same. Not a person discovered the least dismay or regret, but all with united hearts looked forward with courage, and looked up with faith. The dear, good captain bade me farewell. I blessed him and his work. The evening approached. I must go. I descended, with a thousand different sensations, the ladder I had so often mounted, and sat down in the stern of the boat: the sail was hoisted. I looked back, and prayed for them; we were in a moment out of hearing—we waved to each other—the boat flew through the water: the Duff began to mingle among the multitude of vessels around her. Soon she became undistinguishable from them. God be praised, who has led us hitherto.'

The Duff, as noted in the diary of Dr. Haweis, missed the convoy she had hoped to sail with, and whose protection was needful, owing to the war then raging between England and France. She cast anchor at Spithead at 8 a.m. on August 16. She was at once visited by John Griffin, of Portsea, John Eyre, of London, and many other friends. Waiting for another convoy was a long and weary business. Meanwhile, in the official journal kept on board the ship we find extracts like these:—

'*August* 17.—Mrs. Hudden, being affected by the sea, as most of us had been at first, fell into such a dejection of mind as engaged us to send her on shore at her request. Her husband went with her, though reluctantly; a man of meek and quiet spirit, and might have been a useful

member of our community; but the Directors thought it by no means right to separate man and wife.

'An ingenious clergyman of Portsmouth kindly furnished Dr. Haweis and Mr. Greatheed with a manuscript vocabulary of the Otaheitean language, and an account of the country, which providentially he had preserved from the mutineers who were seized by the Pandora, and brought to Portsmouth for their trial, which was of unspeakable service to the missionaries, both for the help which it afforded them to learn before their arrival much of this unknown tongue, and also as giving the most inviting and encouraging description of the natives, and the cordial reception which they might expect.

'Here also were deposited in peace the remains of Mr. Cover's little boy, who, in the last stage of consumption, earnestly wished to accompany his parents, though it was evident to every intelligent medical man that he could have but a few days to live, and was happily released before their departure.'

On September 24, 1796, the wind being favourable, the signal was made for the fleet to sail, and the fifty-seven 'sail of transports and Portugal traders' were under way by 5 a.m. Thus really began the first voyage of an English ship laden only with missionaries and their equipments, worked by a godly crew, and bent on helping to usher in a new era for humanity. England has both before and since sent out many a fleet from Portsmouth intent on conquest, on the repulse of her enemies, on voyages of commerce, discovery, of scientific research; but she has never done anything fraught with more hope for men, and calculated to reflect more glory upon herself, than this voyage of the Duff. Sent out, not by Government, but by private energy and zeal, in strong faith and humble dependence upon God, sailing under the greatest Captain, seeking only the noblest ends, the voyage of the Duff deserves a foremost place in our national annals of the sea.

On September 25, 'at 6 p.m. the Land's End bore north, distant five leagues.' This was the last sight of old

England that many on board were ever to have, and they, no doubt, felt much on the occasion, 'though sensible it was not for those who had parted with country and friends, and taken up the cross, to look behind.' On the 30th, in latitude 44° 50′ N. and longitude 11° 17′ W., Captain Wilson thought he might venture to part company with the fleet and convoy, the more so as the Duff had proved herself a faster sailer than any vessel, save the men-of-war. After a rapid and prosperous run, touching at St. Iago, in the Cape de Verde Islands, on October 14, they anchored in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro on November 12, to refit and provision for the long voyage before them. On November 20 the Duff started to round Cape Horn, but in less than a fortnight met such severe weather that Captain Wilson, after careful consideration, gave up the attempt to round the Cape, a course which 'required a crew of hardy sailors, unaccompanied by tender women and children, and adopted the resolution of going the Eastern passage: that is, to pass a few degrees south of the Cape of Good Hope, to sail to the southward of the south cape of New Holland and New Zealand, till near the meridian of Otaheite, and then to steer to the northward for that island.' This route was double the distance of the other—14,000 miles instead of 7,000—but the result justified the captain. The Duff made a wonderfully quick and safe passage. On February 21, 1797, the journal records: 'Ninety-seven days had now passed since we left Rio Janeiro, and except one vessel which we met with a week after our departure, we had not in all this time seen either ship or shore, and had sailed by our log 13,820 miles, a greater distance than probably was ever before run without touching at any place.'

The first land sighted was the island of Tubuai, discovered by Captain Cook in 1777, the island upon which the mutineers of the Bounty tried in 1789 to form their settlement. Captain Wilson made no effort to land, chiefly because the mutineers had behaved so cruelly that white men were almost certain to arouse the hostility of the

natives. On February 27, as they were now drawing very near the scene of their labours, in accordance with their instructions, they proceeded to settle the destination of the different missionaries. Eighteen, including all the ministers and married men, chose Tahiti. Ten—Bowell, Buchanan, Cooper, Harper, Kelso, Nobbs, Shelley, Veeson, Wilkinson, and Gaulton—elected to go to Tongatabu. Harris and Crook chose the Marquesas Islands. On Saturday morning, March 4, Tahiti was sighted, but was not reached in time to land that day; so the Duff stood off and on all the night.

March 5, 1797, is a day that must ever stand at the head of the great dates of the London Missionary Society. It was a Sunday, and then, for the first time, those sent to begin, on behalf of the Society, the glorious work of preaching Christianity to the heathen came into direct contact with the human beings they sought to bless. The men and women who gazed that day with such intense eagerness into the savage and debased faces of the degraded Tahitians were the vanguard of that noble army who have since gone to so many of the darkest and most desperate parts of the globe, carrying everywhere the healthful healing influence of faithful Christian lives, and proclaiming with the noblest self-renunciation the good tidings of salvation, the one efficient cure for the savagery of the human heart and life—a crucified and risen Redeemer.

We give the story of that day in the language of the official description of the voyage:—

'The morning was pleasant, and with a gentle breeze we had by seven o'clock got abreast of the district of Atahoorōo, whence we saw several canoes putting off and paddling towards us with great speed; at the same time it fell calm, which being in their favour, we soon counted seventy-four canoes around us, many of them double ones, containing about twenty persons each. Being so numerous, we endeavoured to keep them from crowding on board; but in spite of all our efforts to prevent it, there were soon not less than one hundred of them dancing and capering

like frantic persons about our decks, crying, "Tayo! tayo![1]" and a few broken sentences of English were often repeated. They had no weapons of any kind among them; however, to keep them in awe, some of the great guns were ordered to be hoisted out of the hold, whilst they, as free from the apprehension as the intention of mischief, cheerfully assisted to put them on their carriages. When the first ceremonies were over, we began to view our new friends with an eye of inquiry: their wild, disorderly behaviour, strong smell of the cocoa-nut oil, together with the tricks of the arreoies, lessened the favourable opinion we had formed of them; neither could we see aught of that elegance and beauty in their women for which they have been so greatly celebrated. This at first seemed to depreciate them in the estimation of our brethren; but the cheerfulness, good nature, and generosity of these kind people soon removed the momentary prejudices. One very old man, Mānne Manne, who called himself a priest of the Eatooa[2], was very importunate to be tayo with the captain; others, pretending to be chiefs, singled out such as had the appearance of officers for their tayos; but as they neither exercised authority over the unruly, nor bore the smallest mark of distinction, we thought proper to decline their proposals till we knew them, and the nature of the engagement better. At this they seemed astonished, but still more when they saw our indifference about the hogs, fowls, and fruit, which they had brought in abundance. We endeavoured to make them understand, but I think in vain, that this was the day of the Eatooa, and that in it we durst not trade: but their women repulsed, occasioned greater wonder. They continued to go about the decks till the transports of their joy gradually subsided, when many of them left us of their own accord, and others were

[1] The word *taio* means 'friend,' and the custom constituted the visitor selected for this purpose the special friend and placed him under the protection of the native who chose him. This, of course, led to an exchange of presents. The natives, naturally, found this transaction very greatly to their advantage.

[2] The word *atua* (eatooa) means 'God, the general name for a deity.'

driven away by the old man, and one named Maurōa, who now exercised a little authority. Those who remained were chiefly arreoies from Ulietēa[1], in number about forty; and being brought to order, the brethren proposed having divine service upon the quarter-deck. Mr. Cover officiated; he perhaps was the first that ever mentioned with reverence the Saviour's name to these poor heathens. Such hymns were selected as had the most harmonious tunes; first, "O'er the gloomy hills of darkness"; then, "Blow ye the trumpet, blow"; and at the conclusion, "Praise God from whom all blessings flow." The text was from the first epistle general of John, chap. iii. ver. 23, "God is love." The whole service lasted about an hour and a quarter. During sermon and prayer the natives were quiet and thoughtful; but when the singing struck up they seemed charmed and filled with amazement; sometimes they would talk and laugh, but a nod of the head brought them to order. Upon the whole, their unweariedness and quietness were astonishing; and, indeed, all who heard observed a peculiar solemnity and excellence in Mr. Cover's address on that day.'

The political condition of Tahiti may be briefly summarized. The chief who had been king at the time of Captain Cook's visit, a magnificent specimen of the Tahitian race physically, was now an old man, and had resigned the sovereignty to his son, Otu[2], he himself taking the name of Pomare. About two years before the arrival of the Duff he had succeeded in conquering the whole island. The neighbouring islet of Moorea, or, as it is generally called in the records, Eimeo, had also submitted to his sway. This state of affairs, when they had once secured the friendship of Pomare, was much more favourable for the missionary enterprise than it would have been several years earlier when Tahiti was portioned out among several rival and independent chieftains.

The outward scenes of beauty which met their delighted

[1] The *areois* were members of a society of which much will be heard in the course of this history: Ulitea was one of the early forms of the name Raiatea.

[2] More correctly Tu, the O being, as in O tahеite, a prefix.

gaze may be imagined from the description given by Ellis[1] when he saw them for the first time:—

'The sea had been calm, the morning fair, the sky was without a cloud, and the lightness of the breeze had afforded us leisure for gazing upon the varied, picturesque and beautiful scenery of this most enchanting island. We had beheld successively, as we slowly sailed along its shore, all the diversity of hill and valley, broken or stupendous mountains, and rocky precipices, clothed with every variety of verdure, from the moss of the jutting promontories on the shore, to the deep and rich foliage of the bread-fruit tree, the Oriental luxuriance of the tropical pandanus, or the waving plumes of the lofty and graceful cocoa-nut grove. The scene was enlivened by the waterfall on the mountain's side, the cataract that chafed along its rocky bed in the recesses of the ravine, or the stream that slowly wound its way through the fertile and cultivated valleys, and the whole was surrounded by the white-crested waters of the Pacific, rolling their waves of foam in splendid majesty upon the coral reefs, or dashing in spray against its broken shore.'

To the inhabitants of Tahiti white men were by no means strangers. The natives had begun to appreciate the value of the articles the great ships brought, and they were now to learn that such men could come to visit them without desiring to trade, or to gratify brutal lust. Several circumstances helped to make the landing at Tahiti propitious. Two Swedes were resident at the time, Andrew Lind and Peter Haggerstein. The first of these had belonged to the shipwrecked crew of the Matilda, and had lived on the island since March 6, 1792. The other had been left by Captain New, of the Daedalus. These men gave the missionaries valuable information about the island and its inhabitants, and also acted as interpreters for them. But at a later date the missionaries had reason to doubt whether these men had given the natives clearly to understand the main purpose of their coming. At Point

[1] *Polynesian Researches*, 2nd edition, 1832, vol. i. p. 14.

Venus, on Matavai Bay, there was standing a large building called by the natives the British House. Pomare had built it for Captain Bligh, who had spoken of returning to Tahiti to live. It was an oblong structure, one hundred and eight feet long, forty-eight wide, and eighteen high, thatched with palm leaf. On the afternoon of Monday, March 6, Captain Wilson, the Swedes, Cover, Henry, and a few more of the missionaries landed to inspect this house, and found that it could easily be rendered habitable for the whole company. The formal visit to take possession of the house was made the next day, Tuesday, March 7. Huamannemanne, the priest of Eimeo, a man of considerable influence, had become the *taio* or friend of Captain Wilson, and took a prominent part in all that was done.

'The rain beginning again as violent as before, prevented the missionaries landing till near eleven in the forenoon; when the captain, Mr. Jefferson (president), with a few more of the missionaries, went on shore, accompanied by Mānne Manne and Peter. The natives had assembled upon the beach to the number of four or five hundred, and as the boat approached some ran into the water, and laying hold of her hauled her aground; then took the captain and missionaries on their backs, and carried them dry on shore. They were received by the young king (Otoo) and his wife Tētua, both carried on men's shoulders; each took the captain by the hand, and in dumb silence surveyed him attentively, looking in his face and minutely examining every part of his dress: they beheld the brethren also with much the same curiosity. The queen opened Mr. Cover's shirt at the breast and sleeves, and seemed astonished at so clear a sight of the blue veins. That this should be the case now, after so many visits from Europeans, may surprise some; but let such consider, that though the oldest and the middle-aged have been fully gratified in these respects, the young ones have as yet seen very little; for there could be but small difference between themselves and the dark complexions of the naked shipwrecked sailors who had lately taken refuge amongst them.

'The captain now informed the king, through Peter as interpreter, that our only inducement for leaving Prētane to come and visit them was to do them good, by instructing them in the best and most useful things; and for this end, some good men of our number intended to settle among them; requiring, on their part, the free gift of a piece of land sufficiently stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden and admit of houses being built upon it; that this land should be their own; that they would not, on any account, intermeddle in their wars, nor employ their arms but for self-defence; and at all times should live free and unmolested among them: to which if he consented, they would stay on the island; if not, they would go elsewhere. Much pains were taken to make this plain; but as Otoo appears to be a vacant-looking person, I doubt whether he understood the half of it, though he signified the large house was our own, and we might take what land we pleased.

'After dinner Otoo and his wife came off, each in a small canoe, with only one man paddling: whilst they went several times round the ship, the queen was frequently baling her canoe with a cocoa-nut shell. This may help to form an idea of what a queen is in Otaheite. They would not venture on board, because wheresoever they come is deemed sacred, none daring to enter there afterwards except their proper domestics.

'He appears tall and well made, about seventeen; his queen, handsome and finely proportioned, about the same age, and always carried about, on shore, on men's shoulders. The king appears thoughtful, speaks little, but surveys things with attention. The missionaries suppose something majestic in his appearance, but the captain thought him stupid, and to discover little capacity.'

On March 8 the work of rendering the big house habitable was begun. This was an easy task, as the missionary band contained so many handicraftsmen, and on March 11 the women and children landed. In the afternoon of the next day, Pomare and his queen Idia

paid his first visit to the ship. They found him 'a picture of good nature, very different from the morose figure which represents him in some editions of Cook's Voyages. When seated in the cabin he expressed his regard for the English, and called King George his friend.' When informed of the object of the mission, he at once promised to give them the whole district of Matavai. This land was formally ceded on March 16, and has formed the subject of a well-known picture often engraved.

The main body having now been domiciled at Tahiti, it was time to attend to the settlement of the others. After a short trip to Eimeo, on March 26, the Duff made sail for the Friendly Islands. This group was so named by Captain Cook because he thought the natives exhibited kindlier feelings towards him than those exhibited in many parts of the Pacific. He did not know that at the very time he was thus misreading their nature and actions, they were plotting to destroy him and his crew, and to capture the ship. The group lies about 1,200 miles north-west of Tahiti, and on Monday, April 10, the Duff reached the harbour of Tongatabu. They found upon the island two Europeans, an English sailor named Ambler and an Irishman named Connelly. Though 'in their countenance, one of them especially, there was so much of the villain marked that in England a well-disposed person would shun them,' the missionaries were glad to avail themselves of their services as interpreters. After interviews with several of the chiefs, finally the missionaries decided to accept the protection of Fenou, the most powerful chief on the island, and settled down at Aheefo. On April 15 the Duff departed for the Marquesas. This group lies away to the north-west of Tahiti, and was not reached until June 5. Here the first sign of weakness on the part of a missionary appeared. Harris, who had from the first announced his intention of settling in this group, even though he went there alone, failed at the critical moment. Crook, his younger companion, showed a much nobler spirit, and even when Harris refused to stay, remained unshaken in his



THE CESSION OF MATAVAI, TAHITI, 1797

(From a painting originally in the possession of the widow of Captain Wilson)

The two figures on men's shoulders are Otu and his queen. Captain Wilson and his nephew occupy the centre of the right side; behind him is Mr. Jefferson, and in the right-hand corner Mr. and Mrs. Henry. The kneeling figure is Mrs. Hassall, and the figures in the background to the right are missionaries. See Ellis' *Polynesian Researches*, vol. ii. p. 7.

purpose. He was taken under the protection of a chief named Tenae, and on June 26 'we bade him an affectionate farewell, and parted. His manly behaviour at this season did him great credit; the tears glistened in his eyes, but none fell; nor did he betray the least sign of fear to enter upon his work alone.'

On July 6 the Duff anchored once again in Matavai Bay. Events had passed quietly during Captain Wilson's absence, and the missionaries had begun to learn more accurately what heathenism meant in Tahiti. They kept a journal, and a few extracts from this will enable us to picture their life from day to day:—

'*April* 8.—One of the arreoies, the tayo of brother Henry, came to us with his wife: they were taking their leave of us in order, during their absence, to destroy the infant soon to be born, according to the ordinance of that diabolical society. We thought this a proper opportunity to remonstrate with them against this horrid custom. The mother felt with tenderness, and appeared willing to spare the infant; but the brutal chief continued obstinately bent on his purpose, though he acknowledged it a bloody act, pleading the established custom, his loss of all privileges, and the dissolution of the society if this should become general. Our brethren failed not to open to him the wrath of God against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men. On this he walked off dejected, but not apparently determined to desist from the evil or danger of his ways.'

'*April* 9.—Pomārre and Iddeah came at noon, and going into the married brethren's apartment, found them conversing with the arreoies on the evil of destroying infants. Pomārre and Iddeah had for some time ceased to cohabit; he had taken another wife, and she one of her servants; but they lived in the same state of friendship, and with no loss of dignity. The brethren endeavoured to convince her of the dreadfulness of murder, in a mother especially. They promised to receive the child immediately, and it should be no trouble to her; but she was

sullen, and made no reply. They then addressed Pomārre, and entreated his interference in suppressing such acts of inhumanity; and to give orders that no more human sacrifices should be offered. He replied, he would; said that Captain Cook told him it should not be done; but did not stay long enough to instruct them. One of the brethren then said that we were come for that express purpose, and hoped he would hearken to our counsel; pointing out all the danger and disadvantage to themselves; and warning them, that if they despised our instructions, and continued in their wicked practices, we should leave them and go to another island, where we could hope for more attention. Pomārre was evidently affected by what was said, and especially could not bear the thought of our leaving him; and promised he would use all his authority to put an end to these practices. He indeed appears of a teachable disposition and open to conviction.'

'*April* 13.—Many *unnatural crimes,* which we dare not name, are committed daily without the idea of shame or guilt. In various districts of the island there are men who dress as women; work with them at the cloth; are confined to the same provisions and rule of eating and dressing; may not eat with the men, or of their food, but have separate plantations for their peculiar use. It is remarkable that with all these horrid vices so predominant, in our presence they never show an attitude or commit an act unseemly; indeed, they profess hardly to know what we are, and suspect we are not Englishmen, or like any others they have seen who have ever visited their island.'

'*April* 21.—Two of our brethren went with three natives to procure more wood. We went up the valley; it is about seven miles long and a quarter of a mile broad, with very little descent, which makes the river meander slowly through it. It is covered with trees, except a few verdant spots from whence the wood is cleared. The mountains on both sides are exceedingly high and perpendicular, covered with shrubs and trees, where parrots, parroquets, and a kind of grey thrush which sings delightfully, build

their nests. The natives are numerous and flourishing; they see the sun but a few hours in the day, his beams being intercepted by the mountains, and a light cool breeze blows downward continually. They have fine plantations of yava and cloth trees neatly enclosed; and they have all the other edibles in vast profusion, but are so indolent that they hardly are at the pains to gather them. They eat when they are hungry, and sleep when they please. There were several infected with that horrible disease Europeans probably have left them, and some with their limbs ready to drop off.'

'*June* 24.—Went to Oparre in our boat for wood; hospitably entertained; visited the morai, where the great god Oorōo resides; represented by an ugly piece of wood; saw there several altars and skulls of men who had been sacrificed. One of the altars was forty-five feet long, supported on pillars of the bread-fruit tree about seven feet high; the other about twelve feet square, and on the top an arched shed like the tilt of a waggon; here the wooden god was laid. One skull we observed split across, and in the midst of the morai a salt pool with a young turtle.—Oh! when shall all these horrid scenes be closed and Christ alone be exalted?'

Captain Wilson on his return from Tongatabu and the Marquesas, having landed Harris, at once arranged to put the cargo on shore, and to divide the iron and steel goods between Tahiti and Tongatabu. Four missionaries, with Jefferson as secretary, two representing Tahiti and two Tongatabu. settled the division. As this was necessarily a long operation, the captain agreed to stay till August, and meanwhile his nephew, with Peter the Swede. made a circuit of the island. Starting on July 11 they returned on July 20. The chief result of this expedition was to prove that the population of the island had been greatly over-estimated. They fixed it at about 16,000; Captain Cook had believed it to be 200,000!

On August 4 the Duff set sail on her homeward voyage *via* Tongatabu and China. Out of the whole company

only one heart seems to have quite failed at this early stage. Gillham, the surgeon, for no reason that is stated, resolved to return to England. The harbour at Tongatabu was reached on August 17. The missionaries were all safe, and had separated into groups so as to live near different chiefs. Trouble had been caused by the wicked actions of the three Europeans resident on the island. But none of the missionaries were discouraged, except Nobbs, who, on account of his health, relinquished the work and returned to England. His name then disappears with that of Gillham from the annals of the Society.

On September 7 the Duff sailed from Tongatabu, having occupied six months in settling the different parties of missionaries. After a dangerous passage, in the course of which she once struck upon a reef, fortunately without causing serious damage, she reached Macao on November 21. By December 31 the captain had succeeded in getting his cargo, and sailed for old England, casting anchor in the Thames on July 11, 1798.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable voyages in the history of England. It has not excited the romantic interest of such enterprises as Drake's voyage round the World. It does not appeal to those fighting instincts in our nature which are stirred by the achievements of men like Sir Richard Grenville, Admiral Blake, or Lord Nelson. But the man who believes in God's overruling providence, who holds that the chief need of the world is the fulfilment of Christ's last great command, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature,' places this first voyage of the Duff in the front rank of England's achievements for the world. The blessing which it has conferred upon Polynesia is beyond all power of accurate estimate, and as the first achievement of one of the greatest of modern missionary societies it will ever hold a unique position. How those who planned it, those who equipped it, those who achieved it, viewed the work done may be seen from the words with which Captain Wilson closes his official record:—

'The way into the southern ocean is now open, and the facilities for enlarging the missionary labours greatly increased. The settlements formed will every day continue to widen their circle of influence and usefulness; and new and vast countries around them, equally accessible, afford an inexhaustible field for the most vigorous of Christian zeal. The more all circumstances are weighed, the more it must appear that this hath God done; and can we perceive that it is His work, and not at least confess our obligation to further these efforts to the utmost of our power? It is to be hoped that every objection to this blessed undertaking will be now removed; that the cautious will confess themselves satisfied, and demonstrate their approbation by a more liberal assistance, because of past delay; that the prejudiced will nobly lay aside their opposition, and redeem unfavourable suggestions by immediate and generous acknowledgements that they knew us not; and that a mission to the heathen, planned with much deliberation, investigation, and zeal, and executed with eminent skill, perseverance, and success, bears a stamp of divine benediction upon it, which ought to commend it to every man's conscience in the sight of God. How much thankfulness, delight, and satisfaction, it must produce in the hearts of those who have been most active in the service, and such eminent benefactors to mankind, I need not say: their work itself is their first and highest reward.'

[AUTHORITIES.—Original Journals and Letters; Annual Reports; MSS. in the possession of Rev. H. R. Haweis: Journal kept by Dr. Haweis on the Duff from London to Portsmouth, 1796; *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, Performed in the years* 1796, 1797, 1798, *in the Ship Duff*, Quarto, London, 1799; *Evangelical Magazine* for 1795 and 1796; *Memoirs of Captain James Wilson*, by John Griffin.]

CHAPTER IV

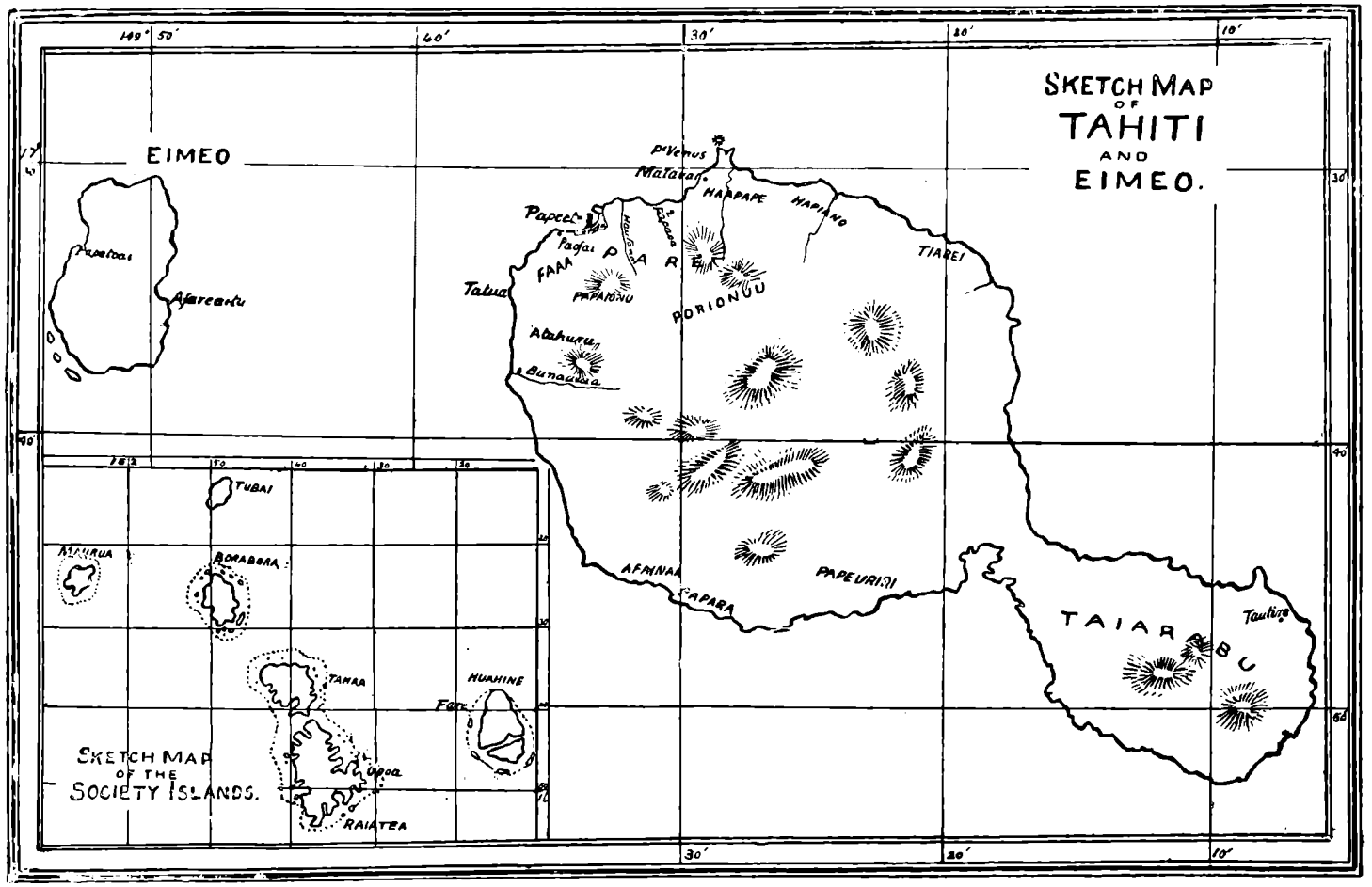
'THE NIGHT OF TOIL'

As the Duff faded from sight on August 4, 1797, the little company at Matavai might well feel that they were now embarked upon a work the issue of which none could foresee. Already they had sufficient experience of savage life to realize many causes of anxiety and many immediate and pressing difficulties. They did not forget to lift up their hearts to God in fervent prayer for the vessel's safe voyage home, and then their journal[1] tells us :—

'We also gave ourselves, in a more particular manner, to the Lord, to aid and uphold us in our important undertaking, praying that He may grant us such qualifications as shall enable us to act with consistency before the poor benighted heathen ; and that many may, through our instrumentality, be translated from the power of darkness into the kingdom of His dear Son Jesus Christ. We are now situated in one of the most delightful countries in the world ; here the cares and anxieties, which possess the poor man's breast with respect to the maintenance of his family, require not a thought ; but still we have our troubles and anxieties when we consider our critical position, upon a small island, many thousands of miles distant from our native country, and surrounded by an uncivilized people.'

The novelty had worn off ; they were now superficially

[1] The quotations in this chapter, except where otherwise indicated, are all from the 'Otaheitean Journals,' printed in *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, vols. i–iii. 1803–1813.


SKETCH MAP
OF
TAHITI
AND
EIMEO.
EIMEO
Papetoai
Afareaitu
Pt Venus
Matavai
Papeete
Papaa
HAAPAPE
HAPAIANO
TIAREI
Taiua
FAAA
PAPARA
PAPAIOHU
PORIONUU
Atahuru
Bunaauia
AFAHNAA
PAPEURIRI
TAIARAPU
Taultira
TUBAI
ATAURUA
BORABORA
TAHAA
HUAHINE
FARE
Opoa
RAIATEA
SKETCH MAP
OF THE
SOCIETY ISLANDS.

familiar with their scene of labour and the people they were striving to bless; the first intensity of their zeal, the first fervour of their missionary enthusiasm, had died away, and they were face to face with the daily burden and the daily strain of humdrum duty—the severest test to which human nature and religious experience can be exposed. They were soon to find how great was the gulf between them and the natives, until they could construct the bridge by mastering the language. This initial step, contrary to all their anticipations, was to prove the hard toil of many years. They were to discover among their own number not a few painful examples of the weakness of human nature. They were to perceive deeper and deeper abysses of degradation in the debased creatures around them, until they came at last to the conclusion that the earthly paradise of Tahiti—so rich in natural beauty of mountain and valley, of rivulet and cascade, of sea and sky, where Nature was such a loving and constant mother as to take away all motive and all need for toil—was the very seat of Satan, the centre and the home of the foulest vices that can degrade humanity. They were to prove that though many had been called to the mission, few had been chosen; they were to sow in tears plentifully; they were to pass through the long and dark night of watching; but they were also gloriously to prove that victory comes at last to the valiant who endure, and three out of the thirty lived to witness the triumph of the Gospel.

Few stories in the religious history of the world are so pathetic, so full of human interest, so full of wise suggestion regarding right and wrong methods of missionary enterprise as that told in the Otaheitean Journals for the next twenty years. It is obvious that we can glean only a few ears from this great harvest-field. The chief actors in the drama shall depict its salient movements in their own way. As early as August 13, 1797, Mr. Jefferson, the Secretary of the little community, writes, 'The more I see of the customs, temper, and conduct of this people, the more I am confirmed in an opinion that I have some time formed; viz.

that our success will not be speedy: the Lord, however, can remove all obstacles, but we are not to expect it out of the ordinary way.' The natives became more and more persistent in their thieving habits, they 'are as void of gratitude as of principle,' and the only matters to which they gave constant and consistent attention were the gratification of monstrous lust and the celebration of horrible and sanguinary religious rites.

On September 1, 1797, Jefferson and Cock, against the will of their colleagues, removed some miles to the east of Matavai. They were moved to do this by the friendliness of a chief named Vitua, and by Jefferson's declaration 'that he had learnt more of the language in twelve days which he had spent there than he had in twelve weeks at home.' Meanwhile the others passed their time in completing their house, in assemblies for religious purposes among themselves, and in holding what intercourse they could with the natives. Two subjects especially stirred their deepest feelings. They were already aware of the existence of the organization known as the Areoi Society. The marriage tie was a bond very easily loosened in Tahiti. In fact, one of the first lessons the missionaries learned, since confirmed over a very wide field of experience, was that most savage peoples have neither the practice nor even the conception of chastity. The wife of Pomare, Idia, in many respects the most powerful woman on the island, was at this time living in illicit intercourse with a man of lower rank. She had, even before the Duff sailed, murdered an infant she had borne, because she was a member of the Areoi Society, and though it was no disgrace to bear such children, it was a disgrace to let them live. This being the practice of the wife of Pomare, it is no marvel that infanticide of this barbarous kind was very common throughout the island. Large numbers of men and women belonged to this infamous Areoi Society, and were in the constant habit of thus murdering their infants. Against this horrid custom the missionaries set their faces. On November 9, 10, and 11 they discussed their attitude towards this custom at great

length, and finally decided that it was their duty 'to inform the chiefs of the object of our mission, and point out to them the dreadful consequences of murdering their offspring; and should any of the Areoi Society be prevailed on to save their children, and put them under our care, we would instruct them in our arts.' One sinister augury for the future was, that in this first great discussion on the attitude of the community towards heathen savagery, many of the brethren opposed any bold and decided policy, and toned down the resolution to the form given above.

Another question to which they directed much attention was, what should be done in case of an attack on them by the natives. This was decided in favour of the view that in their own house they ought, for the sake of the women and children, to defend themselves even by force.

On November 20, one of their number raised the very difficult practical question, Was it improper for a missionary to marry a native woman? After full discussion they decided, after requesting each member of the mission to give his opinion, 'That to marry a heathen woman was directly contrary to the Word of God, and resolved in the Lord's strength to abide as they were.'

During the next few weeks attempts were made to acquaint the chiefs with the decision regarding infanticide. Ignorance of the language rendered this attempt fruitless. On March 6, 1798, a date of ill omen to the mission, great excitement was caused by the appearance of a vessel, which proved to be the Nautilus, belonging to Macao, and originally bound to the north-west of America on the fur trade, but, driven far out of her course by a gale, was now bound for the island of Masuefero, near Juan Fernandez, off the coast of South America, in search of seal-skins. This was the first vessel they had seen since the departure of the Duff. The ship was in great distress for want of provisions, and was destitute of a cargo. The missionaries exerted themselves to such purpose in supplying the needs of the Nautilus that they won the gratitude of captain and supercargo, and on March 10 the Nautilus sailed for

Masuefero. On March 23 they were greatly surprised to see her once again, and on boarding her found she had suffered severely in a gale, had altered her plans, and was now going to make for Sydney.

Meanwhile, because during the first stay of the Nautilus the missionaries had tried to prevent the captain from supplying him with arms and powder, and had also exerted their influence to check immorality, Otu had become enraged against them. Unaware of this, on March 26 four of their body, Jefferson, Main, Broomhall, and W. Puckey, went to Otu at the request of the captain to demand the return of two of his men who had deserted. They saw Otu, who did not receive them well, and on their way to Pomare they were surrounded by a crowd of natives, who assaulted them, stripped them naked, and so maltreated them, that on the arrival of some friendly natives they 'congratulated each other, and acknowledged the goodness of the Lord in giving them their lives for a prey thus far.' When they reached Pomare, he and Idia expressed the greatest concern at the treatment they had received, clothed them in native cloth, and enabled them to return to Matavai. But the sailors were not given up.

The news of what had happened had already reached the rest of the mission at Matavai, and the return of the sufferers caused the greatest excitement in the community. The testing time had come, and unfortunately many were to prove unequal to the strain. On March 27 'the greatest part of the brethren assented,' at a meeting of the society, to the proposition, 'That from the recent occurrence, and present appearance of things, a removal of the society off the island seemed necessary.' Cover, one of the ordained men, was the moving spirit in this act of desertion, and, with W. Puckey, was deputed to ask Captain Bishop's advice and consent to remove them. The captain expressed himself in favour of retreat to Port Jackson, and at a meeting held forthwith this question was put to each member, 'Brother, is it your determination to abide in Otaheite, or

remove to Port Jackson?' Cover, Hassell, Henry, Hodges (all married), Main, Oakes, J. Puckey, W. Puckey, and Smith, decided to go; Bicknell, Harris, Jefferson, Lewis, and Nott to remain. Broomhall, Clode, and Cock asked to be allowed another day to decide, and Eyre said that, though willing to stay, he left his wife to decide the question, since, if the others departed, she would be the only white woman left on the island. Mrs. Eyre, though deserted by all the other female members of the mission, nobly resolved to stay, thus beginning, on the part of missionaries' wives, that marvellous record of self-sacrifice and faithfulness and whole-hearted consecration at times of difficulty and danger in which the story of the century is so rich. It is true that she was very much older than any of the other wives, and she was also a very bad sailor. Some of those who left did not scruple to say that she remained behind chiefly on account of these two things. But even making full allowance for these, Mrs. Eyre's name deserves a high place upon our roll of fame. Those only who have been placed in somewhat similar circumstances can fully appreciate the courage and faith and unselfishness which she displayed. The other three decided to go, but at the last moment Broomhall, having asked those who remained to decide for him, accepted their judgment, and stayed at Tahiti.

On March 31 the Nautilus sailed, and thus, one year and twenty-five days after the Duff reached Tahiti, only seven out of the eighteen who had chosen that island as their home were found faithful enough to the work to accept the risk of personal danger in its discharge. Many causes contributed to this disastrous result. One was the imperfect education of the great majority; another the fear felt by the married missionaries on behalf of their wives and children; another the fact that the religious life of several was not sufficiently developed to stand the severe strain of attempting to live as Christians on Tahiti. In the brief and pathetic letter which those who remained sent to the Directors at home they touch the heart of the episode,

and lay the finger upon the weak spot in those whose courage failed at the moment of trial. The document deserves a permanent place in the Society's history, and we quote it in full:—

'From the Missionaries on the Island of Otaheite, or King George's Island, in the great South Sea, to the Directors of the Missionary Society; who, under the great Prince of all Missionaries, for the preaching of His Gospel in all parts of the world, were instrumental in commissioning us to go forth and teach the heathens in these seas; grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

'DEARLY BELOVED BRETHREN,

'Time and circumstances will not admit us at this present to enter upon particulars. The change that has taken place in our situation, by the sudden resolution of the major part of the society of missionaries, to depart from this island of Otaheite, for Port Jackson, in New Holland, we trust will nothing hinder that work which first induced us to offer our service to the Directors of the Missionary Society, supported us under the heavy trial of forsaking parents, brothers, sisters, friends, &c., &c., and still encourages us patiently to abide the will of God concerning us on this island. We can only assure the Directors of the Society, our confidence is the strength of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose aid we depend upon, and whose servants we desire to manifest ourselves to be. We also humbly request the Directors of the Missionary Society not to forget us either in their prayers, or revisiting us, if any favourable opportunity for so doing should occur. We do not expect, nor solicit, that the Missionary Society should put themselves to any further expense on our account; but if the Directors should judge it prudent, and find it convenient, to send out a few presents for those who shall have showed themselves most friendly towards us, such as knives, scissors, a few axes

and such articles, they will be gratefully received. Experience has taught us, the more we are encumbered about worldly things the less concern we have for the conversion of the heathen; and the more we are detached from secular employments, the more, we trust, our minds will be attached to the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Otaheite affords food and raiment suitable to its climate, and sufficient to answer the great end of Providence, in granting us these blessings, viz. to cover our nakedness, and to sustain for a while our earthly perishing tabernacles, and having those things, we hope the Lord will teach us to be content. We think it needful to inform the Directors of the Society that it appears to us at present a reinforcing of this island with a body of missionaries, consisting of men, women, and children, and furnished after the manner of ourselves, when we quitted our native country in the ship Duff, would nothing forward the work of God on Otaheite, or the adjacent islands; but, if four or six Christian men, void of worldly encumbrances, will be willing to hazard their lives for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the salvation of the heathen, and led by the eternal spirit, forsake all and follow us, we shall glory, if spared, to give them the right hand of Christian brotherly fellowship.

'We conclude, with our prayers to our God, and your God, our Lord Jesus Christ, and your Lord, for His blessing upon your labours for spreading abroad the savour of the grace of Christ through the four quarters of the world.

'We remain,

'Dearly beloved brethren,

'Your brethren, in the Gospel of Jesus Christ,

B. BICKNELL, J. EYRE,
J. HARRIS, J. JEFFERSON,
T. LEWIS, H. NOTT.

'*Otaheite, Matavai District, March* 29, 1798.'

To the above letter brother Eyre subjoined the following lines:—

'From JOHN EYRE, to the Directors of the Missionary Society in England.

'DEAR BRETHREN,

'Having, after many temptations and severe conflicts, given myself and wife up to the Lord Jesus, and to you His servants, for the propagating of the Gospel among the heathens in the Society Islands; and having, in a solemn, public manner received a designation from you for the same: I now solemnly pray, that I may be found faithful to the Lord, and my engagements with you. After hearing the determination of the brethren, concerning removing for Botany Bay, I laid the matter open before my wife, with the dangers and distresses that were very likely to befall her continuance here, and left the Lord to dispose her mind to His will. I now join with her in giving ourselves up to the Lord, hoping we shall act more like the servants of the Lord than ever, willing to bear the reproach of good and bad men, for my present conduct, till we meet at the bar of Him who trieth hearts and weigheth actions.

'JOHN EYRE.'

The party who sailed in the Nautilus carried off what they considered to be their share of the public property. The store-room, containing the large amount of property yet remaining, which constantly aroused the covetousness of the natives, was formally made over to Pomare, and accepted by him. All the arms and ammunition, two pistols excepted which were left unwittingly, one of which was afterwards presented to the king, and the other stolen by a native, were sent on board the Nautilus. Those who remained were resolved to cast themselves wholly upon God, and they found, as His faithful servants ever have found in the season of trial and darkness and danger, that whether for life or death, He is a present help in time of trouble.

The hearts of the little band were anxious and perturbed, the natives became more and more troublesome through their thieving propensities, yet at the end of the first fort-

night they wrote, 'We can safely say, hitherto the Lord has been better to us than our fears.' On April 18 Pomare came to them and said, 'How many of you know how to make war? Brother Nott replied, "We know nothing of war."' After Pomare had left they had a consultation, and resolved unanimously, through the grace of God, not to intermeddle with arms either for offence or defence.

Pomare had taken steps to punish those whose assault upon the missionaries had led to such disastrous results, and some fifteen natives lost their lives in the conflicts which ensued. This action upon his part was altogether contrary to the wish of the missionaries themselves, and it initiated a series of tribal conflicts which lasted for a number of years, and at several seasons seemed to promise a speedy termination to all mission work. But the best picture of life in Tahiti at this time can be gained by studying attentively a few extracts quoted just as they stand in the journal written from day to day by the Secretary, Mr. Jefferson:—

'*June* 22.—Received a visit from the king and queen last night, after nine o'clock. They came to take their leave of us, prior to their departure for Opare. Otoo and Tatóoā-noce still continue their regal privileges of riding across the shoulders of their attendants; and, however unseemly the custom is, and uncommon to an European, yet it must be acknowledged they sit as easy, and what is termed graceful, as any expert horseman can on the back of a horse; and, although Otoo and Tatóoā-noce are well-grown persons, yet their bearers carry them, when travelling, generally at a trotting pace. The young king continues friendly to us. Yavva continues to be prepared as related by Captain Cook, and drank to excess by chiefs and common people. The effects it produces are visible, in some, from the head to the soles of their feet. The eyes of the great yavva drinkers are much bloodshot, sometimes very sore; their skin covered with a great thick scurf, and the soles of their feet chopt or cracked; it also subjects some of them to strong fits. Notwithstanding the filthy

manner of preparing, its nauseous smell, and reputed disagreeable taste, it is as much admired by Otaheitean epicures, as the finest wines, produced in Italy or France, are by the most refined sensualist in England.'

'*Sunday, July* 8.—No interruption through the day. Before the division of the society, the natives in the neighbourhood forbore the making of their cloth on the Sabbath, but now they have returned to their custom, and the sound of the cloth-beater is heard near to us. Edéă has not visited us since the murder of her infant; she is quite recovered, though she has not been delivered above eight or nine days. The man who cohabits with her, the father of the child murdered, breakfasted with brother Eyre this morning; an opportunity was taken of informing him anew of the evil of the custom; all he could say in justification of the action was, his being a *mannahówne*, or mean man, and Edéă an *arée-vāheine*, or chief woman.'

On August 1, 1798, the hearts of the missionary community were deeply grieved by the receipt of a letter from Mr. Lewis, stating that it was now his fixed determination to marry a native woman. They reasoned with him, they recalled to his recollection that he himself had voted, in previous full and careful consideration of this very question, that any one acting as he now proposed to do must be excommunicated. Finally, after having employed in vain every influence they could exert to induce him to pause, they informed him that they were unanimous in not considering him a member of the Church. Unaffected by these remonstrances, Mr. Lewis went to reside at a district called Ahonu, taking the native woman, about whom the controversy with his brethren had arisen, to live with him there as his wife. Though excluded from the house and the fellowship of his brethren, he continued to attend the public religious services, and to bring this native with him. All friendly relations with his colleagues had thus necessarily ceased, but they let him know how gladly they would welcome him back upon coming to a better mind once again. It must be borne in mind in this and in all similar

circumstances that the woman remained *heathen*, not only ignorant of Christianity, but addicted to all the abominable practices of savage life. It was not a case of a missionary marrying a native convert, but of a Christian man uniting himself to a heathen woman, and that on an island where the testimony of the missionaries, after a residence of eighteen months, was that in all probability not one single female on the island over ten or twelve years of age had escaped pollution.

On August 24, 1798, a little more than a year after the Duff had sailed on her homeward voyage, two whalers from London, the Cornwall and the Sally, after touching at Port Jackson, called at Tahiti, with a 'welcome packet of letters from England, and with a quantity of magazines, newspapers, and prints.' This was the first mail they had received since leaving England two years before. The vessels stayed only two days, and in the brief letter they were enabled to send to the Directors, one sentence only is noteworthy.

'Our time has principally been engaged in labouring to acquire a knowledge of the language of the country, which we find all Europeans who ever visited Otaheite have utterly mistaken, as to spelling, pronunciation, ease in learning, and the barrenness of it. We have already joined some thousands of words, and we believe some thousands yet remain; a knowledge of which we hope to attain, through the blessing of God. We endeavour to speak a little to the inhabitants, as occasion offers, on *the one thing needful*, but our ignorance of the language will not suffer us to say much.'

The whalers also brought tidings of their departed comrades. Messrs. Cover and Henry sent a letter, giving details of their doings, but complaining, somewhat hypercritically, it must be confessed, in the light of their own action, of the tone of the letter which the seven had sent to the Directors. There was also one from W. Puckey, in which he makes these significant admissions, 'I know that my departure did not meet with general approbation,' and, 'I have often

thought what a hurry and confusion we left you in, and what fear possessed us: which, perhaps, in some measure, might be unnecessary.'

'*September* 10.—The king, queen, Pomére, Edéă, Mannĕ-mannĕ, are to the westward, anxiously waiting the issue of the late calamitous visitation. We have reason to believe Orepiah's death would be the cause of great secret rejoicing to Pomére, Edéă, and others, who seem to stand in much dread from the close union subsisting between Otoo and Orepiah; the latter being the uncle of the former, has acted as a kind of guardian to him during his youthful days. Though the wheels of political government are not so many in this as in our native island, yet they are more in number than any would conceive from the rude and barbarous state the nation is in. They have their plots and court intrigues, their parties and partisans, as well here as in England; and they are as important in their way as in the most refined court of Europe.'

'*Sunday, September* 16.—The poor heathen around us remarkably still through the day. They do not discover the smallest desire to know aught of the things of God; nor have they any curiosity to know why we so frequently meet together, to read, sing, and pray; or why we so particularly honour every seventh day, in setting it apart for the worship of God, and refraining from labour thereon. The poor Otaheiteans are deeply prejudiced in favour of their idolatrous worship, though they do not scruple frequently to say, *their gods are good for nothing*. Nor are they less attached to their manners and customs in civil life. Notwithstanding their rude uncultivated state, they seem to hold themselves as civilized a people as any beneath the sun, and treat the arts and sciences, customs, and manners of Europeans with great indifference and contempt.'

'*November* 5.—The work of our mission we keep in view, and patiently wait for the time of labouring in this part of the Lord's vineyard. None know, but those who are in similar circumstances with ourselves, what it is to live in the

midst of professed heathens and uncivilized barbarians. By our own experience we have reason to believe many of the true children of God in our native country formed in their minds very different ideas of the work of preaching the Gospel to the Otaheiteans, to what they would were they with us on the spot, to see and hear what we have seen and heard. The language, too, which many thought so easy, and to be acquired in a few months at most, we find exceeding difficult. Thanks be unto God we are in His hands as clay is in the hands of a potter, and out of the mouths of babes He can perfect praise.'

The chief Temare or Orepiah, both names being used, referred to in the first of these extracts, was a subordinate ruler on Tahiti, who sided with Otu against his father, Pomare. Thinking that some gunpowder which he had obtained for purposes of war was not genuine, in experimenting upon it the whole blew up, and so seriously injured the chief that he died shortly afterwards on September 8. Huamannemanne, the old priest, who had always been so friendly to the missionaries, was killed by order of Pomare, he being in alliance with Otu.

'Manněmanně was a native of Oryātéeā, of which island he was once chief, but his subjects revolting expelled him the island. He then sought shelter on Otaheite, and obtained it, and has here exercised the office of chief priest for many years; under this character he has been guilty of much slaughter, shedding torrents of human blood in sacrifice to abominable idols and devils. He was esteemed by all ranks as a man of great knowledge, so that it was thought he had not his equal on the island. It appears a jealousy has long subsisted between the deceased and Edéă and Pomare, upon what account we know not. Pomare seemed to stand in fear of the priest (who was related to him), and had a kind of persuasion respecting him, similar to that the King of Moab had of Balaam, namely, "Whom he blessed was blessed, and whom he cursed was cursed." Many were led away with the delusion that Manněmanně had great influence with their gods.'

Of Otu, then king, and afterwards the supreme ruler in the island, the record says:—

'The conduct of Otoo, in consenting to the death of Manněmanně, at the time he was in close alliance with him, opens the character of the man in a conspicuous manner, and confirms us in a suspicion we have long entertained, but knew not how to account for, concerning the stripping of brothers Broomhall, Jefferson, Main, and W. Puckey, at Opare. When that circumstance took place we seemed assured it was done by the king's authority, but when Otoo afterwards joined his father in punishing the poor people for the same, we could not readily reconcile his authorizing the action and then destroying those that did it. But we had seen so much of him since that we believe he is capable of committing any wickedness the devil, his carnal mind, and bloodthirsty followers may excite him to, if God did not restrain him.'

'*December* 31.—We are now brought to the conclusion of another year; and on looking back, we perceive it has been a year of singular events and peculiar providences with us. Nine months out of the twelve we have been preserved in a truly wonderful manner; and though we have enjoyed great peace, yet frequent alarms of danger have been sounded in our ears, and excited those emotions natural to us as men. By the goodness of God we here erect our pillar of remembrance, and thankfully inscribe upon it, "Thus far the Lord hath helped us." Our time has been much employed in various duties. Some have been occupied in constructing our habitations so as to prevent those depredations we found ourselves exposed to, and suffered from the natives, that have frequently much thronged us, and whose eyes were like the eyes of an eagle when in quest of prey, and their fingers ready to cling to everything that came in their way. Others have been engaged in study, labouring to acquire that knowledge which, through the grace of Christ, may render us more profitable to others. The attainment of the Otaheitean language has been attended to, but we fall far short herein. Our communica-

tions with the natives have been as free as we deemed it prudent they should be; but the strange construction of their words and sentences, with their quick and vehement mode of pronunciation, is a difficulty not easy to be surmounted. We have endeavoured to lisp out something of the things of Christ, but at present we see nothing to make us hope an arrow of conviction has taken place in any poor heathen's heart. The instructing of the Otaheiteans in any useful art, though desirable, we suppose will never be effected by us, at least till the Gospel's powerful and saving influence is felt; for though our superiority in various things is confessed, yet prejudice and indolence are so deeply rooted in them, that no attempt (that we know of) is hitherto made to improve in the building of their houses, canoes, &c., though they have many axes, saws, planes, &c., &c., in their possession. The teaching their children letters in their present state of uncivilization and paganism will, we fear, be also insurmountable: for the spirit of their youths can brook no opposition, no restriction, no correction: like the wild ass in the wilderness, they delight in scenting the air of brutal uncontrolled freedom. The authority of parents appears to be but slightly regarded; of masters, not known. Children (the males), if they like not their situation, remove where they list, without any danger of suffering from want of food, covering, or shelter. Even the attendants of their chiefs remain no longer about their persons than they please. Notwithstanding these things are so, we are not in despair. The work we are engaged in is not ours, but God's: it is *ours* to use the appointed means, *His* to bless them. We still continue to believe we are not brought and preserved here in the manner we have been for naught; we look forward to a period when we hope to see the Word of God run and be glorified. Many dark seasons may intervene, and many fiery darts from Satan cause pangs unutterable before the arrival of that period; but the sight of *one* convert to Christ will more than overpoise gloomy prospects and Satan's arrows.'

During the early part of 1799 the little band of mis-

sionaries kept bravely on their way. Inability to master the language was the great hindrance to the work upon which their hearts were set. It is hard for us to think ourselves back into the experience of these men. So many languages have been reduced to writing, so many linguistic triumphs won during the century, that we are apt to underrate their intellectual ability, or to think lightly of their application and energy. But they were patiently and perseveringly and nobly doing a gigantic work. They were the first in modern times to grapple with a savage language, reduce it to grammatical order, represent its sounds, so difficult to catch from the lips of the natives, by the proper letters, and unravel the mystery of its complicated syntax. What was a labour of heart-breaking difficulty to them became comparatively easy to the men who entered into their labours, and in reducing to writing the language of Tahiti they practically accomplished the task for the whole of Eastern Polynesia.

They were also daily adding to their knowledge of the people and their customs.

'*April* 9, 1799.—Our growth in the knowledge of the language still slow, and in many cases uncertain; which is in a great measure owing to our not being able to catch the sound of the words with that exactness that is necessary. The language abounds with vowels, even more than any navigator who has given specimens of it was aware of. Many words consist of nothing but vowels, and each has a sound; but the natives utter their words with such rapidity, that it is with the utmost difficulty we can discover the true manner of spelling them; and when this is accomplished with any tolerable degree of precision, there is as great a labour to arrive at the true sense and meaning of a word, or its various meanings; for one word is used to express very opposite things in different sentences. And, which adds to the difficulty, they abbreviate their words so much, that those which we are well acquainted with, and which, if fully pronounced, we should readily understand, are by the abbreviation so shortened, that we

frequently mistake them for new words, and are thus puzzled and perplexed. However, we have good hopes that when, by the blessing of God, we have mastered the language, and reduced it to the best order that our skill will accomplish, it will be easy for others to learn.'

'*April* 23.—Brother Broomhall's attempt to instruct the young chief of Tearay to read does not succeed. Savage ignorance and brutal freedom are the delight of the natives. The children cannot bear to have their desires crossed, their actions prohibited, and their wild ramblings controlled. Learning requires application, to which they are not only strangers, but averse. We cannot use compulsion, and persuasion is labour without profit. We must patiently wait for the morning, when mental darkness shall be dispersed, and the true light shine into their hearts; when new views, new ideas, new desires, shall arise, and thereby an effectual door be opened, for profitable instruction on our part, and beneficial improvement on theirs.'

'*June* 8.—Something that was seen among the people to-day shows us that these heathens, like the heathens of old, are given up to unnatural affections: it is said that Otoo is the slave of such vile passions.'

'*Sunday, July* 7.—We had a few contemptuous words from some natives, the generality of whom, so far as they have heard from us what Christianity is, treat the Lord Christ and His religion with that scorn Satan and his children ever have done.'

'*October* 16.—Some heavy rain this morning from the north-west, weather in general cloudy. Duties of the day as before. Heard that five human sacrifices have, within a few days, been brought over from Eimeo, to this island.—Also that many of the inhabitants of Opare (of the poorest sort) have fled to the mountains, to avoid being seized for human sacrifices: as Otoo and Pomére are looking out for what they deem fit objects for that purpose.'

'*November* 13.—This morning a human sacrifice was brought into this district from Hăpyāno, which they were taking to Pomére. Two of the brethren saw the corpse,

it was tied up in a long basket made of cocoa-nut leaves: his head was much bruised with stones, with which they had killed him. It appears that Pomére is sending to every district of the greater peninsula, which is in his interest, to send him a human sacrifice: by this it is manifest something great is in agitation among them.'

At intervals all through the year their late colleague, Mr. Lewis, had endeavoured in various letters to justify himself, and to condemn the severity with which he thought he had been treated. The little community adhered steadfastly to their first position. While he continued to reside with the heathen woman, while he refused to acknowledge his sin against God and his sin against the little church, they could have no fellowship with him. Such articles from the common store as he required and asked for they gave him; the door of the public assembly was ever open to him; but nothing more. On the morning of November 28 they were shocked when a native from Ahonu brought the tidings of his death. The incident, naturally enough, fills many pages of the journal, and was the subject of long communications to the Directors. A veil of mystery and uncertainty has ever since hung over the event. Although it was never proved, there was grave reason to believe that he had quarrelled with the relatives of the woman for whose sake he had proved unfaithful to his high calling. They coveted his property; the woman, to whom the very idea of chastity was unknown, acted as all her heathen sisters did; quarrels ensued, and in all probability in one of these Mr. Lewis was murdered. The brethren instantly sent to his residence, found there his dead body, took reverent and tender charge of it, and on November 29 brought it to Matavai for burial.

'At four o'clock, the brethren being assembled, and the weather dry, the disposition for carrying the corpse to the grave was made: brothers Nott, Jefferson, Eyre, and Bicknell were the bearers, and brothers Harris and Broomhall followed. The corpse being let down into the grave, brother Harris read Psalm xc, and then addressed the

Most High in a prayer suitable to the occasion. Prayer ended, the brethren, with the assistance of two or three natives, filled up the grave, and then withdrew to brother Eyre's, where a prayer-meeting was held. Our feelings at this truly affecting season cannot be committed to paper.'

On December 21 the British ship Betsy, with a Spanish brig as a prize, hove in sight, and two days later John Harris signified his intention of going in her, first to the Friendly Islands, that is, to Tongatabu, to see how the brethren there had fared, and then to Port Jackson, promising to return to Tahiti at the first opportunity. Thus the close of this year brought two sorrows upon the little community—one by death, the other by a further failure of courage and sense of duty. On December 31 the dwindling band bade farewell to John Harris, who never found the convenient opportunity to return. Still the courage of the few held out. In the spirit of these words they closed the year 1799:—

'By the good hand of the Lord upon us, we are brought in safety to the close of the year, a year which we have abundant cause to remember with gratitude to the Most High for His mercies towards us on these heathen shores. On taking a retrospective view of our employments, and what progress we have made in the work of our mission, we see much reason for humiliation. It is true no one, we trust, has been altogether idle, nor can any of us tell how profitable we may have been. Nature shows us that the seed sown to-day must remain awhile in the earth before it can bear fruit: so what has been spoken by one and the other of us, though we do not see it as yet productive of good, may not be totally unprofitable. Certain it is, the poor heathen of Otaheite have heard more of spiritual things in the past year than they have ever heard before, and which may, by the blessing of the Lord, be preparative for planting the Gospel in due time among them. We hope some prejudices are removed, or at least weakened; but others remain, and perhaps receive fresh strength by the loose, profligate, sinful conduct of our ungodly country-

men, who occasionally come here. However, the good will of God towards His elect among the islanders can be nothing hindered thereby, though the difficulties on our side may be greater.'

Darker and darker grew the prospect; but in Tahiti, as in many parts of God's great harvest-field, the darkness became denser just before a dawn. Long and weary years were still to pass before the dawn they longed for came. And not all of those who so nobly endured the strain of these early experiences were to see it. But they were now to receive their first encouragement since the great desertion of 1798. On January 5, 1800, the ship Eliza, from Port Jackson, anchored in Matavai Bay, and on board were Mr. Henry, his wife, and their daughter Sarah, returning to the work. They are entitled to the more honour since they only of the company who fled in the Nautilus returned to the work. To none among the little band could this event have been so welcome as to Mrs. Eyre.

On January 14 the Eliza sailed, having inflicted upon both missionaries and natives the greatest possible injury by giving Pomare 'a carronade, two swivels, several muskets, and a great deal of ammunition,' and further by leaving behind four dissolute sailors who had deserted, and who, like their kind, were to be a constant source of evil and of trouble. On January 31, 1800, Mr. and Mrs. Henry were formally reunited to the little church from which they had separated themselves by their departure on March 29, 1798.

The daily round of duties was resumed after the Eliza had sailed—the conduct of their private and public devotional meetings, needful work connected with their houses, the study of the language, and intercourse with the natives. On January 25 an entry occurs in the journal, the first in the history of the Society which illustrates the folly of being too eager to record spiritual results and to publish them to the world.

'Several months ago, brother Bicknell having had many private conversations with a native that was frequently with him, the man, to appearance, gave evidences of his being

under some convictions of sin, and a concern for his salvation. In a letter brother Bicknell wrote to brother Hassell, at Sydney, by the Cornwall and Sally's prize, he took notice of this matter, not expecting it would go any further; but we learn from brother Henry that brother Hassell has wrote to England, to the Rev. George Burder, giving him information of the same. As we have not mentioned this circumstance to the Directors, it will appear exceeding strange should brother Hassell's letter reach the Rev. George Burder, that our letters are silent upon a matter of such importance. Brother Bicknell never made it publicly known to us, so that the Secretary was an entire stranger to it till within a few days past. From what brother Bicknell relates, it is not improbable but some impressions were made upon the man, and desires awakened in him that he before knew nothing of; but at present those impressions and desires appear to be lost.'

They were not only disappointed in the case of this native, but they were once more to find a foe in their own household. On June 6, 1800, Mr. Broomhall began to act in a way that aroused first the fears and then the anxious sympathy of his colleagues; and finally he announced that he had ceased to believe in the immortality of the soul, and declined to submit any longer to the restraints of the Gospel. In this case, as in that of Mr. Lewis, all the persuasive force of brotherly entreaty, earnest prayer, and quiet reasoning was brought to bear upon him; but in vain. Finally the others had also to sever his connection with the Society, and this they did on July 25. In the meantime Mr. Broomhall had taken a native of Raiatea as his wife. We dwell upon these cases of moral weakness at some length because they exerted a depressing influence upon the little community, because the rest found them harder to bear than all their other troubles, and because they illustrate the severe strain put upon heart and mind and will by such close and continuous contact with heathenism. How these events, the constant rumours of war, and the absence of the slightest

sign of success told upon them in the way of steady, persistent depression is shown in such entries as this in the journal:—

'*October* 31.—Day very cloudy, with abundance of rain. In the evening held an experience meeting. Though enjoying much outward peace, we find many inward conflicts, and each one feels it is not a light matter to wrestle against the powers of darkness, and a body of death, and to lay hold on eternal life. Our views of our missionary work are in general dark, but not hopeless. The slow progress the most of us are making in the knowledge of the language of the country fills us with a degree of shame and self-abasement. In the midst of all inward trials and outward discouragements, we thank God for His unspeakable mercies towards us, and commit all our concerns into His hands to dispose of them at His good pleasure.'

On December 29 the Albion, a whaler, anchored in Matavai Bay, bringing tidings of the capture of the Duff on her second voyage and of the disasters that had overtaken the Tongatabu Mission, and that Harris had settled on Norfolk Island. On December 31 they wrote a letter to the Directors, from which we extract two paragraphs.

'The public preaching of the Gospel to the inhabitants of Otaheite is not yet commenced, we not yet being sufficiently acquainted with the language of the country; though we endeavour, as we are able, to drop the word of life to individuals. In taking a view of our past and present situations, with future hopes, through the mercy of God, we humbly conceive, if an experienced Director, at the head of a *well organized* body of missionaries, should be inclined to join us, it might be of singular service, in establishing the mission in this island, and among the surrounding ones. The advantage our brethren would have in learning the language, through our assistance, would certainly be great, and that path we have found rough to our feet, be much more easy to theirs; for clear it is, in our judgment, the language of Otaheite must be learnt at Otaheite.'

'Though, to our views, the work of the mission seems to

be nothing advanced with us, yet we see we have abundant cause to be thankful that the whole fabric is not destroyed; and that there yet remaineth for us a door of hope, though in the valley of Achor.'

On January 3, 1801, the Albion sailed, and missionary life on Tahiti returned to its normal conditions. Meanwhile we may well pause here to glance at what had been happening during the last three years and a half, first at Tongatabu—some 1,500 miles west of Tahiti—and then at the Marquesas Islands, several hundred miles to the north-east.

The Duff sailed from Tongatabu on September 7, 1797. The nine missionaries who had chosen it as their field of labour were stationed under the charge of different chiefs. One of their number, Veeson, even before the Duff sailed, had by his conduct aroused suspicion, and on October 3 suspicion became certainty. On October 6 an American ship named the Mercury arrived, and when she sailed on the 13th, she had added greatly to the difficulty and danger of the missionaries' position by leaving behind six runaway sailors. The two already on the island when the missionaries landed, Ambler and Morgan, were both men of a very low type, and the additions now made to their number were ready for any crime. At the same time his brethren were compelled to excommunicate Veeson. The weeks passed quickly, the only religious meetings possible being those held by the missionaries for and among themselves. Scattered as they were over the whole of a large island, they held united monthly meetings at the different stations for the purpose of mutual encouragement and strength.

The natives of Tongatabu were a fine race physically, but cruel and treacherous, and even more given to thieving than those on Tahiti. They took umbrage at the prayers of the missionaries, and attributed various misfortunes by which they were visited to this practice. The following extracts from the journal kept by the missionaries depict their daily experience and the occasional risks they ran:—

'*July* 13.—The brethren were informed by Cowmawie

that most of the chiefs in the country had solicited Dugonagaboola to put us all to death, to which he supposed they were instigated by a desire for our property; our prayers only furnishing them with a pretence. This report was at that time looked upon as an artifice of his to accomplish some selfish purpose; as the chiefs in general carried it so fair to us, that we could not see the least ground to suspect them of any such design: we however soon found cause to think a greater share of credit due to him, and have since been assured that about that time a plot was on foot, in which some of those who pretended the most friendship for us, were the most active.

'On the 21st, about three in the morning, the house of brother Cooper was entered by ten or twelve men, who threatening to kill him if he made any noise, ordered him out of doors: he instantly obeyed, begging them not to abuse him but to take what they found in the house, upon which they stript off his shirt, and gave him a piece of country cloth to wrap round him; then taking whatever they could lay their hands on, they left him, without doing him any personal injury.'

'*April* 4.—We had been able to attempt very little in a way of conversation, for we found it a hard matter to convey to them any proper ideas even of natural things, wherewith they had not been conversant; much more of those spiritual and divine truths, the knowledge of which is necessary to salvation: we therefore determined, in the first place, to spend one hour every Wednesday evening in joint supplications to the Lord, on whom the whole success of the work depends; that He would make us both able and faithful in His service, and crown our labours with His blessing, and then to endeavour to reduce the language we had learned into some kind of a grammatical form, which we hoped would be of great service to us all, by giving us a more general and regular knowledge of it; this, however, we could not enter upon at the present, no one being prepared for it.'

The murder of the great chief of the island on April 21,

1798, led to civil war, in which the most revolting and savage cruelties were committed. There is no need to attempt any full sketch of what happened. The chiefs expected the missionaries to aid them in the warfare, and could not comprehend the reasons why this was impossible. The other white men on the island rivalled the natives in ferocity. The whole island became the scene of infernal deeds, and on May 10 three of the missionaries, Bowell, Gaulton, and Harper, were massacred. They were slain by the natives under the mistaken impression that they were actively siding with those natives under whose protection they had been living, and who had been defeated in battle.

For the next few weeks the lives of the surviving missionaries were in constant peril, but by God's overruling providence they escaped. On June 5 they were enabled to visit Ardeo, where their brethren had perished.

'On our arrival at Ardeo, we found it a perfect desolation: the fences were all torn in pieces, the houses either burnt or laid in ruinous heaps, and the fruits mostly destroyed. After taking a short survey of the premises, we were conducted to the place where our brethren lay, which afforded a still more melancholy and distressing scene; we found brothers Bowell and Gaulton upon the road, very near to each other; brother Harper lay in the adjoining field, about fifty yards nearer home; they were all so much disfigured, that we could not have known any of them, but for the natives, who had often seen them since their death. With the assistance of the natives, digging a grave large enough to contain the brethren, we with some difficulty moved them into it, and thus buried them without either coffin or shroud, not having so much as a change of country cloth for our own use.'

Thus in less than five years after the foundation of the Society, and only about two years after beginning their work, the first names appear upon the martyr roll of the century. The list has grown large since those early days, and the names of the three that stand at the head of this roll of glory are unknown to multitudes even of those who support

the Society to-day. But the names of Bowell, Harper, and Gaulton deserve to be remembered wherever the story of missionary zeal and consecration is recorded. They had undertaken the work knowing that it involved possible risk of life; they took the risk; the Great Head of the Church placed upon them this crowning service. Their heroism, and that of their successors, should inspire afresh all who read this narrative to further with ever-increasing zeal the great cause for which as valiant soldiers they died.

For six months longer the survivors endured all the terrors and trials of savage life at its worst. They could make little or no progress in the work of either civilizing or evangelizing the natives. War, remarkably alike whether waged among savages or civilized people, arrests all work that is for the highest and best interests of men. It is not surprising then to read in the journal words like these:—

'Thus we had passed nearly nine months since the death of our friend Dugonagaboola, labouring under a complication of evils arising from the inhuman war, which was conducted with the most savage barbarity; from our entire subjection to the people, whereby our usefulness among them, in the way we intended, was totally prevented; and from our consequent poverty, being destitute of raiment, and nearly of necessary food; these evils seemed to accumulate daily, by the assiduity of our enemies, for we had the most positive assurances that Loogalalla had determined on the death of some, perhaps of several of us, on his return to the island, which was expected in less than a month; and if any survived his cruelty, they must have expected to share deep in the calamities arising from the late storm. With these discouraging views, some had entertained serious thoughts of quitting the island in our small boat, and attempting a voyage to the coast of New Holland; but it appeared to others no better than flying from one death to a worse, for it was very unlikely we could ever have made Port Jackson, being destitute of every material for navigation, and having no way to procure a sufficient

quantity of food and water for our support; but in this season of distress the Lord appeared for our deliverance in a way quite unexpected.'

The deliverance was the arrival on January 31 of the Betsy, which had left Tahiti on January 1, and on Captain Clark offering them a passage to Port Jackson, this way of escape was thankfully accepted. Cooper, until 1801 when he returned to England, and Shelly returned for a time to Tahiti. Buchanan, Kelso, and Wilkinson, in company with Cover of Tahiti, returned to England at once, reaching London September 5, 1800. Veeson, who had so far identified himself with the natives of Tongatabu as to adopt their customs, was left on the island.

Thus ended the first attempt to evangelize Tonga. It has since become, through the work of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, one of the trophies of the Gospel. It is easy to criticize the action of this first band of missionaries. What the original Directors thought we know from their own words:—

'Whilst we admire the piety and patience of the faithful missionaries, under the trials they experienced, we conceive that the melancholy event of the death of three of the brethren on the island inculcates on future missionaries in such situations the expediency of continuing in society, rather than separating from each other among a barbarous people, as, according to human probability, had they continued in a body, instead of placing themselves under the care of the different chiefs, the events which we now have to deplore had not occurred.'

Looking at all the circumstances we are inclined to think the secret of failure was the absence of any one man who put all personal considerations completely out of sight. It is at any rate noteworthy that only one member of the Tongatabu Mission was ever afterwards of the slightest use to mission work, and he for only a brief period. The rest disappear from history. It is at least open to question whether a Henry Nott or a John Williams would not have evangelized Tonga in

the first decade of the century, had such an one been among that little band.

In this connection also, before resuming the story of Tahiti, we will refer to Crook's experiences upon the island of Santa Christina in the Marquesas group. For a year after the departure of the Duff, Crook toiled on at his solitary task, chiefly occupied in mastering the language. He was treated kindly by the chiefs, but the natives were so improvident that food was often very scarce. At the end of this time an American vessel appeared off the island and Crook went on board. The wind freshened so much that she could not make the harbour, and finally Crook asked the captain to land him upon Sir Henry Martyn's Island, sixty miles north-west of Santa Christina.

'Here' (we quote the record as it stands in the *Evangelical Review* for 1799) 'the natives, astonished to find a white man speak in their own language, received him, though destitute of anything but what he had on, with the greatest cordiality; and, till he dissuaded them from the extravagant opinion, considered him as a god. The principal chief immediately made him his Tayo, and supplied him with a profuse liberality. In a short time he obtained a large piece of ground stocked with bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and the tarro-roots, which he enclosed with a bamboo fence, planted, and built a house upon it. After a residence of seven months, the ships Euphrates and Butterworth, both south-whalers from London, put in for refreshments, to whom he was of considerable service, as interpreter, as well as in procuring for them a plentiful supply. Despairing of seeing the ship Duff in this island, he thought he could best serve the cause by returning (hoping to arrive in England before she left it) and by representing to the Directors the real state of the whole group of the Marquesas, together with the propriety of sending more missionaries, who, by exhibiting a form of Christian economy, might induce the natives, from what they should see in domestic life, to pay greater attention to the instructions

given them. This he judged might be facilitated by his knowledge of the language and customs of the people, with which he could make them acquainted in some measure on the voyage.'

We now take up again the thread of events at Tahiti. Upon the departure of the Albion on January 3, 1801, life there returned to its normal current. On every side the five faithful workers saw painful evidence that the natives needed the blessings of the Gospel, and yet it remained as impossible as ever to persuade them to accept these blessings. Here is a black picture which was a reproach to our civilization then, and is, in many respects, among the islands of Polynesia, in the same way a reproach to European civilization to-day, notwithstanding all that the Gospel has undoubtedly achieved.

'*January* 31.—Among the natives around us are many objects of compassion, whose bodies are wasting with disease, and their souls hurrying into eternity in a state of the utmost insensibility. It is surprising what havoc disease has made since we have been on the island. Matavai is almost depopulated, in comparison to what it once was, according to the accounts given by the natives; and not only this district, but the whole island. Stout men are cut down in a few months; women and children share the like fate. They say the disorder that makes such havoc among them came from England; and we have told them repeatedly that it is owing to the wickedness of their women, in prostituting themselves to the sailors of the vessels that come here. They understand what we say, and assent to the truth of it, but their hearts are so set upon covetousness, that the appearance of a vessel effaces all remembrance of the evils they have suffered, and are suffering; and they burn with a desire to obtain something, if it is but a rag; this induces husbands to prostitute their wives, and parents their children.'

On June 25, 1801, H.M. ship Porpoise arrived to barter for hogs, which were to be salted and conveyed to Port Jackson. Governor King had written to the missionaries

asking them to do anything in their power to aid this work, and this request they gladly obeyed.

At length on July 10, 1801, the Royal Admiral arrived bringing new helpers, letters from home, and a most welcome supply of stores. It was nearly four years since the Duff had left them, and this was the first official communication which the Directors had been able to make with the Tahiti missionaries since that date. The reinforcement consisted of James Read, John Davies, James Elder, William Scott, Samuel Tessier, John Youl, Charles Wilson, William Waters, and James Hayward. Of these Hayward, Waters, Wilson, and Youl had been captured in the Duff. Read had, during the voyage out of the Royal Admiral, exhibited such an unhappy spirit, that finally the whole body of missionaries urged Captain Wilson to take him away again; and this he did. We shall hear of him later on in Ceylon[1]. Shelly of Tongatabu was on the Royal Admiral on his way to England, but when he learned how matters were going on that island, decided to rejoin the Tahiti Mission if the brethren would consent to his marriage with a young woman at Sydney, and allow him to return thither for that purpose. Broomhall was removed from the island by Captain Wilson. These changes increased the effective working force of the mission from five to fourteen.

After a stay of three weeks the Royal Admiral sailed, carrying away, as a great and final benefit to the mission, 'three wretched runaway seamen, who were a nuisance to all society, disturbers of public peace, and enemies of all good.'

From an unpublished letter written by Jefferson to Mr. Hardcastle, Treasurer of the Society, only ten days after the Royal Admiral sailed, we take one or two extracts.

'In our letters by Captain Wilson we wrote for a reinforcement of at least thirty missionaries, and the major part of them to be married, being convinced in our minds that the most probable and efficacious way of disseminating

[1] See vol. ii. p. 20.

the Gospel among the Society Islands will be by branching out from the main body on this island as it shall please the Lord to point us the way. If this request should be thought meet to be granted, we hope our honoured fathers and brethren will be very careful in the selection of those to be sent, and that they be furnished with every necessary instruction for organization ; and if an experienced Director was to be appointed to superintend the whole Mission we believe it would be attended with advantage.'

Here we have the first hint of the method of extending the work which was to be so wondrously successful in the next twenty-five years. Experience, bitter and full of sorrow in some respects as it had been, was making those who were strong enough to stand it, wise to plan and energetic to accomplish. But the 'thirty missionaries' and the 'experienced Director' never came. The missionaries on Tahiti were now beginning to come into closer touch with the people, for near the end of the letter comes this sentence :—

'We have the satisfaction of informing the Missionary Society that by the grace of God we hope, for the first time, publicly to address the natives on the next Lord's day. Brother Nott will be the speaker.'

This event marks the beginning of evangelistic work. From February 26 until April 5, 1802, Nott and Elder were engaged in a preaching tour throughout the island. The results were not wholly discouraging, and it was often a work of difficulty to collect an audience ; but the native mind was enabled to become more familiar with elementary Christian truths. Here is an incident which happened at the close of this first evangelistic journey in Polynesia.

'*Sunday, April* 4.—Early this morning went back to Fāā ; at one place collected and preached to forty persons, and at another forty-five more ; several of them were very attentive. Arrived at our lodgings in the afternoon. This evening brother Nott overheard several young men, who have accompanied us round the island, giving an account of our religion to some strangers in a very full and clear

manner according to what they had heard. Afterwards brother Nott assembled them, and examined them, and laboured to impress upon their minds a sense of the great advantages they had compared with those of their countrymen who had only heard once. He also warned them of the danger of neglecting so great salvation. We were pleased to find that they had caught almost every idea that has been communicated. One boy said, "We sent the Duff last; if we had sent the Gospel by the first ship, their feather gods would have been thrown away long ago."'

During this journey, near the great marae or sacred place in the district of Atahuru, the centre of the worship of Oro, where they saw 'several human sacrifices hanging on the trees,' Nott and Elder witnessed an event which led very shortly to civil war. The people of Atahuru were the guardians of Oro, 'a billet of wood which these poor heathens call their Great God.' Otu, contrary to their desires, seized the god and carried him off. The people of Atahuru in turn attacked Otu, and in all probability the mission would have perished in the civil strife which ensued had there not appeared at that time to be an unusually large number of Europeans in Tahiti. A ship called the Norfolk had been wrecked, and her crew of seventeen landed at Matavai, and two other vessels were in the neighbourhood. Pomare sided with the people of Atahuru, and brought reinforcements over from Eimeo. Many conflicts took place, victory inclining first to one side and then the other.

'The work of preaching the Gospel continues' (writes Jefferson under date of July 8); 'and so far the Lord has overruled the disorders of the land, by giving several hundreds of this island and Eimeo an opportunity to hear the word of salvation, who would not, perhaps, have heard it for months to come. One circuit of the island was taken just before the rebellion broke out, and the Gospel preached in every district, except Attahooroo. In the midst of great darkness and perplexity, we sometimes have a gleam of hope that God is humbling this people,

and thereby preparing them for a more cheerful and universal reception of His word. Otoo has, of late, on two Sabbath-days, desired to hear the word of Jehovah; which was accordingly spoken to him, and others of his family, and many of his subjects that he assembled to hear. He seems to have some idea that there is but *one* God; and expresses no dislike to any part of the plan of salvation, so far as he can comprehend it. Pomare is a most bigoted man, and is, as it were, the soul of his country's abominable superstition.'

In October and November Jefferson and Scott journeyed through the island, preaching wherever they could get a hearing. They sum their impressions thus:—

'Since our absence we have spoken to 2051 persons, capable of understanding the word, on the larger peninsula, and 1650 on the other: which makes 3701. . . . The effects of the late civil war are visible from the Isthmus on the north side all round Tyarrabboo, and the south side of the island to Matavai. Scarce a house is now left that was standing before the commencement of the war; and the natives are living in such miserable cottages as they have since been able to erect. . . . We have, in general, met with much kindness at those places where we have stopped. They have entertained us in the best manner possible; and, in some places, offered us presents of cloth, which we refused to accept. We have been grieved that we had it not in our power to make some acknowledgement to those who have treated us so civilly, and think that something should be done in order to make a return for their hospitality: otherwise it is probable that they will soon be wearied, if they are frequently visited. Although we can give no flattering hopes of the Gospel's success among them, yet we believe the means are not used in vain. The names of Jehovah and Jesus Christ are universally known, and several things respecting them. As God has appointed the preaching of the word for the salvation of sinners, we hope, in due time, that blessed end will be answered on Otaheite.'

Meanwhile the missionaries were adding daily to their knowledge of the language.

'*Tuesday, Feb.* 1.—Ever since the brethren's arrival in the Royal Admiral, learning the speech of the country has been closely attended to: for which purpose two meetings, and sometimes more, weekly, are held; at which brother Nott presides and gives instructions in putting English sentences into Otaheitan, as asked, or correcting the Otaheitan where wrong: which sentences are committed to writing. This method has been attended with general success, though some have, from their natural abilities and persevering attention, made considerably more progress than others.'

The working power of the mission had been meanwhile diminished by the loss of Waters, who had become insane. He does not appear to have been dangerous, but was rendered incapable of service, wished to teach the natives Hebrew, fell in love with the queen, and is another illustration of how severe is the strain of such a life as they were all then compelled to live. In August of this year Jefferson writes:—

'The natives everywhere upbraid the English for the introduction of those disorders which they plainly see are dispeopling their country; but they do not appear to credit us when we endeavour to show them that their own impieties are drawing down the judgment of the only true and living God upon them: and they seem to pay but little regard to us when we strive to point them to Jesus Christ as the only propitiation for sin. On the contrary, the generality of them contemn the word of life, and charge it with being foolishness. The state of Otaheite is more miserable and pitiable, our honoured fathers and brethren, than perhaps you are aware of. Numbers are dying upon our right hand and upon our left without God, without Christ, without hope, and without the least apparent real desire to seek after God, if haply they may find Him! Fretted with seeing their relatives and friends cut off on every side by pining diseases, many behold

us with an eye of jealousy, and not a few are ready to charge us with the death of their countrymen, and as being intruders on their country.'

An event of very great moment in the little circle of Tahitian politics happened at this time. On September 3, 1803, Pomare, the father of King Otu, died very suddenly in his canoe while paddling out to a brig called the Dart, then at anchor off Matavai. He was supposed to be between fifty and sixty years of age at his death. His father was a native of Tahiti, his mother of Raiatea, and he was born in the district of Opare and by birth was chief only of that region. Intercourse with the European vessels which called at the island enlarged his ideas, and by the aid very largely of the Bounty mutineers he extended his sway over the whole of Tahiti and Eimeo. He used his power with a heavy hand against all who opposed him; but in disposition he was peaceful, and fond of building houses and canoes and of cultivating the land. He had the wit to appreciate the power of Europeans, and was shrewd to recognize the value of the various articles of civilization brought by their vessels. For the English he had an especial affection, and it is one of the many providential circumstances connected with the arrival of the Duff that the most powerful man in Tahiti should have been very well disposed to the nation from which she came. He was always friendly with the missionaries, not because he was in the least degree attracted by their teaching, but from purely selfish motives. In fact the better he got to know the real object of their coming the less likely was he to favour them, for he was the most bigoted of Polynesian idolaters.

'In person,' writes Jefferson in the Journal, 'he was the most respectable man we have seen since living here; tall, stout, well proportioned; grave in countenance, majestic in deportment, and affable in behaviour. As to his morals, he was a poor untaught heathen, under the dominion of a reprobate mind; and, according to his religion, nothing was sin with him but neglecting praying and sacrificing

to his gods. In these things he was exemplary. Satan surely never had (and we pray God he never again may have) another like him among these heathens, who supported his interest with his whole power, and whose study (from the servile fear of death) was to gain his favour, whatever it might cost. The maraes built, and the altars reared at his command all over the island, are not a few, on which hogs and fish were profusely offered; and several hundreds of his subjects he has, in his time, caused to be murdered, and presented as costly sacrifices to the powers of darkness.'

Whatever his motives may have been, Pomare never failed in any crisis to exert his authority for the protection and the welfare of the missionaries, and no one in 1798 seemed to feel the desertion of the larger half of them more than he and his consort Idia. The only thing he would not do for them was to believe their teaching and relinquish his cruel and bloody idolatrous rites. He died, as he had lived, heathen to the core.

During the remainder of 1803 and the year 1804 work was carried on under depressing circumstances. Everywhere it was met with either indifference or hostility to Christian teaching, or else the message was treated with contempt or ridicule. Meanwhile the natives were dying by hundreds. Internecine warfare and the ravages of disease would have speedily depopulated the island, had it not been for the introduction of Christianity. But at this period there were no signs of improvement. The efforts made, especially by Davies and Scott, to induce the children to attend schools, bore little or no fruit. The former in an interesting letter summarizes the difficulties in the way of teaching heathen children. It is hard to get them together; they are always otherwise occupied at the time of teaching, fishing, playing, &c.; if assembled, very often the elders also come, and either disturb the meeting or else ridicule it; the disposition of the children is such that their attention will not dwell long on any one subject; and finally in Tahiti, as elsewhere,

they were willing to be taught only provided they were paid for it. In the face of difficulties like these it is not surprising that education made slow progress.

Otu had, soon after his father's death, assumed the name of Pomare[1], and began but very slowly to manifest any hopeful signs. On November 15, 1803, Jefferson and Scott, while on tour, visited him in the Papara district.

'Otoo received us very kindly, and desired us to stay with him all the day after to-morrow. He employs his time in eating, drinking, and romping with his attendants. He has, however, spared so much time from his sports, as, with the assistance of Europeans that occasionally assist him, to learn to make the letters of the English alphabet, to know their names, and to put them together so as to form sundry words and short sentences. He has with him a native of the Sandwich Islands, who has been in England, and who is constantly telling him something of what he saw there; so that his ideas of things are much enlarged; but he is extremely wild and unsteady, and appears deeply attached to his country's idolatry and superstition.'

During 1805 the study of the language was energetically pursued. It should never be forgotten that this was the first attempt of the kind of which we have any record in modern missions, that the language was very difficult for this purpose, and that the attempt was made by men who had had no special training whatever in such work, or in the studies suitable for such an undertaking. Hence they had to work out all the principles, and solve all the problems by and for themselves. We are able to look in upon them at their toil.

'*March* 11, 1805.—On Friday, two hours were employed

[1] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, ii. p. 71 (1832), thus explains that the assumption of this title by Otu's father was purely accidental. Camping once on a night journey, he caught cold and was afflicted with a cough. His companions called the night *po-mare*, from *po* night and *mare* cough. The sound pleased the king, and henceforth he took Pomare as his name, styling himself 'His Majesty Pomare.'

in composing an alphabet of the Taheitean language, in which it was proposed that the English, or Roman characters, should be taken, and Taheitean names given them, for a more easy and natural introduction of letters among the native. An alphabet was then drawn up and agreed to by the majority, composed of such letters as were supposed to be in the language; though it must be observed that our judgments in this particular (namely, what letters are in the language) differ, in some respects, very much.'

'*Wednesday, April* 9, 1806.—In the afternoon had a meeting to read our Taheitean-English Vocabulary. It is proper to observe, that our meetings for the purpose of collecting, in alphabetical order, all known Taheitean words, commenced in March, 1805; from that time we have in general met twice a week. We have paid a native for attending our meetings, in order to ascertain the proper pronunciation of every word which we have written down, according to our new alphabet, as also its corresponding English, and its various significations. We have now gone through the alphabet in that manner, and to-day began to read what is put down, for the purpose of farther correction.

'Our present collection amounts to 2100 words, exclusive of 500 names of trees, plants, fishes, birds, insects, &c. There are also several hundreds more of names, expressive of the qualities and states of bread-fruit, plantains, cocoa-nuts, &c., &c. It appears that the Taheitean language has been much mistaken by Europeans in general; all the vocabularies we have seen are essentially deficient and erroneous, not only in the spelling and signification of words, but in all the fundamental principles of the language. It has been represented as uncommonly easy of attainment; but we know the contrary, by long experience. In respect to some of the common occurrences of life, we allow that an European of ordinary capacity may soon make himself understood; but in respect to such a knowledge of the language as is necessary to convey instruction, it is far otherwise.

'The Taheitean language, as may be justly expected, is destitute of all such words, common among civilized nations, as relate to the arts and sciences, law proceedings, trade and commerce, and most of those made use of in theology, &c., &c. But when we view it as having a relation to those objects that are known and in use among the natives, the language is full and copious. Its radical parts, or those words that are simple roots, are only a few hundreds in number; yet these, few as they are, may, by the help of prefixes and affixes, be easily multiplied to 5000 or 6000, so as to express, with much precision, any idea commonly occurring to a native's mind.

'The greatest difficulties for attaining this language arise from the vast number of words that are nearly the same in pronunciation, but widely different in sense; from their different way of forming their sentences from what an European would naturally do; from their manner of confining a word or term to a particular thing, whereas its correspondent English would be applied also to the other things of the same kind; as also from the arbitrary alterations introduced from time to time, on account of some words or syllables becoming sacred.'

One hopeful sign, already indicated, was that Pomare had begun learning to write. The Tahitian chiefs were not only a fine race physically, but their mental gifts were by no means despicable. The king's father, for his day and generation, was no mean politician; and now that he had begun to feel the fascination of learning, Otu's craft and ability asserted themselves. He first attempted to persuade the missionaries not to teach any one else the art of writing; in this, of course, he failed. He then determined to write better than any one else, and in this he succeeded. In an official letter to the Directors, signed by John Eyre, who had succeeded Jefferson as Secretary, and dated July 29, 1805, reference is made to Pomare's new accomplishment, 'Enclosed is a short letter from Pomare. The writing is the king's, the diction is not, but he has the idea of the meaning of each sentence. Should

it please the Lord to spare him there is some hope that he will, in a few years, make a tolerable proficiency in the English tongue, as he feels his deficiency in this, and is very desirous of applying himself to the study of it.' On March 11, 1806, Pomare sent the following letter to the missionaries:—

'FRIENDS,

'Give me the room above; the room that belonged to Mr. Shelly, give to me for a writing place. Let the room below be for Tessier, and that above for me. If all agreed to by you, make up this my speech; if agreed by you. write that I may know your speech.

'POMARE, King.'

Naturally enough, they objected to giving the king a room in their own house; but they finally built him a small plastered house, in which he could study as often and as long as he pleased, and later on we shall see some proofs of his advance in scholarship.

On June 21, 1806, the queen died, in consequence, the missionaries believed, of an attempt to produce abortion. She thus became one of the many victims of the savage licentious practices of Tahiti.

'She was (we suppose) about twenty-three or twenty-four years old; her person was of the middle stature, of a delicate constitution; affable in her behaviour. She possessed little more than the name of queen, having no authority. All the children she has had have been killed, as it is said they were by common men. Owo, her mother, Edea, Taepoto the chief of Aemeo, and two other women, according to the custom of Tahaete, cut their heads with sharks' teeth, and lamented over the deceased. The king appeared afflicted, as also some of the people about him. In the afternoon the body was put on board a canoe, and taken to Pare, there to be put up on a scaffold. The king, Edea, Owo, and all their attendants, went also to Pare, there (it is said) to remain some time, to mourn, and perform their last piece of respect for the deceased. The family of

Pomare is nearly extinct: there is but one woman on the island that the king can take to wife, so as to preserve issue; her name is Vahaene Morea, belonging to Tehohu's family of Hedea: she, it is said, is ill, and it is likely that the king will not take her. . . . . All the articles that the queen used, and is supposed to have had a particular regard to, which were not otherwise disposed of during her life, have been put in the Marae where she is put up, and, to prevent them being taken away and used, they are broken to pieces, or otherwise spoiled; such as her cups she ate out of, umette, combs, and a tomahawk, baskets, &c.: also all her cloth was put about the body, which is put in a house made for the purpose, covered round the side with a fine matting, and erected about 8 feet high, supported by six posts, and enclosed with a neat reed fence about 24 feet square, the inside covered with clean grass. Her relatives, at particular seasons, take her a small portion of food, which is laid near the corpse, and a short prayer said over, intimating, that there is fish, uru, cocoa-nut, water, &c., for her to eat; this is called *toumaha*, and which custom is commonly used by the friends of the deceased, having a notion that they come and eat the spirit which is supposed to be in the food.'

This queen is the central figure in the picture of the cession of Matavai in 1797, and is represented seated, in Tahiti fashion, on the shoulders of one of her stalwart bearers.

On November 25, 1806, letters and stores for the mission, which had been several years on the way, finally reached Tahiti in the sloop Hawkesbury, which had been specially chartered for the purpose by Mr. Marsden. This was only the second official communication which the mission had received; the other being by the Royal Admiral in 1801. Vessels had frequently touched at Tahiti, and letters had been sent home by them. None of these on leaving Port Jackson had been certain that they could call at Tahiti, and so the stores and letters accumulated there year by year. Mr. Marsden did all in his power, but the cost and

the scarcity of vessels greatly hampered him. This lack of direct communication with home was a sore trial to the missionaries, and, not unnaturally, very often a cause of great depression.

Among the letters was one from the Directors addressed specially to Pomare. It was carefully translated into Tahitian, then read to the king on December 10, and handed to him in both original and translation. On January 1, 1807, he sent an answer. It was composed entirely by himself; it was translated into English by the missionaries, and then Pomare himself copied the English and his copy was sent to London with the original. The letter from the missionaries, enclosing it to the Directors, states, 'Respecting what credit is to be given to his majesty for his large professions your own judgment will easily determine; only, we observe, that though the king shows us every outward respect, yet we cannot say that he has hitherto manifested any inclination to receive instruction in the things of God.' As this was the first letter received from a heathen chieftain by the Directors it deserves to be quoted in full.

'Matavae, Otahete, January 1st, 1807.

'FRIENDS,

'I wish you every blessing friends in your residence in your country, with success in teaching this bad land, this foolish land, this wicked land, this land which is ignorant of good, this land that knoweth not the true God, this regardless land.

'Friends, I wish you health and prosperity, may I also live, & may Jehovah save us all.

'Friends with respect to your letter you wrote to me, I have this to say to you, that your business with me, and your wishes I fully consent to, and shall consequently banish Oro, and send him to Raeatea.

'Friends I do therefore believe and shall obey your word.

'Friends I hope you also will consent to my request,

which is this, I wish you to send a great number of men, women and children here.

'Friends send also property, and cloth for us, and we also will adopt English customs.

'Friends send also plenty of Muskets and Powder for wars are frequent in our country. Should I be killed, you will have nothing in Tahete: do not come here when I am dead. Tahete is a regardless country, and should I die with sickness, do not come here. This also I wish, that you would send me all the curious things that you have in England. Also send me everything necessary for writing. Paper, Ink, and Pens in abundance, let no writing utensil be wanting.

'Friends I have done, and have nothing at all more to ask you for. As for your desire to instruct Tahete, 'tis what I fully acquiesce in. 'Tis a common thing for people not to understand at first, but your object is good, and I fully consent to it, and shall cast off all evil customs.

'What I say is truth, and no lie, it is the real truth.

'This is all I have to write, I have done.

'Friends write to me, that I may know what you have to say.

'I wish you life and every blessing,

'May I also live and may Jehovah save us all,

'POMARE, King of Tahete, &c., &c.

'For my friends,

'The Missionary Society.

'London.'

During 1807 the daily routine was pursued—itinerating, seeking to interest and instruct the young, and preaching to the natives. Other changes had taken place in the mission staff. Shelley and his wife retired from the mission in March, 1806, and returned to Port Jackson. He afterwards became commander of a small trading vessel. On September 25, 1807, the greatest personal loss which the mission had so far sustained occurred in the death of Jefferson. He was one of the few men in the company on

board the Duff in 1796 who had enjoyed the benefits of a good training. Many letters from his pen are preserved in the Society's archives, and they are written in a beautiful hand, and are correct in style and spelling—in these respects a great contrast to many others sent from Tahiti at the same time. He was an ordained minister and a man of independent thought. During the voyage of the Duff his leanings to the Arminian view brought upon him the condemnation of his Calvinistic companions[1]. Such, however, was his quiet power that at Tahiti he became the Chairman of Committee, and, so far as one man could be, was the responsible head of the mission. He never showed the least irresolution or sign of faltering in March, 1798; he never succumbed to any of the many temptations to which he was daily exposed, and which proved so fatal to some of his co-workers; he, next to Nott, obtained the greatest mastery over the language; he retained his office of Chairman until ill-health compelled him to resign; and to his guiding hand, and holy influence, much of the ultimate success of the mission was due.

'Death was not to him,' his colleagues wrote home, 'the king of terrors; he had been for a long time past waiting for and desiring his dismission from a sinful and diseased body, yet often expressed a thankful acquiescence in the will of God; and though he did not experience any extraordinary raptures of joy, he in general, for a considerable time past, enjoyed a settled peace of conscience, and a firm persuasion of his interest in Christ. Some of his last words were, "Comfortable, comfortable! Sweet, sweet! Glory, glory be to Him!"'

'On a visit to Matavai,' writes Ellis[2], 'in the early part of 1821, conducted by Mr. Nott, I made a pilgrimage to his grave. I felt in connection with the change that has since taken place, that he had indeed desired to see the things that I beheld, but he had died without witnessing, on earth, the gladdening sight; and that, in reference to his unre-

[1] See pp. 48, 49. [2] *Polynesian Researches*, ii. p. 78 (1832).

mitted exertions, I and my junior companions had entered into his labours, and were reaping the harvest for which he had toiled.'

So far as we know, there is no portrait of Jefferson extant, but he is depicted, standing immediately behind Captain Wilson, in the picture of the cession of Matavai.

In May, 1807, the loss caused by the desertion in 1797 of the only doctor who had been connected with the mission was remedied by the arrival of a Mr. Warner, who had received a special medical training. The gain of his presence was immediately counterbalanced by the loss of Mr. Youl, who relinquished the work and returned to Port Jackson in the vessel which had brought Warner. Tahiti was again on the eve of troublous times, and the second doctor was fated to be of but little more service than the first.

Very shortly after Jefferson's death Nott and Hayward took the opportunity of a passage to Huahine in the ship Paramatta, and then made the first evangelistic tour ever accomplished in that island, and also in Raiatea and Bora-bora. There was an outbreak of civil war between the king's party and the people of Atahuru, in which the latter were defeated ; then illness on the part of Pomare brought about peace for a time. But the king's increasing unpopularity made it appear more and more probable that another very serious struggle was approaching. In October, 1808, Pomare sent the missionaries a letter, warning them to be on their guard. Day by day the clouds became darker, the hearts of the little company more anxious, and the outlook more hopeless. On October 25 the brig Perseverance from Port Jackson anchored in Matavai Bay. She brought back Mr. Elder, who early in the year had gone to the colony in search of a wife. In this quest he had been successful. He had married a Miss Smith, the daughter of a respectable settler, who 'had gone out free,' and she herself was highly spoken of by every one from the governor downwards. Upon October 27 the captain of the Perseverance shot himself in his cabin, and several of the

missionaries went on board at the request of the ship's officers to investigate the sad affair. What was their dismay and grief to find that the cause of the fatal deed was a violent passion for Mr. Elder's wife. The latter, on hearing of the tragedy, fell into a state of frenzy, in which she appears to have continued for many months. It is hard to conceive of a more terrible combination of evils than this which thus afflicted Mr. Elder, and through him the whole community. It also affords a further illustration of the strain exercised upon the character by the conditions of life at that day and in that moral atmosphere.

Once before, in 1802, the mission had been saved by the opportune presence of European vessels. The arrival of the Perseverance, notwithstanding the awful shadow which it brought upon the mission, proved to be providential. On November 6 the long-threatened rebellion against Pomare broke out, and at its head was a chief named Tauta, who had long acted as his prime minister, and who was one of the ablest and most powerful men on the island. The Perseverance was detained for forty-eight hours. Anxious consultations were held. Nott and Scott, alone and unarmed, went to the camp of the rebels, and attempted to make peace. They were received kindly, but requested and advised to leave the island. In this condition of affairs the missionaries were all of opinion that to remain was dangerous to life, and that any continuance of useful work was for the present hopeless. Consequently all except Nott, Hayward, Scott, and Wilson, who were unmarried, sailed in the Perseverance, and landed, hoping to found a new mission, on Huahine, one of the Society Islands, whither Idia had gone some short time before. On December 22, 1808, a great battle was fought in Tahiti; Pomare, under an assurance of victory given to him by Metia, the prophet of Oro, attacked the rebels. He was defeated, and left on the field several of his finest warriors, and many of his muskets. The whole district of Matavai was ravaged by the triumphant rebels, the mission houses were plun-

dered, whatever could not be carried away was destroyed, and whatever could be adapted to warlike use joyfully seized for that purpose. The remaining missionaries fled to Eimeo, whither Pomare soon followed them.

Thus, apparently, in failure and ruin ended the first mission undertaken by the Society. It had been born in the first vigour of a great spiritual revival which brought together men of different Churches and divergent views. Three great expeditions—the voyages of the Duff in 1796 and 1798, and the voyage of the Royal Admiral in 1800—had been equipped for its service, and large sums spent in its prosecution. A considerable number of men and women had given themselves in all the fervour of their religious life to this hard service, and although here, as elsewhere in God's great vineyard, 'many were called but few chosen,' yet no mission which possessed and developed such workers as Nott, Jefferson, Hayward, Bicknell, Henry, Scott, and others, could trace the secret of failure to its agents. The mission had brought the Gospel face to face with a cruel, debasing, licentious heathenism, and to all outward seeming had proved only that here it was not 'the power of God unto salvation.' The zeal of home supporters had slackened, the prophecies of candid friends seemed justified, the voices that urged the abandonment of the mission on the one hand, and which had always pronounced the project Utopian on the other, became clamant. The flight of Nott and his companions to Eimeo seemed the full and final admission of complete and disastrous failure. The 'night of toil' was at its darkest, and was for yet a season so to continue. But this was destined in the good providence of God to immediately precede a dawn which was to shine more and more towards the perfect day.

[AUTHORITIES.—The Original Journals and Letters of the Missionaries, 1798-1807. Much of this material has been printed in *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, vols. i-iii. London, 1803-1813; Annual Reports, 1798-1807; *Evangelical Magazine*, 1798-1807; *An Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Residence at Tongataboo*, by G. V[eeson], London, 1815.]

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST GREAT VICTORY

THE missionaries who had retired to Huahine were joined after Pomare's defeat by Hayward, Scott, and Wilson. Nott alone remained at Eimeo with Pomare. On October 26, 1809, all at Huahine, except Hayward, retired to Port Jackson. Disappointing to all concerned as this was, the only action which, in the light of all the circumstances, seems open to criticism was the early abandonment of work on Huahine. It was evident to all that, for a time at least, nothing could be done on Tahiti, where, as events proved, for the next three years the rebels were all-powerful. The chief influence at work upon the minds of those who retired to Port Jackson was a conviction that the Directors in London had practically abandoned the mission, and left them to shift for themselves. This by itself would probably not have been sufficient, but it was accentuated by the necessary flight from Matavai, the apparent unfruitfulness of their years of labour, and the gloomy outlook generally. Once only in the course of nine years, viz. in the year 1806, had they received letters and stores from the Directors. There were many reasons for this, but at the same time doubt as to the ultimate success of the mission had to some extent paralyzed the home executive.

The decision to cease work was taken on April 14, 1809, but the opportunity to leave did not occur until October 17, when the brig Hibernia, Captain Campbell, touched at Huahine. The missionaries held some anxious meetings, decided that nothing had happened since April 14

to alter their views, that another chance of leaving the island might not offer for many months, and finally arranged with the captain for a passage to Port Jackson. Mr. Hayward alone remained, chiefly because he did not care to go, as the Hibernia intended, by way of the Fiji Islands, and he finally rejoined Nott at Eimeo. The others sailed in the Hibernia on October 26, 1809, and after a very dangerous and trying voyage, in the course of which the ship actually struck upon a reef and was very nearly wrecked in the Fiji Islands, reached Port Jackson, February 17, 1810.

Nott meanwhile remained on Eimeo with Pomare. This was a time of discipline for the king. He had been devoted to his idolatrous customs, and as careful as ever in observing all the hideous and savage ceremonies of his creed. Yet success had not attended the efforts which he made to regain his authority. This fact possibly tended to shake his faith in his own gods. Then Nott's influence, his constant readiness to speak the word in season, must have been a strong force impelling the king in the direction of Christianity. Their acquaintance and friendship was now of over ten years' standing, and they together had shared sunshine and storm, victory and defeat. Further, Pomare's enforced leisure gave him time for introspection, and it is evident from his after conduct that already his conscience was at work. Adversity was beginning to tame his hard and savage heart, and it was after he had passed through these experiences that the missionaries returned.

Mr. Bicknell, who meanwhile had been to England, returned with his wife in July, 1811. He lived for some time in the same house with Pomare, who 'spent much of his time in reading and writing, in conversation, and in earnest inquiry about God, about the way of acceptance with Him through Jesus Christ, and sometimes spoke in terms astonishing even to the missionaries themselves[1].'

This was the state of affairs down to and including the first half of that most eventful year, 1812. Gradually all

[1] Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. p. 89.

the missionaries returned except Warner, Eyre, and Tessier; while Davies, Scott, and Hayward married in the colony and brought back their wives with them. Evangelistic work was actively prosecuted on Eimeo, and a mission planned to Raiatea. But, when telling later on the story of this wonderful time, the little band had, in their own phrase, 'to sing of mercy and of judgment,' for on July 28 Mrs. Henry died, on September 4 Mrs. Davies, and on October 4 Mrs. Hayward.

The first of these devoted and courageous women had come out in the Duff in 1796, and had shared the fortunes of the mission from the first. She had exhibited courage and devotion and self-sacrifice of a very high order. Being very much younger than Mrs. Eyre, she was able to render more effective service, and is entitled justly to the first place in the noble roll of women workers in Polynesian missions. It is true that she accompanied her husband to Port Jackson in the panic-stricken flight of 1798, while Mrs. Eyre remained. But Mr. and Mrs. Henry soon returned, and from that time until her death she was most active in the care of her own large household, and in the discharge of the many mission duties which fell to her share. She is represented with her husband on the extreme right of the picture of the cession of Matavai[1]. The changes of the last three years and the sad losses just referred to had reduced the mission staff to seven men—Nott, Hayward, Bicknell, Henry, Scott, Davies, and Wilson. Nott had been to Port Jackson and there married Miss Turner, one of the four 'godly young women' sent out to Sydney by the Directors in 1809. The other three had become the wives respectively of Davies, Scott, and Hayward.

The first marked sign of success in their great enterprise came to cheer the hearts of the missionaries in 1812, when Pomare, who had recently married Terito, the second daughter of Tamatoa, chief of Raiatea, signified his desire for Christian baptism. This he did first in conversation with

[1] See p. 140.

Mr. Nott, who used to say in after years that for a time he dared not tell his brethren, lest the failure of the precious hope should entail disappointment. Pomare had some time before this lost all confidence in the idols of his fathers. On one occasion he had greatly scandalized his attendants by ordering a turtle—a creature always hitherto held sacred to the gods—to be cooked for his own use without offering any part of it to the gods. His court stood round him as he ate, refusing to touch a morsel themselves, in much the same frame of mind as the barbarians around Paul on Melita when the viper fastened on his hand. The story of this time cannot better be told than in the words of a letter sent home signed by all the seven, and dated 'Island of Eimeo, October 21, 1812':—

'On the 18th of July Pomare came to us and offered himself a candidate for Christian baptism, declaring it his fixed purpose and determination to cleave to Jehovah the true God and us his people, expressing his desire and willingness to receive further instructions in the things of God, and requesting us to pray for him. He gave us to understand that this resolution and step he had taken was the result of long and increasing conviction of the truth and excellency of our religion.

'He said he had been endeavouring to persuade his father-in-law, Tamatoa, and Tapoa (the two principal chiefs of the Leeward Islands) to take the step he was taking; but that they told him he might do as he pleased, as for them they would cleave to Oro, which he observed was cleaving to Satan; and said that if no one else would hear us or embrace our religion he would, as he desired to be happy after death, and be saved in the judgment day. On our observing that we did not cease to pray to God for him, and that it would rejoice us much to see him sincerely and truly given up in heart to God and Christ, and that if that was the case he might then be baptized, he replied, "that we could not know his heart nor he ours; but that He who made us men knew our hearts and whether we spoke truth or falsehood to each other." Indeed he intro-

duced the subject at first by saying, "You do not know the thoughts of my heart, nor I yours, but God does." We informed him that it was customary for those who offered themselves as candidates for baptism from among the heathen to be for some time further instructed in the things of God, and their conduct inspected into, that it might be known whether they had truly forsaken every evil way, and were really turned in heart to God and Christ, before they were baptized; all which he seemed to approve of, observing that he was willing to do as we thought proper, and that he left the affair of his baptism entirely with us as to the time.

'That you, our Honoured Directors, may form a judgment for yourselves of the present state of his mind, we send you with this two of his late letters with a translation of them. You will learn from them the then state of Taheite, in which there has been little alteration since. Though he has got a footing there, his regaining the sovereignty of that island appears to us a matter very doubtful. However, this we well know, that He whom we trust has humbled him and led him to cast his honours at His feet, can exalt him to greater power and honour than ever he possessed; and we doubt not will do it in due time, if it be more for His glory and the good of His cause here. There are others whom we trust the Lord is drawing to Himself from among this people.'

On August 13, 1812, Pomare had gone over to Tahiti, at the instigation of two of the chiefs, in order to attempt the restoration of his authority. The two letters referred to above, written by him, run as follows:—

Papeite Taheite,
Friday, Sept. 25, 1812.

'DEAR FRIENDS,

'May Jehovah and Jesus Christ, may the Three-One, our only trust and Saviour, bless you! May my soul be saved by Jesus Christ! May the anger of Jehovah towards

me be appeased, who am a wicked man, guilty of accumulated crimes—of regardlessness and ignorance of the true God, and of an obstinate perseverance in wickedness! May Jehovah also pardon my foolishness, unbelief, and rejection of the truth! May Jehovah give me his good Spirit to sanctify my heart, that I may love what is good, and that I may be enabled to put away all my evil customs, and become one of his people, and be saved through Jesus Christ our only Saviour! *You* indeed will be saved, you are become the people of God; but *I* may be banished to hell; God may not regard me: I am a wicked man, and my sins are great and accumulated (or collected together). But O that we may all be saved through Jesus Christ! May the anger of God towards us all be appeased, for all of us have been disobedient to him as our Lord and Master. Look at the beasts, they are all obedient to man as *their* lord and master; but we have not obeyed *our* Lord and Master. Surely, we are fools! May the Three-One save us!'

To the Missionaries, Uaeva, Moorea [Eimeo].

'MY DEAR FRIENDS,

'War will perhaps soon commence in the district of Papara: We are listening to the reports, and considering to find out whether they are true or not. Should war not take place, it will be through fear of us. Enometua is at the head of one party, and Arutapoea and his brother Tate at the head of the other. Should Enometua be banished from Papara, all Taheite will be involved in war. In this case I shall take Enometua's part, and the Poreonuu, which includes all the districts from the Isthmus to Teparrui, will join me. Papara and part of Atehuru are for banishing Enometua; but Tacarapu and Fäa, and part of Atehuru, wish to be neuter. We are aware that this war is on our account, and designed to involve us. Perhaps you do not know Enometua, nor Arutapoea the brother of Tate, who came from Raiatea with Tapoa and party.

'Tapoa is at the point of death; he can eat nothing, and knows nobody[1].

'I am also ill myself, and have no appetite for food. I was taken ill about three o'clock on Monday morning last[2]. My affliction is great; but if I can only obtain God's favour before I die, I shall count myself well off. But, O! should I die with my sins unpardoned, it will be ill indeed with me. O! may my sins be pardoned, and my soul saved through Jesus Christ! And may Jehovah regard me before I die, and then I shall rejoice, because I have obtained the favour of Jehovah.

'May Jehovah and Jesus Christ bless us all.

'POMARE.'

We continue the story in the words of those who lived and toiled through it. The next letter is dated September 8, 1813:—

'Our last letter to you was dated October, 1812, and sent by the way of Bengal. Pomare is still at Taheite, and exposed to many and strong temptations, particularly that of drinking: however, his example, in publicly renouncing the idol gods and religion of his country, and declaring his full conviction of the truth, superiority, and excellency of our religion, has had a powerful influence on the minds of many, both at Taheite and this Island; convictions stifled years ago, and instructions, as we thought, entirely thrown away, seem now to take effect.

'Hearing from time to time, that there was a stir among some of the people at Taheite, Mr. Scott and Mr. Hayward went over to inquire, and see how things were; they soon found that things of a favourable nature far exceeded their expectations, a prayer-meeting had been instituted in the district of Paree, without our knowledge, or any interference whatever; it originated with two of our old servants,

[1] He died soon after; and was a great loss to the king's interest.

[2] He recovered from this illness soon after.

named Oito and Tuaheine: these had enjoyed the means of instruction long ago, but continued, as they now express it themselves, among the greatest and most hardened sinners in the place. Oito was brought under strong convictions, in consequence of some expressions which the king had made use of: he then applied to Tuaheine for instruction, knowing he had lived long with us; this was the means of deepening the impressions on his mind, they separated from their companions, often conversed together, and retired to the bush to pray together: this soon excited the observation of others, many mocked and derided, but some young men and boys joined them, and agreed to cast off their gods and bad customs, keep the Sabbath, and worship Jehovah alone. These formed the prayer-meeting above mentioned, and they had often, amidst much contempt, met together to pray, before the arrival of the brethren: they were persuaded to come over to Eimeo, to be near us for the purpose of further instruction, and attending school: to this they cheerfully agreed. Two of the brethren having made the tour of the larger peninsula of Taheite, for the purpose of preaching to the people, returned accompanied by the two men above mentioned, and their companions. Previous to their arrival, there appeared some good beginnings here in Eimeo, among our domestics and others.

'After several conversations with those from Taheite, and others that appeared desirous of instruction, on Sabbath-day, July 25th, at the close of a public meeting for worship in the native language, we gave out there would be a meeting next evening different from any we had ever had here before; to this meeting we invited all that were truly desirous of being instructed in the word of the true God; all that really and sincerely renounced their false gods, and desired to cast away all their evil customs, all that were willing and desirous to receive Jehovah for their God, and Jesus for their only Saviour and atonement; all such we invited and would be glad to see them next evening; and moreover, that we would write their

names in a book if they wished, that we might know who they were.

'When the time appointed arrived, about 40 attended, and after prayer and singing, in the native language, and an appropriate address, by Brother Nott, on the design of the meeting, 31 of those present most cheerfully came forward to have their names put down as of the character above mentioned, some others declined it for the present, and we pressed no one, but urged upon them all attendance on the means of instruction. With these whose names are written down, we have had several meetings since, beside our common and general meetings for the instruction of the natives, and have had the satisfaction of adding since 11 more to their number, which make in all 42. Among these last are the young chief of Huaheine, and a principal Areoi, who is also a priest.

'It is not to be expected that all these will turn out well, yet in some of them we found much satisfaction, and really think them proper subjects for baptism; yet we would not do anything suddenly and rashly. Some of them we have heard engaging in prayer, and have been astonished, and highly pleased with the propriety, fluency, earnestness, and warmth of their expressions. Their attendance on the means of instruction has been hitherto pleasing and encouraging, though some of them have already a large share of derision and scorn.

'Our school prospers of late, and there are between 40 and 50 attending it, chiefly grown people, who now begin to see a little of the value of instruction. We are much at a loss for want of Taheitean books; the spelling-book printed in England is now very useful. The latter part of the Scripture history, composed some years ago, has been lately examined, corrected and enlarged, with a view of sending it to the Colony, to get it printed at Sydney if possible, as we want something of the kind very much for the use of the school, and hope the expense will not be great. This is an abridgment of the four Evangelists, and Acts of the Apostles, containing the

history of the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension of our Lord, the commission he gave his disciples, and their proceedings in consequence of it. A translation also of the Gospel of Luke is pretty far advanced, and we hope to get it ready and forwarded to you before long, that it may be printed in England.'

The last sentence of this letter refers to the beginning of the great task of placing the complete Bible in the hands of the people of Tahiti. Then, as now, there were those at home who thought that the *first* duty of the missionary was to give the natives the actual words of the Bible in their own tongue. Then, as now, the most capable missionaries felt that this was not always the most useful way of beginning. Nott and Davies and the others thought it well to begin with the spelling-book and the brief Catechism and the summary of Old and New Testament facts. As soon as the natives had begun to be familiar with simple Christian facts and ideas, they gave them the exact words of Scripture. In an old manuscript History of the Tahitian Mission, preserved in the Library of the Mission House, written by Mr. Davies himself prior to 1830, and revised by Henry Nott, the following sensible remarks on this subject occur. They apply with almost equal force to every other field. Some of the Directors, it appears, have rather disapproved of the missionaries making a selection and compilation from the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to put in the hands of the natives. But the truth is, translation of the Word of God into this uncultivated language appeared to the missionaries a work of much difficulty, and much diffidence was felt, lest they should give a misrepresentation of the Word of God under the name of a translation. By compiling an abstract, such as the Scripture History, the difficult passages were avoided, and what was thought easy of translation was made use of, leaving the others till a greater acquaintance with the language and its idioms would remove some of the difficulties ; which afterwards was found to be the case.' Mr. Burder, in an official

letter, dated December 19, 1815, wrote: 'The Directors would earnestly recommend you rather to print parts of the Scriptures themselves than any human composition formed from them. They think this by far better, and that the natives should have the genuine Word of God itself.' Upon this the missionaries make the following pertinent comments:—'The missionaries thought so too, but the Directors seemed to forget the cause and circumstances of engaging in the compilation. They seem to take it for granted it was from *choice* this was undertaken. The missionaries viewed it far otherwise. It was their conscientious regard for the Word of God that prevented them from a professed translation of a particular book, lest they should corrupt it by a misrepresentation, and they are fully convinced that this has been the case more or less in most early and hasty translations.'

A letter from Tahiti to the Directors, dated April 23, 1814, continues the glad story of success and progress:—

'Our people, whose names are written down, are, in general, constant in their attendance on the means of instruction; exact in their observance of the Sabbath; often retire for secret prayer; and, where a number dwell together, have family prayer in their houses. They are very particular in asking a blessing on their food, for which they have been much derided. They have also frequent prayer-meetings among themselves; and are known among the islanders by the name of *Pure Atua*, or, praying people; in a word, they are greatly altered in their moral conduct, from what they were some months ago. Some of them also give a pleasing evidence that a change of mind has taken place—that they now love what they once hated, and that they now hate those things in which they once delighted—that they are desirous of having their sins pardoned, and their hearts renewed; that they appear sensible they have an evil heart, and that it is utterly out of their power to make it good; that it is God only who can "cause good things to grow in their minds."'

In September, 1814, Nott and Hayward visited

Huahine and Raiatea. Their report was that 'the people heard with attention, and, contrary to former practice among the islanders, assembled to hear of their own accord.' Pomare, after an absence of nearly two years, had returned to Eimeo with a large number of followers, who regularly attended the meetings held for worship and instruction. The 'praying people' had increased to ninety-two. Mr. Marsden[1], meanwhile, was doing all he could at Port Jackson to help on the good work. The Catechism, the Sketch of our Lord's Life, and the Summary of Old Testament History were all being printed. Mr. Tessier had returned to engage once more in the work of the mission, and was actually employed on Eimeo, mainly in educational work. On this island, which now for five years had been the head quarters of the mission, progress was made with accelerating velocity. By the end of 1814 the regular congregation numbered 300, and was often much larger, and the list of 'praying people' contained 204 names. Many chiefs and others from the surrounding islands visited Eimeo, and on their return did what they could to teach Christian truths. The chief source of difficulty was the king. 'The case of Pomare,' write the missionaries, January 14, 1815, 'grieves and perplexes us. He wishes to be baptized previous to the baptizing of any of his people, but we are far, very far from being satisfied that he is a proper subject. He has an extensive knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel, but is a slave to drinking. We have repeatedly warned him and spoken very plainly and faithfully to him, but with very little success. Thus are we, and a number of our poor people who may be fit subjects, kept in disagreeable delay and suspense.'

The stress of the work and the constant excitement and overpressure due to the limited number of missionaries were adversely affecting their health. Nearly all suffered

[1] Samuel Marsden, Government chaplain in Sydney, afterwards to become the 'Apostle of New Zealand,' then and always did all in his power to aid the Tahiti Mission.

from repeated attacks of illness, and on February 9, 1815, Scott died. But, pressed as the workers were, their influence, under the power of the Spirit of God, increased day by day. It was in the early part of this year that the memorable burning of his idols by Patii, who was the priest of Papetoai, the district of Moorea in which the missionaries resided, took place. On February 18, Patii had, in the course of the evening worship, said that he knew well the old religion and could find no good part in it at all. He had also examined this new religion, every part of it, and could find none bad. It was all good; therefore he embraced it, and renounced the other altogether. In this, as in almost every incident of note in the history of the mission, Henry Nott had a share. Returning one day about this time along the shore from a preaching excursion, Patii accompanying him, Nott's heart was rejoiced when Patii told him that on the morrow he intended to bring out his idols and burn them. 'I can scarcely allow myself to believe what you say,' cried Mr. Nott. 'Don't be unbelieving; wait till to-morrow and you shall see,' rejoined Patii. In the afternoon of the next day Patii and his friends split a quantity of wood, and piled it up on the beach near the great marae, around which so often in the past had hung the decaying bodies of the human victims offered in sacrifice to the god. A vast crowd assembled, most of whom expected that the gods would avenge this insult on the courageous priest. The feelings of the missionaries can be imagined at this most practical of all proofs of the power of the truths they had for so many years been teaching. Patii brought out the small ugly carved figures, and the logs wrapped in cocoanut-cloth and ornamented with red feathers, which their darkened minds had invested with such superstitious terrors, stripped them one by one, recited their names and pedigree, expressed his sorrow at ever having worshipped them, and cast them into the flames, where they were speedily consumed. The deed required great courage and determination, and Patii's name deserves a prominent

place in the story of Tahiti's development. The example once having been set was speedily followed. and both in Eimeo and Tahiti many idols and maraes were destroyed.

Another event of considerable importance happened on March 28. Pomare's party on Moorea held a great meeting to present food and presents to the queen, Teriitaria, and some of the chiefs who had recently come from the Leeward Islands. The expectation was that all the old heathen practices common at such feasts would be observed. But Pomare's influence tended to discourage this. Some of the party in favour of Christianity proposed that a blessing should be asked over the food. But while all were hesitating—none being bold enough to do this in the presence of so many heathen—a chief named Farefau, who had come with Teriitaria, stood up boldly in the midst of the assembly, all of whom were seated, addressed God as the Giver of every good thing, and besought His blessing on the food. The assembly was thunderstruck. The food was now useless for heathen ceremonies, being considered, of course, unsuitable to be offered to the gods, and the feast consequently proceeded without them. This deed ranks next in boldness and importance to Patii's burning of his idols.

But the old idolatry died hard ; and there were still large numbers who witnessed these actions in fierce anger, and with the resolution to avenge them whenever opportunity offered. Mr. Nott has recorded the touching story of a martyrdom bravely endured. A fine young man who had intelligently accepted Christianity, and who in consequence had been banished from his father's house, was selected by the idolatrous party as a sacrifice likely to be peculiarly acceptable to their god. It was the young man's custom towards evening to visit a hill near his home, and there under a clump of trees close the day in prayer. On the evening before the ceremony, and while thus engaged, he was surrounded and invited to come down to the king, who wished to see him. He instantly penetrated this subterfuge, and realized that his fate was at hand. 'I

know,' said he, 'a ceremony approaches; that a human victim is to be offered. Something within me tells me I am to be that victim, and your appearance and your message confirms my conviction. Jesus Christ is my Keeper; without His permission you cannot harm me: you may be permitted to kill my body, but I am not afraid to die! My soul you cannot hurt; that is safe in the hands of Jesus Christ.' He was at once murdered, and his body, enclosed in the customary long basket of cocoa-nut leaves, was carried to the marae and offered to the god.

The crowning event of this year, 1815, was the total overthrow of idolatry on Tahiti; and it came about in this wise. About the month of June many in the districts of Pare and Matavai renounced idolatry. The numbers of scholars in the schools had greatly increased, and many were now able both to read and write well. Pomare had sent over to his daughter Aimata, who with her nurse was living then on Tahiti, a spelling-book, and this was interpreted to mean that she was to be trained in the new religion. The king himself went a journey through Moorea, everywhere attempting to persuade the natives to renounce the old idolatry. These facts were well known on Tahiti, and together with the steady increase of the *Pure Atua*, 'the praying people,' naturally and necessarily enraged that portion of the people, still the majority, who were blindly attached to the old customs. The chiefs of Pare, Matavai, and Hapaiano entered into a conspiracy to murder the queen, Aimata, a chief named Manaonao, and all the members of the *Pure Atua*. In this congenial service they enlisted the aid of their ancient foes the chiefs of Atahuru and Papara. On the night of July 7 the combined forces of these chieftains were to fall upon the *Pure Atua* and annihilate them. It is one thing to plot against God's people; God does not always permit such plots to prosper. The various heathen parties did not assemble punctually; secret intelligence of their imminent danger was conveyed to the Christians; these all happened at the time to be assembled on the beach, with their canoes

hard by; they at once embarked and sailed to Moorea. The disappointed savages fell out among themselves when the flight was discovered, and set to work killing and plundering each other. The whole north-eastern portion of Tahiti was laid waste. Pomare, who at this time was in Moorea, took no part in these conflicts. Many refugees crossed over to Moorea, and gradually joined the *Pure Atua*, who thus became stronger than ever.

The events following hard upon those just described are best told in the original letter, dated August 13, 1816:—

'The people at Tahiti, who had embraced Christianity, having providentially made their escape and joined us at Eimeo, their enemies, as we mentioned before, quarrelled among themselves. The Atahuru party having fought with and vanquished the Porionu, Teharoa, &c., they, and the Taiarabu party who had assisted them, quarrelled again among themselves, and fought; when the Taiarabuans were conquered, and driven to the mountains. After this there was a prospect of peace being established; and the people who on account of religion had fled to Eimeo to save their lives, were invited to return to Tahiti, and take repossession of their respective lands. This made it necessary for the king and his people, and most of those about us, to go over to Tahiti, in company with different parties of refugees, and, according to an ancient custom of the country, to reinstate them in a formal manner in their old possessions.

'On the arrival of the king, and those who followed him, at Tahiti, the idolatrous party appeared on the beach in a hostile manner; seemed determined to oppose the king's landing; and soon fired on his party; but, by the king's strict orders, the fire was not returned, but a message of peace sent to them, which was productive of the exchange of several messages, and at last apparently issued in peace and reconciliation.

'In consequence of this, several of the people returned peaceably to their different lands; but still fears and

jealousies existed on both sides. This state of things continued till Sabbath-day, November 12th, 1815, when the heathen party, taking advantage of the day, and of the time when the king and all the people were assembled for worship, made a furious, sudden, and unexpected assault, thinking they could at such a time easily throw the whole into confusion. They approached with confidence, their prophet having assured them of an easy victory. In this, however, they were mistaken. It happened that we had warned our people [1], before they went to Tahiti, of the probability of such a stratagem being practised, should a war take place; in consequence of which they attended worship under arms; and though at first they were thrown into some confusion, they soon formed for repelling the assailants: the engagement became warm and furious, and several fell on both sides.

'In the king's party there were many of the refugees from several parties who had not yet embraced Christianity; but our people, not depending upon them, took the lead in facing the enemy, and as they were not all engaged at once, being among bushes and trees, those who had a few minutes of respite, fell on their knees, crying to Jehovah for mercy and protection, and that He would be pleased to support His cause against the idolatry of the heathen. Soon after the commencement of the engagement, Upufara, the Chief of Papara (the principal man on the side of the idolaters), was killed; this, when known, threw the whole of his party into confusion, and Pomare's party quickly gained a complete victory [2]. However, the vanquished were treated with great lenity and moderation; and Pomare gave strict orders that they should not be pursued, and that the women and children should be well treated. This was complied with; not a woman or child was hurt; nor was the property of the vanquished plundered. The bodies also of those who fell in the engagement, contrary to the

[1] Nott especially had warned Pomare to beware of this action on the part of his enemies.

[2] The battle was fought at Bunaauia in Atehuru, where Pomare then was.

former barbarous practice, were decently buried; and the body of the Chief of Papara was taken in a respectful manner to his own land, to be buried there.

'These things had a happy effect upon the minds of the idolaters. They unanimously declared that they would trust their gods no longer; that they had deceived them, and sought their ruin; that henceforward they would cast them away entirely, and embrace the new religion, so distinguished by its mildness, goodness, and forbearance.

'In the evening after the battle, the professors of Christianity assembled together, to worship and praise Jehovah for the happy turn which their affairs had taken. In this they were joined by many who had, till then, been the zealous worshippers of the idols. After this, Pomare was by universal consent restored to his former government of Tahiti and its dependencies; since which he has constituted Chiefs in the several districts, some of whom had for a long time made a public profession of Christianity, and had for many months attended the means of instruction with us at Eimeo.

'In consequence of these events, idolatry was entirely abolished, both at Tahiti and Eimeo; and we have the great, but formerly unexpected, satisfaction, of being able to say, that Tahiti and Eimeo, together with the small islands of Tapuamanu and Tetaroa, are now altogether in profession, *Christian Islands*. The gods are destroyed, the marais demolished, human sacrifices and infant murder, we hope, for ever abolished; and the people everywhere calling upon us to come and teach them.

'The Sabbath-day is also everywhere strictly observed, and places for the worship of the true God have been erected, and are now erecting, in every district; and where there is no preaching, the people have prayer-meetings every Sabbath, and every Wednesday evening, all round Tahiti and Eimeo.

'But this is not all, we have also good news to communicate as to the Leeward Islands. Tamatoa, or as he is now called Tapa, the principal Chief, has likewise

publicly renounced idolatry, and embraced Christianity. His example has been followed by most of the other Chiefs, and a large majority of the people throughout the four Society Islands: viz. Huaheine, Raiatea (or Reiadēa), Tahaa (or Otahā), and Borabora (or Bolabōla). Two chiefs of Borabora, named Tefaaora and Mai, have distinguished themselves by their zeal in destroying the gods, and erecting a house for the worship of the true God. The Chiefs of these islands have sent letters and repeated messages to us, earnestly entreating us to send some of our number to them, to teach them also; and Mai, a Chief of Borabora, sent us a letter to remind us that Jesus Christ and His Apostles did not confine their instructions to one place or country.

'A war broke out lately at Raiatea also, one principal cause of which was, that Tapa and others had cast away and destroyed the gods. The idolaters had resolved to revenge this, and in consequence attacked Tapa and his friends, but were themselves, as at Tahiti, entirely defeated, and afterwards treated with much more lenity than they deserved; but though they were then subdued, yet there is still a party at Raiatea talking of war, and the restoration of the gods; but it seems probable that they will not be able to effect anything of importance, as the great majority of the people appear decidedly in favour of Christianity.

'Since the above happy change of affairs at Tahiti, Brother Nott, at the request of the brethren, went over on a visit to Tahiti, accompanied by Brother Hayward. He preached to the people in every district all around the island. Large congregations readily assembled everywhere, and their attention and behaviour was very encouraging. The School, notwithstanding former discouragements, has prospered exceedingly, and continues to prosper; though at present many hundreds of the scholars are scattered through the neighbouring islands, some of whom are teaching others in the different islands and districts where they reside; and thus, through their means, some knowledge of reading and writing has spread far and wide. There

are at least 3,000 people who have some books, and can make use of them. Many hundreds can read well; and there are among them about 400 copies of the Old Testament History, and 400 of the New, which is an abridgment of the four Evangelists and part of the Acts of the Apostles. Many chapters of Luke's Gospel in manuscript are also in circulation; and 1000 copies of our Taheitean catechism, which several hundreds have learnt, and can perfectly repeat.'

Early in 1816 Pomare sent to the missionaries his family idols, and they were forwarded to London.

This harvest of success, coming so rapidly and so largely, embarrassed the little band of workers by its vastness. Every letter home is full of appeals for more workers and for more elementary books. Crook, who had for several years been resident in the Colony of New South Wales, joined them on May 8, 1816. Tessier had returned some time before, so that the number on the effective staff for 1816 was eight. Of these Nott, Bicknell, Henry, and Crook formed part of the company on board the Duff in 1796; Hayward, Davies, Tessier, and Wilson had sailed in the Royal Admiral in 1798.

The journals of the missionaries at this epoch record much work and intercourse among the people of a fruitful kind. Mr. Davies, in 1816, made a tour of Tahiti which was rich in events illustrative of the people and their habits of thought and life. We have space for only one example.

'Came on to Afaina, and passing their first place of worship, took up our lodging near the second, in our way from Atahuru. The people provided food for us, and in the evening assembled for worship, about 100 in number. I addressed them from Isaiah iii. 10. In the evening, just as we had finished our worship, Tati, the Chief of Papara, and his wife, arrived, and several people with them. They had come from the King, and intend following us to Taiarabu. Tati's son had been very ill for two or three days. We gave him a little medicine, which had a good

effect. Tati and his people chose to remain with us during the night, although our accommodations were very indifferent. Had a long conversation with him on various subjects, and particularly on the great change which had taken place in Otaheite. Tati observed that it was an instance of the goodness of Jehovah that He had sent His messengers to make known His word to the people of this island, and had not punished them as they deserved. He observed further, that "if God had not sent His word at the time He did, wars, infant murder, human sacrifices, and disease would have made an end of the small remnant of the nation."'

Although the little band of faithful workers had yet received no official intelligence of it, and although past experience prevented them from indulging any sanguine expectations, very important and powerful reinforcements were on their way; powerful not in numbers, for the total was only eight, but in the quality of the workers, for the eight included William Ellis, George Platt, and, above all, John Williams. Dependent upon the almost chance methods of communication with these islands, so remote from all the frequented paths of commerce and of travel, the newcomers straggled in one after another. On February 13, 1817, William Ellis, with his wife and daughter, reached Eimeo, his fellow-traveller, L. E. Threlkeld, having been left behind at Rio Janeiro. On April 27 Mr. and Mrs. Orsmond landed. And on November 17 Messrs. Bourne, Darling, Platt, Williams, Barff, and Threlkeld, with their wives, reached Eimeo, and the staff was thus raised to the number of sixteen. It now became possible to carry on more vigorously the educational and evangelistic work already so pressing, and to begin in earnest the great enterprise of mission extension.

Mr. Ellis had been carefully instructed as a printer, and had brought out with him from England a press and all the needful plant for printing small books. Fortunately he was the first of the reinforcements to arrive, and he quickly began his special and most important duty. It

was first decided that the press should be sent over to Tahiti. But the captain of the vessel in which Mr. Ellis had come out refused to return there, and this plan had to be given up. After some hesitation the site chosen was a district on the eastern side of Moorea, called Afareaitu. The press was carried there in native canoes, and landed on March 26, 1817, and by June 10 houses had been built, the press put up, and everything was ready for the commencementof the work.

Pomare took deep interest in the press, and visited Afareaitu for the purpose of seeing it begin work. Under the direction of Mr. Ellis he printed the first sheet struck off upon it. Mr. Ellis recorded the event as follows :—

'When the benefits which the Tahitians have already derived from education, and the circulation of books, are considered, with the increasing advantages which it is presumed future generations will derive from the establishment of the press, we cannot but view the introduction of printing as an auspicious event. The 30th of June, 1817, was, on this account, an important day in the annals of Tahiti ; and there is no act of Pomare's life, excepting his abolition of idolatry, his clemency after the battle of Bunaauïa, and his devotedness in visiting every district in the island, inducing the chiefs and people to embrace Christianity, that will be remembered with more grateful feeling than the circumstance of his printing the first page of the first book published in the South Sea Islands[1].'

An edition of 2,600 copies of a spelling-book was first printed, supplying the most urgent need ; then an edition of 2,300 copies of the Tahitian Catechism, containing also texts and Scripture extracts, and then the great work of printing the Scriptures was begun. So far the only portion ready for the press was the Gospel of St. Luke, which Nott had translated. The first sheet of this was at press when the Active arrived, bringing not only the six additional missionaries, but also a large supply of printing paper,

[1] *Polynesian Researches* (1832), ii. pp. 219 223.

sent out by the British and Foreign Bible Society—the first generous help, very often repeated since, sent to the South Sea and other missions during the century. This timely supply enabled Mr. Ellis to double his edition of the Gospel and print 3,000 instead of 1,500 copies. Mr. Ellis and Mr. Crook did most of the composing, and two natives performed the heavier labour of the press. With so small a press and with somewhat imperfect plant, although working from eight to ten hours a day, the progress was slow. It was not until the early part of 1818 that the great work was finished—for it was a great work. Only six years before and Tahiti had seemed as far away as ever from civilization. All the cruel and horrible practices of heathenism were rampant, and hardly any one except the king either could or would read. In 1818 the whole population was eager for knowledge, and the Gospel was given to them in their own tongue by the man who had slowly and painfully, in the hard school of close contact with the people, mastered its intricacies, reduced it to writing, and translated into it the words of eternal life. Had Henry Nott done nothing more he deserves to be ever remembered as the man who first unlocked God's Word to the races of Polynesia.

The title-page of this *editio princeps* ran, *Te Evanelia na Luka, irritihia ei parau Tahiti*, 'The Gospel of Luke transferred to the language of Tahiti.' The motto was Matt. xxiv. 14, 'This Good Word of the Kingdom shall be published in all the world'; and the imprint was, *Neneihia i te nenei raa parau a te mau Misionari*, 1818, 'Pressed at the (paper or book) presser of the Missionaries.' The language, of course, had no word for Gospel, so the Greek word was used, with the consonantal changes necessary to make it pronounceable by the natives.

The first copy of the precious volume of St. Luke which was bound was sent to Nott at Papetoai, and the second, 'half-bound in red morocco,' to Pomare. The queen and the chiefs received their copies next, and then the popular demand was supplied.

The smaller books had been given away, but it was wisely resolved to ask for some payment in return for a copy of the Gospel. Cocoa-nut oil. as an object most easily procurable and also of commercial value, was selected. and books were exchanged for bamboos filled with this oil. Not only were the natives near at hand eager to get copies, but others came from afar on the same errand. The beach near the press was often lined with canoes which had come from Tahiti and elsewhere in search of the precious book.

The Gospel of Luke was succeeded by a collection of hymns, some original, some translations of English verses. This book immediately became very popular, because the natives delight in verse recitations, their traditions and history all being thrown into this form.

The setting up of the printing press at Afareaitu separated the missionaries into two parties. Davies, Crook, and Ellis were reinforced by Mr. and Mrs. Orsmond, and on November 17 Threlkeld, Barff, Bourne, Platt, Darling, and John Williams reached Papetoai. The missionaries at the latter place had been busied over a small ship, afterwards named the Haweis, which they were building for Pomare. Divergencies of view upon the principal affairs of the mission began to manifest themselves. Some thought there should be no longer delay in baptizing the converts; some held that the missionaries should keep together; others that they should scatter and begin work at various centres; some thought a return should be made to Tahiti. Preaching tours were undertaken, and the work of both evangelizing and educating was pushed on as rapidly as possible. In April, 1818, Mr. Crook settled at Papeete, and Mr. Wilson, with Mr. Tessier, had previously settled at Matavai. At the annual meeting of 1818 a further development of work took place, when on May 13, 1818, a general meeting was held in the district of Papetoai, Eimeo, in imitation of the meetings held in London, about 2,000 of the natives attending, who agreed to form a 'Tahitean Auxiliary

Missionary Society,' to aid the Parent Society in England, in sending the Gospel to other nations.

Shortly after this meeting, preparations were made for the removal of the brethren to the several stations in the Windward and Leeward Islands, according to a previous arrangement, in which they had respectively concurred. The brig Haweis, built at Eimeo by the missionaries, and which had been launched in December, 1817, had now completed her rigging, and was nearly ready for sea. She sailed early in the month of June, and from this time, until the close of the year, was employed among the islands, partly in conveying the missionaries to their new stations, and partly in procuring a cargo of native produce (chiefly salted pork and cocoa-nut oil) for the Colony of New South Wales.

The extension of the work to the Society Islands will be dealt with in detail in the next chapter. Meanwhile we proceed with the story of Tahiti and Eimeo. By the middle of 1818, Ellis, Orsmond, and Williams, with their families, had sailed for Huahine in the Haweis. Henry and Platt resolved to remain in Eimeo. Hayward visited England. The rest were on Tahiti. The Directors at home could not divest themselves of the idea that the natives were yearning for the industries of civilization. A Mr. Gyles, who had been engaged on a sugar plantation in the West Indies, was, without any previous consultation with the missionaries, engaged for four years and sent out to start and maintain a sugar factory. With the aid of Mr. Darling, Mr. Platt, and Mr. G. Bicknell, son of the missionary of that name, he established it at Oponohu in Eimeo, but as the natives had neither the aptitude nor the desire to engage in regular work the scheme soon fell through from inability to get labour. The experience Mr. Gyles had had with negroes did not fit him to deal with free natives like those of Tahiti. In addition to the troubles which arose in this way with the natives, the king became fearful that if the plantations prospered adventurers would be attracted and the islands injured

thereby. To allay Pomare's fears, in 1819 Mr. Gyles abandoned the work, and returned to New South Wales. Mr. G. Bicknell afterwards removed the plant to Tahiti, and succeeded in making very good sugar, though not in sufficient quantities to be of any commercial value. The only result then of this costly experiment was to supply the tables of the missionaries with sugar.

In 1821 two artisans, Blossom and Armitage, were sent out in the same ship with all needful machinery for spinning and weaving cotton. In this case also no steps had been taken previously to ascertain the opinion of such men as Nott and Henry. Here again heavy expenditure was incurred on probabilities that appeared reasonable enough in London, and yet were only grotesque absurdities to men who knew Tahiti and its natives. Nothing of the slightest service to the mission came of this experiment, and it finally had also to be abandoned.

The baptism of Pomare finally took place during the anniversary meetings of 1819, held at Papaoa, near Matavai, in the district of Pare. All the interesting details of what was a great event in the history of Christianity in the South Seas are given in graphic and picturesque fashion in the contemporary account printed at the mission press, Tahiti, on May 18, 1819:—

'The King, Pomare, has lately erected a large and very long building at Papaoa in the district of Pare, in Otaheite, and devoted it to the meetings of the Missionary Society, which was formed among the Otaheiteans last year. This building we denominate the Royal Mission Chapel, and its dimensions are as follows: It is 712 feet long, by 54 wide. The ridge-pole, or middle, is supported by 36 massy pillars of the bread-fruit tree. The outside pillars all around the house are 280. It has 133 windows with sliding shutters, and 29 doors; the ends are of a semicircular form. There are three square pulpits, about 260 feet apart from each other, and the extreme ones about 100 feet from the ends of the house. It is filled with forms, except an area before each pulpit, and laid with clean grass. The rafters

are covered with a fine kind of fringed matting, which is bound on with cords of various colours, in a very neat manner; and the ends of the matting are left hanging down, like the naval and military flags in St. Paul's Cathedral. The whole building is surrounded with a very strong fence of wood, and the space between it and the building is filled with gravel.

'Pomare has lately expressed an earnest desire for baptism, engaging to devote himself to the Lord, and to put away every sin, and every appearance of evil. He has had conferences with some of the brethren on the subject, and has also written a letter to us, expressing a deep sense of his sinfulness and unworthiness, a firm dependance upon the blood of Christ for pardon, and an earnest desire to give himself to the Lord in baptism. As it appeared to be the voice of the whole nation, and particularly of the most pious chiefs, and as his conduct has been so constant and persevering in teaching and promoting good things, we resolved, in humble dependance upon divine grace, to baptize him. The baptism was fixed for Lord's Day, 16th instant.

'On Monday, the 10th instant, the brethren assembled at Papaoa. The people were encamped on each side of it along the sea-beach, to the extent of about four miles.

'Tuesday was the day appointed for opening the Royal Mission Chapel. About 11 o'clock we met the King at the east end of the house. He was dressed in a white shirt, with a neat variegated mat around his loins, and a tiputa over all, coloured and ornamented with red and yellow. The Queen and principal women were dressed in native clothing, with an English frill around the neck. The assembled thousands were clean, and dressed in their best. We took our stations according to appointment; Brother Platt in the west pulpit, Brother Darling in the middle, and Brother Crook in the east. The King sat in the east end of the house. Brother Bourne, from the middle pulpit, commenced the service, by giving out hymn the third in our Taheitean collection, in a very shrill, penetrating voice, which was heard from one end of the house to the other.

The whole congregation stood up and sang. Each preacher then read Luke xiv. and prayed. Three sermons commenced about the same time; Brother Darling's text was Isa. lvi. 7; Brother Platt's text, Luke xiv. 22; and Brother Crook's, Exod. xx. 24.

'The sermons being ended much about the same time, all the congregation again sang, and the whole was concluded with prayer. The scene was striking beyond description; no confusion ensued from three speakers preaching all at once in the same house, they being at so great a distance from each other. The east end was so much crowded, that the preacher could not get up the aisle, and with difficulty got to his station through a door behind the pulpit. After a careful attention to the subject, we suppose the number of hearers in the whole house to have been between five and six thousand. We met together in the afternoon to attend to the internal concerns of the Society, and departed to our lodgings much gratified, and praising God for what we had seen and heard.

'Wednesday was the anniversary of the Missionary Society, and Thursday was the day for promulgating the laws. About noon we all assembled in the centre of the Royal Mission Chapel. The King requested Brother Crook to open the business of the day. He ascended the pulpit, and Pomare followed. After singing, reading the Scriptures, and prayer, the King stood up, and looked upon the thousands of his subjects on his right hand and on his left. Addressing himself to Tati, the pious chief of the southern part of the island, he said, "Tati, what is your desire? what can I do for you?" Tati, who sat nearly opposite the pulpit, arose and said, "Those are what we want, the papers you hold in your hand—the laws; give them to us, that we may have them in our hands, that we may regard them, and do what is right." The King then addressed himself to Utami, the good chief of the Teoropaa, and, in an affectionate manner, said, "Utami, and what is your desire?" He replied, "One thing only is desired by us all, that which Tati has expressed—the laws which you hold

in your hand." The King then addressed Arahu, the chief of Eimeo, and Veve, the chief of Taiarabu, nearly in the same manner, and they replied as the others had done. Pomare then proceeded to read and comment upon the laws respecting murder, theft, trespass, stolen property, lost property, Sabbath-breaking, rebellion, marriage, adultery, the judges, court-houses, &c., in eighteen articles. After reading and explaining the several articles, he asked the chiefs if they approved of them. They replied, aloud, "We agree to them, we heartily agree to them." The King then addressed the people, and desired them, if they approved of the laws, to signify the same by lifting up their right hands. This was unanimously done, with a remarkable rushing noise, owing to the thousands of arms being lifted at once. Thus all the articles were passed and approved. Brother Henry concluded the meeting with a short address, prayer, and blessing. This interesting scene may be better conceived of than described: to see a king giving laws to his people, with an express regard to the authority of the word of God, and a people receiving the same with such universal satisfaction, was a subject very affecting to us all[1].

'On Sabbath-day, the 16th inst., the congregations were again assembled in the Chapel Royal. The people were not so numerous as before, owing to their having been so long from home; and being pinched for food, many had returned. However, we had still between four and five thousand hearers. Brother Wilson occupied the east pulpit, Brother Henry the west, and Brother Bicknell the middle. They all preached from the same subject—the commission of our Lord to His disciples, to disciple and baptize all nations, Matt. xxviii. 18-20. The sermons being ended, we all closed around the King, he being seated on the occasion in the centre, near the middle pulpit. Brother Bourne commenced by giving out a hymn, which was sung by the congregation. Brother Bicknell engaged

[1] The king undertook to write out a fair copy of the laws for the press, and also to send a circular letter to all the governors on the subject of education, pressing the importance of parents getting their children instructed.

in prayer, which being ended, the King stood up. Brother Bicknell stood on the steps of the pulpit, and taking the water from the basin, held by Brother Henry, poured it on his head, baptizing him in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Pomare was observed to lift up his eyes to heaven, and move his lips with an indistinct sound. The sight was very moving, especially to our elder brethren, who had been watching over him for so many years. Brother Bicknell addressed the King with firmness, yet not without a degree of tremour, entreating him to walk worthy of his high profession in the conspicuous situation he holds before the eyes of men, angels, and God himself. Brother Henry addressed the people, exhorting them to follow the example of their King, and to give themselves up to the Lord. Another hymn was sung, and Brother Wilson concluded the whole with prayer. Pomare shook hands affectionately with all the missionaries, they being stationed, by his own desire, at his right and left hand. After the ceremony the King returned to his camp.

'On Monday, the 17th inst., all the brethren and sisters met at Wilks' Harbour, and celebrated the Saviour's dying love with much affection and Christian union. The afternoon was spent in arranging the affairs of the Society, drawing up rules for the baptized, &c. A considerable number of the natives of Otaheite and Eimeo, including several chiefs, have been baptized. After which the brethren returned to their respective stations, with renewed vigour, to press forward in the work of the Lord.'

From this period until the time of the French intervention the work of the Tahiti Mission consists chiefly of a record of evangelistic and educational work at the different stations occupied by the missionaries. The chief of these were Papetoai and Afareaitu in Eimeo, and Matavai, Papeete, Papara, and Taiarabu in Tahiti. On July 2, 1819, at Papetoai, of which station Mr. Henry remained in charge with Mr. Platt for a time as colleague, a Christian Church was formed, consisting of twenty-two adults, fourteen men and eight women, who had been baptized the previous month.

By 1821 the number of members had increased to about 100, and in January of that year six deacons were appointed, the first being Patii, formerly priest of the district. By 1825 most of the inhabitants of Eimeo had been baptized. A church for worship, built of blocks of coral, was begun by the natives, but not completed and opened for service until 1829. In February, 1824, Mr. Platt removed to Borabora to replace Mr. Orsmond, who was appointed to take charge of the academy for the children of the missionaries which had been established at Afareaitu. In 1827 Mr. Henry left for Tiarei in Tahiti, and Mr. Simpson succeeded him. Mr. Henry had, up to the time he left, baptized 628 adults, 379 of their children, 247 infants, a total in all of 1254.

One of the earliest stations reoccupied on Tahiti after the conversion of the island was Matavai, the first home of the missionaries, and the centre for long and weary years of their seemingly unproductive work. In December, 1817, Mr. Wilson and his family went to live some distance to the east of the old site. There he was soon joined, first by Mr. Tessier and later on by Mr. Darling. The latter had left to share the labours and experiences of Mr. Gyles on Eimeo. In June, 1819, Mr. Nott returned from Huahine and made his home at Matavai. He was busily engaged in Bible translation work, and among other reasons he wished to be near Pomare and enjoy the benefit of the king's assistance. Mr. Tessier soon after went to assist Mr. Bicknell at Papara. Later on Mr. Nott himself removed to Papara, and the size and importance of the Matavai station decreased considerably. Here, as in many other parts of the world much more highly favoured, great advantages did not necessarily result in greater blessing. The presence of Pomare and his *entourage* was often productive of ill rather than good. More frequent contact with Europeans proved a constant snare to the natives. They were either unable or unwilling to resist the temptations to drink and to immorality thus offered, and Papeete down even to the present time is one of the least satis-



POMARE
(Tahiti)



PAPEIHA
(Rarotonga)



HENRY NOTT
(Tahiti)



GEORGE GILL
Mangaia)



AARON BUZACOTT
(Rarotonga)

factory places from the Christian point of view in Polynesia. In communities, as with individuals at times, 'the first shall be last.' On July 23, 1820, Mr. Tessier died from dysentery at Papara, after nineteen years of diligent and faithful service. On August 7 the same disease proved fatal to Mr. Bicknell. He had been one of the most consecrated and energetic workers connected with the mission. He had shared all its vicissitudes, and deserves much of the credit for its success. He went out in the Duff in 1796, he passed unscathed through the temptations to which so many succumbed, he never lost heart even when things were at their worst, and he lived not only to see the beginning of victory, but was also enabled to do much useful work in the extension and consolidation of Christianity in the island.

A few weeks previous to this sad loss a son, the heir to the royal power, had been born to Pomare. With the king's consent the missionaries undertook to educate him as a Christian child.

About three miles from Mr. Nott's house at Matavai was Papaoa, the principal residence of Pomare. Here Pomare had erected his huge and comparatively useless chapel, and both on Sundays and Wednesdays Mr. Nott preached there. Later on a new chapel was built, and the old one, greatly reduced in size and largely rebuilt, was kept for public meetings. A little while before his visit to England in 1825, Mr. Nott removed his residence to Papaoa, mainly at the request of Pomare. Hither he returned in 1827. Between 1829 and 1832 the Christian life of the district degenerated largely because of the scandalous lives of Aimata, Pomare's daughter, and her attendants. Christian work of the kind referred to above was also carried on at several other stations on the larger peninsula and also on Taiarabu.

We have no space to trace the work of consolidating and developing Christianity in Tahiti at this period in greater detail. Two great events we must look into somewhat closely. The first was the death of Pomare,

and the other the arrival of a deputation of Directors from London.

Next to Mr. Nott, Mr. Crook saw most of Pomare at this time, and he also was with him at his death. From Crook's journal for 1820 and 1821 we select a few pictures of the changed life and conditions in Tahiti. When extracts from it were printed in 1822 nearly every word that reflected upon the king was, for what at that time seemed good and sufficient reasons, rigorously excluded. We now quote them exactly as they stand in the original journal, not, of course, to magnify the failings of Pomare, but because they help us to understand how hard it is even for a partially enlightened man to shake off the fetters of heathenism. Pomare exhibits a type of character not at all unfamiliar to Christian workers. He had been educated and trained in heathen savagery. He was possessed of absolute and boundless power. He was both by training and practice steeped in sensual vice of every kind. Yet he was undoubtedly a man of considerable intellectual force, and his mind had assented to the truth of the teachings of Christianity. His conscience was awakened, and he knew himself to be a great sinner; but he was unable to break free from sinful habits. The missionaries were always in a very difficult position with regard to him. As chief his power was practically boundless. Mainly through his acceptance, at least outwardly, of the Gospel, Christianity triumphed in Tahiti. But in Christian excellence and development he was far surpassed by many of his subjects. The ensuing extracts present a sad picture. His own conscience aroused, his intellect enlightened, friendly towards the missionaries, and in turn to them the object of their ceaseless prayer and labour, and of their most solicitous concern, Pomare was unable to break free from the strong cords of sin by which he was holden. He threw, at many critical epochs, the whole weight of his authority upon the side of Christ; but he never seems to have yielded his own heart to the Saviour's sway.

'*July* 7.—We hear that Pomare drank to excess last night, and also two of our communicants, Ahuriro and Hitoti. Pomare had no scruple about drinking himself, but wished to withhold it from others.'

'*February* 6, 1821.—One painful thing is the spiritual and temporal state of the King, who arrived this morning in his Paumotu canoe, and was saluted with 21 swivels. He came on board, looking very gloomy and sulky as usual, under the influence of two bottles of spirits, which were sent to him yesterday from the ship. At dinner his detestable pander sat alongside of him on a low seat. The King cut some meat, put it in a plate, and gave it him, and he took it back and eat it. Afterwards he came to the table again; the King poured him out spirits, which he drank at the table. Brother Nott reports that when he has gone to the King to translate the Scripture, this vile fellow has lain asleep, and when the King awoke him at one time he was offended and cried like a child. The King then coaxed him and made it up with him. Brother Nott also informed the brethren Bourne, Darling, and myself this day that he is very near to the King's person, who cannot bear him out of his sight for a minute, and that when he is translating the Scriptures with the King, he (Brother Nott) on one couch and the King on another, this detestable wretch is frequently between them, and he is obliged to turn his head from them to his book to avoid seeing what passes, and still gets his ears shocked with what he hears. The King, as we may expect, pays no attention to his wife, and seems to have no concern at all about his infant son, who was at our house most of the day, but the King made no inquiry after him. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that he catches at everything that seems to favour Antinomian principles. His case is truly awful. As to his government, he is despotic and tyrannical. He has ordered every person to bring him a hog, or they are to be banished from the land and go upon the reef.'

'*September* 26.—The Tuscan whaler arrived from England, bringing Rev. D. Tyerman and G. Bennet, Esq.,

deputies from the Missionary Society, Rev. Mr. Jones, missionary, and Mr. Blossom and Armitage, missionary artisans.'

'*October* 16.—The gentlemen of the Deputation, accompanied by Brother Nott, sailed to Moorea on Saturday last to see the King. We hear he is dangerously ill. At the meeting of the baptized but few attended.'

'*October* 17.—The King's conduct has been the greatest check to the civilization of the people as well as to their consistent conduct. He has himself not taken one step towards civilized life, and he has taught the natives to disregard everything the missionaries say to him on that head. He has also, by his drunken and abominable manner of life, drawn aside the people and even the members of our churches, who when they are cast out of the church are received into greater intimacy with him, and so are hardened in their sins. It has also had a lamentable effect on our schools, and indeed tends to damp every effort made for the good of the people.'

'*November* 26. — The gentlemen of the deputation arrived, accompanied by Brother Nott and Brother Davies. Breakfasted with them on board the Dragon brig, Capt. Walker, which came in a few days ago to refresh and repair. Capt. Walker took us to Burder's Point in his boat. We found the King very ill with the elephantiasis in his legs and arms, a dropsy of the abdomen and thorax, or chest, so that he appeared to be an entire mass of disease. Some of the chiefs proposed a public fast on his account. The King referred them to us, and being approved, it was appointed for Friday next.'

'*November* 28.—After school and breakfast went to see the King at the place we left him two or three miles distant. Gave him some medicine, and endeavoured to remind him of his sinful state by nature and practice, and of the necessity of fleeing quickly to Christ. He behaved very kindly, but seemed to have no relish for religious conversation. Brought home the young Prince; his nurse was sent to carry him, and two soldiers for his guard.'

'*November* 29.—The King and his retinue arrived and took up their residence at Papeete.'

'*November* 30.—Fast day. At sunrise attended upon the King. Hitoti, Tati, and Utami prayed, and I concluded with reading the 6th Psalm and prayer around his bed. He seemed restless. Expounded Isa. lviii. 1–12, both forenoon and afternoon.'

'*December* 3.—The King removed to the little islet for the benefit of the air. Attended him there and gave him medicines. His whole frame is greatly swollen. His legs are like elephants' legs, and his thighs not only swollen but hard as a board; the water fluctuates in the abdomen, and there are symptoms of water in the chest.'

'*December* 5.—Had a little conversation with the King about his soul's concerns, but could get nothing satisfactory from him. Asked him of the succession; he replied that was settled on his son. I asked him of the regency, and he said that was not settled, but seemed to wish to avoid the subject. Some of the chiefs proposed prayer, and I prayed at his bedside, labouring to affect his mind with his awful state, and entreating that he might be plucked as a brand from the burning. Soon after Brother Nott arrived, and he also talked to him and prayed with him.'

'*December* 7.—This morning the King and attendants removed from the island to a grove of cocoa-nut trees, about half a mile distant in Faaa. Shortly after Dr. Redfern arrived with Brother Nott and were proceeding to the King, but a messenger from him informed them he could not be seen as yet, but would send when he was ready. Soon after the messenger arrived, and I accompanied them to the King. We found him in a very low, comatose state, with short lucid intervals. We had scarcely left him and got home when a messenger arrived, saying I must attend immediately, for Pomare had fainted. Dr. Redfern accompanied me, and we saw his end was fast approaching. He was sensible, and I dropped a few short sentences by way of exhortation. Being somewhat revived we returned

home. In the evening I was sent for again in a similar manner. As soon as I arrived I told him I was come to do what I could for him, but I feared it would be of no avail. It was true he was a very great sinner, but Christ was a great Saviour, and Jesus alone was able to help him. He replied, "Jesus alone," and these were his last words. He lay in a stupor. His favourite men now kept their distance, and his wife and his sister hung over him weeping aloud. His cousin Manihinihi also wept much, but Aimata seemed little affected. I held the young Prince at the foot of the bed and watched the King. At 8 he ceased to breathe, and I offered up a short prayer, after which a general weeping commenced. They wept aloud, saying, "Alas! Alas! our King!" "Twas he," said the Queen and her sister, "who brought us hither, and now Alas! Alas! for the children," and thus the dirge went round, each having something to say (or sing rather) peculiar to themselves, and the big tears rolling from their cheeks. I could scarce refrain weeping myself, though I had reason to think the King's death would be a public benefit.'

'*December* 8.—The body was removed early this morning to Papaoa. An immense coffin was made, near seven feet long and almost three feet wide at the shoulders. The body was put in the coffin this evening, the lid being lined with black broadcloth.'

'*December* 10.—All the people busily employed in getting stones to build the King's tomb. Went to Papaoa. The brethren Henry and Platt came from Eimeo, and Brother Bourne from Burder's Point. At Papaoa we met the brethren from Matavai, so that all the missionaries of these two islands were present except Brother Darling, who is travelling round the islands. It was agreed that the body should be interred to-morrow, so that we returned home again.'

'*December* 11.—Assembled at Papaoa about noon as yesterday. Brother Nott addressed the people at the grave, after which the soldiers fired, and the vessels in Wilks' Harbour fired minute guns. We then retired

to the large chapel, and Brother Jones preached to us from 1 Thess. iv. 15–18. The Queen provided a dinner in the European style, having borrowed plates, &c., and the gentlemen from the ship furnished her with wine. This was advancing a step in civilization beyond anything we had seen with the King.'

'*December* 22.—The past days have been attended with much rain, thunder, and lightning, and has the appearance of the regular rainy season. There is to be a meeting of all the chiefs and the missionaries when the ships are departed, in order to settle the government on a good foundation. The young King is called by his father's name, Pomare, and is to be formally invested with the government.

'The late King stood six feet two inches, and was proportionately stout. He was the biggest man in the island. Tati, who stood next him as to height and bulk, always appeared at a disadvantage when standing by his side. Pomare possessed a very capacious mind compared with any of his people, and therefore was overrated by others and overrated his own abilities. He was fond of despotic power, and loved to have the persons and property of his people at his entire disposal. He supported the old practice that no woman should eat in any house that the king had honoured with his presence. He was naturally idle, seldom or never walked out except to bathe, and seemed much more averse than his people to adopt European customs. He inherited from his father a love to foreigners, and was always the friend of missionaries. He frequently evinced that he was under the influence of Antinomian notions, and seemed to steel his heart against convictions. He was much feared by the people, and was made very useful in bringing about the great change that has taken place in these islands.'

In the year 1821 a Deputation, consisting of the Rev. Daniel Tyerman, formerly of Newport, Isle of Wight, and George Bennet, Esq., of Sheffield, was appointed by the Directors to visit first the South Seas, and then, if

possible, all the other fields of missionary labour which had been occupied by the Society between 1795 and 1820. A circular issued in 1820 sets forth the somewhat comprehensive and delicate duties which they were to undertake:—

'The great objects of the Deputation will be, to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the state of the missions, and of the islands; and to suggest, and, if possible, carry into effect, such plans as shall appear to be requisite for the furtherance of the Gospel, and for introducing among the natives the occupations and habits of civilized life. In order to the attainment of these objects, it is proposed to form such arrangements as shall tend to the introduction of Christian churches; the establishment and improvement of schools for the children of the missionaries and of the natives, and, eventually, of trades; and a proper and constant attention to the cultivation of the ground.'

It is always very difficult for the home authorities to come into sufficiently close touch with their workers in the foreign fields through correspondence only. Even with all the multiplied means of communication of the present day, the matters most essential for boards of management to realize are often the very points which they are either slow or unable to grasp. Hence those responsible for the guidance of the great missionary societies are realizing more and more that either by means of their permanent officials or by special deputations they must visit, at no infrequent intervals, the active and important centres of missionary work. This is generally admitted to be sound in theory, and to some extent—but not yet as thoroughly as desirable—is acted upon in practice. In 1821 this course was in the highest degree needful. The extraordinary success of the South Sea Mission, and the purely tentative and haphazard way in which the mission and missionaries had hitherto been dealt with, alike rendered it most needful that the Directors should see things through the eyes of thoroughly capable observers. The record of the travels and work of this Deputation is a book full of entrancing

interest, and of instruction for all who have to do with missionary affairs[1]. The formidable nature of the work may be gathered from the fact that it took eight years to discharge the duty, and one member of the Deputation, the Rev. Daniel Tyerman, died during the journey.

Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet sailed from London in the Tuscan, a whaler, May 2, 1821, and reached Tahiti September 25, 1821. They landed at a critical moment. Pomare was fast nearing his end, and there was no strong ruler to step into his place. Many of the descriptions are vivid, and of great value as giving the impressions of able and intelligent men at the epoch when Christianity was transforming the whole outward life of many of these islands, and also winning the hearts of many of their degraded and savage inhabitants to purity and Christ-likeness.

'King Pomare, we found, when we arrived, was on the adjacent island of Eimeo. Here a very interesting scene took place about six weeks before our arrival. A number of the Ana people, or inhabitants of Chain Island, and Paumotans (both subjects of Pomare) assembled here. These tribes had long indulged towards each other the most rancorous hatred, and their islands being adjacent they were continually at war, in conducting which neither side gave quarter. The King determined, if possible, to subdue this enmity, and establish permanent peace between them. He therefore convened a meeting of the chiefs and principal personages, unarmed, on both sides. These were separately ranged in the two courts above mentioned, divided by a low fence. There stood Pomare, between the two parties, and in an impressive speech exhorted them to reconciliation. His arguments and his authority prevailed, and the representatives of both islands entered into an agreement upon the spot, that there should be no more war between their

[1] *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq., deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit their various stations between the years* 1821 *and* 1829. Compiled by James Montgomery. London, 1831.

respective people, but that friendly intercourse should take the place of perpetual strife[1].'

'Mr. Nott, among other curiosities, showed us a manuscript copy of the translated Gospel of St. Luke, executed by King Pomare in a very neat, small hand. It was from this copy that the first edition of that evangelist was printed. Mr. Nott stated that he had been greatly aided by Pomare in making that version, the King being better acquainted with the Tahitian language, and its capabilities, than most of his subjects. This is probably an unparalleled instance of a prince—and that no mean one, for he had the power of life and death, and his will was law in all cases throughout his dominions—devoting time and talents to the slow and painful labour of translating the sacred Scriptures, and copying out the work for the press with his own hand, that he might be the means of bestowing upon his people the greatest earthly boon which God has bestowed upon man[2].'

'*Sept.* 30.—On Friday night we retired to rest, but waked not till Sunday morning, though the interval allowed for sleep had not been longer than usual! This was the consequence of a miscalculation by Captain James Wilson and the first missionaries who settled here. Coming from the east, and keeping up the reckoning with which they set out, they gained a day instead of dropping one, not bearing in mind that as London comes under the meridian ten hours earlier than Tahiti, which is 150° of longitude to the west, the day at the latter place is proportionably later. Some inconvenience has been suffered from this mistake, since the intercourse with Europeans has become more frequent than formerly here; but not so much as to induce the missionaries to correct it, at the hazard of occasioning worse confusion in the eyes of a people to whom it would probably be difficult to make the change intelligible[3].

'This has been to us, at Matavai, a Sabbath of peculiar enjoyment and sanctity. At sunrise we went to the chapel

[1] *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, i. 61. [2] *Journal*, i. 67.

[3] The alteration was made by the French about 1844.

on the beach, near Mr. Nott's house—a neat structure, having bamboo walls, thatched with palm-leaves, furnished with benches made of bread-fruit-tree planks, and capable of holding about four hundred persons. It is now used only as a school and prayer-meeting house. On our arrival we found the place filled with natives of both sexes and various ages. They were all kneeling, while one of them was offering up prayer in the most fervent and devout manner. Scarcely a head was lifted up when we entered, and stepped as softly as might be to a place near the person who was officiating at the time. When he had finished his address to the Deity, he gave out a hymn, which was sung with much animation by the people. He then read a portion of St. John's Gospel, many of those who were present producing their Testaments, and following his voice with their eyes on the words of the book. Another prayer was then offered up, and the assembly departed in the most quiet and becoming order[1].'

After visiting Tahiti and Eimeo, and making the acquaintance of the whole missionary staff on those islands, Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet visited the Leeward Islands, and thence sailed to the Sandwich Islands, intending also to go on to the Marquesas, but this they were not able to accomplish. On their return, the Leeward Islands were revisited, special attention being given to Raiatea, on account of its most attractive Christian history, and also because it had formerly been the very centre and sacred place of the heathen superstition and sanguinary worship.

'*Nov.* 30.—We have just returned from a visit to Opoa, the metropolis of idolatry, not in Raiatea only, but throughout all the South Pacific Islands, within a compass of five hundred miles. Hither, from every shore, human victims, ready slain, were sent to be offered on the altar of Oro, the god of war, whose principal image was worshipped here, with the most bloody and detestable rites. To describe the various maraes and their appurtenances, the priests and their sorceries, the sacrifices, feastings, and fightings of the

[1] *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, i. 68.

votaries at this hideous rendezvous, would only be to exhibit, in aggravated language, scenes of disgusting horror. Opoa was also the residence of the kings of this island, who, beside the prerogatives of royalty, enjoyed divine honours, and were in fact living idols among the dead ones, being deified at the time of their accession to political supremacy here. In the latter character, we presume, it was that these sovereigns (who always took the name of Tamatoa) were wont to receive presents from the kings and chiefs of adjacent and distant islands, whose gods were all considered tributary to the Oro of Raiatea, and their princes owing homage to its monarch, who was Oro's hereditary high-priest, as well as an independent divinity himself. Happily nothing but the ruins of maraes remain, and Opoa, flourishing in all the unpruned luxuriance of tropical vegetation, is one of the loveliest and most peaceful spots in all these regions of beauty and fertility. The population, since the removal of the King and his family to the missionary station, on the shore, having forsaken their former haunts, this place, which for ages scarcely knew quiet by day or by night, is now a solitude[1].'

On April 24, 1824, almost three years after their arrival, the Deputation took their leave of Tahiti and its missionaries. Calling successively at Eimeo, Huahine, Tahaa, Raiatea, and Borabora, on June 7 they bade farewell to the Georgian and Society Islands. In the 'Farewell Letter[2]' which they addressed to the missionaries they rejoice in the marvellous achievements of the past, and also show that they were fully alive to the defects and dangers of the present.

'It is true,' they remark, 'that though wonders have been wrought by the preaching of the Gospel, and the power of the Spirit of God, everything has not been achieved that Christian philanthropy is anxious to behold. Though all name the name of Jesus, all do not depart from iniquity: while the appearance of religion is seen in the mass of the people, there are many individuals who disregard its solemn

[1] *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, i. 529. [2] Ibid. ii. 101–114.

sanctions. Where but a few years ago nothing but crime was to be seen, and that of the foulest nature that men in their worst state could commit, you are not to be surprised at the few crimes which are still committed: where all trifled with religion, be not surprised that some treat it with neglect: where all were cruel idolaters in practice, be not astonished that there are those who retain the world as an idol in their hearts: where all were led captive by Satan, be not disheartened because some are still willing to bear his yoke[1].'

The letter further urges the maintenance of a high standard for admission to the church, and the careful and persistent instruction of the young. It rejoices over the success of the natives themselves in carrying the Gospel to islands yet heathen, and it looks on to the time when European missionaries will be no longer needed. To this end they urge the opening of a college for native teachers. They rejoice in the systems of law gradually coming into force, and the progress of civilization.

'While we see, with great satisfaction, all these islands living under just and humane laws, and blessed with all the institutions of the Gospel in full operation, we rejoice in the progress which civilization has made in islands so lately in the depths of barbarism and the grossest superstition. That, in so short a period since the downfall of idolatry, so many of the people should have become acquainted with the arts of reading, writing, and arithmetic—so many excellent places of worship and comfortable dwelling-houses built—such a complete change effected in the manners of the people, from gross sensuality to the greatest decency and good behaviour,—these are facts so singular that we are at a loss to express our gratitude to God, while we would encourage you, dear brethren, to aim at still greater things —the entire extirpation of every remaining evil[2].'

[1] *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, ii. 102. [2] Ibid. ii. 110.

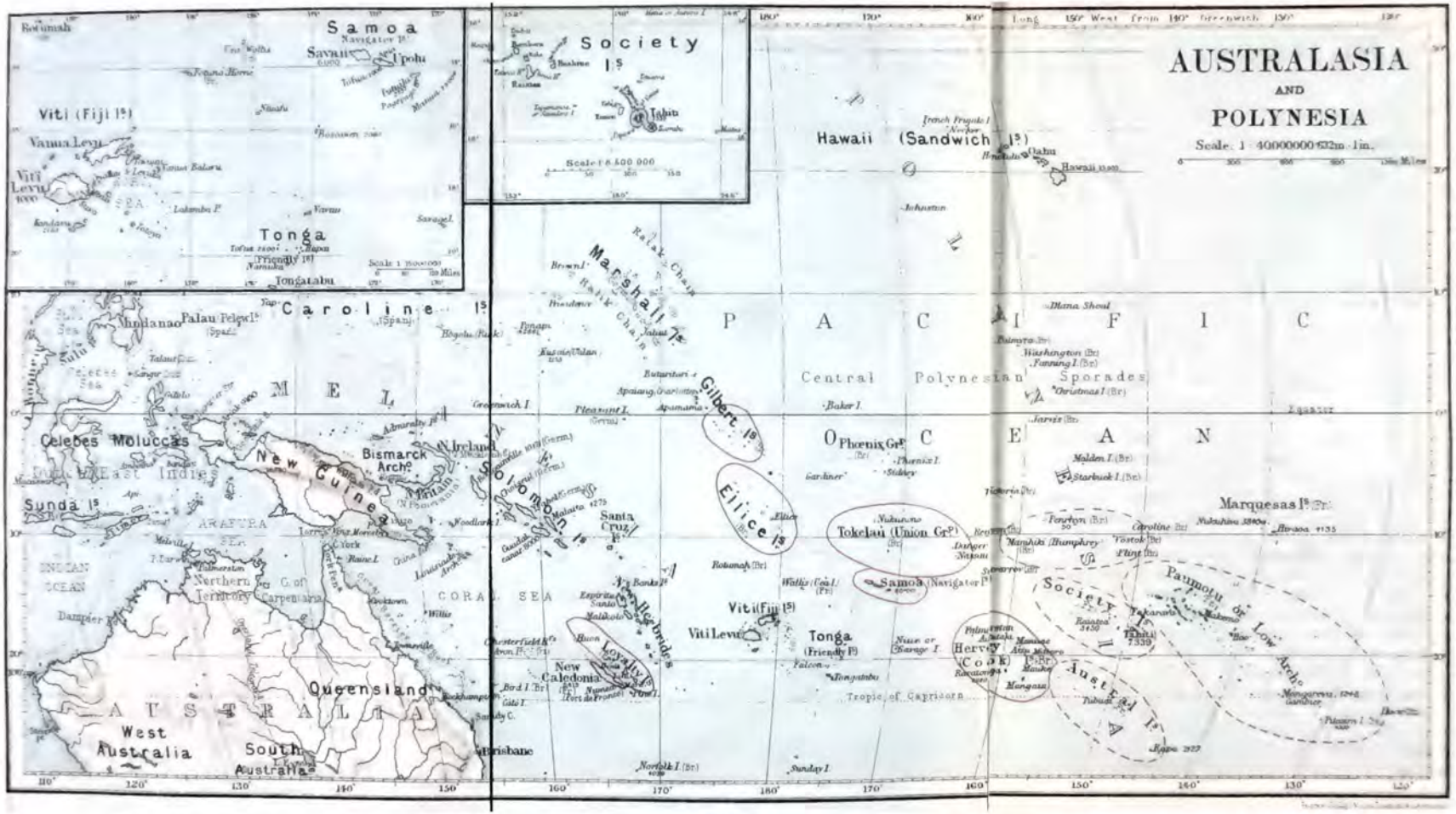
[AUTHORITIES.—Original Journal and Letters; *Transactions of the Society*; Annual Reports; *Journal of Voyages and Travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq.*, London, 1831.]

CHAPTER VI

THE ISLES BEYOND

THE little band of missionaries who reached Eimeo on November 17, 1817, had hardly become used to life on shore, after their long voyage, before serious consideration was given to the claims of other islands which were crying out for the Gospel. That deliberation soon became action does not surprise us when we remember that John Williams was one of the new-comers.

We have now reached the point when the centre of the missionary enterprise in Polynesia is found in a new and forceful personality. The determining and steadying power of the first twenty-five years was the resolution, the faith, the perseverance of Henry Nott. The time in God's providence for a rapid and wide extension of the Gospel had come, and for this purpose He had fitted and sent out John Williams, a man of restless energy, of sunny temperament, of strong self-confidence, of bold initiative, of resolute faith. This remarkable man was born at Tottenham High Cross, London, June 29, 1796, and hence he was barely six weeks old when the Duff sailed on her first voyage. He was the son of Christian parents, and was carefully trained by his mother. Traces of mechanical ability early exhibited themselves; he was at the call of the family whenever anything had to be done, and was 'a handy lad.' He was apprenticed for seven years, on March 27, 1810, to an ironmonger in the City Road, and, although intended for the shop rather than the workroom, he loved to handle


AUSTRALASIA
AND
POLYNESIA
Scale. 1 · 40000000 · 632m · 1 in.
Samoa
Navigator Is
Savaii
Upolu
Viti (Fiji Is)
Vanua Levu
Viti Levu
Tonga
Tongatabu
Society Is
Tahiti
Hawaii (Sandwich Is)
Oahu
Caroline Is
Palau Pelew Is
Yap
Marshall Is
Ralik Chain
Ratak Chain
Gilbert Is
Ellice Is
Phoenix Gp
Tokelau (Union Gp)
Marquesas Is
Austral Is
Pawmotu or Low Archo
Hervey (Cook)
Central Polynesian Sporades
P A C I F I C
O C E A N
M E L A N E S I A
Celebes
Moluccas
East Indies
Sunda Is
New Guinea
Bismarck Archo
N. Ireland
Solomon Is
Santa Cruz
New Hebrides
New Caledonia
Loyalty Is
Queensland
AUSTRALIA
West Australia
South Australia
Northern Territory
Brisbane
Sydney
Norfolk I.
Sunday I.
CORAL SEA
Tropic of Capricorn
Long. 150° West from 140° Greenwich 150°

the tools, and soon became exceedingly expert in their use. His master often 'found it for his own interest to request him to execute orders in which great delicacy and exactness were required.'

Although living a strictly upright and outwardly moral life, he was fast drifting into irreligious habits, when on Sunday, January 30, 1814, Mrs. Tonkin, the wife of his master, met him in the street, waiting for some companions with whom he was to pass the evening at a tavern. She recognized him by the light of a lamp, stopped first to question, and then to warn him, and finally induced him to go with her to the Moorfields Tabernacle, of which Matthew Wilks was then pastor. Very reluctantly he went. The Rev. Timothy East, of Birmingham, was preaching that evening from the text, 'What is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?' The supreme moment in his life came then to John Williams, as it often does come to men, unexpected and unforeseen, and led up to by unpremeditated actions. Twenty-four years afterwards, in 1838, preaching from the pulpit which Mr. East occupied on that eventful evening, John Williams said, 'I have all the circumstances of that important era in my history vividly impressed upon my mind; and I have in my eye at this instant the particular spot on which I took my seat.' 'From that hour,' he wrote upon another occasion, 'my blind eyes were opened, and I beheld wondrous things out of God's law.' He became a regular attendant at the Tabernacle, and in September, 1814, joined the Church by open profession of love to Christ, and consecration to His service. He took part in the prayer-meetings and other gatherings of the Church, and became a zealous Sunday-school teacher.

Matthew Wilks, one of the most influential founders and advisers of the London Missionary Society, did not allow the Anniversary of 1815 to pass without special celebration. From Africa there were encouraging tidings of success, but from Tahiti had come the soul-stirring news of triumphs almost too great to be believed. Quarterly

meetings for prayer and conference about missionary matters were instituted, and at one of these the desire to give himself up to this work took possession of the soul of John Williams. In July, 1816, he offered his services to the Directors. The letter in which he made his formal application to them lies before us as we write, and the old, time-worn wrapper is endorsed, 'Read July 29, 1816. Referred to the Com^ee^ of Examination.'

This letter fills four pages of quarto size, and contains an account of his religious experience, of his creed, and of how he came to think of being a missionary. The first sentence of the letter is very characteristic, and runs: 'My much Respected Fathers in Christ,—I, John Williams, a Candidate for the Office of a Missionary, take the liberty of offering the following representation for your perusal, in which I have endeavour'd to be as frank, & as plain as possible. If this representation, and the Account the Reverend Mr. Wilks can give of me should not meet with your Conscientious Approbation, I hope, pray & trust you will, by no means, for the sake of my Soul, offer me the least encouragement; but, on the contrary, if they should meet with your approbation I hope & trust you will not offer the least discouragment.'

John Williams was accepted when only just past his twentieth birthday, and thus began the career so full of after blessing to Polynesia. In his case, as in that of most of his co-workers, the need for a thorough and careful education was not realized. In addition to this, the call for more helpers was so imperative that almost immediately he was enabled to realize his heart's desire. On October 29, 1816, he was married to Miss Mary Chauner, also a member of the Tabernacle Church, and prior to this, on September 30, he, with eight others, was solemnly ordained to missionary work. No service of the kind since the memorable gathering on July 28, 1796, had aroused such widespread interest and stirred such deep feeling. In Surrey Chapel, an immense congregation gathered on an occasion which must ever be memorable in the annals of

the Society as that which sent forth John Williams to Polynesia and Robert Moffat to South Africa.

'The African missionaries were Messrs. John Taylor, James Kitchingman, Evan Evans, John Brownlee, and Robert Moffat. The brethren for Tahiti and its adjacent islands were Messrs. David Darling, George Platt, Robert Bourne, and John Williams. The engagements of the day were commenced by prayer. This was presented by the late Mr. Rayson, then of Wakefield, but subsequently of Tonbridge Chapel, London. Dr. Leifchild, then of Kensington, delivered an introductory discourse, and proposed to the missionaries the usual questions. To these enquiries satisfactory answers were returned, and when it is remembered that in this way nine young men testified, in the midst of the Church and in the face of the world, that they loved the souls and desired the salvation of the heathen above kindred and country, we need not wonder that "the numerous audience appeared to be deeply affected." These replies having been concluded, the Rev. George Burder and John Angell James stood forward and, in the name of the Society, presented a Bible to each of the brethren, as a token of regard, the bond of their union, the basis of their efforts, and the pledge of their support. "I shall never forget," said Mr. Williams, many years after this interesting scene, "the impression produced upon my mind by the solemn manner in which our beloved brother, Mr. James, of Birmingham, put the Bible into my hand. With all the affection for which he is distinguished, and with all the power and impressiveness of his manner, he said, 'Go, my beloved brother, and, with the ability which God has given you, be faithful in season and out of season, in proclaiming the precious truths which that volume contains;' and then good Dr. Waugh, with heaven beaming on his benevolent countenance, and the big tear of affection glistening in his intelligent eye, speaking to me upon my youthful appearance, said, 'Go, my dear young brother, and if your tongue cleave to the roof of your mouth, let it be with telling poor sinners of the love of Jesus Christ;

and if your arms drop from your shoulders, let it be with knocking at men's hearts to gain admittance for Him there'." After the presentation of the Bibles, this venerated man offered prayer for the missionaries and their wives, to whom two charges containing counsels and encouragements were then addressed by the late Dr. Winter and the Rev. John Campbell. Singing and supplication closed and sanctified the solemn service [1].'

Other workers for the same field had already started: Ellis and Threlkeld, afterwards to be the colleague of Williams on Raiatea, sailed in January; Orsmond and Barff in July; and on November 17, 1816, John Williams sailed for Sydney in the Harriet, and landed there, May 12, 1817. The difficulties of communication with Tahiti are illustrated by the fact that they were unable to secure a passage thither until September 4, upon which date they sailed in the Active. Visiting New Zealand on the way, and thus becoming acquainted at first hand with the missionary work going on there, Tahiti was sighted on November 16, and on the following day, exactly twelve months after sailing from London, they landed at Papetoai, on the island of Eimeo. On November 19, a Wednesday, Williams attended a native service in the chapel at Papetoai, and his comment is characteristic of the man. 'Here my eyes beheld seven or eight hundred people, who, not five years ago, were worshipping idols, and wallowing in most dreadful wickedness, now praying to and praising our Lord God. Surely, thought I, the work is done; there is no need of us, though there are hundreds in these islands who do not know our Lord and Saviour; they are as eager to learn as a miser is to get money.' We shall see later on that he, unhappily, found only too abundant grounds for moderating this first most favourable impression; but he never lost his eager desire for the isles beyond.

Mr. Williams spent some months in Eimeo, and there,

[1] *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. John Williams*, by Ebenezer Prout (1843), pp. 34, 35.

on January 7, 1818, his first child was born. During the earlier years of the Tahiti Mission, the duty of carrying the Gospel, as soon as possible, to the surrounding islands was admitted by all. But no permanent settlement there was attempted until 1818. The older missionaries very naturally preferred to toil amid the scenes of their former sufferings and disappointments. On June 18, Davies, together with Williams, Ellis, and Orsmond, accompanied by their wives and several chiefs, sailed from Eimeo and landed at Fare harbour, in Huahine, on June 20. Visitors from the neighbouring islands soon began to assemble at the mission-house, the principal being Tamatoa, the chief of Raiatea. He was very eager that a missionary should come and reside upon his own island, and when the senior members of the mission declined to go, Williams and Threlkeld gladly complied with his request. They landed upon Raiatea, September 11, 1818.

Meanwhile, Davies, Barff, Ellis, and Orsmond had settled down to work in Huahine. When idolatry had been overthrown in Tahiti, Mahine, the King of Huahine, sent one of his principal chiefs to burn the idols, destroy the temples, and cause idolatrous worship and ceremonies to cease. This was done, and nearly led to civil war, although ultimately both parties wisely determined to wait until missionaries could be sent to instruct them. When the missionaries landed in 1818, the island was nominally Christian, yet only very few of the natives can have had any but the scantiest knowledge of Christianity, and nothing beyond the feeblest comprehension of its moral and spiritual claims and restraints.

The printing-press which had been of such great service at Afareaitu, Mr. Ellis took with him to Huahine. This did not meet with the approval of the older missionaries, who thought, and probably with much justice, that Tahiti was its proper place. Mr. Bourne had brought out with him a small press and a limited supply of type, and as these were at Burder's Point, Ellis probably thought he might disregard the wishes of the others on this point.

After a close study of all the original documents available, candour compels one to state that however well the missionaries were agreed upon the fundamental questions, they often showed a remarkable power of differing as to details, and they were not averse to somewhat trenchant criticism of one another's actions. If Mr. Ellis, when he became at a later date Foreign Secretary, consulted the correspondence of this period he must have been interested in seeing how his Tahitian brethren felt about the removal of the press to what they considered an out-of-the-way island.

An account of the early progress of work in Huahine is given in the 'First Report,' a four-page leaflet dated December, 1819, and printed by Mr. Ellis at the mission-press. After sketching the origin of the mission and the organization of the Missionary Auxiliary in May, 1819, it proceeds :—

'At Fare, the district where we reside, the preaching of the word has been regularly attended ever since our arrival; for several months past we have also had the pleasure of seeing our congregation considerably increased. Two of our number have itinerated every Sabbath (with few exceptions) to Maeva, Parea, and Mahapu; three of the most populous districts in the island. A congregation of 300 or 400 usually collect at each of these places.

'During the past year, our number of scholars at this place has been considerably augmented; besides which we have a school at Maeva, and another at Mahapu, under the care of native teachers, and superintended by those who visit them. We have also a Sunday-school at each of the above-mentioned places.

'We have also been enabled to put another portion of the word of God into the hands of the people, an edition of 2,000 copies of the Gospel of Matthew, which we finished printing in October last; they were sought with avidity, and received with gratitude by all.

'On account of the local circumstances of the missionaries and people previous to their settlement at their respective

stations, none of the natives were baptized; we have, however, had several under preparatory instruction since our establishment here, and on September 12 we had the happiness to baptize fifteen who were considered proper subjects, among whom were Mahine and Hautia, the principal chiefs of the island.'

During 1819 Nott and Davies were busily occupied, instructing their newly-arrived brethren in the language, preaching to the natives, and revising the translation of the Scriptures for the press. 'My intimate acquaintance with all that had been printed,' writes Mr. Ellis, 'afforded me greater facility in prosecuting the study of Tahitian. In less than a year I was able to converse with the people on common topics, and I preached my first sermon in Tahitian in November, 1818.' In 1819 Mr. Nott returned to Tahiti.

Meanwhile at Raiatea John Williams was entering upon his new and to him most grateful work. Raiatea, the Ulitea of Captain Cook, the largest island of the Society group, lies due west of Fare, at a distance of about thirty miles, and its mountains are visible from Huahine. It is about fifty miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a magnificent reef, which also encloses, six miles to the northward, the island of Tahaa. There are many openings in the reef, wide and deep enough to admit the largest vessels into the lagoon, which affords safe anchorage and a splendid harbour. The mountains of the interior rise to a height of 2,000 feet, and, as at Tahiti, a belt of arable land lies between the mountains and the sea, broken up here and there by glens and valleys.

Raiatea had been the centre of the worship of Oro. Human sacrifices without number had been offered to appease this sanguinary idol, and all the foulest abominations and darkest superstitions of Polynesia had been rampant here. In 1816 Pomare, with Mr. Wilson and nineteen Tahitians, had, while on board a small vessel, been driven here by a gale, and stayed, kindly entreated by the inhabitants, for three months. Mr. Wilson preached;

Pomare threw the weight of his influence on the side of Christianity; Tamatoa, the supreme chief, and some of his nobles were convinced, and abandoned many of their heathen practices. Tamatoa built a chapel, resolved to keep Sunday a holy day, and held meetings from time to time to talk over what they had been taught. It was these facts, well known at the time, which made Williams and Threlkeld so anxious to respond to the invitation of Tamatoa. A circular, dated September 5, 1819, is practically the first annual report of mission-work at this, the third centre of labour in the South Seas:—

'Since the formation of the mission on Raiatea we have had to mingle tears of regret with our rejoicings; and it is with sorrow that we view the prevailing influence of sin over multitudes of the natives in these islands. We sincerely deplore the ill effects produced by the wicked conduct of some, who from time to time visit those islands. In this, as in every other part of the world where Christianity has obtained an entrance, the number of those who profess is far greater than the number of those who really feel the power of vital religion. After great labour we have obtained comfortable dwellings. Several of the natives have made neat dwelling-houses, and plastered them inside and out. We hope soon to make them utterly ashamed of their continued practices of sleeping together as a flock of sheep; and we are determinately desirous of introducing among them those habits which will contribute to their temporal felicity, and prepare them for domestic life.

'Many have made considerable progress in learning; can say the multiplication table offhand, work the most difficult long division sums without an error, and sums in reduction without a mistake. Thus they encourage their teachers to greater diligence. Nor are they backward in useful arts. The greater part of the natives are very regular in their attendance on the preaching of the Gospel, and the chapel is frequently crowded an hour before the time of public worship.'

An auxiliary missionary society was formed, and many speeches made, of which we quote one:—

'Tuahine[1], one of the cleverest men we have, then stood up and said, "Friends, the kings, chiefs, and all of you: we have heard much speech to-day; do not be tired; I also have a little to say. Whence come the great waters? Is it not from the small streams that flow into them? If there were no little streams there would be no great bodies of water. I have been thinking that the Missionary Society in Britain is like the great water, and that such little societies as ours are like the little streams. Let there be many little streams; let not ours be dry. Let missionaries be sent to every land. We are far better off now than we used to be. We do not now sleep with our cartridges under our heads, our guns by our sides, and our hearts in fear. Our children are not now strangled, nor our brothers killed for sacrifices to the lying spirit; it is because of the good work of God. He sent His word and missionaries to teach us, and we hope there are some who have already believed."

'There were many propositions made and carried by a unanimous holding up of the naked arm. The whole was conducted with a degree of interesting simplicity and affection that fanned the spark of zeal and excited the tear of holy gratitude. The friends of Jerusalem in London never witnessed such a scene.'

Prior to the general acceptance of Christianity, every attempt at civilizing the natives in Tahiti was an absolute failure. In Huahine and Raiatea the natives had been even harder to move. Consequently the swift progress they made, under the guidance and the impulse of John Williams, in some of the arts of European life is very remarkable. They rapidly learned how to carpenter and to do smith's work, and they soon became both willing and eager to build separate houses for each family, after the example set by the Europeans. All the natives in both the Windward and Leeward Islands had been in the

[1] This man was one of the two praying natives of Tahiti, as described on page 201.

habit of sleeping together in large numbers. Under one roof as many as thirty, forty, or sixty men, women, and children went to rest. They slept upon the floor on mats, the chief being distinguished only by the larger number and superior quality of the mats upon which he reposed. Privacy was unknown, and the moral effect of this state was necessarily most pernicious. It was due largely to superstition. Night was the season when the evil spirits were near and powerful. Consequently the larger the number sleeping together the greater the common safety. This custom, by no means the least influential of those hostile both to Christianity and to common decency, the missionaries had to combat. This they did at Raiatea and elsewhere by stimulating the natives in every legitimate way to build and occupy homes of their own, each family by itself.

On May 12, 1819, a code of laws, drawn up by the missionaries and approved by Tamatoa, was formally adopted. The distinguishing feature of this code was the introduction of trial by jury. This in itself was an enormous advance, since hitherto the chief's word had been law, and in the most absolute sense 'the king could do no wrong.' Now, to some extent, even the chief's power came under the restraint of law. Pahi, brother of Tamatoa, a man of high standing and character, became chief justice. The need for superintendence by the missionaries in the administration of a brand-new code and system of this kind was imperative. Writing on June 8, 1821, Threlkeld and Williams say, 'A few blunders were made in the form, such as the judge's passing sentence before he addressed the jury ; but it being the first trial by jury, this was very excusable.'

At first John Williams seemed inclined to consider Raiatea his settled residence and place of work. But so small an island afforded no sufficient scope for the restless energy he possessed. His correspondence with the Directors from 1820 to 1823 is of an unusually frank and interesting order. He puts his facts in a very pointed

and common-sense fashion, and he dwells with special force upon some of those which were least palatable to the authorities at home. A long letter dated June 7, 1820, deals with the two important subjects of how the missionaries were to be supported, and how their children were to be cared for, educated, and sent out into life. The feeling that his faith and zeal and labour are not being expended to the best advantage he thus expresses, and in so doing he gives us the views of a very competent critic of Polynesian affairs, when we have made the needful correction due to the fact that he had been only three years in the field:—

'As I understood there were only five or six thousand persons at Tahiti and eight or nine missionaries to supply them, I naturally expected to find about 28,000 persons in the Leeward Islands to which I was going. I was quite angry with my brethren, Platt, Bourne, and Darling, for staying to windward while there were so many missionaries to so few people. But behold! after two years' travelling about in the Leeward Islands, I am concerned to say that I can find not more, or very few more than 4,000 in them. I know that one soul is infinitely more value than my body or a thousand bodies, but how does the merchant act who goes in search of goodly pearls? Supposing he knows where there is one pearl which would pay him for his trouble, and he knows where there are thousands of equal value, to which place would he direct his course?'

In the light of these considerations he urges the Directors to send him elsewhere to labour among the tens and hundreds of thousands who were crying, 'Come over and help us,' alleging among other reasons the following:—

'I have now youth in my favour, being only twenty-four years of age this month. I have no doubt I should soon acquire any language, as I preached regularly in this language before I had been eleven months on these islands and knew not a word before we arrived.'

Long before it was possible to get any reply to his

request, the thoughts and labours of John Williams had been turned in new directions, in the first instance by the conversion of the island of Rurutu. This incident is fully described in a circular drawn up by him, dated Raiatea. October 18, 1821, and printed while he was at Port Jackson. whither he had gone on account of his own and of Mrs. Williams' health:—

'On March 8 we saw a strange sail at sea, which made towards the reef, and appeared to be determined to hazard the running on the reef instead of bearing up for the proper harbour, a practice resorted to by the natives when in extremity. Perceiving their imminent danger, the chiefs manned our boats, and went off to pilot the strangers safely into the proper harbour. When they arrived, we found they were natives of an island called Rurutu, but Ohiteroa in charts, 150° 51′ W. 22° 29′ S. It appeared by their accounts, that they had been to Tubuai, an adjacent island, for axes, pieces of iron hoop, &c., and, as they were returning, were overtaken with strong contrary winds, which drove them down among the Society Islands. They had been drifted about at sea for three weeks, and latterly without food or water, except sea water, which they were obliged to drink. Maurua, the most westerly of the Society Islands, was the only island they could make, although they both saw and tried to make Raiatea and Borabora as they drifted by. They were exceedingly astonished at the difference of custom; and when they heard of the new system of religion, and saw the mode of worshipping the living and true God, they were convinced of its superiority, and determined to take the first fair wind and come up to Borabora or Raiatea where missionaries resided, to obtain books, learn to read, and be taught the word of God. From Maurua they had now come, had touched at Borabora on their way, but the wind being contrary, they could not get their huge, awkward canoe into the harbour, consequently they bore up for Raiatea. The chief (whose name is Auura), with his wife and a few others, were taken on shore at Borabora in a boat. Brother Orsmond, who

occupies that station, supplied them with books, and paid every attention to them ; but as their canoe, and the principal part of the people, were at Raiatea, they soon followed. When they arrived here, there were about thirty persons, men, women, and children. We supplied them with books, set apart a certain time for their instruction, and gave them in charge to our deacons, who were highly pleased with their new office, and were diligent in the discharge of their duty. Auura, the chief, paid particular attention, as did also his wife. Some of the others were slothful, while he appeared to appreciate the worth of knowledge, and the value of the good tidings of salvation. His diligence, attention, and questions were such as surprised not only the Raiatians, but also ourselves. We think he possesses a very acute judgment in those things to which his knowledge extends. We do not wish to be understood in thus speaking of him, that we believe him to be what would be called in England a converted character, though we have now evidence that he is a true convert from idolatry.'

On July 3 a brig, the Hope, from London, touched at Raiatea, and Captain Grimes was induced by Mr. Williams to take these natives back to Rurutu. The native church, when appealed to for help, nominated two deacons, Puna and Mahamene by name, to go with them as Christian teachers. On August 9 a boat which John Williams had sent by the Hope returned to Raiatea, laden with the gods of Rurutu, and bringing a letter from the native teachers informing Williams and Threlkeld that the island had forsaken its ancient idolatry and was giving heed to their instructions. This favourable reception of the Gospel message was greatly helped at Rurutu by some of those apparently accidental circumstances, which, however, happened so frequently in Polynesia as to become to the eye of faith evidences of God's presence and power. The narrative contained in the circular continues :—

'It appears that the brig arrived there on Monday, and sailed the same evening. On Tuesday the public meeting

was held; and on Wednesday they had their public or general feast, wherein both men, women, and children, chiefs, and common people, all ate together, which was to be the test of the truth of the word of God, agreeable to the proposition made by the teachers in the meeting of the preceding day. If they died according to the prediction of their priest—namely, any woman eating pork or turtle would be eaten by the evil spirit, or any one eating on a sacred place would die and be eaten also—then they would not destroy their gods; but, if no one sustained any injury, they would destroy all their idols. They met accordingly; and after satisfying their appetites without any injury being sustained, they arose; boldly seized their gods; set fire to three sacred houses, the residences of their godships; and then proceeded to demolish the maraes, which was all completely effected that day.

'It is worthy of remark, that when the boat first reached the shore Mahamene and Puna, with their party, knelt down to return thanks to God for their preservation, not knowing that that spot was sacred to Oro. The Rurutus immediately said, "This people will surely die." The party also ate inadvertently on a sacred spot. When the Rurutus saw this, they said among themselves, "No doubt they will die for this trespass on sacred ground;" and looking earnestly, they expected some one to have swollen or fallen down dead; but after they had looked a long time, and saw no harm come to them, they changed their minds, and said, "Surely theirs is the truth; but, perhaps, the god will come in the night, and kill them; we will wait and see." One man actually went at midnight, and called to Auura Vahine, the chief's wife, saying, "Are you still living? has not the evil spirit destroyed you?" When morning appeared, and the Rurutus saw that no harm had happened them in the night, they became exceeding disgusted at their having been deceived so long by the evil spirits.'

On the arrival of the boat at Raiatea with the Rurutu gods great excitement ensued. An evening meeting, itself a great novelty, was held in the large new church, lighted

up for the occasion, through the ingenuity of Mr. Williams, by wooden chandeliers containing cocoa-nut shells for lamps. The idols were then exhibited, and many interesting details given connected with this most successful first effort to make the Gospel known to 'the isles beyond.' Tidings had also been brought that Rimatara, an island forty miles away from Rurutu, was likely to accept the new religion.

Towards the close of 1821, the state of health of both Mr. and Mrs. Williams made a voyage to Sydney desirable. The remarkable results at Rurutu had aroused the deepest interest in John Williams' mind, and greatly strengthened his resolution to do what he could to carry the Gospel to the multitude of islands around, still in the total darkness of heathenism. His sympathies were wholly on the side of a bold forward policy. A frequent saying of his, in reply to the ever-present objections of cautious minds, was, 'Did you ever know one of these pre-eminently prudent men accomplish anything great or good?' Even this journey to Sydney was utilized to plant the Gospel in a heathen island. His eyes had already turned longingly towards the Hervey group, situated to the south-west of Raiatea. Following the Rurutu precedent, he took with him two native teachers whom the Church at Raiatea had indicated as most suitable for the work—Papeiha and Vahapata by name. Upon arriving at Aitutaki on October 26, 1821, the ship was at once surrounded by canoes filled with natives, who were, he says, 'exceedingly noisy, and presented in their persons and manners all the wild features of savage life.' Finding that he could make himself understood he invited Tamatoa, the chief, on board, and in reply to his questions told him what had been done at Raiatea, how the great gods Tangaroa and Koro and the rest had all been burnt, and the people taught about the one true God. The teachers were introduced to him, and then the chief asked if they would go on shore with him. When told they would, 'he seized them with delight, and saluted them most heartily by rubbing noses.' The chief promised to protect the teachers, and further excited

Mr. Williams by telling him about the mysterious unknown island of Rarotonga; and then the vessel went on her way to Sydney, calling at New Zealand.

At Sydney John Williams purchased a vessel, afterwards known as the Endeavour, 'for the chiefs of Raiatea, Tahaa, Borabora, and Maupiti,' and on January 30, 1822, from Sydney he wrote the Directors a long letter, which is a very good specimen of his energy, clear-headedness, and far-sightedness. We can quote only two paragraphs:—

'We are establishing native missions. The one is at Rurutu, the effects of which the account I have had printed (a few of which I have forwarded to you) will show. The other is at Aitutaki; but we shall not be able to hear of that till the return of our vessel from the colony, as we cannot touch at it going out, but as the vessel returns to the colony it is in a direct line from Raiatea. I hope and pray that my being able to touch at so many islands going out will enable us to form several more, a communication with which must be kept up; therefore I hope that the little vessel I have written to you for will be sent out by first opportunity[1].

'We must branch out to the right and left, for how can we, in justice to the heathen world, especially to the surrounding islands, confine the labours of so many missionaries to so few people? A few days since, by Rev. T. Hassall, Mr. Marsden received letters from you which were not more gratifying to him than to myself—you speak of my having written in an intemperate and unbecoming manner. I forbear at present to say anything upon the subject, but expect on my arrival at the islands to find letters equally hurtful to our feelings as some we formerly received. I thought from your last kind and affectionate letters you had given over writing unkindly; however, amidst it all we have the approbation and blessing of our God upon our feeble efforts to spread the savour of His name.'

The purchase of the ship, referred to in this letter,

[1] It was a good schooner, complete (in frame), of about twenty or twenty-five tons.

was due to several causes. Mr. Williams felt even more strongly than any of his colleagues that a vessel which the mission could control was essential to its successful working. Events have amply justified him and all those who in varying degrees shared this opinion. He also saw that a wide and rapid extension of Christian influence among the islands was impossible without a ship of this kind. But ever practical in his views, he had planned a commerce in tobacco and sugar-cane between Raiatea and the colony, which he believed would prove highly remunerative to all concerned. For this purpose he had met the present need by purchasing a vessel, which was to be the chiefs' property. He still urged, in season and out of season, upon the authorities in London the need for a vessel wholly devoted to missionary work.

Mr. Williams returned to Raiatea by way of Rurutu, reaching Raiatea on June 6. He was greatly cheered by this visit. 'We found the two native teachers with their families well, and were much delighted with the progress they had made. They have erected an excellent place of worship, plastered, floored, and comfortably pewed, with a pulpit, and singing-desk, after the model of our large chapel at Raiatea. All the women had bonnets, and the men hats. They have made great progress. Many of them can read fluently in the Gospels. They were much delighted at seeing me, for they had postponed their May meeting in the expectation of my arrival. The two native teachers had taught them to prepare cocoa-nut oil and arrow-root; and, in return, the people had erected for them two plastered dwellings, and treated them with great kindness. I left with them 500 catechisms and 500 spelling-books, of which they were much in want. Besides these, I gave them a history of Joseph, and a Scripture catechism which I had written for them during the voyage, together with eight chapters of Daniel which I had translated at the same time.'

The planting of sugar-cane and the culture of tobacco, which Williams had intended developing in Raiatea with every probability of success, was frustrated by the fact

that the colony of New South Wales at once put a prohibitive duty upon the last, thus shutting out from their market any the natives could grow, and at the same time plunging the missionary into somewhat serious financial embarrassments. These were not lessened by the fact that the Directors also refused to admit the force of his arguments or to sanction his action. He himself puts his side of the case as well as it can be stated in a letter dated September 30, 1823, a letter remarkable also as containing one of the most famous of his sayings:—

'It is our duty to visit surrounding islands. You have fourteen or fifteen missionaries in these islands, missionaries enough to convert all the islands in the South Seas, and every island within a thousand miles of us ought now to be under our instruction. Six good active missionaries, united in heart, mind, and plan, would effect more—if you would afford them the means—than you either think or expect. A missionary was never designed by Jesus to get a congregation of a hundred or two natives and sit down at his ease as contented as if every sinner was converted, while thousands around him, and a few miles from him, are eating each other's flesh and drinking each other's blood with a savage delight, living and dying without the knowledge of that gospel by which life and immortality are brought to light upon this subject. It is our full determination to have some decided conversation with the Deputation; for my own part, I cannot content myself within the narrow limits of a single reef, and if means are not afforded, a continent to me would be infinitely preferable, for there if you cannot ride you can walk, but to these isolated islands a ship must carry you.'

In April, 1822, letters were received from Papeiha and Vahapata. A native who had been sent with messages to Papeiha some months before returned at the same time with two important items of news. One was this message from the Aitutakians: 'When you return, tell Viriamu [1] if

[1] Mr. Williams' native name. It was the nearest approach to his own that Polynesian lips could make.

he will visit us we will burn our idols, destroy our maraes, and receive the word of the true God.' The other was that some natives of Rarotonga were then resident upon Aitutaki. Tamatoa readily placed the ship Endeavour at his disposal, six native teachers were chosen and solemnly appointed for this pioneer service, and on July 4, 1823, accompanied by Mr. Bourne, John Williams set out on the ever-memorable voyage in which he was first to claim Aitutaki for the Saviour, and then to discover the mysterious search-eluding Rarotonga.

In his *Missionary Enterprises*[1] Mr. Williams has given some vivid pictures of the wonderful events of this period. The conversion of Aitutaki had been effected by the teachers Papeiha and Vahapata, whom he left on that island when on his way to Sydney. The progress of Christianity in Aitutaki under these two brave and devoted native teachers was largely helped by the death of the chief's daughter. The gods had been invoked with numerous and costly ceremonies —but in vain. This induced the chief to look favourably upon the new teaching, and to turn away from the ancient idolatry which had failed him in the time of sorest need.

The visit to Mangaia was the occasion of one of those brave deeds on the part of Papeiha, who had already been the instrument of so much good upon Aitutaki, which have given him a very high place on the roll of missionary fame. The first cruise in search of Rarotonga having proved fruitless, Williams bore away to the island of Mangaia, which had been visited by Captain Cook. Various attempts to establish friendly relations with the natives were unsuccessfully tried.

'In a consultation upon the subject with the teachers, Papeiha said to us, that he should have no objection to land among them. There being no openings in the reef, through which the boat could pass to the shore, with a readiness and devotedness that heightened him in the estimation of every one present he offered to leap into the sea, and swim through the surf. Being accoutred for his

[1] Pp. 66-68.

daring exploit, he went into the boat, and on reaching the reef, which extended but a few yards from the shore, he perceived that the natives were all armed, some with stones in their slings, and others with their spears poised, ready in a moment to defend their island against the expected invasion. Papeiha addressed them, saying, that we were peaceably disposed, and that he was coming on shore; but unless they would tie their spears in bundles with their slings, he would not venture among them. They immediately did as he proposed, when this devoted man dived into the sea, and was borne on the top of a billow to the shore. Encouraged by his kind reception, he stated to the chiefs and the assembled multitude who we were, and what was the object of our visit; and also informed them that we had with us two teachers and their wives, whom it was our wish to settle among them. They told him that they should be glad to receive instruction, and requested that he would go to the vessel, and return with the teachers immediately. Papeiha accordingly came off, and informed us of all that had taken place; stating, at the same time, that he thought they were an inoffensive people, and that no danger was to be apprehended from them. Some property was immediately put into the boat; and two teachers with their wives, attended by our veteran pioneer, went to the shore [1].'

But even Papeiha's insight proved mistaken in this case. The teachers were allowed to land, but their little property was too great a temptation for the savages. They were robbed of everything, and violence to the two wives of the teachers was prevented only by firing a small cannon from the ship, and thus frightening away their maltreaters. Papeiha remonstrated with the chief, who wept, but explained his inability to prevent such deeds by the assertion that his influence was small on Mangaia, 'all heads being of an equal height.' Papeiha himself was nearly murdered. A tiputa[2] was thrown over his head and

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 78, 79.

[2] A piece of cloth three-quarters of a yard wide and three yards long, with a slit in the middle for the head to pass through, worn as a cloak.

twisted round his neck. He had presence of mind to insert his hand between it and his throat, and thus escaped strangling. The teachers, whose names were Taua and Haavi, and Papeiha were embarked upon the ship once again, and for the present Mangaia had to remain without the Gospel.

The island of Atiu was next visited. Mr. Orsmond had sent a few months before from Borabora two native teachers to this island, but they had been badly treated and met with no success. The chief came on board, and by the example and the conversation of the chief of Aitutaki, now an earnest believer in Christianity, who was then with Mr. Williams, he was deeply impressed. This chief, Roma by name, was also chief ruler of the two small islands, Mitiaro and Mauke. Mr. Williams persuaded him to accompany the ship and use his influence with the chiefs of these hitherto unvisited islands. This he did, and so successfully that both islands embraced Christianity.

'It is a pleasing reflection, that the very first vessel which visited the islands of Mitiaro and Mauke carried the glad tidings of salvation to them. In this people the words of the Psalmist have a striking fulfilment: "As soon as they hear of me, they shall obey me; the strangers shall submit themselves unto me." The sun had risen with his wonted splendour, gilding the eastern heavens with his glory; and little did the inhabitants of Mauke and Mitiaro imagine, that before he retired beneath the horizon in the western sky, Ichabod would be written upon the idolatry of their ancestors. How sudden and unexpected, at times, are the gifts of a bountiful Providence! How unlooked-for, unsought, the communications of God's mercy! The king of Atiu came on board of our vessel to gratify his curiosity, and was at that time a bigoted idolater, having even threatened to put the teachers to death: but was induced to embrace the truth himself—to use his influence in overthrowing the superstitions of ages in two islands—and then to return to his own with a full determination to do the

same there. Could we be restrained from exclaiming, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes[1]?"'

Roma returned to Atiu, and the Endeavour went on her way to discover Rarotonga. No teachers were landed on Atiu, but another of those strange Providences, so frequent at this time, greatly aided the conversion of that island. A canoe returning from Tahiti to Raiatea was driven out of its course by a storm.

'After having been driven about the ocean for six weeks, during which time they suffered exceedingly from hunger and thirst, they reached Atiu. Here, by the attention of their brethren the teachers, and the hospitality of Roma, they soon regained both flesh and strength. Several of them immediately united with the teachers in preaching the Gospel and instructing the people: the effect of which was, that the remaining half of the population, till then unconverted, believed, and cast away their idols. "Now we know," said many, "that this religion is true; for these people could not have come here to deceive us; they were driven by the waves of the ocean, and, behold, they have their books with them; and the God to whom they prayed has preserved them[2]."'

Before leaving the ship, Roma was able to give Mr. Williams the correct direction in which Rarotonga would be found—south-west by west, as it proved when his native landmarks were tested by the compass—and an approximate idea of its distance, 'a day and a night's sail.'

'After leaving Atiu, we were baffled and perplexed for several days by contrary winds. Our provisions were nearly expended, and our patience all but exhausted, when, early in the morning of the day on which we discovered the island, the captain came to me, and said, "We must, sir, give up the search, or we shall all be starved." I replied that we would continue our search till eight o'clock, and if we did not succeed by that time, we would return home. This was an hour of great anxiety; hope and fear agitated my mind. I had sent a native to the top of the mast four

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 90, 91. [2] Ibid. pp. 94, 95.

times, and he was now ascending for the fifth: and when we were within half an hour of relinquishing our object, the clouds which enveloped its towering heights having been chased away by the heat of the ascending sun, he relieved us from our anxiety by shouting *Teie, teie, taua, fenua, nei!* Here, here is the land we have been seeking! The transition of feeling was so instantaneous and so great, that, although a number of years have intervened, I have not forgotten the sensations which that announcement occasioned. The brightened countenances, the joyous expressions, and the lively congratulations of all on board, showed that they shared in the same emotions: nor did we fail to raise our voices in grateful acknowledgments to Him who had graciously "led us by a right way[1]."'

A canoe containing Papeiha and one of the Rarotongans brought from Aitutaki, Vahineino by name, went on shore. They were welcomed, and when the object of their visit was explained 'all seemed delighted.' The king, Makea by name, went out to the ship, and was rejoiced to find his own cousin among the little band brought back from Aitutaki. Papeiha and the teachers with their wives landed. The next morning they returned to the ship in a sad plight. A powerful chief had come and demanded one of the wives, and only by the strenuous exertions of the king's cousin, a female whose name was Tapaeru, were they preserved from outrage. At first it seemed as though Rarotonga, discovered only after long and often baffled search, would, like Mangaia, have to be left in heathenism for the present. But again the faith and courage of Papeiha rose to the height of a great endeavour. At his own request he was left alone amongst the wild horde of savages, the only promise he exacted being that a colleague should be sent to him as soon as possible from Raiatea. He landed, 'carrying nothing with him but the clothes he wore, his native Testament, and a bundle of elementary books.' He was not entirely friendless, since the two men and four women who had been brought back

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 99, 100.

from Aitutaki had accepted Christianity, and all promised to help him. About four months later, Tiberio, the friend he asked for, was able to join him, and in the course of a twelve-month the whole island was led to renounce idolatry.

The story of this voyage is familiar to the readers of *Missionary Enterprises*, but we are able to give it in Williams' own words, in a letter to his friend and fellow-worker William Ellis, dated October 1, 1823:—

'You will be rejoiced to hear that I have taken a missionary voyage. The origin was, if you recollect, when I went to the colony I took two native teachers and left them at Aitutaki. Success, after much struggling and fighting, attended their labours, and when the schooner visited them on her way back to the colony, they sent up word that if I would come down and see them they would renounce idolatry. Further, that there was a canoe arrived from Rarotonga (Rarotoa), and many of the people who came in her had embraced Christianity, and wished to have teachers to return with them. This to me was too evident a call from God to confer with flesh and blood. After getting my dear wife's consent I determined on the voyage, and to have a thorough range over that group of islands. After a little persuasion I got Mr. Bourne to agree to take two teachers from his church and go too. I took four from Raiatea, Paumoana and Mataitai for Aitutaki, Vahineino and Fanauara for Rarotonga; Mr. Bourne took two for Mangaia Islands.

'We set sail on July 4, and after three or four days' fine wind we arrived at Hervey's Island. It is two large low islands, with very few inhabitants and very little else but *fara*[1]. We of course did not waste our labourers by leaving any there, but sailed for Aitutaki, and were greeted with the most grateful salutation from every canoe that passed us. *Maitai te parau a te Atua ua man Aitutaki. Ua pabu roa te parau a te Atua i Aitutaki nei. Tei ia Viliamu maitai te parau*, &c.[2] We were rather hard

[1] Pandanus.

[2] 'Good is the Word of God. Aitutaki has received it. The Word of God is fully established on Aitutaki. The good Williams has the Word.'

of belief, for they are a *feia tavarevare*[1]; they therefore held up their BA's[2], others pointed to their hats, to convince us of the truth and to induce us to let them alongside. At length we saw the young king's canoe, and when they came on deck they told us of all that the Lord had done—their maraes all destroyed, *varua inos*[3] all burned, and every man in the island a worshipper of the true God; that a very large *fare bure raa*[4] was finished, and only waiting my arrival to open it. This was news, and joyful news. We opened the chapel, settled the teachers comfortably, brought away the young king and his great uncle and their wives, and after getting all the Rarotonga people on board, we sailed for Rarotonga, but did not find it that tack, therefore stretched on for the islands of Mangaia. Here Mr. Bourne attempted to leave two teachers, but the poor wives got handled so roughly that it was impossible to leave them; the husbands' lives were in danger, and their wives would have been publicly abused.

'We sailed away to Atiu, and here we trust great success attended our labours. About four months before that time Mr. Orsmond had sent two teachers to Atiu, an island about which I made inquiry when I visited the colony. We found the poor men in a wretched situation. They had had every article stolen from them, and were living, as they said, *Mai te uri ra*[5]. We tried much to get a chief from every island, but could not; however, we got Romatane[6], the king of Atiu, on board. He informed us that he was king of two islands a little to windward, about twenty-five miles each; the one is Mitiaro, the other Mauke. We persuaded him to accompany us, and use his influence in settling a teacher at each, which he agreed to do. We had him on board three or four days. By preaching, praying, and conversation he was turned from dumb idols to serve the living and true God. His influence, as you

[1] A deceitful people.

[2] Spelling books. The term still used by natives for elementary school books. [3] Evil spirits, i.e. idols. [4] House of prayer.

[5] Like dogs. [6] *Tane* denotes the male sex, as *vahine* the female.

well know, was invaluable in settling the two native teachers at the islands of Mitiaro and Mauke. They both determined to receive the good word that they might be saved. The chief of Atiu, Roma-tane, is a fine man, and a remarkably sensible man. I preached one Sabbath day from "He that believeth," &c. He paid great attention, and in subsequent conversation he, by the questions he proposed and answers that he gave, evinced that he perfectly understood all that was said. He returned on shore at his own island, with a full determination to destroy all his maraes and erect *oioi a fare bure raa* [1], and open it when *Tyermani ma* [2] visit them on their way to the colony.

'From Atiu we steered again in search of Rarotonga, the bearings of which the chief gave us. After an anxious and rather tedious search we found the beautiful island of Rarotonga. It is much like Eimeo in appearance. Here I attempted to settle Vahineino and Fanauara with their wives, but the very lascivious conduct of the natives to the wives of the teachers prevented me. I was very sorry indeed, as it is a *fenua taata*, 29 *Mataeinaas* [3]. However, I had taken with me from Aitutaki Papeiha, one of the teachers that I left at Aitutaki, and he, manifesting a true missionary spirit, went on shore by himself, and knowing he should have every article stolen from him, he sent all his *taoa oii* [4] to Raiatea, and went on shore with only what clothes he had on him and a bundle of BA's under his arm.

'The people, generally speaking, resemble the Rurutu people, especially the chiefs of Rarotoa; but nothing near so clean. Indeed, the common people are very filthy, except those of Auau; they are, perhaps, a different race of people altogether, fine stout, well-made men, and very white. They display great ingenuity in making their cloth, &c. They are without exception the finest men that I have seen in the South Seas. Aitutaki, Atiu, Mangaia, and Rarotonga are very numerously inhabited,

[1] Quickly a house of prayer.
[2] Tyerman and Bennet.
[3] Inhabitants numerous, twenty-nine districts.
[4] Kit.

especially Rarotonga. At the others, Mitiaro and Mauke, there are not more, perhaps, than four or five hundred on each. They were all *Rai tangata*[1], especially Aitutaki, Atiu, and Rarotonga. They are, as you must suppose, ignorant in the extreme. Mitiaro and Mauke had never been visited before. Auau had never seen a ship since Captain Cook's; and Rarotoa had only seen one, which they attempted to cut off, and indeed did kill four of the crew. Their language is much the same as the New Zealanders'. They use the hard consonants and nasal sounds, and supply all the breaks in the throat with either the *k* or the nasal, as *vaa*, *vaka*[2], *maa*, *maanga*[3], &c. Being able to speak the New Zealand was of great advantage to me, although I did not attempt to preach to them in that language, and gave the teachers special written instructions not to accustom themselves to speak the Aitutaki, but to teach the Aitutakians the Raiatean, which I trust they will accomplish, as the Aitutaki chiefs and their wives have picked up this language with amazing rapidity. They have neither the *h* nor *f*, which, together with the introduction of the nasals and hard consonants, makes it appear at first almost totally different language.'

In ten days the return voyage to Raiatea was accomplished. 'And as other warriors feel a pride in displaying trophies of the victories they win, we hung the rejected idols of Aitutaki to the yardarms and other parts of the vessel, entered the harbour in triumph, and sailed down to the settlement.'

Thus ended the earliest and in many repects the most remarkable voyage in the history of Polynesian missions—the earnest of many another to come.

We must now glance at the progress of affairs in Huahine and Raiatea during this period. Mr. Davies left Huahine in 1820, and the whole burden of the work there fell upon Mr. and Mrs. Ellis, and Mr. and Mrs. Barff. Great attention was paid to educational work. This was often of the highest value and importance in the development of the

[1] Chiefs. [2] Canoe. [3] Food.

people; but the native characteristics, here as elsewhere, strongly asserted themselves. Mr. Ellis's sketch of school work at this period enables the reader to understand on the one hand why progress in this respect was sometimes slow, and on the other properly to appreciate the results gained from pupils exposed to such adverse influences.

'Many of the adults received instruction more readily than the children, and acquired a knowledge of reading with much greater facility than persons of the same age would do in England. With many, however, more advanced in life, it was a difficult task; and some, after two or three years' application, were unable to advance beyond the alphabet, or the first syllables of the spelling-book. Another source of perplexity resulted from the injudicious methods of the native teachers, who at first, in their zeal to encourage their scholars, repeated to them every word in the columns of spelling and lessons, so frequently, that many of their pupils could repeat from memory, perhaps, the whole of the book, without being able to read a single line. When they took the book, it was only necessary for them to be told the first word or sentence in a chapter, in order to their repeating the whole correctly, even though the book should be open at some other part, or the page be placed bottom upwards. Such individuals did not always like to go back to the lowest classes; yet it was necessary. In order to convince them of the propriety of this, they were told we should only distribute copies of the Scriptures to those who could read any part on looking at it. The native teachers had fallen into this practice from the influence of former habits. All their knowledge, traditions, and songs were preserved by memory; and the preceptor recited them to his pupil till the latter could repeat them correctly[1].'

At Fare harbour quite a little township sprang up, with comfortable houses and roads and public buildings. On April 3, 1820, a large new chapel was finished and opened for worship on May 3, the old building being used as

[1] *Polynesian Researches* (1832), ii. pp. 319, 320.

a school. This was before Mr. Davies returned to Tahiti at the close of 1820, and in May of the same year the first Christian Church was formed on the island. Those who, after having been baptized, manifested a desire to unite themselves into a Christian Church, were very carefully instructed by the missionaries. Here again native ideas stood in the way, and had to be cautiously and thoroughly eradicated. The leading chiefs had for the most part accepted Christianity. Hence there was danger, if the chief became a church member, that many of his people simply on that account would desire to follow his example. This was met by explaining very fully the headship of Christ in His Church, and the fact that personal piety and the fullest acceptance of Christ as Saviour and Lord were the only qualifications for membership.

'We did not present any creed,' writes Mr. Ellis, 'or articles of faith for their subscription on this occasion. Sensible of the insufficiency of all mere human writings, however excellent, to restrain the mind or control the opinions of men, we thought it best to dispense with them, lest the bare assent or subscription to certain articles of faith or doctrines of truth, should be substituted as grounds of confidence, for an experience of the influence of those doctrines on the heart. Their names only were entered in a book kept by the missionaries for that purpose, and called the Church-book. This little meeting was held in the chapel at Fare, on Friday evening, May 5, 1820[1].'

Mr. Davies administered the Communion on the next Sunday, May 7, in the simple fashion usually observed by Churches of the Congregational order. The feelings of the veteran missionary can be imagined. He had landed on Tahiti from the Royal Admiral in 1801, had lived and laboured through the weary 'night of toil,' had become only too familiar with all the worst features of a sanguinary idolatry, a lascivious and bloodthirsty social order, and was now privileged to commemorate the dying love of Jesus Christ with men and women whom he himself had

[1] *Polynesian Researches*, iii. p. 59.

known to be guilty of unspeakable abominations, and whom the power of Christ's love alone had been able to change. Well might Ellis, his young colleague, write:—

'His joys must have been powerfully augmented by the recollection of what those individuals once were, and the many hours of apparently cheerless and hopeless toil he had bestowed upon them, now so amply, so astonishingly rewarded. A state of feeling, almost unearthly, seemed to pervade those who now, for the first time, united with their teachers in commemorating the dying love of Christ. Recollection, perhaps, presented in strong colours the picture of their former state. Their abominations, their reckless cruelty, their infatuation in idolatry, the frequent, impure, and sanguinary rites in which they had engaged—their darkened minds and still darker prospects—arose, perhaps, in vivid and rapid succession. The hundreds who remained to witness the scene were not unconcerned spectators. Their deep interest in what was passing, was indicated in their thoughtful and agitated countenances, and the subsequent conduct of many evinced the kind of impression they received[1].'

A generation trained in heathenism, the inheritor of generations of heathen influences, could not thus have come under the power of the Gospel without in many cases passing through the deep waters of spiritual experience. Pomare himself was an instance of this. Terror of eternal punishment as the only fit reward for crimes such as his, and hope that in some way Christ would deliver him, seem to have alternately tortured and soothed his darkened mind. Knowing the better course in many things, up even to the last he remained a slave to the most awful vices. And at Huahine, Raiatea, and elsewhere it was often through darkness and storm that the troubled soul found its way to peace. 'Ought I to go to Jesus Christ for pardon? Were any murderers of their own children ever forgiven?' were questions frequently and tremblingly asked of the men who knew that the souls of those asking them

[1] *Polynesian Researches*, iii. pp. 62, 63.

were often stained by five or ten or a dozen such cruel murders. It is conceivable that civilization might have in time suppressed the infamous Areoi societies and checked infanticide. But civilization, apart from the Gospel, could never have started such questions as these, and could certainly have held out no comfort to any such troubled souls.

The churches of Huahine and other islands had their disappointments and trials. And where can Christian Churches be found without them? The sailor and the trader and the globe-trotter of 1825 scanned these native churches often with no friendly eye, and with no warm sympathy. Picking up, generally in the way of scandalous gossip, cases in which natives who had made profession of Christianity lapsed into immorality or into semi-heathenism, these men circulated statements alleging that most, if not all, of the native converts were hypocrites. Friends at home, moreover, not making, and possibly not in a position to make, due allowance for the moral and spiritual condition of men and women slowly emerging from heathenism, judged the Christian life of these infant native churches by altogether false standards. The published accounts also, from very obvious and sometimes important reasons, passed by inconvenient facts, and unduly emphasized the roseate portions of the records. This was natural, but exceedingly unwise and disastrously misleading. Possibly no one thing has done more to check the intelligent missionary zeal and interest of Christian people than such yielding to the temptation not to speak 'the whole truth' with regard to missionary facts. The man who knows anything about the state of Polynesian life and thought in 1820, and then expects to find little or no spiritual weakness on the part of Polynesian Christians, expects standing miracles—and if he will read the records sent home by the missionaries themselves he will not find them. If in England, with long centuries of Christian life behind us, the churches are not free from the reproach that one of the greatest hindrances to the Gospel is the defective spiritual development of professing Christians themselves, what can

be expected from Polynesia but many examples of weakness? Yet there are also many noble examples of the way in which the Gospel became the power of God unto salvation in the heart and life of many a degraded savage. The little church founded on May 5, 1820, at Fare, in Huahine, consisted of sixteen individuals; in 1827 it numbered five hundred.

The old heathen system of government was closely connected with idolatry. When the latter was overthrown a new system of government also became a necessity. From the first the rule of the London Missionary Society has been that all its missionaries should refrain from any concern with political affairs. This was not possible in the South Seas. To whom could the natives look for guidance if not to the men whose labours had so greatly blessed them? The method adopted was to draw up in consultation with the leading chiefs a code of laws, and then the king in a public assembly of the people read these, and they were formally accepted by the assembly. Tahiti and Raiatea were the first to do this. In 1821 Mr. Ellis visited Tahiti, one main reason of his journey being to get the advice of Mr. Nott on the draft code of laws which had been prepared for Huahine. These were promulgated in a public assembly of chiefs and people on Huahine in May, 1822[1].

In Huahine, as elsewhere, there was a slight reaction in favour of some of the old heathen customs in the course of 1821. The outward sign of this was the appearance again of tatoo marks, which had been forbidden because of the iniquities which had accompanied the practice in heathen times. The feature of most painful import was that the king's son, named Taaroarii, a fine young chief, associated himself with the movement. He had some years before welcomed Christianity and greatly aided in the overthrow of idolatry. As tatooing was illegal, and as there was

[1] Those who are curious in such matters will find this incident and the code of laws itself dealt with at length in Ellis' *Polynesian Researches*, vol. iii. ch. vii (1832).

evidence for the view that he had tatooed himself in the belief that no one would dare to put the law in action against him, the matter became very serious. Mahine, his father, a devout Christian, was greatly tried by this event, but after a severe struggle, with Roman fortitude, he insisted upon the public trial of his son. He and all his companions were sentenced to work upon the roads. For a little while an outbreak of civil war seemed imminent, but peace was maintained and the law vindicated. Pride seems to have led Taaroarii to do more work than was needful: he broke a blood-vessel, fell into a decline, and died on October 21, 1821. Thus closed, prematurely and sadly, a career which had started well, and promised hopefully for a long and useful life.

At the close of 1821 Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet visited Huahine, and in February, 1822, they were offered a passage to the Sandwich Islands by the captain of a vessel called the Mermaid, which had put into the harbour of Huahine. This vessel was in the Government service, and was on its way to the King of the Sandwich Islands with a present to him from the British Government, viz. a schooner. Mr. Ellis accompanied them with two native teachers for the Marquesas, who were to attempt the re-establishment of a mission there. They did not return until October. The Mermaid visited Hawaii first. The mission to the Marquesas had to be abandoned, but this visit to the Sandwich Islands was followed by an invitation on the part of the American missionaries there to Mr. Ellis to come and help them in their great task on these populous islands. His sense of the greatness of the work to be done led him to sever ties which were not easily broken, and at the close of 1822 his connection with the South Sea Mission of the London Missionary Society came to a close.

At Raiatea also the story of the progress of Christianity is a tale of success, followed by signs of apparent failure. Evidence of this, and also proof of the fact that the missionaries were often not responsible for the exact state of affairs was not realized at home, are found in a letter

by John Williams, dated Raiatea, December 24, 1824. Mr. Threlkeld had lost his wife on March 7, 1824, and soon after had left for Port Jackson, and never returned to the South Seas. The new settlement referred to was a removal from the old station Varva, which had proved unsuitable in many respects, to a new and carefully chosen site in another part of the island.

'By the Westmoreland several tons of arrow-root were sent to you by the Church at Raiatea, with a letter, both by the deacons and myself, requesting you to transmit to us an account of the proceeds, and write a letter to the Church, which we have not yet received. No kind of acknowledgment from the Society at home places the missionary in very unpleasant circumstances. The natives cannot conceive of all the routine of buying and selling, as a congregation of Christians in civilized society can, which raises their suspicions and unpleasant remarks to a disagreeable height at times, and if from all the flattering accounts you have received from time to time you suppose that they have that love to their missionaries, that confidence in them that a Christian church in England has in a pious, devoted minister, you are greatly mistaken. Generally speaking, they are destitute of gratitude—utterly insensible of their obligations, do not appreciate their privileges, and are full of evil surmising and jealousies respecting their missionaries, charging us sometimes with preventing them from getting greater prices from on board ships for their paltry property. This is not the case in one island, but is so in all. The power of religion is not manifested by many who have a luxuriant form. When faith is to be exerted in thwarting interests or inclination it in almost every instance gives way; but they will talk as fast as you please, and perhaps put many a pious, humble Christian to shame by talking. The greatest inconsistency they will maintain if it suits their inclination.

'A chief's wife has lately had a child, but the young man, her husband, died several months before it was born. The wife would not go near her husband or have anything to

do with him for a very long time. The young man before he died said it was not his child, which is well known to every individual in the settlement. Since her confinement she has placed herself at the head of a worthless gang who neither fear God nor regard men. It is a custom among them to carry large quantities of food to female chiefs after confinement. I stated it as my opinion that it was inconsistent with the disciples of Jesus to pay the same respect to an adulteress as to a person who had been faithful to her husband, especially as her conduct was still so very disgraceful. One man, at my request, very reluctantly agreed to lay his food aside, but the whole of the district have since neglected all means of grace, except on Sabbath days, for two or three weeks past in preparing food for this girl. Many of them are members of the Church. I understand that they have an agreement among themselves that if I put out one the whole district will go out also, and perhaps leave the settlement altogether. I have told them whoever likes may go. A person who acts directly in opposition to his profession must be separated from us if ten thousand follow him. This is only one instance, but it is one that will give you a general idea of the nature of their religion; a blazing form scarcely a spark of the power of godliness. Perhaps these communications may not be so acceptable to you as those that exalt through thick and thin, but I assure you they are infinitely more true.

'On June 7 we removed to our new settlement, the week after our dear brethren left us. My principal employment for the first two months was marking out the different portions of land and pathways. During that time the people were employed in erecting fences, clearing away their ground, and in putting up their temporary residences. Every person in the settlement has his portion of garden ground close to his house. We have not counted their fences, but suppose them to exceed three hundred. I thought it absolutely necessary to commence with the plantations, for until they have some food by them they

must of necessity go to their land every week or nearly so; for the first three months they did scarcely anything else beside erecting the temporary chapel.'

While actively engaged during 1825 in directing the affairs of Raiatea the heart of Mr. Williams was rejoiced by good tidings from the newest fields of missionary enterprise—Aitutaki, Atiu, and Rarotonga. The native teachers had done splendid work, but the very success had created a need for wise directing and controlling superintendence. Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet in 1825 sanctioned, on the part of the Directors, a proposal to charter a vessel annually for a brief period, in order that these new fields might be regularly visited. This was a step—but only a step—in the direction of the great pioneer's most ardent wishes. The Haweis was chartered, and then, greatly to the disappointment of Williams, his colleague at Tahaa, Mr. Bourne, was chosen to make the visit. As matters turned out, Mr. Williams was almost indispensable at Raiatea. The new settlement of Utumaoro was consolidated, and the new church built and opened on February 8, 1826. On the first discovery of Rarotonga, Mr. Williams had written home asking that a missionary might be appointed to that island, and towards the end of 1825 Mr. Pitman, who had been designated for Rarotonga, and his wife, reached Tahiti. Williams immediately visited that island to bring his new fellow-workers to his own house. But it was not until April 27, 1826, that the voyage to Rarotonga could be commenced. In the interval Mr. Pitman had been learning the language and aiding Mr. Williams in his busy life at Raiatea. Mrs. Bourne's health had failed, and Mr. Bourne had left Tahaa for the colony. Mr. Orsmond had in 1824 been called away from Borabora to take charge of the South Sea Academy, and Mr. Platt had taken up the work in that island.

In addition to his other multiform labours, Mr. Williams had given much time to adapting the Tahiti Bible to the Society Islands and to the inhabitants of the Hervey group. The fact that Mr. Williams was at this time with-

out a colleague was one more obstacle to his cherished desire. But with characteristic energy this was overcome. He never shrank from taking risks, and in this case the risk taken was leaving the mission at Raiatea in charge of a native superintendent. Mr. Williams expected to be absent only three or four months, and Tuahine, the deacon, under whose charge the work had to be placed, was a devoted and well-approved Christian man. Still the experiment was dangerous. The absence in the end extended to twelve instead of four months. There were not wanting those who blamed the missionary for the course he took. But had the cautious policy been followed much splendid work in extending Christianity would have been left undone. The verdict of history has more than justified the course taken in 1827.

The voyage to Rarotonga by Mr. Williams and Mr. and Mrs. Pitman was made in a trading vessel, and they landed upon Rarotonga on Sunday, May 6. The weather was so stormy that communication with the ship was very difficult, and it finally sailed away with much of their property still on board. At a service held two or three days afterwards nearly 3,000 natives were present, each of whom showed his joy at seeing Mr. Williams again by a vigorous and muscular shake of the hand. 'Our arms ached severely for hours afterward' is the contemporary record. Very stirring events had happened since Williams' last visit, and these the missionary now learned for the first time from the lips of Papeiha. When Papeiha landed, amidst an immense crowd, he was led before the old chief, who said, 'Speak to us, O man, that we may know the business on which you have come.' Papeiha's reply, setting forth the Gospel, and requesting them to imitate Tahiti and Raiatea and burn their gods, was received with shouts of surprise and horror. But the little band of Rarotongans who had been brought from Aitutaki formed a nucleus of Christians; daily worship, morning and evening, was held, and to this many natives came, and public services were begun. Tinomana, a chief who had been defeated

in the wars always raging on the island, and who with his people had been driven to the mountains, sent for Papeiha and seemed impressed by his teaching.

After five months Tiberio, the colleague Papeiha had asked for, joined him, and together they visited the influential chiefs, pointing out the advantages of Christianity. Many times their lives were in danger, but they escaped, and soon after the priest of the station where they lived brought his god and threw it at the feet of the teachers. They cut it up, burnt it, and roasted some bananas upon the fire thus made and eat them. As no evil resulted to them, this act produced a great impression. Soon afterwards a chief named Tinomana invited them to come and instruct him. They said he must first burn his gods, and this he did. Other chiefs followed his example, Makea, the king, being the last. A place of worship was built at the station. War soon broke out, in which the Christian party conquered, and instead of eating their enemies, treated them kindly, and thus won them over to Christianity.

This second visit of Mr. Williams to Rarotonga fell during the week in which it had been resolved to move the settlement from Avarua to a new and better site called Ngatangiia. The new-comers of course took part in this exodus. Mr. Williams energetically assisted in this congenial work. He superintended building the new church, he rapidly mastered the language, he substituted for the effort to teach in Tahitian the more natural one of teaching in Rarotongan, writing himself the needful elementary books, and he drew up and induced the chiefs and people to sanction a new code of laws. How the missionaries dealt with some very perplexing practical questions is illustrated by what happened now at Rarotonga.

'There were two most delicate and perplexing subjects which required adjustment, prior to the final establishment of the laws. The first referred to a plurality of wives. This was a matter of much deliberation between my esteemed colleague and myself, before we decided how to

act. Prior to the introduction of Christianity, polygamy existed to a very considerable extent; and when a person having a plurality of wives offered himself as a candidate for baptism, the teachers had required that the individual should make a selection of one of them, and also provide for the support of those whom he put away. The measure succeeded beyond what might have been reasonably anticipated; and of the number who had complied with this condition, only about twenty or twenty-five persons occasioned any trouble, among whom, however, was the king, which increased our difficulty exceedingly. With these we conversed on the subject. Some said that they had returned to each other, because they had not been left at liberty in their choice; others alleged that they supposed the separation would be only temporary, and that, had they known it was to be permanent, they should not have made the selection they did. Acting upon this information, Mr. Pitman and myself thought the best, and, indeed, the only way to overcome the difficulty entirely, would be to convene the people, recommend that those who were dissatisfied should be allowed to select publicly either of their wives, and then be united to her in marriage in the presence of the whole assembly. The maintenance of the rejected wife or wives and children was also a very serious consideration; for it is not at Rarotonga as at Tahiti and the Society Islands, where provisions are abundant, a matter of slight importance; but a female depends almost entirely on her husband. Knowing that the king's course would form a precedent, we commenced by requesting him to name publicly the individual he intended to make his companion for life; and of his three wives he selected the youngest, who had borne him one child, in preference to his own sister, by whom he had had three children, and his principal wife, who was the mother of nine or ten. He was married to her in the presence of his people [1].'

Many other questions arose in connection with this intricate subject, the social customs of Rarotonga and their

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 134, 135.

methods of dealing with land often becoming very difficult to regulate wisely. How far, for example, does it fall within the province of the missionary to influence such matters? Mr. Williams puts the case, once for all, with regard to all people who may be in the condition in which the Rarotongans were at this date:—

'I cannot here enter into a lengthened discussion as to the extent to which the missionary may wisely interfere with the civil institutions of the people, but shall only observe that it would be criminal were he, while seeking to elevate the moral character of a community, and to promote among it the habits and usages of civilized life, to withhold any advice or assistance which might advance these designs. It has been shown that their civil and judicial polity, and all their ancient usages, were interwoven with their superstitions; and that all these partook of the sanguinary character of the system in which they were embodied, and by which they were sanctioned; thus maintaining a perpetual warfare with the well-being of the community. The missionary goes among them, and, by the blessing of God upon his labours, they are delivered from the dominion of the idolatrous system which had governed them for ages, and in its stead embrace Christianity. Subsequently they become acquainted with new principles; are taught to read portions of the Word of God, which are translated and put into their hands; and soon perceive that these ancient usages are incompatible with Christian precepts, and that such a superstructure cannot stand on a Christian foundation. To whom, then, can they apply for advice in the dilemma, but to the persons from whom their knowledge has been derived? and what less can the missionary do than give it freely and fully[1]?'

The months slipped by, and no vessel appeared in which Mr. Williams could make the return voyage to Raiatea. His mind was more and more bent upon securing a vessel for the daily increasing work of extension. The inhabitants of Avarua, who were dependent for food on their farms in

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 140.

that part, were anxious to return home from the new settlement, and on July 30 Mr. Williams returned thither with them, leaving Mr. Pitman at the new station. At Avarua all was in disorder, but under Mr. Williams' energetic leadership it soon again became a cosmos. Through all these labours the great object of his life was ever present to his mind, although the realization seemed as far off as ever. Mrs. Williams had hitherto been unable to see it her duty to consent to her husband's undertaking a voyage of 2,000 miles, an absence of six or twelve months, and all the risks, by her known only too well, of seeking to win the friendship of strange and savage islanders. But after a severe and dangerous attack of illness, in conversation with him one day, she gave her full and hearty consent, leading him to exclaim, 'This is the finger of God.' This consent led to the accomplishment by John Williams of one of the most remarkable achievements in the history of Christian missions. Despairing of ever getting a vessel any other way he resolved to build one himself. Detained against his will upon Rarotonga, he set himself even there to carry out this great plan. As he himself says, 'Although I knew little of ship-building, and had scarcely any tools to work with, I succeeded, in about three months, in completing a vessel between seventy and eighty tons burden, with no other assistance than that which the natives could render, who were wholly unacquainted with any mechanical art.' Readers curious about the details of this marvellous achievement must consult *Missionary Enterprises*, where they are set out in full. The little craft was sixty feet long, eighteen feet wide, and most appropriately named the Messenger of Peace.

Fearing to attempt the long voyage to Tahiti, Mr. Williams visited Aitutaki, only 145 miles distant, as a first experiment with his new vessel. Disaster met them at the start, for the natives not being expert in managing sails, and not clearly understanding the orders given, the foremast was carried away. Fortunately they were able to regain the harbour, and after repairing damages started

again, reached Aitutaki in safety, returning to Rarotonga with a most singular cargo, consisting of pigs, cocoa-nuts, and cats. The cats were to destroy the rats, which were an unspeakable nuisance at Rarotonga; the pigs were a new breed to be introduced; and the cocoa-nuts were to be planted to replace those which had been destroyed in war.

Shortly after this voyage the arrival, in a ship on its way to Port Jackson, of Mr. and Mrs. Aaron Buzacott to take up mission-work on the island set Mr. Williams free. The tidings from Raiatea were of a kind to deepen his desire to get home. Tuahine had died. This man deserves more than a passing notice. He was the first and one of the best converts to Christianity in Tahiti. Few Christian workers have ever deserved or ever received nobler testimony to their worth and to the value of their work.

'As Christianity spread, Tuahine rendered essential service to the missionaries, in directing the inquiries of the new converts, and by teaching in the schools. Possessing an accurate acquaintance with his own language, and, by his long residence with the missionaries, having obtained a considerable amount of scriptural knowledge, he was qualified to afford valuable assistance in translating the Scriptures, which he did, first to Mr. Nott, and afterwards to myself. Frequently he has sat eight and ten hours a day aiding me in this important work; and to him are we in a great measure indebted for the correctness with which we have been enabled to give the oracles of truth to the people. When we removed to Raiatea he accompanied us, and, as might have been expected, his counsel and assistance, especially in the schools and in teaching us the language, were most invaluable. When I was absent from home he was left in charge of the station; and his addresses, which were most beautiful specimens of native eloquence, resembling more the mildness of a Barnabas than the thunder of a Boanerges, were exceedingly acceptable to the people. The neatness of his style, the correctness of his language, the simplicity and beauty of his similes, never failed to rivet the attention of his hearers. He had also a surprising gift

in prayer. Many times have I listened, with intense interest, to the glowing language of devotion which flowed from his lips. He was much respected by the people; maintained an honourable course many years; discharged the office of deacon with diligence and fidelity, and died at the age of about forty-five, in the enjoyment of the consolations of the Gospel[1].'

Mr. Buzacott had brought with him a quantity of iron, and was himself a good smith. The ironwork of the Messenger of Peace was strengthened as much as possible, and everything done that could be devised to make her seaworthy, and then, about the end of March, 1828, she sailed on her voyage to Tahiti.

'There can be little doubt that they owed their safe voyage quite as much to the special care of the Lord of the winds and waves as to the seaworthiness of the schooner. God gave them a fair and moderate wind until they cast anchor in the harbour at Raiatea. Had the weather been rough, the Messenger of Peace must have foundered; for when they reached safe anchorage the caulking was hanging from the sides of the ship in long strips. The straining caused by rough weather would have released the caulking completely, and the vessel must have filled rapidly and sunk to the bottom. The little schooner was vulnerable in many points. Her mat sails were suited only to fine weather and gentle breezes. A strong blast would have torn them into shreds, and left the ship like a huge log of floating timber at the mercy of the elements. Mr. Williams accordingly repaired his vessel, and purchased canvas sails, ere he paid his next visit to Rarotonga[2].'

On April 26, 1828, the Messenger of Peace anchored inside the reef at Raiatea, exactly a year after Mr. Williams had started. Mr. Bourne had left Tahaa, and so the care of that station also devolved upon Mr. Williams. The May meeting held very shortly after his return was very largely attended, numbers coming from Huahine, Borabora,

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 160, 161.

[2] *The Life and Labours of the Rev. A. Buzacott*, p. 36 (1866).

and Tahaa. The two huge idols from Rarotonga were duly exhibited, Makea's speech was a great feature, and everybody was eager to hear Viriamu's account of the wonderful works of God he had seen. They were all responsive also to his eager and ardent appeal for native helpers to carry the Gospel to the islands yet unvisited. Unable to do more himself, he sent one of his small vessels with a crew under the charge of one of his deacons to Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Atiu, Mitiaro, Mauke, and Rurutu, having made two unsuccessful attempts to reach Mangaia also. In December, 1829, he himself visited Rurutu and Rimitara. The Messenger of Peace had in the meantime conveyed Messrs. Pritchard and Simpson on a voyage to the Marquesas, and then Mr. Platt to the Hervey Islands.

Preparations were at once begun for the long-desired cruise among the heathen islands lying still further to the west than the Hervey group, and on May 24, 1830, the Messenger of Peace sailed, with Mr. Williams and Mr. Barff on board. Mangaia was first visited, and many evidences of progress were noted. On June 15, 1824, two native teachers, by name Davida and Tiere, members of the church of Tahaa, had been left there by Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet when on their way to Sydney. Soon after Mr. Williams' first visit a pestilence had visited the island, and the people, thinking their gods were offended at their treatment of the strangers, vowed that if others came they should be well treated. Thus when Davida and Tiere bravely swam through the surf—the only way then of landing—they were welcomed and protected by the chief. Meanwhile Tiere had died, and Davida had often been in danger; but many of the Mangaians had become Christians. Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro were next visited, and then Rarotonga. But here their hearts were saddened by unexpected disaster.

'Instead of being greeted by the smiles and shouts of the thousands who lined the shore on our former visits, only a small company of children, and a few walking skeletons, who had exerted their utmost strength to reach the landing-

place, were to be seen. On inquiring the cause of this, it was with the deepest sorrow we heard that a most dreadful and deadly disease was raging among the people, and sweeping them away as with a deluge; that at Mr. Buzacott's station about 250 persons had been its victims; an equal or greater number at Arorangi; and about a hundred at Mr. Pitman's, where its ravages had but recently commenced. So prevalent was this terrible visitation that scarcely an inhabitant of the island entirely escaped its influence[1].'

'The natives said that the pestilence was brought to their island by a vessel which visited them just before it commenced its ravages. It is certainly a fact which cannot be controverted, that most of the diseases which have raged in the islands during my residence there, have been introduced by ships; and what renders this fact remarkable is, that there might be no appearance of disease among the crew of the ship that conveyed this destructive importation, and that the infection was not communicated by any criminal conduct on the part of the crew, but by the common contact of ordinary intercourse. Another fact, worthy of special notice, is, that first intercourse between Europeans and natives is, I think, invariably attended with the introduction of fever, dysentery, or some other disease which carries off numbers of the people. At the island of Rapa, nearly half the whole population were thus swept away. It is an affecting consideration, that civilized man should thus convey physical as well as moral contamination with him, wherever he goes[2].'

Other observers have noted this fatal result of the visits of vessels. The Rev. James Chalmers informed the author that during his residence in the South Seas every visit of a vessel was followed by an outbreak of influenza.

From Rarotonga the Messenger of Peace sailed to Aitutaki, where they left a native teacher, and then carried off two of the Aitutakians to act as pioneers for Niue or Savage Island, so called by Captain Cook on account of

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 280. [2] Ibid., p. 283.

the supposed ferocity of the inhabitants. Successful as missionary work has been there since, the prospect in 1830 seemed hardly more hopeful to John Williams than to Captain Cook. But the teachers' hearts failed them at the critical moment, and though they landed for a few hours they could not make up their minds to stay. As a last resource two natives were induced to come on board, and then the vessel sailed away. The object in thus carrying off the natives was that after they came to know Mr. Williams and his companions, and to understand something of their purpose, they would be able in turn to smooth the way for the native teachers among their own islanders.

Tongatabu was next visited. The Wesleyan Society was at this time sustaining a mission upon that island. After the disastrous beginning in 1797, work had been resumed there by a native teacher connected with the London Missionary Society. This led to one of the first of those divisions of labour among different societies, which have fortunately become more common in the course of the century, and which might be developed to greater extent with much advantage to the progress of the work throughout the heathen world. Mr. Williams' views on this, as on other questions, were clear, common-sense, and decided. Mr. Turner, one of the resident missionaries, spoke in high terms of the labours of the native teacher.

'It was pleasing to hear such a testimony to the character of one of our Native Missionaries, and most gratifying to reflect, that the labours of this devoted individual were the foundation of all that success which has since crowned the efforts of our brethren, the Wesleyan Missionaries, at these islands. At this conference, also, the brethren expressed a wish, that, as the Fiji Islands were so near to Tongatabu, and politically connected with it, we should leave that field open to them, and urged upon us the extent and importance of the Navigators, on the ground that the affinity of the languages, and other circumstances, appeared to assign that group to our mission, and

the Fijis to theirs. Feeling the great importance of keeping our spheres of labour distinct, we readily acceded to their proposition; and Mr. Barff and myself on the one part, and Mr. Turner and Mr. Cross on the other, agreed that we should occupy the Navigators Islands, and they bend their attention to the Fijis. Mr. Barff and myself both assured them that we should feel as much pleasure in being instrumental in preparing the way for the labours of their missionaries, as for those from our own Society. And here I may just remark upon the desirableness of every society having a distinct sphere of labour among a heathen people. Much as I should rejoice in being associated with an Episcopalian, a Baptist, or a Methodist brother, who did not attach primary importance to secondary objects, yet the interests of every mission, especially in the early stages of its progress, seem to me to require another line of conduct. The natives, though comprehending but very imperfectly our objects, would at once discern a difference in the modes of worship, and their attention would of necessity be divided and distracted. Being also of an inquisitive disposition, they would demand a reason for every little deviation, which would lead to explanations, first from the one party, and then from the other, and thus evils would arise, which otherwise might never have existed. There would have been another great inconvenience, in the present instance, had we both gone to one group of islands, from the circumstance of the Wesleyan Missionaries having adopted a different orthography and alphabet, as well as different elementary and other books. I do therefore sincerely hope that the directors or conductors of all Missionary Societies will be ever ready in this way to sacrifice denominational peculiarities to the great object of their institution[1].'

A fortnight was spent in the Friendly Islands, and then in company with Mr. and Mrs. Cross they sailed for the Island of Lefuga. The voyage was dangerous, but they arrived safely and received a warm welcome from

[1] *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 304, 305.

Mr. Thomas, the resident Wesleyan missionary. Finau, the fierce chieftain of the Vavau Islands, where Williams had hoped to land teachers, was just then at Lefuga. Mr. Williams describes his interview with this famous savage in a letter dated Tahiti, October 21, 1830 :—

'With many of his chiefs he had come to attend a marriage ceremony; this saved us a voyage to his island, as we had a teacher from Borabora for that island, those originally sent having turned almost heathen; two, however, are dead, one of whom was made very useful at Tonga, and died happily. We attended his woolly-headed majesty, and made our propositions to him, Mr. Cross and Mr. Thomas kindly interpreting for us. He replied that we might leave the teacher and his wife if we pleased; but it was his determination not to embrace Christianity yet, neither to suffer any of his people—he would kill the first that did. Treating us at the same time with the greatest respect, he said he looked upon it as a matter of importance, and he did not think it well to use deceit on such an occasion, his mind being made up on the subject. Several of the Vavau chiefs have left wives, lands, servants, yam plantations, and all they possess, and are living in a state of poverty at Lefuga under the instruction of Mr. Thomas, rather than return to their own possessions at Vavau and renounce Christianity, which they must do if they return, as Finau threatens all with death who do not abandon their new religion.'

Then followed what was, perhaps, the most important event in John Williams' life—the planting of the Gospel in Samoa. We quote from the same letter his own sketch of the incident :—

'Leaving the Hapai group we steered direct for the Samoa group, when we experienced a severe gale of wind which afflicted us all with violent catarrh. One died and several were reduced to the point of death. The wind, however, abating, by making the land and getting into warmer weather, we all of us soon recovered. Providentially a Samoan chief named Fauea being at Tonga, with his wife

and family, wished to return, and applied to us. We were glad of the opportunity of conveying him home, and he proved an invaluable acquisition to us, and we sincerely hope and fully expect he will prove equally valuable to the teachers we placed there. Of all the islands that I have visited none appear of so much importance; of all the missions we have commenced none were ever began under such pleasing circumstances, or presented a prospect of such speedy and such complete success. The islands are eight in number, four in the Windward group, and four in the Leeward group; two of which are much larger than Tahiti; two others are noble islands, and the remaining four are small; but all are full of inhabitants. War raging at two of the principal islands we thought it best to commence our labours on one only, which was not the seat of war, and to which the chief we had brought from Tonga belonged. Other reasons induced us thus to determine, such as its being the head quarters, as it were, of the Leeward group, and every probability of coming off conquerors. We used our utmost endeavours to induce the chiefs to give up the war. They promised they would terminate it as speedily as possible, and come and learn from the teachers the *lotu* or word of the Great God. We placed eight teachers on the large island of Savaii, four under the protection of the king, Malietoa, and four under the protection of his brother. Mr. Barff and I, after much intercourse, went on shore, and remained there two nights and three days, during which time (although probably no European had been on shore before) we were treated with the utmost respect and kindness. A commodious building was given up by the chiefs for our people to worship and teach in, with four good dwelling-houses for themselves and families. We promised the chiefs and people in the large public meeting we held, when we exchanged our presents, &c., that we should be sure to visit them in ten or twelve months' time, and that if they had attended to the instructions of the teachers we would then assure them that European missionaries would come and settle with them as soon as possible.

'One thing affected us much. The two largest of the islands, Upolu and Savaii are about ten miles' distance from each other; war was raging between them, they were actually fighting on the shore of Upolu while we were landing the teachers on the opposite shore of Savaii ; the houses and plantations were blazing at that very time.'

Two providential events highly favoured the rapid success of this great extension of work. The first was the meeting with Fauea. The second was the death, only ten or twelve days before the Messenger of Peace reached Savaii, of Tamafainga, a tyrannical and bloodthirsty savage, devoted to the old idol-worship, who would most certainly have made the most strenuous opposition to the new religion. Fauea had greatly feared this man and his influence, and the conjunction of his removal just at this crisis in the affairs of the islands and of the arrival of the missionaries before a successor had been chosen is most remarkable.

The teachers, eight in number, were landed at Sapapalii on August 21, and as the king, Malietoa, was expected, the missionaries postponed their landing till the next day. Malietoa came on board the next afternoon, and every effort was made to induce him to bring the war then raging, and caused by the death of Tamafainga, to an end. He promised that when due vengeance had been exacted for a relative who had been slain, he would put an end to war and come and be instructed. The vessel drifting out with the current the formal landing could not be made until the evening of August 23, when they were received by an enormous crowd, and most heartily welcomed by Malietoa, a Samoan song being sung, which had been composed in honour of 'the two great English chiefs.' The king and his brother extended every possible kindness to the missionaries, promised their protection to the teachers, and, largely through the influence of Fauea and his wife, obtained a fairly clear knowledge of what Christianity had done in the way of overthrowing idolatry in the Friendly and the Hapai Islands. Although heathen the Samoans were not addicted to the cruel and sanguinary rites of the

Society and Hervey groups, and they possessed neither maraes nor priests, and were consequently less fanatical in their resistance to change.

On leaving Samoa Williams' intention was to visit Niue, and land the two natives who were still on board the Messenger of Peace. But the winds did not allow of this, and after touching at Rarotonga, Mangaia, and Rurutu the vessel returned to Raiatea by way of Tahiti. The natives were sent to Niue a few months later.

[AUTHORITIES.—Journals and Letters; Annual Reports; *Transactions of the Society*; *Polynesian Researches*, by William Ellis; *Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands*, by John Williams; *Memoirs of the Life of John Williams*, by Ebenezer Prout; *Journals of Voyages and Travels by Tyerman and Bennet*, compiled by James Montgomery; *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific, being a Narrative of the Life and Labours of A. Buzacott.*]

CHAPTER VII

THE CONSOLIDATION OF CHRISTIAN INFLUENCE IN EASTERN POLYNESIA

THE astonishing successes in Tahiti aroused great enthusiasm among all supporters and friends of missions in Great Britain, and in a lesser degree on the Continent. This was sustained and even increased by the tidings of that rapid extension of Christian influence among so many other islands, widely scattered over the great Pacific Ocean, which we have sketched in the last chapter. It was hard for those living on the other side of the globe to realize with any accuracy, even from the full and correct descriptions sent home by the missionaries, the true condition of affairs in Polynesia, and the permanent influences at work on the side of indifference or of hostility to Christianity. Some of the missionaries themselves were deceived for a time, and, having been eye-witnesses of such astounding transformations, possibly did not allow sufficiently for the innate depravity of the human heart, and for the abiding demoralization due to generations of heathenism. They were, perhaps unconsciously, led now and then to describe as actually taking place reformations in the native mind and heart—as distinct from outward observances—which existed more largely in their desires than in fact. Consequently the story of the years from 1825 to 1850 in the Society Islands, and in a lesser degree in some of the other centres of Christian work, is not free from disappointment.

In Tahiti and Eimeo it is only too evident to any careful observer that, even as early as 1815, by multitudes of the natives Christianity was adopted from reasons in which moral motives, to say nothing of spiritual religion and a change of heart, had little part. Idolatry had proved to be powerless. The missionaries and white people were cleverer and richer than the natives. Pomare and the chiefs became professed Christians, and were followed by multitudes, of whom few could have given any reason satisfactory to a Christian heart for so acting. Further, in any judgment of Tahiti and Polynesia generally, from a missionary point of view, at this or at any subsequent time, the debasing influence of white men must not be forgotten. A few captains, it is true, sympathized with missionary effort. More, shrewd enough to see the value of the civilizing influence of Christianity to commerce, did what they could to prevent injury from being inflicted on the natives by their crews. But the great majority were either indifferent or actually hostile to the missionaries, and were deadly foes to every good quality and aim on the part of the natives. Native women, sufficiently depraved already by heathen custom and training, became even worse after intercourse with the crews of visiting ships. Drink was sold to the natives wherever possible. The missionaries were often misrepresented and slandered to the natives. In short, few darker stains rest upon the commercial history of civilized peoples than those connected with Polynesia.

The dispersion of the missionaries and their settlements at different stations after the great events of 1815 to 1820 have already been described. The early death of Pomare had no inconsiderable effect upon the unsatisfactory history of succeeding years. His son died in early childhood. His daughter succeeded to the royal power at the age of twelve. Her mother and her aunt, both of whom had given promise of better things, became notorious for their evil lives. It is not surprising that the young queen soon began to manifest many of the worst moral qualities of the vicious ancestry from which she sprang. Her conduct and

her influence were necessarily very adverse to the progress of Christianity.

Within the native church itself there were many difficulties. As novelty and first impressions wore off, old heathen practices began to resume their power. The natives who became Christian teachers were often the merest babes in Christ, and while some deserve a praise which cannot be too high, large numbers became hindrances rather than helps. A letter written by Mr. Henry on February 3, 1825, contains these words: 'The best native teachers that any of these Windward or Leeward Islands can as yet produce are very defective, and little more than fit to clear away the rubbish in the places to which they are sent, and prepare the way for more effective labourers.'

The concluding remarks in the manuscript history of Tahiti, already referred to, give what may be taken as the most accurate and careful description of the state of the mission at this period. This history traces the great spiritual revolution which had taken place to the sovereignty of God and to the direct action upon the hearts of the people of the Holy Spirit as the first cause. The secondary agency was, of course, the faithful labours of the missionaries.

'The means used in the South Sea Islands were rational and consistent with the genius of Christianity; and the religion propagated was the pure, genuine Christianity of the New Testament, not dressed or modified to suit the taste or customs of the people. The truth was fairly exhibited, the missionaries in all their ministrations aiming at preaching Christ as the only, the suitable, the all-sufficient Saviour of ruined sinners of every nation. When the time had come when the islanders were to be favoured with the distinguishing blessings of Christianity, the doctrines preached seemed to carry conviction to the minds of the hearers. Truths formerly known, and heard with aversion and indifference, were now remembered, and attended with influence unknown before.

'The great body of the people, however, though they

renounced heathenism and embraced Christianity, and were for a while zealous in the profession of the new religion, renouncing most of their former evil customs and sinful practices. observing the Sabbath with strictness, engaging in prayer, learning to read, attending religious worship, &c., yet when the novelty of these things was worn off, they showed but too plainly that the heart remained unchanged, notwithstanding convictions and many favourable impressions. And though none did show an inclination to return to the heathen system as such, yet many of the young people showed a strong inclination to return to their former diversions and tatooing according to former practice; and though this at first took place among those that were not baptized, or brought under the discipline of those more immediately under the inspection of the missionaries, the defection by degrees reached further, and many of the baptized began to associate with those that had returned to those vain and sinful practices. Counsels and admonitions not succeeding in reclaiming them, the missionaries were under the necessity of separating them from the congregations of the baptized, and many of them being soon found transgressors of some one or other of the civil laws were brought before the judges and punished, after which they generally disregarded every form of religion, yet most of them continued to attend worship on the Sabbath. Those who were in this state were called *Tutae auri*, that is, "Iron rust," a name said to have arisen from an observation of Mr. Bicknell, who compared some backsliders to burnished metal that had become covered by rust.'

On December 24, 1824, George Pritchard reached Tahiti, and in 1827 Alexander Simpson arrived to reinforce the mission. These years were a period of reaction and, except on the part of those natives whose hearts had been fully possessed by the Spirit of God, a season of retrogression. On January 6, 1827, Pritchard writes of the evils caused by runaway sailors setting up grog-shops. Mr. Darling writes under date of March 3, that although some early

converts have turned back, yet 'the whole of the chiefs and people of any power and influence are true friends to that which is good.' On March 4, 1825, Mr. Nott had sailed for England, returning to Tahiti on August 27, 1827. Mr. Blossom, on September 25, 1827, wrote: 'I cannot help feeling that there is but very little real religion among the people. The brethren have had a meeting, and some of them are very desirous of taking new ground. It is not for me to say whether it be right or wrong. But we should not think it right in a farmer to take more ground when he has already more than he can cultivate and keep in good order. And I would defy any man to say that there is a station or a congregation in the islands fit to be left to themselves.'

There were also difficulties connected with the working of the mission on the part of the missionaries themselves. Any one conversant with missionary administration knows that the great factor in the smooth or the troubled working of the organization is the personal quality of the workers. Scattered among the islands, standing upon a footing of perfect equality, recognizing the Directors at home as the only authority they were bound to obey, each man laboured according to his own light and in his own way. Some were sanguine in temperament, hopeful of good in the natives, more ready to open the door into the fold of the Church than others. The severity of the moral strain of the work grew less as Christianity triumphed; yet still from time to time there were sad failures. The most serious hindrances, however, were due to men, few in number it is true, who were lacking in common sense or possessed of an overweening estimate of their own wisdom, or of that class found, unfortunately, in every sphere of active work—men who do the most objectionable things from the most conscientious motives. The state of affairs as described above by Mr. Blossom was largely due to these influences. Men changed their stations of work pretty much at will. New-comers unwisely expected to find Tahiti a paradise, and then, after

a brief residence, equally unwisely, wrote home that it was a Sodom. The older missionaries, able to think in the native language, knowing the people perfectly, habituated by twenty-five years' daily contact to all the objectionable features of native life, were somewhat blunted in perception, and did not perhaps always make the requisite allowance for the first impressions of their younger colleagues.

Domestic matters also necessarily occupied a large part of the time and attention of the missionaries. It required a long and somewhat angry correspondence with the Directors, in which at one time or another every missionary took a part, to induce the home authorities to concede what is now a prime requisite for the smooth and effective working of any mission—a regular and settled income for the workers. Even during the years 1825 to 1830 this question had not been settled. The missionaries were sent out at first with the confident expectation that they would be able to live, as the natives did, on the bountiful natural products of Tahiti. The Directors believed that as soon as Christianity obtained a footing native industries would spring up, superintended by the missionaries, which would soon enrich the community. Then, as now, there was a party at home somewhat impatient for the time when the native Churches would be self-supporting. But the missionaries found they could not live properly on native produce alone. Nor could they induce the natives to work steadily and industriously at any task. Repeated attempts were made, but they were not marked by anything like the success anticipated at home. And the mental wear and tear involved in all these experiences was no small hindrance to the distinctively religious work.

Further, the children of the missionaries became a very serious problem. Originally the idea was that the Christian family would be an educative and helpful influence to the natives, and as the European children grew up they also would take part in missionary labour, and be all the better qualified for the work from their intimate know-

ledge of native life. This was a fond imagination, but, like so many others, it fared badly under the rough trial of experience. The missionaries soon discovered that for their children to acquire a language, and hear it daily spoken, in which almost every colloquial sentence contained indecencies too gross for description, was a most hurtful moral influence. The fact of living in the midst of a heathenism whose daily and outward practices were of the most foul and debasing character inevitably blunted, and that very early, the moral perceptions of these unhappy children. Some of the saddest pages in these early records are those which tell of the grievous moral lapses of both boys and girls who, carefully watched over by their parents, the children of earnest, fervent, continuous prayer, yet could not be kept from the deadly pollution of the heathenism amidst which their childhood was passed.

A brave attempt to remedy this state of things was made by the Deputation in 1823. A school with the high-sounding title, The South Sea Academy, was founded on Eimeo, at Afareaitu, which had been renamed Griffin Town. It was opened in March, 1824. This station was chosen because it was far removed from the ports and from the chief centres of native life. The Society paid the master, who was, of course, one of the missionary staff, and allowed £10 a year for each child. The parents had to erect and maintain the buildings, find the clothing and bedding, and pay the expenses of getting the children to and from the various stations. This was an early and curious experiment in missionary education, but it was doomed to failure at its birth. It was not likely that a school originated in this way, and with such limited possibilities of management, could do any better for the children than the efforts of their own parents.

On October 30, 1826, the Directors voted an additional £5 for each boy allowed to stay after the age of fourteen; and on November 29, 1829, the period during which a child

might stay was fixed at seven years, no one being allowed to stay beyond the age of fourteen.

Mr. Orsmond, who had removed to Borabora in 1820, was the first master, and his wife the first mistress, of the South Sea Academy. He held the post from 1824 to 1831. but his letters indicate no special fitness for the duty.

In 1831 Mr. Orsmond was succeeded by Mr. Simpson, whose career was even less satisfactory, and in a few years this attempt to meet the needs of missionaries' children came to an end.

The most attractive incident connected with the South Sea Academy is the career of the child-king, Pomare III. It had been arranged before his father's death that his education should be in the hands of the missionaries. He was a bright, active child, and great hopes were cherished that, being placed under Christian influences for his early years, he might grow up to be a wise, God-fearing man, and a good ruler. But this was not to be. He was placed under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Orsmond at Afareaitu, and there, just as he was beginning to show signs of progress, his life came to an untimely end. He died on January 11, 1827.

Seasons of religious upheaval and reformation not unfrequently develop spiritual fanaticism, and to this rule Tahiti was no exception. Similar phenomena appeared about the same time at Raiatea and elsewhere. The nature of these delusions, their results, and the way in which they were suppressed are well exemplified in a letter from Mr. Darling, dated December 25, 1827 :—

'In my last letter to you, dated September 5, 1827, I was under the disagreeable necessity of informing you of a division that had taken place at this station, occasioned by the madness of two men, viz. Teao and Hue, who pretended they had received visions from heaven, and that they were raised up to introduce their former customs into the worship of God. At that time they were doing much mischief, and many were foolish enough to believe and follow their errors. But they soon overreached the mark ;

they were not contented with interfering with matters of a religious nature, but began to meddle with the political affairs of the nation, and wanted to do away with the code of laws that has been established, in order that they might do as they pleased and commit all manner of wickedness. The law, however, soon took hold of them, and the two leaders and most of the disciples have been judged and sent to their respective lands, some to one part and some to another.

'I have often thought that there are too many missionaries on Tahiti for the number of inhabitants, when we consider the world at large, which made me offer to join Mr. Simpson to go to the Marquesas, but on account of my printing[1] work all the brethren disapproved of my going. And now, since Mr. Pritchard has consented to go, it will not be necessary for me to leave Tahiti. I have engaged to supply Mr. Pritchard's present station, viz. Papeete, and my own, which I can do easily.

'I am very busy at present printing a new and much enlarged Tahitian hymn-book, which I expect to finish in a few weeks. The Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians, and of Peter, being the only remaining parts of the New Testament not printed, will be next put through the press[1].

The reference in the latter half of this letter is to a new attempt made to establish a mission upon a sound basis upon the Marquesas Islands. Native teachers were sent there in 1826, but proved unequal to the task. On March 17, 1829, Messrs. Pritchard and Simpson visited the islands in a small vessel called the Olive Branch, built by John Williams. On their way they visited the native teachers first at Tubuai, which at that time had a population of about 150; and then at Ravavai, where disease had been so prevalent since the introduction of Christianity in 1821 that only 800 survived out of a population of 3,000. The disease, a kind of violent influenza, had been brought from Tubuai three years before. At Rapa, the next island

[1] Mr. Darling at this time had charge of the printing press.

visited, they found an equally sad state of affairs. Since 1826 the population had decreased from 2,000 to 500.

They reached Santa Christina on May 10. Their reception was very discouraging. The king desired only, and clamoured unceasingly for, powder and guns. Of the natives they give the following account:—'Their appearance is exceedingly wild and terrific. Many go quite naked. The women also display a great deal of affectation, and their demeanour, even to strangers, is of the rudest and basest kind. The wanton and lascivious conduct of both men and women surpasses anything we have witnessed in the South Sea Islands. It is impossible for a missionary to live among them unless he would adopt their customs. Their wars are frequent and cruel. They usually eat part, if not the whole, of those slain in battle.' So discouraging, in short, were all the appearances that even the native teachers did not feel justified in remaining, and so once again the attempt to gain for Christianity a footing in this island was frustrated. The Olive Branch returned to Tahiti on May 22, 1829.

Meanwhile, the affairs of Tahiti were greatly influenced for evil by the conduct of the queen, Aimata, or, as she was now styled, Pomare Vahine IV. She was young, wilful, and vicious; and encouraged vice around her. She broke the laws herself, and used all her influence to oppose the chiefs when they sought to enforce them. More than once she and her relatives nearly brought on a civil war. From causes also which have been indicated above the missionaries did not seem able to counteract in any sufficiently decided manner these adverse influences. Their time was largely taken up with routine work, and in attending to various business transactions which were needful because of the inadequate arrangements made for their own support by the Society. Pritchard, on February 5, 1834, writes that owing to the misconduct of his members he had had to omit the Lord's Supper for some months. Drunkenness had become so rampant that at length the most strenuous efforts were put forth; temperance societies

were formed, the laws against the sale of drink enforced, and such success attended their efforts that, on April 7, 1834, Nott was able to write that the queen, her husband, and all the royal family had signed the pledge. Towards the close of the same year two laws of special import were passed: one to make attendance at public worship compulsory; the other to prohibit the importation of spirits. The former of these was one of the many proofs of the difficulties of this time, for it was due not only to a desire to improve the attendance in the chapels, but also to prevent bad characters from loitering about and robbing the houses of those who had gone to attend worship.

It was, however, during this season of turmoil and discouragement that Henry Nott completed his great life-task. On December 18, 1835, he finished his translation of the Scriptures into Tahitian. We have already referred to the very remarkable fact that Henry Nott, the bricklayer, was the only man of the first group of missionaries who appears to have obtained a complete mastery of the language. He was, as we have seen, the ablest and most popular preacher to the natives, and the adviser of Pomare and his successors in all matters relating to the public welfare. He drew up the code of laws which chiefs and people accepted. He alone never left the mission, even in times of greatest anxiety and danger. And the crowning work of his life was the translation of the whole Bible into Tahitian—a gigantic task, even when full allowance is made for all the help he received from Davies and his other colleagues.

The incidents connected with printing and distribution of the Gospel of Luke are given in Chapter V. But in illustration of the long years of persevering labour spent in translating the Scriptures, we quote the references to the work as they occur in Nott's own correspondence.

The missionary who stood next to Nott in knowledge of the language was Davies, and his advice, together with that of Henry, Crook, and such of the others as were competent to form an opinion, was always carefully sought

before a portion went to press. On July 29, 1819, Nott writes :—

'I have been enabled to finish the Gospel of John [1] and the Acts of the Apostles. But in order that the translation may be as complete as possible, I have taken a passage up to Tahiti (from Eimeo) to avail myself of the assistance of King Pomare, who is the best master of the Tahitian language on all the islands. . . . If the Lord is pleased to spare my life, I hope to begin the Book of Genesis before this comes to hand. A few of the first chapters were done some years ago, but must be revised again.'

On April 9, 1821, he states :—

'The Gospel of John is now printed, which, with the Acts, was translated two years ago. Several of the lesser prophets I have also done, though they are not ready for the press, but must be carefully revised again. I hope our honoured Directors will send me the books which I have written for, and any others they may judge useful, that I may go on with the five books of Moses also. We are very deficient in useful books as good commentaries and books of Biblical criticism [2].'

On June 21 he repeats the request, adding—

'I hope I shall not be considered wrong in declining what I now consider, and what all the missionaries consider, as my especial duty, if that assistance is withheld from me, or else I must apply to some other quarter.'

May 10, 1824, he writes :—

'I am getting on in the work of translating, and revising those of others. The greater part of the New Testament will, I hope, soon be in the natives' hands. The press is

[1] The MS. of this portion is in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It is in the handwriting of Pomare, who assisted Nott in the translation, and copied it out for press in his own hand. The MS. was given to Mr. Bennet by Nott in 1824, and brought by him to England in 1829.

[2] The basis of Nott's translation was not the Authorized Version, but Boothroyd's edition of the Bible, and it was this text which he and all his helpers translated, although he did all in his power to make himself familiar with the Greek and Hebrew text.

now at work printing ten of the Epistles, viz. from Galatians to Philemon inclusive, and others are in hand.'

On February 5, 1825, he writes that the above are finished.

'The Gospel of Mark by Brother Davies I am just now finishing the revision of, which will be printed immediately, and in the hands of the people. What remains of the New Testament to be translated is 2 Corinthians, Hebrews and Revelations, all of which I have in hand, and hope to translate in the course of the few months I am here or on my voyage to England, which will not impede (as you seem to fear) the progress of the work.'

The year 1829, two years after Mr. Nott's return from England, saw the completion of the printing of the New Testament, since on March 17 he wrote:—

'The New Testament is now wholly printed, and a second and uniform edition is in progress. Very little of the Old Testament is in print as yet, but several parts of it are translated, but with what success I cannot say, as the MSS. have not yet been seen by me.'

On January 7, 1833, progress is thus reported:—

'The second edition of the New Testament has been finished some time, and is an entire new translation, and still in manuscript, as the first edition is in the natives' hands. I am now proceeding with the Old Testament, several parts of which have been translated by some of the other brethren, and are in the hands of the natives. I informed the Directors long ago that I had done several of the lesser prophets, and I have now nearly finished Genesis, and purpose to proceed on from Dan to Beersheba, if it please the Lord to preserve my life and grant me strength sufficient for the task. Of this, however, I have my many fears. I feel myself very weak already, and frequently fear that I must ere long be obliged to remove to the Colony to obtain that medical assistance which I now often need, but cannot obtain. To assist me, however, in my work, as long as I may be enabled to proceed, I should be glad if the Directors would send me the best lexicon adapted for the

Septuagint that may have been lately published in England, also an Hebrew one. Of the former I have none but that of G. Ewing of 1812; of the latter that of Parkhurst, 1813. Also any other books that the Directors may think would be particularly useful to me. I want no books but for the public service of the mission, nor have I time to read for any other purpose. I am not therefore asking a private or personal favour; but I need every help that may be obtained, for the work is arduous and demands better abilities to perform it well than I have to bring to the task.'

On January 17, 1834, Nott 'had been enabled to proceed with the Old Testament as far as 1 Samuel'; on May 11, 1835, he judges 'that in the space of six months from this time the Old Testament will be finished'; and on February 9, 1836, he announces the completion of his mighty labour. 'That work, I am happy to inform you, was finished on Friday, December 18, 1835, at half-past one o'clock.'

The venerable missionary felt, and all his brethren agreed with him, that his remaining strength could not be better spent than in visiting England and seeing the whole Tahitian Bible through the press. Though often in great pain and suffering, he rejoiced that he 'had been spared to accomplish a work of such transcendent importance,' and his brave heart willingly faced the discomforts and perils of the voyage. He sailed on February 20, 1836, and reached Bordeaux, whither the vessel in which he sailed was bound, on June 5. He reached London on June 19. The Bible Society gladly and generously printed the complete Bible, the result of twenty years' toil and devotion: and on August 18, 1838, taking the whole edition with him, Nott sailed on his return voyage, reaching Papeete September 12, 1840. Before he left England he had had an interview with Queen Victoria, presenting her with a copy of his Bible.

Nott's health had become very uncertain some years before he returned to England in 1836. It would have been happier for himself, perhaps, could he have ended his

days in his native land. But he returned to his beloved Tahiti, and for three or four years longer he laboured, though with ever-increasing bodily weakness, in the field where his life had been so usefully spent. The end came on May 1, 1844. Joseph Moore, one of his colleagues, in a letter dated Papara, May 13, 1844, conveyed to the Directors the tidings of his departure:—

'For many months he had been quite disabled. A stroke of palsy had unfitted him for writing or anything else which required the use of his hands. . . . The great change manifest in the Tahitians was a fruitful source of sorrow to him. Once, to speak was to secure a prompt and cheerful obedience, but now nothing had charms but dollars. . . . When his mind was more at ease he would converse on the great subject of salvation. His dependence on Christ was most firm, and his expressions concerning his own hopes most simple. . . . His work was done when the Bible was completed. Glorious work, indeed! destined, I hope, to keep out Popery from many a heart when we are all compelled to leave, and when the arm of power shall have enthroned it on Tahiti.'

So passed to his rest Henry Nott, the most powerful personality of the first missionary enterprise of the Society. He was a native of Bromsgrove. He had received no special intellectual training, but in the course of his life-work he had been constrained to undertake literary labour of the most arduous kind. He was possessed of a child-like trust in Jesus Christ, and of an unshakable belief that the Gospel was the one only remedy for the ignorance and sorrows and sins of men. He was also endowed with an unusual portion of sound common sense and tenacity of purpose, and undauntedly, tirelessly, he lived his life and accomplished his work. God manifested His grace in him by enabling him to unlock the treasures of His Word to Polynesia, and he played a chief part in the conversion of Tahiti and the adjacent islands from savage barbarism to Christianity and to comparative civilization. No worldly honours fell to his lot; but his name will ever stand high

upon the roll of the world's benefactors, and his works follow him wherever and whenever the Tahitian Scriptures are received and studied. It was fitting that after forty-seven years of faithful service his last resting-place should be on the island his labours had so greatly blessed [1].

[AUTHORITIES:—Letters and Reports; The Annual Reports of the Society; and the MS. *History of the Mission in Tahiti*, written by Davies and revised by Nott.]

[1] A lady resident in Birmingham, who well remembered, when a girl, seeing and hearing Henry Nott during his visit to Birmingham in 1826, wrote under date of February, 1896: 'He was Mr. John Angell James's guest during his stay in Birmingham, so that we saw and heard more of him than we should otherwise have done. One day he went over to his native place (Bromsgrove), about thirteen miles from hence, I think, by coach, to make inquiry after his family. At the old site no one of this name could be found. Walking through the fields, he accosted a man with the question whether he knew anything of a family named Nott, that formerly lived there. "Yes," said the man, "there *was* such a family, but there are none living here now. The father and mother are dead. There was a son who lived hereabouts; and there was another son, Henry, who went a great way off, to a country, they said, where the bread grows upon the trees." It was strange news to hear that he stood face to face with that very Henry Nott, and it created some sensation in the little town, for many of the people came to the house where the stranger lodged, to see the man from "the country where the bread grows upon the trees." A valedictory meeting was gathered at Carrs Lane Chapel, which was crowded to the utmost extent of its capacity. The veteran missionary adopted for his closing address the words of St. Paul—"Finally, brethren, farewell" (2 Cor. xiii. 11). He did not go on to the exhortation which followed this initiative in the Apostle's letter. He was probably too modest to do that. The three words chosen were filled with touching interest and power. Between the speaker and the congregation there seemed to be a warm and tender tie of respectful affection, hardly to be expressed by demonstrative applause. So it seems in my recollection now. And it appeared to us then, in our youthful days, that his soul lived in a region where the flattering commendations of men could not reach him with any injurious effect. He had known the *reality* of the long and patient conflict with idolatry and wickedness; and perhaps the praises of men at home seemed to him only so much talk.'

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONQUEST OF TAHITI BY FRANCE

IN May, 1834, two French priests, named Francis Caret and Louis James Laval, with an assistant named Columban Murphy, sailed from Bordeaux for Valparaiso. They were part of an active propaganda undertaken largely by a French Roman Catholic organization called the Society of Picpus, 'to propagate the Roman Catholic religion by missions among unbelievers and pagans.' From Valparaiso they wrote to their superiors, who published in the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, an account of their doings, in which the following words are found :—

'The Biblical missionaries, sent by the English societies, appear to have undertaken of late to invade all the islands of the Pacific Ocean. They think, no doubt, that they will easily establish their domination over people but recently discovered, docile, and to whom the Gospel has not yet been announced. The English Government favours them for ends purely political; already they have presses, have raised manufactories, and of course exercise great influence. . . . Some persons endeavour to dissuade us from our purpose, by telling us that the Protestants are everywhere, and that the natives will kill us. We only see in this the rage of the demon, who feels that we are approaching, and prevents us from entering the countries where he is master[1].'

[1] *Tahiti: a Review of the Origin, Character, and Progress of French Roman Catholic Efforts for the Destruction of English Protestant Missions in the South Seas*, p. 3. John Snow, London, 1844.

Caret, Laval, and Murphy left Valparaiso on July 16, 1834, and on August 7 reached the Gambier Islands. Murphy, in the disguise of a carpenter, was sent on as a spy to Tahiti, to pave the way for French priestcraft and the overthrow of Protestant Christianity. Some time prior to this, a Belgian, Moerenhout by name, had secured appointment as United States Consul at Papeete. This man, who had at first been greatly aided by Mr. Pritchard, and in return had become his bitter enemy, sided with the French, and did everything in his power to forward their schemes. Caret and Laval reached Tahiti on November 20.

'We got on shore on one of the points of Tautira, the place most distant from the port. No sooner had we cast anchor than we disembarked, and we were right in using all dispatch, for we had scarcely landed, when one of the chiefs of the district went on board the schooner to order her to stand off, and not to land any passengers. But we were already on shore and had given the salutation of peace to this island, partly idolatrous and partly heretic[1].'

So far the French account. Mr. Pritchard had been for some time, at the request of the queen and chiefs, acting as British Consul, though not yet definitely appointed by Government to that post. He was still on the mission staff. He, in common with all the other missionaries, naturally resented this incursion of Roman Catholic priests into a field which they had done nothing to redeem from heathenism. This attitude, coupled with the bitter hostility manifested towards Pritchard by Moerenhout, exerted a very adverse influence upon the after course of events. Here once again the law is illustrated that in religious matters there should always be absolute toleration, the fullest and most unfettered freedom. There was much reason on Pritchard's side, yet after events tend to prove that had the Romanists been allowed to settle down and work quietly on Tahiti, enjoying exactly the same freedom and restrained by exactly the same limitations as the London Missionary Society's workers, it would not have

[1] *Tahiti*, p. 16.

been so easy for France to discover any reasonable pretext for interference.

The conflict began the moment tidings reached Papeete that French priests had landed on the island. Two days after their arrival at that port they had an audience with the queen and chiefs, who had, as a matter of course, requested Mr. Pritchard to be present as interpreter. The Frenchmen were accompanied and supported by Moerenhout, and their first demand was that Mr. Pritchard should withdraw. Although he refused to withdraw, and although the queen insisted upon his presence, they sent for a native pilot, and tried in vain to get on with him as interpreter, Mr. Pritchard having often to come to the rescue in order to make what was said intelligible in any measure to the queen and chiefs. The Frenchmen offered the queen a small sum of money, under the impression that their case was covered by a native law which ran, that if a captain left on the island any runaway he had to pay a fine of thirty dollars. They were informed that their case fell under the totally different regulation in the native code, viz., 'No master or commander of a vessel is allowed to land any passenger without special permission from the queen and governors.' Of this law both the priests and Moerenhout affirmed their ignorance, and they refused to obey it, terminating abruptly their audience. When Pritchard, at the request of the queen, sent Moerenhout an official letter, pointing out clearly the facts of the situation, he refused to accept it. Moerenhout replied by a letter to the queen, refusing to receive, as from her, 'a letter of the missionary Pritchard,' 'full of rough and insolent language,' refusing also as United States Consul to admit the binding force of the law relating to foreigners, and expressing ignorance hitherto of its existence.

Regardless of Pomare's orders, Laval and Caret persisted in remaining on the island. Moerenhout gave them a small house belonging to himself, and at the same time tried to throw over them the protection of his consular authority. Pomare, acting undoubtedly fully within her rights, and

supported by both the chiefs and the missionaries, insisted upon the departure of the priests. They acted very insolently in the course of several interviews, and in the conduct of their correspondence, and they continued to occupy Moerenhout's house in defiance of the queen. At last, on December 14, 1836, the royal officers took decisive measures to carry out the queen's commands, and though in a technical sense force was used, no injury was done to the intruders or to their effects. They were compelled to leave Tahiti in the vessel which had brought them thither.

On January 26, 1837, Caret and another priest named Maigret appeared again at Papeete, on board an American vessel; Moerenhout at once visited them. The captain sent to the queen asking permission to land the two Frenchmen, thus acknowledging her right to prevent foreigners from landing if she wished to do so. Permission was refused, and when, on January 31, a ship's boat attempted to put them on shore, the natives waded into the sea, and firmly, but without violence, prevented them from landing. After five days at anchor the ship proceeded to Valparaiso. Caret visited Europe, recounted in highly coloured and most inaccurate fashion the story of his supposed wrongs, and invited the aid of the French authorities and of the Pope.

Moerenhout, immediately after the departure of Caret and Laval, had written to the French Government highly coloured and scandalously incorrect accounts of what had taken place. At the same time he attributed the queen's action entirely to Mr. Pritchard's influence. This was the charge which Pritchard should have striven by every means in his power to render inoperative. The queen undoubtedly acted on her own initiative, and it was the wish of herself and of the chiefs that the French priests should not be permitted to reside in Tahiti. But language used by Pritchard in his letters to Moerenhout gave his opponents the opportunity of utterly misrepresenting the reasons for both the queen's action and his own. Of this they were not slow to take full advantage.

In Paris the 'insult' to the French nation was represented as the work of the 'Methodist' missionaries. Stringent orders were at once dispatched to Valparaiso, and on August 27, 1838, the ship-of-war Venus, 64 guns, Captain Du Petit-Thouars, anchored off Papeete. The French captain refused to even listen to Pomare's protest that the account of what had happened upon which he was acting was incorrect, and that no Frenchmen had been treated either unjustly or unkindly. Twenty-four hours only were allowed, and he announced that then, unless his terms were complied with, he would open fire upon Papeete. Pomare was thus compelled to apologize to the French king for supposed violence done to his subjects, to pay Laval and Caret a fine of 10 000 francs (£400), and to salute the French flag. The grotesque side of the transaction appears when Captain Petit-Thouars found that the French flag could be saluted only if he chose to find the powder. This he would not do directly, but managed it by making a gift of the needful quantity to Mr. Pritchard, who handed it over to the natives. The crowning insult to Pomare as an independent ruler was the appointment of Moerenhout, who for his action in the whole affair had been dismissed from office by the United States, as French Consul at Tahiti.

Between the departure of the French priests and the arrival of the Venus, Mr. Pritchard had received notification of his appointment by the British Government as consul at Tahiti. This was towards the close of 1837. The Directors at the same time informed him that his connection with the Society was necessarily dissolved. But though no longer on the staff of the Society, he resolved to continue missionary work as a voluntary agent. His action in this and in other respects led to serious differences of opinion among his brethren. Cases have been not infrequent since, in different parts of the world, in which missionaries have resigned their connection with the Society to become consuls. It is natural that men who become so intimately acquainted with the natives should be attracted to Government posts. But while there have been in the

course of the century the exceptions which prove the rule, it is, nevertheless, distinctly a practice to be avoided. And certainly, if a missionary accepts a Government post of any kind, there should be an absolute and immediate severance of any official connection with the Society. Pritchard's attempt to combine consular with mission work had a most important influence upon many of the troubles which afterwards came upon Tahiti.

How his brethren viewed the matter appears from their letters. Mr. Darling, for example, under date of December 4, 1837, wrote: 'The chiefs and the churches seem to detest the idea of a missionary becoming a consul.' When, after his appointment, Mr. Pritchard went to Papaoa to administer the Lord's Supper 'every member left the chapel.' In addition to the difficulty caused by Mr. Pritchard's action, just at this time the old trading difficulty became a fresh source of trouble. Orsmond, in a letter dated December 25, 1837, writes that he is willing to give up barter, but that if he does he 'will have to draw more deeply on the Society.' Orsmond's statements always need checking by others, but there was possibly in regard to one or two of his colleagues a measure of truth in his altogether too sweeping description: 'We are a set of trading priests, our closets are neglected, and our cloth disgraced.'

In November, 1838, a British ship, the Fly, visited Tahiti, and whilst she was there the natives held a large meeting, which Captain Elliott and some of his officers and the missionaries attended, and decided that it should be made illegal for Roman Catholicism to be taught in public. In April, 1839, a French man-of-war, the Artemise, having struck on the reef, was towed into Papeete for repairs. The crew spent several weeks on shore, and the wildest licentious indulgence prevailed during the whole time. Before the frigate left, Pomare was compelled by the commander, M. Laplace, to sign a treaty abrogating the law passed in November, 1838, and giving to Roman Catholics every advantage enjoyed by Protestants.

This incident affords a further proof of the folly of

attempting to regulate religious teaching by legal enactments. The French demand obtained a colour of reasonableness, which it did not really deserve, from the unwise action previously taken by the natives. It is true that some of the missionaries were strongly opposed to the course the natives took, and none, probably, at all warmly sympathized with their action; yet the missionaries as a body did not attempt, as they might have done, by united action, to prevent the law from passing.

In judging the part played by both missionaries and natives at this time, it is most important to bear in mind the true character of the latter. This added greatly to the difficulties of the missionaries, and also strengthened the hands of the French. The reinforcement of the mission by the men John Williams brought from England, in the Camden in 1838, was followed by results little anticipated either at home or at Tahiti. The new men were Charles Green Stevens, Thomas Joseph, Robert Thomson, George Charter, and Joseph Johnston, who all landed at Tahiti March 12, 1839. William Howe, stationed at Afareaitu, arrived August 3, 1839. Their expectations had been raised to a high pitch by the glowing descriptions Williams had given in his speeches and writings, and they found on their arrival that the actual state of affairs was very different from that drawn by their imagination. Very soon there arose a conflict of statements, which appear to prove that to some extent the mission had been and was still being worked on a faulty basis. The Directors, having received several emphatic expressions of disappointment, and dark pictures of the condition of the mission from these brethren, instructed all the missionaries to send home their 'candid opinions,' with a true description of the state of affairs. The reports supplied by the younger missionaries in response to this request are full and precise, whilst those of the older men are brief and unsatisfactory, concerned chiefly with generalities. The older workers said, in effect, that things were going on as well as could be expected, that the

younger men were not fit for the work, that their expectations had been unduly raised by Williams, and Davies goes so far as to say that they 'put a wrong construction upon most of the things that came under their notice.' The younger men, on the other hand, maintained that the bartering and commercial pursuits of the older missionaries, necessitated, as we have seen, by the insufficient salaries allowed by the Directors, were evil in their influence, and a great hindrance to the progress of the mission, tending to infect the religion of the people with a spirit of gross formalism and selfishness. The younger brethren implored the Directors to forbid all bartering and commerce, and to raise salaries to at least £140 per annum.

It is evident too that the older missionaries, whilst asserting that the younger brethren were prejudiced, were, to some extent, Tahitianized in their ideas of social life. In confirmation of this view we may quote an extract from a letter sent home by Joseph Johnston dated September 16, 1839:—

'Whilst speaking about the stations on this island, I would at the same time make a few observations on the people, and I cannot but remark that their state is very different from what I expected and from the representations I have heard in England from the platform. Instead of giving me a kind and cordial reception, the people say my object and that of the new brethren is to trade and gain money. I find it almost impossible to eradicate from their minds this notion; they are continually requesting me to sell or give away my property, and in almost every dealing I have with them they attempt to defraud. Instead of finding them attached to their missionaries, I see them treat those gentlemen with disrespect and insolence. They subject them to innumerable petty annoyances and rob them frequently. Mr. Davies and Mr. Wilson have had property stolen repeatedly since my arrival, and Mr. Henry has been obliged to suspend his church lately for stealing his cattle; he thinks he has lost fifty head. They charge exorbitant prices for everything they sell or do, and

insist upon being paid in money; if we offer them cloth, they will not look at it, except it be of the gayest and best description; they prefer going to the stores of the merchants at Papeete for their goods. The prices they charge for tables and chairs here, and which after all are but clumsily made, are so high as to render it impossible to obtain them.

'The state of the churches here is very deplorable. I do not think I have met with one individual who is a member that does not evince the same covetousness exhibited by those who make no profession. The churches are large, and nearly all the chiefs and raatiras are members, but many of them are utterly unfit to sit down at the table of our Lord. The queen, a wicked and violent woman, is a member of a church, notwithstanding she lately countenanced by her presence one of the native dances. Mr. Simpson has suspended his church on account of their return to the same heathen custom. Tati is a church member, whilst he is at the same time an avaricious and oppressive man; so is Paofai, the abettor of the Popish party and notorious for dishonesty. It is not in Tahiti only that such a state of things exists. I have lately received a note from Mr. Charter of Tahaa in which there is the following:—"The parents use no efforts to constrain their children to come to school, therefore we have not any; the condition of the young people is awfully wretched, wretched beyond description—they are confirmed in sin and iniquity, and have no desire that their state should be improved; tell them they are going in the road to everlasting death, they reply, 'We know it, but it is very pleasant to live in sin.' They are very dishonest, and it appears the desire of one and all to defraud us in all our dealings with them."'

These letters are quoted because it is right to put both aspects of the mission at this period on record. At the same time it should be borne in mind that Johnston and Charter had been in the islands less than six months, and must have been guided very largely by hasty and surface impressions.

The desire, already noted, on the part of Mr. Pritchard to combine consular duties with missionary work during 1839 and 1840, led to further internal troubles in the mission. After much dissension the natives elected him in 1840 sole pastor of the church at Papeete, with the understanding that they themselves were to pay him a salary. This action on their part led to the ejection of the official pastor, Mr. Thomas Joseph, who thereupon retired to Pare and carried on mission-work there. Pritchard's reasons for acting in this unconstitutional way appear to have been that his consular duties occupied only a few hours a week, and that his interest in and desire to do mission-work had been in no degree lessened by his acceptance of Government office. Having resided on the island for sixteen years he belonged to the older section of missionaries, and doubtless gave scant weight to the opinion of the men who had only just come upon the scene. Nott, who had only just returned from England after an absence of several years, writes under date October 27, 1840: 'On my arrival I found that everything had been attended to by our Brother Pritchard during my absence in England that I could have expected. I did not, however, find that the disposition of *some* of the brethren towards him was what I could have hoped for.' Later on, in the same letter, he remarks: 'What a misfortune it was that Brother Pritchard was not at his station when the French Artemise arrived. I am persuaded that had he been there those evil and unjust things would never have happened, but would have met with a proper and well-directed rebuke, and the Frenchman would have gone away ashamed.'

Owing to hostile action on the part of the French authorities, to whom from the first he was extremely obnoxious, Mr. Pritchard was compelled to return to England. He left Tahiti at the close of 1840, not returning until February 25, 1843. During the interval the first proclamation of the French Protectorate took place. Further reinforcements of missionary workers had arrived—Alfred Smee, printer, 1841; Thomas Smith McKean and

John Thomas Jesson, missionaries, 1842. The letters of these brethren give much more encouraging and hopeful views of the future of the island than those written two or three years previously. Differences of view were less marked, and a spirit of harmony prevailed. Preaching tours were resumed, and large quantities of Bibles were eagerly bought by the natives. But the arrival on September 1, 1842, of a French frigate, La Reine Blanche, commanded by the man who had acted so harshly in 1839, now Admiral Du Petit-Thouars, threw everything into confusion once more. On September 5 the French admiral sent messengers to Eimeo to summon Pomare who was there, expecting daily to be confined. On September 9 a meeting was held between the French and the chiefs, having been preceded by a secret meeting during the night with four disaffected leading chiefs. For some time previously M. Moerenhout, the French Consul, had been intriguing with some of the chiefs, and entrapping them into requesting a French Protectorate, unknown of course to Pomare. In harmony with the underhand and disgraceful methods followed by Moerenhout in all his dealings with the natives, at this midnight meeting the following document had been signed :—

'To the Admiral A. Du Petit-Thouars.

'Because we are not able to govern in our own kingdom in the present circumstances so as to harmonize with Foreign Governments, lest our land, our kingdom, and our liberty should become that of another, We whose names are written below, viz. the queen and principal chiefs of Tahiti, write to you to ask that the shadow of the King of the French may be thrown over us,

'On the following conditions—

'1st. That the Title and government of the queen and the authority also of the principal chiefs of Tahiti remain in themselves over their people.

'2nd. That all laws and observances be established in the

name of the queen, and have her signature attached to them to render them binding on her subjects.

'3rd. That the lands of the queen and all her people shall remain in their own hands. And all discussions about land shall be among themselves—foreigners shall not interfere.

'4th. That every man shall follow that religion which accords with his own desire. No one shall influence him in his thoughts towards God.

'5th. That the places of worship belonging to the English Missionaries, which are now known, shall remain unmolested, and the British Missionaries shall continue to perform the duties of their office.

'6th. That Persons of all other persuasions shall be entitled to equal privileges.

'On these conditions, if agreeable, the queen and chiefs solicit the protection of the King of the French.

'The affairs concerning foreign Governments, as also concerning foreign residents on Tahiti, are to be left with the French Government, and with the officers appointed by that Government—such as port regulations, &c., &c.

'And with them shall rest all those functions which are calculated to produce harmony and peace.

'Signed

PARAITA, Speaker to Queen.
UTAMI, HITOTI, TATI } Principal Chiefs.'

The French admiral demanded the queen's signature to this document, or the payment of a fine of ten thousand dollars within twenty-four hours. If she failed within that time to comply with his terms, he asserted that he should hoist the French flag, and formally annex the island. Of the two evils the queen chose what seemed the lesser, and one hour before the end of the allotted time signed the document, and was thus forced into accepting a French Protectorate.

Having in this way, by a combination of trickery and force, accomplished his designs, Du Petit-Thouars wrote home to his Government that Tahiti had, of its own free will, solicited French protection! Although the true state of the case was represented both to the British and French Governments nothing was done to redress this monstrous injustice. The English Government, with a disregard of British interests which has occasionally characterized its action in matters arising out of missionary labour and success, refused to interfere except by barren words and useless expressions of sympathy. The French Government, lustful after colonial extension, saw too clearly the advantages to be derived from annexing Tahiti to be debarred by the fact that only by force and deception could it be brought under the French Crown.

Pomare's appeal to England having proved fruitless, the French aggression was pushed still further. On November 2, 1843, Du Petit-Thouars returned to Tahiti in the La Reine Blanche accompanied by the Ambuscade. On November 5 two other frigates anchored off Papeete, one of them containing Commissary-royal Bruat. Pomare, still asserting her independence, had repudiated the French Protectorate, and hoisted her own flag. The French on November 7 landed troops, marched to the queen's residence, and insisted that her flag should be struck. Upon Pomare's refusal to do this her flag was pulled down and the French colours hoisted in its place. Pomare herself had fled meanwhile to the British Consulate, at this time again occupied by Mr. Pritchard, who also struck his flag, saying that he had not been accredited to a French colony. Bruat at once issued a proclamation asserting that he took possession of the Society Islands in the name of the King of France, and promising full religious toleration. He also officially informed each of the missionaries that he would be glad to receive them in his capacity as governor. To this invitation they returned a joint reply, signed by all except Davies, who was too infirm to take any part, declining the interview for the following reasons :—

'1. Because we believe that the late changes which have taken place in this island are opposed to that great law of equity between man and man and nation and nation, which constitutes the peculiar genius of that Gospel which we revere as the inspired Word of God and for the diffusion of which alone we live.

'2. Because we conceive that our acceptance of the invitation thus politely given would in the estimation of mankind amount to a compromise of that consistency of character which we desire ever to maintain both in the sight of God and man.

'3. Because the document which we had the honour to transmit to Rear Admiral Du Petit-Thouars in September, 1842, containing simply an avowal of our intention to continue as we had ever done to exhort the people to a peaceable obedience to the "powers that be," has been regarded as an intimation of our approval of the transactions on the part of the French nation towards this people.'

Pomare still expected that English intervention would restore her to independence. The natives, irritated by the conduct of the French, and daily looking for English aid, notwithstanding all the efforts of the missionaries, left their homes and armed themselves. They were attacked several times by the French, and much bloodshed ensued; and on June 30, 1844, Mr. McKean, while standing on his own verandah, was accidentally killed by a bullet fired, it was supposed, by a native. On July 2, 1844, the missionaries held a meeting at Papeete, and decided that under existing circumstances it was advisable that Howe, Jesson, Joseph, and Moore should sail for England, and that Buchanan should go over to the Hervey group. Mr. Barff was to take charge of Afareaitu, Thomson of Papeete, and Johnston of Papara. Pritchard had been imprisoned by order of the French governor. Orsmond had for some time past been aiding the French, and interfering in political matters, and now ceases to have any further official connection with the mission. Mr. and

Mrs. Wilson retired to Samoa. This decision doubtless seemed right at the time, but in the light of subsequent events it would have been better to remain on the field. Had the missionaries remained on quietly, working within the lines laid down by the French, they would have retained a large measure of their influence over the natives. As it was, the departure of so many only left the field all the more open to French and to anti-Protestant influences.

Early in the year Pomare had taken refuge on board the Basilisk, a small British vessel stationed at Papeete, and in July the Carysfort, British man-of-war, conveyed her to Raiatea. She had avowed her determination of never setting foot again upon Tahiti until her independence was acknowledged once again, and she herself recognized as an absolute queen. Meanwhile, the natives remained in their fortified camp in the mountains. In August, 1845, the Collingwood, an English ship, commanded by Sir George Seymour, arrived at Papeete, and by order of the British Government formally acknowledged the French Protectorate, and as a consequence the forcible deposition of Pomare.

Mr. Thomson, in a letter dated December 11, 1845, gives the following graphic description of the events connected with this important visit:—

'During his stay he sent one of his officers to Papenoo to inform the chiefs and people in the camp that "England having now recognized the Protectorate they must not expect assistance from him," "nor from any English ships coming here." "That England would not interfere," &c. The Chaplain of the Collingwood and I accompanied the Lieut. I interpreted his message and the people's reply. The meeting was a very interesting one; the Lieut. informed the chiefs in private, they were very much downcast and left the house one by one without speaking. About two hours afterwards we all attended a meeting in the chapel—it was, as all meetings are, opened with prayers. The Lieut. then delivered his message in public, when the meeting replied thro' several speakers: "We are sorry to hear the

message now delivered, but give our respects (*aroha*) to *our* admiral and say that it does not alter our determination. We will abide by the decision of our queen. If she submits we will submit, if she resists we will defend her, &c., and as for ourselves we remain for ever the attached allies of England. We pledged ourselves as the allies of England at the meeting held at Papeete, while the Talbot was here, before the assembled nation, and nothing can shake our resolution. For England! For England for ever!" At the close of the meeting they all came forward and shook hands with the officers, the speakers apologizing for the warmth with which they had expressed their sentiments. Both the officers were quite overcome; they said, "Come, let us go, we cannot stand this." They would rather have met the French in battle.'

The critical struggle—if struggle it can be called—between the natives and the French occurred in 1846. A full and interesting account is given in a letter written to the Directors on June 27, 1846, by Mr. Darling, then a veteran missionary:—

'Bunaauïa, the station which I have occupied for twenty-seven years, is now a French military station, in every sense of the word. The people are driven to the valley, where they have formed themselves into a camp, about four or five miles from the seaside. The French are building forts at Bunaauïa, in order to keep the people in the valley until they will submit to the Protectorate Government, as it is called. For about two or three weeks in May the French troops were employed in making war against the camp at Papenoo. The people there were driven up the valley, but not subdued; the settlement and district were laid waste, and the greatest destruction took place for miles along the coast—not a bread-fruit tree was left standing. Having completed their desolating work in that quarter, they then turned towards Bunaauïa, expecting to succeed better in speedily making the people on this side of Papeete submit and receive their Protectorate Government.

'A large army was raised, consisting of soldiers, sailors,

and natives, who had joined the French against their countrymen who are standing up for their queen and country. It is said the number in arms were nearly one thousand. This large force, together with a steamer and several gun-boats from French ships of war lying in Papeete Harbour, came to our district on the 28th of May. The people repaired to a fortification they had made about a mile from the station towards Papeete, where they intended to fight the French; but in the night they found out that Governor Bruat intended to send a party over the mountains to prevent them retreating to the valley if they should be worsted. This alarmed the natives, and they retreated to the valley at once, without waiting the arrival of the French at the place. This left the sea side entirely open, and on Friday morning, the 29th, the whole of the French army marched to Bunaauïa, and took possession of the land, without having to fire a single shot.'

Some days were spent in fruitless negotiations, Mr. Darling acting as intermediary between Governor Bruat and the natives, and then hostilities began.

'On Sabbath morning, by seven o'clock, the whole army of the French were marching up the valley to attack the camp of our people. There are three breastworks or entrenchments made across the valley at different places. A small skirmish took place at the first, about a mile and a half up the valley; the people retreated from that, the French followed; at the second fortification, still farther up the valley, the people again stood and fought; but as the third and last fort was their stronghold, and where they intended to exert all their strength to save themselves, wives, and children, beyond this third fortification their all was placed—if that had been carried all would have been gone. However, here they fought like men, and drove the whole French army back. About seventy were killed and wounded; four or five principal officers were amongst the number killed. Only three on the side of the natives lost their lives, and three or four were slightly wounded. The mountains come so close together just below where the

fortification is thrown up, and so perpendicular on each side, that the natives could tumble great huge pieces of rocks down upon the French troops, which killed a great many, and eventually drove them back without reaching the fortification from whence the natives were firing. The whole army with Governor Bruat at their head returned to the seaside about four o'clock p.m. The wounded had been carried down and put in our chapel during the day, and the steamer went twice to Papeete with officers and others who were killed and wounded. Two or three cannons were taken up the valley by horses, but the nature of the mountains prevented them from being brought to bear so as to do much harm to the natives. The great stones hurled down from the top of the mountains kept the army from going near to the natives' fortification to injure it.

'The army returned, as I before observed, to the seaside in the afternoon, and at once began the work of destruction in good earnest—burning houses, trees, fences, and killing every living thing they could get hold of. This awful work continued for about a week or more, until every house within two or three miles of the station was burnt, and every bread-fruit was cut all round in such a way as they would soon die; none were left for miles on each side of Bunaauïa, excepting a few belonging to me, and many even in our fence were destroyed.

Foiled for the moment, the French desisted from active hostilities. The valley was closely blockaded, and finally the native fort captured by treachery. Mr. Darling, in a letter dated January 14, 1847, describes the closing scene in the struggle :—

'About the beginning of December, a native of Rapa in the Hautana camp (which is immediately behind Papeete, and opens a passage through the interior to the other two camps) discovered a path up the face of the cliff by which a position might be gained that would command the camp. He deserted from the natives, came to Papeete, and volunteered to lead the troops for a stipulated reward —I believe 200 dollars. Shortly afterwards all the troops

marched up the valley. The great body placed themselves in front of the regular advance to the native camp, as if about to storm it.

'All in the camp were on the alert to defend this road; but a large number were absent on a foraging expedition. In the meantime the native of Rapa, with about thirty French natives and forty soldiers, were scaling the cliff at a little distance: the Rapa man, ascending by the path which he had discovered, and lowering a rope, pulled up and fixed a rope-ladder, by which the troops gained the summit (about 1,000 feet high), and prepared to fire upon the camp, a little below them. The natives, seeing that resistance was now in vain, laid down their arms, and were marched in as prisoners of war. The carrying of this position opened a passage to the two other camps. The prisoners were immediately released upon their submission to the Protectorate Government; and one of the captive chiefs was sent to the camp at Bunaauïa, the nearest to Hautana, and the weakest, to advise their submission, and to intimate that if they continued to resist they would be attacked. They at once agreed, and a day or two afterwards marched out and laid down 250 stand of arms—I believe one-half of all. Messengers were also sent to Papenoo camp: they hesitated for some time, but at last submitted, and on New Year's Day marched into town and laid down their arms, surrendering one-half at Bunaauïa. They came in procession—the chiefs first, the armed men next, and women and children last. When within 100 yards of the French lines they halted, knelt down, and united in prayer; then rose and marched in. At the outskirt of the town, the native governor and ma istrates received them with friendly greetings, welcomed them as brethren, and conducted them to the Government House, where they formally laid down their arms, and recognized the Protectorate Government. A general amnesty (without exception) was declared; all offences were declared forgiven, and the people directed to return quietly to their respective districts.'

Pomare now had no alternative but submission. She returned to Tahiti in March, 1847, and was received by the French authorities with every outward mark of respect. She was allowed to retain the appearance of power, but deprived of all its substance. Thus ended the unhappy conflict begun in 1836. In many ways French influence, then and since, has exerted a most demoralizing effect upon the population of Papeete. But the solid foundation of good Christian work laid by the labours of British missionaries during the fifty years has never been utterly destroyed.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Reports; Annual Reports; *Tahiti: a Review of the Origin, Character, and Progress of French Roman Catholic Efforts for the Destruction of English Protestant Missions in the South Seas*, by Mark Wilks (1844); *Polynesian Reminiscences*, by W. T. Pritchard (1866).]

CHAPTER IX

THE SOCIETY ISLANDS: 1840–1890

FROM the period we have now reached in our record of Polynesian work, 1835–1845, the most useful course will be to complete the history of each island or group. The story of the introduction of Christianity into new islands and the life and conditions of the people have in every case so much in common that full details would only weary the reader. We shall, therefore, dwell at any length upon only important events and leading personalities, and, in the first place, complete the century's story of the Society Islands.

After the departure of Howe, Jesson, Joseph, Moore, and Buchanan in 1844, as narrated in the last chapter, the working staff of the mission consisted of Davies, Darling, Thomson, Johnston, and Smee the printer, on Tahiti; with Simpson and John Barff on Eimeo. Of these Johnston was a schoolmaster, and left the mission in 1849, while Smee died in 1847. Simpson was dismissed by the Directors in 1850, and then, like Orsmond, entered the French Service, and became a source of difficulty and distress to all who had the welfare of the natives at heart.

The French protectorate and the appointment of a dissolute native chief named Paraita as regent in Pomare's absence, increased the difficulties of the missionaries. Natives of disreputable character were placed in leading positions of authority, whilst the warfare sketched in the last chapter, carried on between the patriotic party and the French, seriously hindered all useful work. Pomare's tribulations seem to have been of benefit to her, for, after

her reinstatement as queen, though she was such in little more than name, she attended public worship, Bible-classes, and religious meetings with assiduity.

According to a census taken in 1848, the population of Tahiti was 8,000, and that of Eimeo 1,400, showing a proportion of four males to three females. Under the protectorate the Government were able to register the schools, chapels, and all mission buildings as 'national property for the use of Protestants.' They thus practically obtained almost absolute control over them, as they could through the native governors do exactly as they liked. In 1849 a slight modification, favourable to the Society, was granted, setting forth 'that the lands at present held by them [the missionaries] were given to them as agents of a particular society.' The missionaries had to repair the property at their own expense.

William Howe, who with Jesson had in England been engaged in the revision of the Tahitian Bible, returned to Tahiti early in 1847. The French governor had established a Legislative Assembly to which each native settlement sent two members, and in many ways he harassed the missionaries by vexatious restrictions. A letter from Howe, dated March 13, 1848, shows us how French authorities interpret 'full religious toleration':—

'Having registered the lands as national property, the governor passed a law, or rather tried to do so, that the people should keep the schools, chapels, and missionary premises in repair. To the two first they consented, but. out of eighty delegates, there were only seven in favour of his motion; those who spoke said that we had got enough out of them already! These things are excessively painful to hear, but we are not taken by surprise; they are what we have expected from the beginning, from our knowledge of the character of the people. We knew that if they were ultimately subdued, they would, as a body, fawn upon their conquerors, and take almost whatever course might appear likely to please. It is at the same time gratifying to know, that there is no appearance of favour towards

Popery. The people appear to be taken with the mode of registration, as it specifically states "for Protestant worship"; but then, unhappily, the same authority which makes it so, can make it anything else at a future period, and the interference of a foreign power cannot prevent it.

'You will perceive that our position is trying in the extreme, and what will be the end it is not difficult to foresee, unless some political changes in Europe should alter the state of things here. In the mean time, it will be our duty, by every wise and conciliatory measure that can be consistently adopted, to keep our position as long as possible. The governor comforted the delegates in the assembly the other day with the assertion, that our places would be entirely supplied by French Protestants in eight or ten years at the farthest. He asked me at his table the other day, "how long I thought I should remain in the island," and I replied, "Until I am ninety years of age, your Excellency; I am expecting to live to be a very old man, and I intend to spend all my days here."

'The people are beginning already to act in spiritual matters without our advice, in appointing native teachers to the out-stations, which has hitherto always been done by us. We shall, however, use our utmost influence to keep these stations under our care by frequent visitation, and in every way we can shall continue to show the people that we have their interests still at heart, notwithstanding the course which they are at present pursuing.

'The laws against adultery and fornication are very severe, but unhappily they have a common outlet at the end of them for these vices which will render the practice, we fear, a thousand times worse than it was; formerly, there was at least general secrecy, but now, the abandoned to these vices are to live apart in licensed houses!! The first-fruits of this awful system I had the mortification of witnessing yesterday afternoon, *Sunday*, on my way home from Point Venus and Papoa. At a house about a mile and a half out of Papeete I counted not fewer than sixteen young women, some of whom tried to hide their faces

as I passed, that I might not know them. This sight was most heart-rending. and very discouraging; every one of these victims had been taught in our schools, but are now being trained in another way, which must lead to a premature grave, and perhaps, to many, to endless misery!'

Not long after Howe's return very serious disagreements arose among the brethren. Howe seems to have been furnished with special instructions from the Directors, constituting him superintendent of the mission. He was consequently looked upon with some amount of jealousy by most of his colleagues, over whom he seems to have been placed as superintendent. He had been instructed by the Directors to take Thomson's place at Papeete, and to move Thomson to Tautira. Thomson, who had been at Papeete for some four years, and had managed affairs with much prudence and tact after the four brethren left the island in 1844, not unnaturally resented this proposed alteration, and declined to submit to the wishes of the Directors. He was supported in his opposition by the queen and many of the people. At length, in May, 1849, the committee prohibited Thomson from attending their meetings. After reading the correspondence on both sides there seems little reason for doubt that the Directors had in this instance treated a most able and deserving missionary with great injustice. Howe was a good and able man, but he had undoubtedly laid himself open to the charge of running away from his work on the eve of difficulty and danger. Thomson stayed, and did his work well, and even laid the foundation of a fatal illness by doing all in his power for the natives while Howe was comfortably and safely in England. Dr. Tidman, the Foreign Secretary of that time, was very autocratic in his rule. Thomson's letters, which are among the very ablest in the Society's archives, are clear, possess the ring of honesty, but are very frank and outspoken. Tidman seems to have misunderstood Thomson, and the whole incident is a glaring example of how a board of directors

may be led into actions of great unfairness by the inability or the unwillingness of home authorities to grasp the correct bearings of matters in dispute between good men. The controversy seriously hindered the work. Thomson retained control of the church at Papeete until the close of 1850, when, for the benefit of his health, which had seriously failed, he sailed for Melbourne, and died at sea, Jan. 1, 1851. Death ended his difficulties, but the closing days of a very able worker had been clouded, and the ill effects of the unfortunate action of his colleagues and of the home authorities lived on; for no London Missionary Society's agent ever after obtained the position of pastor of the native church at Papeete.

In 1847 the mission had been reinforced by the transfer of Alexander Chisholm from Savaii to Tahiti. His letters during 1849 and 1850 also bear witness to the difficulties caused by the French. Howe was stationed at Papeete, where he preached regularly in English in the Bethel chapel, and superintended the printing-press, and also the institution for training native teachers. This last had been part of John Barff's work on Eimeo, but on Howe's return, in 1847, he resumed his teaching duties. Howe visited the native churches in various parts of Tahiti, preaching in them as often as French restrictions would allow. A large portion of his time was given to the press, the Religious Tract Society liberally aiding him with grants of paper, of publications, and occasionally by printing editions of books in England.

In 1851 Howe was prosecuted for alleged seditious language in the pulpit, when protesting against the violation of the Sabbath by the celebration of the Emperor's Fête Day. This was celebrated in such a way as to lead to a large amount of drunkenness and debauchery. In the end Howe was pronounced entirely innocent of the charge brought against him.

In the same year two laws were passed which caused the mission further anxiety and difficulty:—(1) A law making missionaries' houses public property. Appeal to the

Assembly was proved to be useless by the fact that the petition setting forth the injustice of this action was torn in pieces before the faces of those who represented the mission. (2) A law ordaining that there shall be but one minister in one district, and that no minister shall visit other districts without an invitation in writing. This law practically put an end to all useful itinerating work.

Besides being hampered and crippled by these and other vexatious restrictions, further anxieties for the cause of true religion were produced by Orsmond, who was now Government pastor at Papeete, head of a seminary for training native teachers, and head of the native police, beginning to ordain and appoint over churches native students who had received but a few months of absolutely useless training.

Early in 1852 the John Williams reached Tahiti, bringing back Mr. Darling, and landing two new missionaries, Mr. Lind and Mr. Spencer. This at once led to further trouble. For in March, 1852, Mr. Chisholm was charged with seditious conduct in trying to get a Government pastor replaced at Papeuriri by one of these two new missionaries. This, it was affirmed, was a violation of law No. 2, passed in 1851. He was condemned to be confined within his own district of Papara for six months. His defence was that he had gone to preach at the invitation of the people, and understood that the 'so-called Government pastor' was only a school-teacher. He had no intention of infringing the new law. His defence was scouted by the governor, and though the British Consul exerted all his influence, both in Tahiti and England, nothing was done.

In March, 1852, the work of the mission received the most severe blow which had been inflicted since the French first began to interfere in Tahitian affairs. This was due to the passing of a law which deprived the churches of the power to elect their own pastors, handing over this power to the district, subject to the confirmation of the Legislative Assembly. The law was worded as follows:—

'These are the officers to be chosen by the chiefs (*hui raatira*) in the Protectorate Government: the district

governors, the district minister of religion, and the members of Parliament.

'The whole of the chiefs (*hui raatira*) in a district shall have a right to vote in these elections.

'Any one may be elected to the office of district minister who may be agreeable to the electors, and approved of by the majority. If a foreigner be chosen, the election must be submitted to the governor, the Commissioner of the Republic, for his approval, because the foreign department is with him.'

Barff and Chisholm, being requested, in accordance with this new enactment, to acknowledge in writing the sanction of the Government for the appointments they held, resigned their districts. They held that to do so would be to turn their back upon the 'fundamental principle' of the Society, and to sink from free pastors of free churches into mere servants of the Government, and of the worst section of the natives. The Directors at first appear to have doubted the expediency of this step, but ultimately gave it their approval. That they were not inflexible in their view upon the subject is evident from the fact that sanction was also given to Darling to retain his post at Bunaauïa under the altered conditions. His salary was continued, and he remained in active service until the death of his wife, in 1858, when he, in March, 1859, retired to New South Wales on a pension of £100, after he had spent forty-two years of active service.

Judged in the light of expediency, and of after-results, as well as from the comparatively successful four or five years spent by Darling at his old church, the resignation of Chisholm and Barff, and the departure of Spencer and Lind from the island in September, 1852, was a decidedly unwise step. Chisholm and Barff went to the Leeward Islands; Lind to Rurutu; and Spencer returned to England. Had these men remained at their post their influence would have been powerful in resisting the progress of Romanism, and in restraining the arbitrary power of the governor. They possessed fully the confidence and affec-

tion of the best natives in the various churches; as long as this was the case, they were not at all likely to be molested by the Government. But Howe, Chisholm, and Barff—especially the first—were very strong in their anti-State-Church principles; and it is very evident that they were in a hard strait. Still the careful observer of the effect of the removals, both in 1844 and 1852, especially in the light of the after history, finds himself driven to believe that they were both great blunders.

Howe, whose position at Papeete was unaffected by the new law, was left there alone, with only rare opportunities of preaching, except at the Bethel chapel. He, therefore, proceeded with the revision of the Bible, and worked hard in utilizing the power of the printing-press in counteracting Romanism, and for the assistance of native pastors. He brought out, in March, 1853, the *Tatara raa*, or 'Answer to the Romish Catechism,' and sent it broadcast amongst native pastors and their people. Among other works which he prepared and printed were volumes of outlines of sermons for native preachers, Expositions of the Gospels, Philippians, Romans, Psalms, and of other parts of Scripture, and Almanacs with passages of Scripture, and official information. In the preparation of some of these books he was assisted by the missionaries in the Leeward Islands.

On finding that the French Primer, which was about to be taught in the schools, contained all the dogmas of Popery, Howe decided to translate into French the two first class-books which were introduced by the missionaries. The governor approved of the idea, provided the paper, and ordered a large number of copies to be struck off and distributed. Howe was also partly occupied in selling Bibles, hymn-books, and other publications.

When the *Tatara raa* had been in circulation more than two years, the Romanist bishop brought an action, or, apparently, three actions, against Howe for using the printing-press for the purpose of attacking the Catholic Church. This litigation, commencing at the end of 1855, did not end till May, 1856; and the labour and anxiety

which the preparation for the trials involved laid the foundation of Howe's illness, which at last proved fatal. The ability with which he conducted his case was remarkable. Although the courts decided in Howe's favour, yet, after the trials, the question of the *Tatara raa* was, with Howe's consent, submitted to arbitration. The final decision on this point was against Howe; *Tatara raa* was condemned, and the people were ordered to bring in their copies.

Howe finished his revision of the Tahitian Bible on June 10, 1858, after two years' work. It was then examined by Barff and Chisholm. In 1860, Chisholm took the revision to England and also a revised hymn-book. In 1864 the new edition arrived at Tahiti, with the addition of marginal references. But before its arrival Howe had left Tahiti, and he died at Rarotonga in June, 1864.

Howe's liberty to preach in the districts varied with the policy or whims of successive governors. He was allowed to go once a month to Darling's church during the latter's absence in England, and was also allowed to preach at other places on receiving a written invitation from pastor and deacons, which invitation had to be sanctioned by the governor. Later, one of the governors, finding Howe was receiving many invitations, withdrew his sanction, allowing him to visit a few of the churches only about once a year. In the time of Morris, who followed Howe, the Government became more tolerant; and at the end of 1865 Morris was permitted to accept all invitations to preach without the necessity of receiving the governor's sanction. By 1867 few restrictions remained, and 'the whole of the field was open to the missionaries.'

The churches seem to have been considerably less affected by Romanism than was anticipated. The priests, seeing they made so slight an impression on adults, directed their efforts chiefly to the education of children. The native pastorate, for the most part, remained faithful; and doubtless the value and influence of their ministrations

were owing very largely to the 'helps' in the shape of outlines of sermons issued by Howe from the mission press. In spite of Romish aggression, of the absence of missionaries, of the immoral example of the French [1], as well as of the decrease of population (about 1,000) owing to epidemics, the number of church members in 1860 in Tahiti and Eimeo was upwards of 600 more than in 1842, before the Protectorate was established. In 1842 it had been estimated that there were 1,680 church members, and in 1860 these had increased to 2,300.

Queen Pomare IV remained faithful to Protestantism, and appealed more than once to the home Government that French Protestant pastors should be sent out, seeing that she was deprived of the services of London Missionary Society's agents. At length, in July, 1862, the answer came, to the effect that the Government would not hinder the settlement of such ministers. In March, 1863, the arrival of M. Arbousset, followed soon after by Atger, his son-in-law, gave great satisfaction to the queen and natives. Arbousset became the queen's chaplain, and endeavoured in various ways to fulfil the object of his mission. This French Protestant mission did not progress rapidly at first. The arrangements and management were faulty, and the local laws and usages were not sufficiently considered. Arbousset visited London in 1866 to solicit contributions.

The queen's moral character during these twelve years compares favourably with that of some previous periods. There were one or two outbreaks of drunkenness; and after one of these occurrences she herself wrote asking to be excluded from the church on the above ground.

Davies, who, though not one of the Duff company, had reached Tahiti in the Royal Admiral in 1801, and had spent fifty-four years in the work, died at Papara.

[1] Frequently the governor and the chief officials, when on their official visitation and duties, would select the most intelligent girls, often the children of Christian parents, as their companions in debauchery, and in this way so much harm was done that at one time marriage among the natives almost ceased. At the same time it is only fair to admit that other Europeans acted in the same disgraceful manner.

August 19, 1855. In his last days he used to be carried, blind and lame, into the chapel, over which a native pastor had been appointed to preside, and 'encouraged and exhorted the brethren.' The valuable services he had been enabled to render the mission have been chronicled in the previous chapters.

During the time Morris was in sole charge, 1863–1868, the Directors appear to have attempted little or nothing to secure, through the medium of the British Government, a more equitable management of affairs in Tahiti. The feeling was strong at home that all hope of really useful work in the island was over. This was reinforced by the view that there were still multitudes of islands in the Pacific to which the 'glad tidings' had never yet been sent, and that these had a prior claim now upon the zeal and the funds of the Society. But the complete severance did not come for many years.

On the removal of Mr. George Morris from the island in 1868, he was succeeded by Mr. J. L. Green, who had been resident missionary for some years at Tahaa. The letters of this period possess little general interest, and deal mainly with financial matters and suggestions to the Directors as to carrying on the work. Harassing restrictions on Mr. Green's ministerial labours were occasionally relaxed, and he was enabled in various ways, in co-operation with the French Protestant missionaries, to extend and strengthen the cause of religion. In 1872 he obtained the consent of the Government to conduct a preacher's class, and the same year he co-operated with the French missionaries in establishing a Union of the churches, for consultation and for discipline. There was a distinct need for a movement of this kind, owing to the loose way in which some of the churches were conducted, and the drunkenness and other misconduct of some of the pastors. In 1876 the Government interfered with the work of the Synod, and forbade the circulation of a code of regulations respecting discipline.

Mr. Green was very anxious to establish a Normal

School, in order to compete with the educational efforts of the Romanists. Such a school was ultimately established in November, 1874, by the French Protestants, aided by a grant from the London Missionary Society, and with the understanding that Mr. Green should be consulted as to the general arrangements and carrying on of the school.

Mr. Green continued to sell a large number of Bibles, and for several years he was able to remit to the Bible Society over £220 a year. Even the Romanist bishop and priests were occasional purchasers of Testaments. It was not until 1889 that any Romanist version of the Scriptures existed in Tahitian, and then only the New Testament, which was printed at Nantes and which began to circulate in Tahiti at the end of 1889 or the beginning of 1890. With the aid of the Leeward Islands brethren, Mr. Green completed a further revision of the Tahitian Bible which was printed under his supervision, and issued in 1884. In that year about 4,000 copies were sold by him.

In 1877 Queen Pomare died. She was born in 1808, when Tahiti was still in heathen darkness. In 1827, on the death of her brother, she ascended the throne. She was twice married—once at the age of fourteen, in 1822; and again a few years later. But neither marriage was happy or prosperous. She resented strongly and felt very keenly the high-handed action of France. Compelled to submit, she wisely made the best of affairs which she could not mend, and the trials and sufferings of her middle life greatly purified and strengthened her character. The whole weight of her influence in later years was thrown on the side of the Bible and of Christianity. She was always friendly to the missionaries, and up to the measure of her light and opportunity she exerted herself, especially in her later years, for the well-being in all respects of her subjects. Her son, Ariiaue, succeeded her under the title of Pomare V.

A few years later, in 1886, the Directors decided finally to relinquish work in Tahiti. The reasons which led them to this step are fully set forth in the minute then adopted:—

'The Directors, having very carefully considered the claims of Tahiti on the sympathy and help of the Society, are led to the conclusion that it is no longer necessary or desirable to maintain a European missionary in that island. There are, without doubt, many reasons which point to the advisability of continuing the connexion between the Society and Tahiti by means of a resident missionary. The Society's missionary at Tahiti has been for years the minister of the small English-speaking congregation worshipping in the Bethel at that place. He has been a counsellor and friend to the native churches and their pastors in many times of difficulty, and has been enabled materially to assist them by the sale of the Scriptures and other religious publications, and also by conducting Bible classes for the benefit of all who were disposed to avail themselves of his services in this direction. It is also undoubtedly a great convenience to the missionaries in the Leeward Islands to have a friend at Tahiti who may act as their agent in the transport of goods and letters, and upon whom they can fall back for assistance in the hour of special need. On the other hand, the Directors cannot ignore the fact that since the French occupation of Tahiti the English missionary has had no official status in the island as a missionary; that the native churches are under the control of the French Government, and are subsidized with money grants by that Government, and are directed and superintended by a French Protestant missionary appointed by that Government. The education of the island is entirely conducted in the French language, and under the supervision of the officials of the French Republic; and, finally, the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society have now no fewer than three devoted and able missionaries, who, with the sanction and aid of the French Government, represent French Protestantism in Tahiti. It is with feelings of peculiar regret that the Directors contemplate the severance of the Society's connexion with the earliest of its mission stations, and one which, during the long years of its history, has passed through so many eventful and remarkable experiences. They feel, however,

that while these sentiments must ever lead the Society to look with great sympathy and interest upon the progress of Christian work in the island of Tahiti, they do not justify the continuance of the mission in an island which is Christianized, and in which the Christian work which the Society has at heart is being efficiently carried on by the representatives of a kindred society belonging to the nation which rules the island. In the face, therefore, of the numerous and pressing demands made upon the Society's power to help in islands and districts as yet un-Christianized, the path of duty seems clear.'

This decision closed a chapter in the Society's history which must ever remain among its most cherished possessions. Nothing exactly like it is to be found in any other portion of the century's story. The wonderful burst of enthusiasm out of which the mission sprang, the courageous perseverance with which those who remained faithful laboured through 'the night of toil,' the marvellous and dramatic conversion of the island, the way in which it became 'a city set on a hill' to the whole of Polynesia, the many lessons learned there in the hard school of experience, and turned to good account in many other portions of the great harvest field of the world—all give Tahiti an abiding place in the affection and the memory. If the hopeful dawn has not been followed yet by the brightest day, this is but the common experience of life. If the native church has not yet reached self-containment and self-dependence, this may be partly because we have been too impatient of results, and partly because, while civilization has blessed, it has also cursed the island. But the old superstitions are gone, and the old savagery has departed for ever. The hand of Christ has been laid upon that people. The faith and zeal and self-sacrifice of Jefferson and Nott, of Bicknell and Davies, of Thomson and Howe can never be lost. The island of so much consecrated toil and so many fervent prayers shall yet become the garden of the Lord.

Turning now to the Leeward section of the Society

Islands, comprising Huahine, Raiatea, Borabora, Tahaa, and Maupiti, we find that their history during this period runs parallel to that of Tahiti. When John Williams in 1834 returned to England, he left behind him two very able colleagues, Charles Barff at Huahine, and George Platt at Borabora. Mr. Loxton, appointed to take Williams' place during his absence, reached Raiatea in March, 1834, but died there July 28 of the same year, while James Smith, appointed to Tahaa, reached Raiatea in 1831, and went to Tahaa in January, 1833. After a very short stay there he relinquished work, and ceased to have any further connection with the Society.

Meanwhile drunkenness, war, and fanaticism, which had wrought so much mischief at Tahiti, greatly hindered progress in the Leeward Islands. Antinomianism was not uncommon. In 1835 a Temperance Society was formed in Borabora, and in Huahine the use of drink was abolished by law. Meanwhile in England, John Williams, by his strong personality, his powerful speaking, and the marvellous story he had to tell of the rapid introduction of Christianity into so many islands of the Hervey and Samoan groups, aroused an immense renewal of interest in and enthusiasm for Polynesian Missions. This was deepened by the publication in 1837 of his great book, *A Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands.* Towards the end of his nearly four years' stay in England, the great desire of his heart was accomplished. By public subscription £4,000 was raised for the purchase and fitting out of the first well-equipped and satisfactory mission ship, called the Camden. In this vessel, on April 11, 1838, he sailed on his return voyage to Polynesia, accompanied by a band of new missionary workers for the different groups. Of these only one reinforced the workers in the Leeward Islands, George Charter, who reached Huahine in March, 1839. He began work on Tahaa, but finding it impossible, owing to the indolence of the natives, to carry on his proper work as a schoolmaster, he removed to Raiatea. His letters home are not pleasant reading.

He and the others who had embarked on the Camden had given themselves to the work under the enthusiasm generated by Williams, and by the wondrous pictures he drew of victories achieved and victories yet to be won. The new workers whose lot fell in Samoa and in the Hervey group found that facts and their preconceived ideas agreed fairly well. But those who went to the Society Islands, for reasons with which the reader is well acquainted, found the condition of affairs widely different from their anticipations and desires. The consequence was that several of the new workers soon became very bitter against Williams, and seem to have persuaded themselves that he had intentionally deceived them. Charter affirms that the accounts of work in the islands had been highly overcoloured. Platt in April, 1840, writes that the younger workers are sadly disheartened by the contrast between London descriptions and Polynesian reality. 'You make them believe,' he says to the Directors, 'they are going to heaven; and when they arrive, instead of heaven, they find black men and fiends and barbarized missionaries, and even the devil himself not cast out.' 'It is very strange,' the same veteran writes a year later, January 9, 1841, 'that our younger brethren should manifest such an antipathy to the mission. Their minds seem deeply embittered, more especially against poor Williams. as having deceived them, when, alas! he was as much astonished as any at the change of appearances during his absence.' The truth seems to be that some of the men conveyed by the Camden to the Society Islands were lacking in stamina, in true missionary zeal, and in that devotion and whole-hearted consecration to the work which transmutes disappointment and difficulty into occasions for greater self-sacrifice and more persistent toil.

The troubles due to the action of the French at Tahiti powerfully affected the Leeward group. In 1844 Barff writes that he thinks the islands will soon be occupied by the French, unless the British Government stops them. In August, 1844, Queen Pomare took refuge at Huahine.

brought thither in an English man-of-war. Mr. Platt states that the captain, Lord George Paulet, was urged to hoist the British flag, but declined. Further difficulties were caused during 1844 and 1845 by the arrival of Mormon agents in the islands, who obtained no inconsiderable following among the natives. Early in 1845 various attempts were made to hoist the flag of the French Protectorate in the islands, but these were all strenuously resisted by the natives. The French policy was apparently to speak smooth things to the British Government, and to do through their agents exactly as they liked in the islands. 'Lord Aberdeen,' writes one missionary, 'is completely gulled if he believes the French out here will regard any of his treaties.' 'The French morals,' writes another, 'are even more to be dreaded than French guns.' In January, 1847, Queen Pomare returned to Tahiti from Raiatea; and on June 19 of the same year a treaty had been signed by France and England, guaranteeing the independence of the whole group of Leeward Islands.

This incident affords another illustration of the difficulty experienced by those at home in correctly representing affairs at the different foreign stations, unless they keep close to the words of the missionaries themselves. The *Missionary Chronicle* for August, 1847 [1], contained articles on 'The Independence of the Leeward Islands,' and 'Tahiti—Betrayal of the Patriotic Natives': the former asserts that the Leeward Islands 'will afford to the natives of Tahiti a safe asylum from the miseries of French despotism, or the corruptions of French manners'; the latter states 'the involuntary surrender of these noble and high-principled men is naturally calculated to awaken strong regret.' That the officials, in the light of the documents then in their possession and still extant, could sanction such statements, is an illustration of the practice, not confined to any one society, of occasionally issuing statements of work and policy which could well bear correction from the

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1847, p. 445.

correspondence of their agents abroad. This, it is quite needless to say, is never done from design; but the desire to set forth only the best aspect of affairs is sometimes hardly less mischievous than wilful misrepresentation. Mr. Charter, in a letter dated April 21, 1848, points out that at the worst French rule is much more just and far less oppressive to the natives than the absolute despotism of Queen Pomare; that morality, from the Christian point of view, both among many of the chiefs and common people, is so bad that no French influence could conceivably make it worse; and that so far from the leading Tahitians being 'noble and high-principled,' all who knew them agree 'that deception and covetousness are the distinguishing features in their character.' He further states that the natives often abuse the missionaries, calling them liars, and tracing to them the troubles of their land, and that the evil of publishing inaccurate statements at home is that the French and all who know the true state of the islands think that the resident missionaries *must* be responsible for such statements, and must have misinformed the Directors [1].

During 1848 and 1849 a wave of riotous indulgence passed over the islands. Tamatoa, on Raiatea, for a second time gave way to drink, though he soon after repented and was again received into church fellowship. Mr. Krause, writing from Tahaa, affirms, 'The present chiefs are the principal violators of the law,' 'all vegetables and even the bread-fruit are used for distilling'; Mr. Rodgerson from Borabora, 'The people here ought to be left for a time to feed on ashes. I fear that many of them are sermon-proof and Gospel-hardened.' In 1850 the Queen of Huahine, charged with oppression, the work chiefly of her young husband, was sent to Tahiti, and a regency set up. About the same time Pomare's husband professed to be converted, and was even being trained as a preacher. Mr. Krause, under date of Oct. 23, 1850, writes: 'It will make a shining report; the queen's husband a preacher, it

[1] At the same time all Charter's assertions must be received with caution.

may induce a number of indifferent characters to join the Church, but it will not prove a blessing. I cannot believe that the divine blessing can rest on our labours while they are too favourably represented at home. Our friends at home sing Hosanna in reading the reports of the same, while we take up the strain with *Domine, miserere*, when they come to us.'

In 1852 a revolution took place in Huahine, and the chiefs threw off allegiance to the queen, their action being accepted by the powers. In 1853 Tamatoa on Raiatea was defeated and compelled to submit. He was restored to power later, and died in 1857.

Yet, notwithstanding the various hindrances and difficulties at which we have glanced, from 1840 to 1865 affairs in the Leeward Islands went happily, and on the whole prosperously forward. This was due largely to the quality of the workers. Headed by Barff and Platt all seemed to work heartily together. Most of those who joined the mission in later years were men of much better education than many of the early missionaries. John Barff, who had laboured from 1844–1847 at Eimeo, and then on Tahiti till 1852, after a short stay at Borabora joined his father at Huahine in 1853. He visited England in 1855, and on his return in 1857 settled at Tahaa, and carried on the institution there. He died before his father in 1860, at the early age of forty. All the contemporary references to his character and labours prove that his early death was a grievous loss to the mission. From 1843 to 1850 Mr. E. R. W. Krause was stationed at Tahaa, and from 1851 to 1855 at Borabora. Alexander Chisholm was stationed first, in 1845, in Samoa; in 1847 he went to Tahiti; and in 1852 to Raiatea. There he laboured diligently till 1860, when he returned to England, where he aided in revising the Tahitian Bible, and died at Oswestry, May 29, 1862. In 1863 J. L. Green was appointed to Tahaa, labouring in that island till 1868; and George Morris to Raiatea; while J. C. Vivian carried on the mission at Raiatea from 1863 to 1874. Charles

Barff retired in 1864, after forty-eight years' service, and died at Sydney, June 23, 1866. George Platt visited England in 1856, returned to Raiatea in 1859, and died there April 4, 1865, after no less than forty-nine years of service.

As illustrations of the hopeful and successful side of mission work in the Pacific at this period we print here two contemporary documents. One is a letter from Charles Barff, dated Huahine, August 1, 1859, which, from a particular example, enables us to see what a high type of native Christian teachers has been developed. Tute has had many equals though perhaps few superiors in the wide mission field of Polynesia. A letter from his daughter, residing in Honolulu, had informed Mr. Barff of his death, and he then writes as follows :—

'When we arrived at Moorea, in 1817, Tute was among the few who had made a profession of Christianity, and put themselves under the instruction of the missionaries, and Tute was one of the most diligent and proficient in knowledge. He was a great favourite with the king, Pomare, who called him his brother. He had been adopted by Pomare's father, Vairaatoa, who had given him his English name (Captain Cook) Tute. He was a very handsome and well-formed man, about six feet high. When the missionaries separated in 1818, he accompanied those of us who came to Huahine, and was among the most diligent in attending school and all the means of grace. Tute was thought to be a truly changed character at this time, and was one of fourteen, who were selected out of near 1,000 professors as candidates for baptism, and were admitted to that ordinance, Sept. 4, 1819. It is a ground of sincere thankfulness, that twelve out of these fourteen continued steadfast and consistent Christians, some at home and some abroad. Four of them went forth among the heathen, Auna, Nurii, Tute, and Hafre, and were greatly honoured as instruments of good. In the beginning of May, 1820, a church was formed, consisting of fourteen native members and ourselves, and Tute was one of the fourteen. We

united with them in commemorating the love of Christ, in partaking together of the Lord's Supper, for the first time, on the first Sabbath in May, 1820. Tute continued to adorn his Christian profession by a consistent walk and conversation, and a diligent attendance on all the means of grace. He was exceedingly anxious after improvement in knowledge, reading, writing, arithmetic, and the meaning of the Word of God.

'In consequence of very pressing requests from the chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, and the missionaries also, Tute was chosen by the church, and sent to undertake Christian work in that group in June, 1826. The missionaries, chiefs, and native Christians received him with marked kindness and Christian love. He was under the control of the missionaries, both as a teacher in the schools, and as an evangelist. He was for a number of years chaplain to the late king, and accompanied him in his voyages, in that capacity, to other islands.

'He kept up a constant correspondence, through the missionary, with the Church of Christ in Huahine. The missionaries frequently mentioned him in their correspondence with me, and gave him an excellent character for piety, diligence, and consistency.

'Tute appears to have been a true convert to Christianity from the first, and his conduct uniformly that of a Christian, and the beneficial influence exerted by his labours and example during thirty-three years in the Sandwich Islands can only be fully known by the God of Missions.'

The other document is a letter from Mr. Chisholm to Dr. Tidman, dated Sept. 29, 1857, describing a visit paid by Mr. Charles Barff and himself to Rurutu and the other islands of the Austral group. This letter enables us to see what Polynesia would have become could it have been preserved from the vices of commerce and the evil influences of irreligious white men.

'We left Raiatea on the 23rd, that is, Mr. Barff, senior, and I, and made Rurutu on Saturday evening the 26th. We did not, however, get on shore until Sabbath morning,

which we found to be their Monday morning. They knew of our arrival from a boat that came off to us, and were all assembled on the beach to give us a most hearty welcome. One old man in particular seemed delighted above measure to see Mr. Barff again, and, laying hold of him, led him to his house with great joy. This little island is a most lovely spot, and they themselves are the best specimen of a Polynesian people I have yet seen. You cannot help fancying yourself in some pretty English village amidst its happy sunburnt rustics in a fine summer's day. What a miracle of mercy that they should so well have escaped hitherto the pollutions of Tahiti! We found eighty-six in church fellowship, and admitted twenty-four, making the present number 110. Sixty-two children were baptized, and they presented us with fifty-two dollars as a thankoffering to the Society, besides a quantity of oil and arrow-root.

'Oct. 1st. We reached Rimatara yesterday morning, and found comparatively little surf on the reef, so as to admit of landing without much difficulty; there is no proper boat harbour. Rimatara is a second edition of Rurutu condensed and improved a little. The principal settlement is a little way inland, the way to it leading through a fine shady grove. A Rarotongan teacher from Mr. Buzacott's institution has been here for upwards of twelve months, and seems to have been very useful. With their consent we have now set him apart as their pastor. There are seventy-eight church members; we baptized forty-two children.

'Monday, 5th. We spent yesterday at Tubuai; it is a larger island than either Rurutu or Rimatara, but very thinly peopled. As it is now under the Protectorate flag we doubted whether we would be received. On going on shore, however, we found the chief and people glad to see us. There is no French officer resident amongst them. They have got tired of Mormonism, and have all returned to the old fold. We had about 120 hearers and twenty-seven communicants.

'8th. We are this evening leaving Raivavai, where we

landed yesterday a little after noon. The land is higher than the other islands, and very picturesque, but there is but a very narrow strip of available land between the sea and the mountain. Although but just outside the tropics, it presents a very different aspect when compared with our intertropical isles. The vegetation is much more stunted, and the people are not, generally speaking, so good looking, although perhaps they would be fully as intelligent had they equal advantages. They were very glad to see us indeed, and very strongly requested that they might not be so long left again—it is just five years since they had a visit before.

'On the 13th we landed on Rapa, of which, if you have ever seen the Orkneys, I suppose you may form a very correct idea—immense masses of rugged rock, amongst which you can fancy vast Gothic cathedrals, lofty church spires, ruined castles and towers, &c. We found forty-eight church members amongst them, and admitted twenty-three others.

'The population of the islands we have thus visited may amount to about 1,700, though from the shortness of our time at each, and the many little things to be attended to, we could not take a correct census. We were a night at each, but cannot say that we slept a night at each, as they all seemed to think we might do very well without sleep for one night, whilst a constant succession of questions was kept up on verses and passages of Scripture which had been puzzling them for many a long day. Though comparatively few in number, they are a very interesting people; and if a cup of cold water only given to a disciple for Christ's sake shall not lose its reward, neither will the dear children of Britain lose their reward, if, from love to the Redeemer, they continue to support the John Williams, as the means of conveying to these poor islanders from time to time the life-giving streams of salvation.'

From 1867 to 1880 most of the churches appear to have been in a fairly prosperous condition, but from the latter date to the close of the mission in 1890 they were in an

unsettled state, owing to the arrival of the French to assume the Protectorate, and the struggles of the people to retain their independence, as guaranteed by the treaty of 1847. During this period there are frequent complaints from the brethren with regard to the lack of spirituality amongst the people; but their liberality in contributions to the London Missionary Society is highly spoken of. In 1882 the contributions from the islands amounted to £627 16*s*., and in 1886 to £710.

The Training Institution at Tahaa was the means of accomplishing a good work, for students were sent from time to time to New Guinea and to supply the needs of Tahiti and the neighbouring islands. When any of these died in the field others were at once ready and eager to take their places. In 1868 the supply of students exceeded the demand, and the institution, owing to Mr. Green's removal to Tahiti, was discontinued in the following year. In 1873 it was removed to Raiatea, and finally closed in 1888.

Tamatoa, the young king of Raiatea and Tahaa, was a drunkard, and acted like a madman. In May, 1871, he committed murder, and was 'judged and banished for ever.' A war then followed between the supporters of Tamatoa's daughter and those of Tahitoe, his relative. The latter being victorious, Tahitoe was proclaimed king. It is mentioned by Vivian (in May, 1872), as revealing a curious native characteristic, that immediately after the war those who had been fighting with each other were assembled in the chapel, 'holding a prayer-meeting and singing together, and thanking God for preserving them through their great trouble.'

The sudden death of Mr. Vivian, in 1874, and Mr. Saville's absence in England, left the whole of the work in the islands in the hands of Mr. Albert Pearse, who took up work in Borabora in 1870, and in 1874 removed to Raiatea. In 1876 he reported that there was a growing desire for instruction, and a constant demand for school-books and materials; and yet, in 1887, Richards says that 'the apathy of the people as regards education is the great barrier to all

progress.' Mr. Pearse devoted considerable time to the printing-press, thus helping to supply the demand for school-books, as well as issuing works of other kinds, and doing the printing that was required by Mr. Green of Tahiti.

In 1880 complications with the French recommenced, bringing much trouble to the islands, especially to Raiatea. In April, the Raiateans, through misrepresentations of the French, accepted a French Protectorate; but after British remonstrance the Protectorate flag was removed in December. In March, 1881, King Tahitoe was deposed and banished for favouring French protection, and his eldest daughter, Terii-hau-roa[1], succeeded him. Shortly after this event the French rehoisted their flag, apparently with the consent of Great Britain, pending negotiations between Great Britain and France respecting the Leeward treaty of independence of 1847. This treaty was at length abrogated, and French protection in the islands was followed, in 1888, by annexation. Mr. Richards, who reached Raiatea in 1885, and who had laboured hard to prevent the shedding of blood, died in 1888, and Mr. E. V. Cooper, who had taken up work in Huahine in 1882, was left sole missionary in the Leeward Islands. Mr. Cooper, because he tried to prevent the holding of meetings to pray for the defeat and destruction of the French, was prohibited by the queen from preaching again; but the prohibition was afterwards withdrawn. After trying again to put down the hostile prayer-meetings, he was met with a 'defiant, angry refusal,' and then resigned his charge into the hands of the church and Government, and retired to Tahiti at the close of 1889. After withdrawing from Raiatea, the London Missionary Society withdrew from the remaining islands, and in 1890 the mission was handed over to the care of the Paris Evangelical Society.

[1] She died April, 1884, and was succeeded by Tamatoa VI, who is said to have been 'spiritually-minded,' and 'one of the sincerest Christians in the island.' He abdicated rather than become the tool of the French (1888), and his regent, Tavana, succeeded, who soon accepted a French pension.

During all this period the Austral group (Raivavae, Tubuai. Rurutu, Rapa and Rimatara) were supplied by native teachers, and periodically visited by the missionaries from the Leeward Isles.

In this way and at this time, as in Tahiti, the work of the Society came to an end in the Leeward group. To these islands, as the first extension of work, the glad tidings of salvation were sent from Tahiti. Closely identified with that island in social and political relations, it was inevitable that the course of the one should influence the history of the other. So long as France respected the treaty of 1847, it was possible for the Society's missionaries to work hopefully and successfully in the group. But upon the abrogation of that treaty their withdrawal was only a matter of time. It will, however, always remain an occasion for gratitude that for three-quarters of a century good and fruitful work was there done. A mission that can point among others to such a succession of able and earnest workers as John Williams, William Ellis, Charles Barff, George Platt, John Barff, J. L. Green, W. E. Richards, A. Pearse, and A. T. Saville must leave a permanent mark upon the religious history of Polynesia. Whatever progress the Society Islands may make in coming years, under God's guidance, in civilization and in Christian life and thought, they will always remain debtors to the faithful men and women who from 1817 to 1890 both lived and taught there the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Journals; Annual Reports.]

CHAPTER X

THE HERVEY GROUP: 1835–1895

THE planting of Christianity in the Hervey Islands has been described in Chapter VI. The history of its progress and consolidation can be rapidly sketched.

1. RAROTONGA. In May, 1833, Mr. Aaron Buzacott formed the first Christian church at Avarua, the station he occupied on Rarotonga. It was composed of four men—Marau, Uriarau, Tauta, and Ma, all of whom had been cannibals and concerned in many cruel and savage deeds. These men remained steadfast, and lived truly consistent lives, one only, Ma, surviving Mr. Buzacott. One of the main objects for which John Williams went to England in 1835 was to pass through the press the Rarotongan New Testament, the work of Pitman, Buzacott, and himself. It was printed by the Bible Society, and in 1839 the Camden brought out the edition of 5,000. In the same vessel came the Rev. William Gill, appointed to work at Arorangi. The mission on Rarotonga being thus strengthened, Mr. Buzacott, in addition to the routine work of his station, set himself to the task of which he and Williams had felt so greatly the need—the establishment of a training institution for native preachers. A strong commodious building of block coral was built at the cost of Mr. Buzacott and his people. The wisdom of building well was shown by the fact that this structure survived even the awful hurricane of 1846. Begun in 1839 the institution has had a most prosperous career down to the present day. A marvellous succession of

devoted native teachers have been trained there under Buzacott, George Gill, E. Krause, James Chalmers, Wyatt Gill, and J. J. K. Hutchin. There were educated many of the men and women who won Mare and Lifu for Christ, and many of those who have toiled in faith and love—a large number giving even their lives—to evangelize New Guinea. One of the most conspicuous proofs of the reality and the power of the Gospel in Polynesia is the existence of the Training College at Rarotonga with its noble missionary record.

In 1893 the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin thus summed up the work and influence of the College:—

'In connexion with the mission at Rarotonga, an Institution for the Training of Native Teachers was founded in the year 1839, and since that year the work has been carried on up to the present time, and 490 men and women have been trained there. Pioneer teachers from Rarotonga took the Gospel to Samoa, to the Loyalty group, to the New Hebrides, and to the south-east part of New Guinea, in 1872. From 1872–91, fifty-two couples were sent to New Guinea, and of that number, up to the year 1891, seventeen men and twenty-three women died of fever; three men and three women returned home; four men and three women were killed, leaving thirty men and twenty-five women at work for Christ. Since the compilation of these statistics, several others have been called home. Ebera has lost his wife and child through the terrible New Guinea fever; and yet in his loneliness and sorrow he wrote to me the other day and said: "It is a work of joy to me to be here in New Guinea, doing the work of Christ our Master." These noble men and women are the flower of our churches; and their simple faith and whole-hearted devotion to Christ are worthy of all praise.'

The wonderful progress achieved in the course of a single generation by the natives of Rarotonga—typical of similar progress in many other islands—is powerfully set forth in the *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific*:

A narrative of the Life and Labours of the Rev. Aaron Buzacott[1].

'In 1828 the natives appeared as naked savages, the men wearing a narrow belt of cloth round the loins; the women girded with a short petticoat of tapa; on special occasions they wore large lengths of the same material twisted several times around their waists; but all children, from infancy up to ten or twelve years of age, walked about everywhere in a state of perfect nudity. In 1857, Captain Belcher, of H.M.S. Sulphur, found the chief in the market-house, "tidily dressed in European costume—cotton shirt, white trousers, and white frock coat—superintending the purchases of the captains of whalers." The women generally gird themselves with a wrapper of tapa as an inner garment, a long flowing robe is then thrown over the whole person, and a bonnet of finely wrought plait, and trimmed with gay ribbons according to fancy, completes "my lady's" toilet. The men wear coats, waistcoats, shirts, and trousers; most have coarse rush hats for daily use, and better ones for Sundays. A few may be seen wearing shoes and stockings; while all the children are decently clothed. In short, the change is almost as complete as the climate and circumstances will admit.

'In 1828 their dwellings were mere wigwams. The whole clan lived and slept under one roof, old and young, men and women, herding together on mats, without even a screen to separate them. The door, about four feet square, served also for a window. In 1857 every family had a good cottage to itself, with plenty of garden ground. The houses of the poor were made of wattle, and contained at least two rooms, and were infinitely superior to the dwellings of the chiefs in 1828. The industrious and upper classes dwelt in beautiful cool stone cottages built of block coral, each containing three or more rooms, with wooden floors and venetian windows to each room. Chairs, tables, sofas, and beds, and mats instead of carpets, constitute their furniture.

'In 1828 the natives lived upon cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit,

[1] Pp. 238-246.

bananas and taro (wild arum), with what fish they could catch. The original breed of pigs was very small, and pork was rarely tasted by the middle class, never by the poor. In 1857, cattle, a better and more prolific breed of pigs, turkeys, fowls, Muscovy ducks, sweet potatoes, beans, oranges, limes, citrons, tomatoes, turnips, loquet, custard apples, pineapples, coffee, Indian corn, carrots, cabbages, arrowroot, rice, and tapioca, had been introduced into the island.

'In 1828, none could read, though many could repeat the Tahitian alphabet. There was not one book in their language, although Mr. Williams was translating the Gospel of John, and composing a few hymns. Mr. Buzacott could muster only twelve slates for one thousand adult scholars, and fifteen hundred children. In 1857, school-books and slates could be bought by the poorest without difficulty, the whole population could read, the majority could write and do a little cyphering. Not a few knew the elements of geography, astronomy, and sacred history.

'Education has produced its usual effects among the Rarotongans. The vacant stare in some, and the ferocious countenance in others, have given way to a mild and engaging demeanour, which of course is most marked in the present generation, since they have all been trained in the mission-schools. In courtesy of spirit and dignity of manners, and delicate consideration for the feelings of others, some of the Rarotongans excel the majority of Englishmen.

'In 1828, the only law was the arbitrary will of Makea, influenced by any motive which might sway his heart, full of the violent passions which despotism and heathenism usually foster in savage natures. In 1857, two codes of laws had long been in existence—one for the natives, and another for foreigners. Makea, the most valiant and dreaded chief on the island, bowed to the majesty of law, and thus gave the people an unmistakable pledge that laws would be administered without respect of persons.

'In 1828 idolatry was abolished, and the religious

services and schools were well attended, but not one conversion had taken place, nor did any person appear to have gained any clear conception of the nature and character of the living God, of salvation by Christ, of the sin of man, and of Divine worship. The Sabbath was strictly observed, but only through a superstitious dread of the new God, and by the express orders of Makea. In 1857, the Lord's-day was cheerfully devoted to the worship of God, without any fears of sudden death, and without any penalty for breaking the Sabbath. All who were not detained at home by sickness, or by attendance upon the sick, regularly filled their seats in the house of God, and displayed an intelligent and cordial interest in all parts of the service.

'In 1828, the Rarotongans were notorious, *inter alia*, for their revengefulness. "On receiving an injury, if they could not at the moment be revenged, it would be recorded by a certain mark tatooed on the throat; and if the father died unavenged, the son would receive the mark on his throat, and thus it would go on from generation to generation, and nothing would obliterate the injury but the death of some one of the family by whom it had been inflicted. Some had two marks, others three, and some so many that their throats were covered." In contrast to this spirit and practice, let the reader recall the feelings awakened at Avarua by the tidings that their beloved friend, John Williams, had been murdered at Erromanga. Amid their tears and wailings of grief, a native student arose, and uttered these sentiments—"Oh, do not delay to send the Gospel to Erromanga. The word of God must prosper where the blood of his servant has been shed. The seed is already sown." And immediately scores of "amens" endorsed this appeal.'

During the same period a great work was accomplished in Bible translation and in the preparation of Christian literature. The language had been reduced to writing and the New Testament translated into Rarotongan when John Williams visited England in 1834. Of this, he himself translated John, Galatians, and from Hebrews to

Revelation inclusive. Buzacott translated Matthew and 1 and 2 Corinthians. The rest was the work of that ripe and accomplished scholar, Mr. C. Pitman.

'The whole of the New Testament (except two books by Rev. A. Buzacott) was translated by Williams and Pitman, the latter being responsible for its fidelity to the original. In 1828, Mr. Buzacott became the colleague of Mr. Pitman at Rarotonga. For twenty years these good men toiled day and night at the translation of the Bible out of the original tongues into a language which had never previously been written. Mr. Pitman's profound acquaintance with the Hebrew proved invaluable. For years small portions of the New Testament were circulated amongst the natives in MS., being either written on paper, or, when that ran short, on *tikoru*, i. e. white native cloth made of the inner bark of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*). The First of Peter in Rarotongan was printed at Bunaauïa on Tahiti. This was the earliest attempt at printing in the Rarotongan language. The Gospel by John and the Epistle to the Galatians were printed at Huahine. The remainder of the New Testament and most of the Old were printed and bound in numerous small volumes at Avarua on Rarotonga, by the versatile and indefatigable Mr. Buzacott. The first complete edition of the Rarotongan New Testament (every verse of which had been repeatedly compared with the Greek original) was carried through the press in England, at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, by Mr. Williams, during his visit, 1835–38. The entire cost of the 5,000 copies then printed was refunded to the Society by the ready sale of the book amongst the Hervey Islanders[1].'

The basis of all this translation work was Nott's Tahitian Bible. The Old Testament was translated into Rarotongan by Mr. Pitman and Mr. Buzacott, the first named being an exceptionally fine Hebrew scholar. Buzacott printed many of the separate books of the New Testament by means of an old wooden press which he possessed. The first *complete*

[1] *The Bible in the Western Pacific*, A. W. Murray, p. 28.

edition of the Rarotongan Bible was produced in England at the cost of the Bible Society, and seen through the press by Mr. Buzacott, 1847–51. It was revised in 1855, and again in 1872. Finally in 1888 Mr. Wyatt Gill saw through the press what will doubtless be for many years to come the standard version of the Scriptures in that language. His testimony to the value of the work in this field done by his predecessors is very strong. Writing about the 1888 revision, he says:

'If my work is a success, it is due mainly to the untiring aid of Taunga, who for considerably more than forty years has been a faithful preacher of the Word in the Western Pacific, in Samoa, and latterly in Rarotonga—the land of his birth. Taunga, the pupil and beloved friend of the late Rev. C. Pitman, is acknowledged to be the best living authority on the Rarotongan language. In 1852 I heard the Rev. W. Howe remark that the Tahitian brethren found by experience that no one could beat "Noti" (the Rev. H. Nott's version). Even so the unexpected result of the several revisions of the Rarotongan Bible has been to prove conclusively that, overlooking the serious blemish of words of foreign origin, the work of the original translators is beyond all praise for idiomatic purity, nervous strength, and beauty. And well it is for the islanders that it is so, as throughout the Eastern Pacific the various dialects are rapidly deteriorating, by admixture from various sources, native and foreign. I subjoin a single illustration of the grip which the early translators possessed of the Rarotongan language. In the edition of 1851, the phrase in Zechariah v. 3, "on the *face* of the whole earth" is correctly rendered, *i te tua enua*. The translator is compelled to reverse the figure. It is no longer "the *face*," but "the *back*," broad and strong, of the earth-parent. A subsequent editor, scandalized at the alteration of the figure, to solve the difficulty, dropped out the clause. Of course the original translation (the only possible one) is now restored.

'The original translators of the Rarotongan Bible caught the real genius of the language, and gave it a permanent

embodiment whilst it was as yet utterly untouched by outside influences. The rendering of the patriarchal portions is simply perfect, the language of the islanders being so well adapted for the purpose. Indeed, Polynesian life, at its best, is strictly patriarchal. The Gospels lend themselves very readily to translation; but in the Epistles a difficulty was evidently felt by the translators in obtaining exact equivalents for the key-notes of the Christian system. Too great praise cannot be given to the Rev. H. Nott, of Tahiti, and his coadjutors, who, in making the Tahitian translation, unconsciously fixed the theological terms for several other groups[1].'

Rarotonga has been favoured with a noble band of missionary workers and has, on the whole, been less exposed to the distracting social and political influences of European civilization than many other parts of the Pacific. Charles Pitman laboured at Ngatangiia from 1827–1855, when he retired to Sydney, where he died in 1884 at the advanced age of eighty-eight. Aaron Buzacott, a man of great energy, fine Christian character, and sound common sense, described by those who knew him best as 'the model missionary,' worked at Avarua from 1828–1857. He died at Sydney in 1864. William Gill was stationed at Arorangi from 1839 to 1852. George Gill carried on the Institution from 1857 to 1860; and Mr. Krause from 1860 to 1867. From 1867 to 1877 James Chalmers had charge of the mission, and when, in the latter year, he left for New Guinea he was succeeded by W. Wyatt Gill, who laboured there until 1883, when he retired after thirty-two years of active service. Since 1883 the mission has been under the charge of the Rev. J. J. K. Hutchin. In 1888 a British Protectorate was proclaimed over the whole Hervey group, thus effectually removing them out of the sphere and the disturbing effect of French influence.

In 1892 Miss Ardill was sent out to conduct school work in English in the island, and the last report (1895)

[1] *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, pp. 350, 351.

contains tidings of the satisfactory beginning and progress of her efforts to benefit the children. From 1821 to 1894 Rarotonga was free from all religious sectarianism. But in that year two Roman Catholic priests from Tahiti, and two members of the Seventh Day Adventists of America landed upon the island. The results of efforts like these the future alone can show. It is deplorable that while there are still so many unoccupied fields in the Pacific, Christians of whatever name or special ecclesiastical polity do not go to those who have never even heard of the Gospel, instead of introducing, as they so often do, confusion and controversy where good work has been done in the past and is still being successfully carried on.

2. MANGAIA. Until 1839 Mangaia was considered an out-station of the Tahiti Mission; but in that year it was handed over to the care of the brethren on Rarotonga. Maretu, a native of the island, who had been working under Mr. Pitman, came, in 1839, to the aid of Davida [1], taught the people in their own language, and greatly developed Christian work on the island. Mr. William Gill, while one of the resident missionaries upon Rarotonga, paid repeated visits to Mangaia, staying there at times for months together, and in 1845 his brother George Gill, twenty-one years after the landing of Davida and Tiere, became the first resident European missionary. He built substantial mission premises in the three main villages, and consolidated the work throughout the island. In 1852 the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill became his coadjutor, and the two laboured together until 1857, when George Gill removed to Rarotonga to take charge of the Training Institute there in succession to Mr. Buzacott. Wyatt Gill made a careful study of the folk-lore and traditions of the islanders.

Dr. Wyatt Gill has laid all friends of missions and all students of ethnology and folk-lore under a heavy debt of obligation by his most valuable books dealing with native

[1] See page 282.

life in Polynesia generally, but especially with the Hervey group. In the preface to *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, he says:—

'When we first settled down amongst these islanders (Mangaia) and attempted to acquire their language, I was often puzzled by references to past events, scraps of song, myths, and proverbs—the force of which depended upon an accurate acquaintance with the circumstances which originally led to their utterance. Two courses lay open to me—either to ignore their ancient religion and their undoubted history, or to study both for their own sake, and especially with a view to understand native thought and feeling. I chose the latter course. The ignorance of these islanders of the art of writing fully accounts for the absence of many really ancient compositions. It was not that they were deficient in natural ability, or in desire to perpetuate the knowledge of the remote past. Each clan, as it rose to importance, was assiduous in composing and preserving its own songs and history, but was willing enough to cast into shade those of its fallen rivals. I have been the more anxious to put these things on record, as the correct knowledge of the past is rapidly fading away, and will probably soon become extinct[1].'

Very many in number are the thrilling and instructive episodes connected with the past history of these islands, the introduction of Christianity into them, and their development under Christian teaching during the last fifty years. For the deeds and experiences connected with the beginning of Christian work, we must refer the reader to *Gems from the Coral Islands*, by the Rev. William Gill, First and Second Series. For the later development of Christianity, especially in Mangaia, and for a careful study of the history, religion, and life of the Hervey Islanders, as illustrated by their own records and legends, the reader should study the careful, scholarly, and attractive volumes of Dr. Wyatt Gill, especially *Myths and*

[1] *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, pp. 8, 9. Religious Tract Society, 1894.

Songs from the South Pacific; Life in the Southern Isles; Jottings from the Pacific; and, in many respects the most important of all, *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia.* In this book Dr. Gill writes:—

'Of the men who welcomed the first white missionary in 1845, and myself in 1852, few now survive; they were men who knew by bitter experience the cruel bondage of heathenism, and who lovingly embraced Christianity. We thank God that these worthies died as they had lived in the faith of the Gospel. Our converts do not seem to be troubled with the doubts and fears which affect the highly-cultured European. May not this be owing to the child-like nature of their faith—just taking God at His word? Amongst the excellent men whose death-beds it has been my privilege to visit I would refer to Rakoia, chief of Tamarua, who died in September, 1865, nearly eighty years of age. He was emphatically a good man, ready for every good word and work. He was never absent from his place in the adult Bible-class or in church, except when ill. During the last two years of his life he became childish; yet I could nearly always fix his attention for a few minutes by referring to the interests of his soul. The last words I heard from his lips a few days before his death were, "I am dying; but I am in God's hands. Jesus alone is the Way, the Truth, and the Life!" I bless God for the many dying testimonies I have met with among these poor natives to the power of the Gospel to take away the sting of death, and to impart in its place a bright hope of a blissful immortality. It should be remembered that these men were all warriors in heathenism, and had freely shed blood without compunction in those days of darkness. They grew up in the practice of a debasing superstition, and yet cordially embraced the teachings and moral requirements of the Gospel.'

In 1872 the Rev. G. A. Harris took charge of the mission on Mangaia. Under his care the islanders made steady progress in Christianity and civilization. In 1893 Mr. Harris retired, and in 1894 was succeeded by the Rev. J. H. Cullen,

who has since been in charge of the work on Mangaia. Incidents like the following are proofs of the good work done by the succession of faithful men who have laboured for the Gospel in the Hervey group.

'On the occasion of the visit of H.M.S. Turquoise to Rarotonga in 1880, Captain Medlycott inquired of Makea whether there had been any fighting of late years between the three different tribes in Rarotonga. The queen was surprised, and asked for an explanation. Captain Medlycott reiterated, "Have you had any fighting, say within the last ten years?" Turning to me, her uncle and spokesman said, "Tell the captain that when our fathers embraced Christianity fifty-seven years ago, we gave up fighting altogether. Should Christians fight?"'

'Numangatini, the aged king of Mangaia, once said to me when very despondent, "Missionary, don't be anxious about me. As long as I breathe I will cling to the Word of God. Until *that* was brought here, the heavens above were the only roof over me, as I hid myself night after night in the tall reeds or fern of the mountains through fear of being slain. Ere it was dark we, in those sad days, hastily despatched our evening meal, so as not to be overtaken by darkness ere a place of shelter and security had been provided for the night. On no account could I sleep in the same place two nights successively. Our wives and children alone slept in our homes, as they would not be slain. *Now* one may sleep without fear on the sandy beach, or in sequestered valley, or in one's own dwelling, and yet be unhurt. Brief were the intervals of peace; war and bloodshed the rule."

'Yet this same king, in times of peace, was so sacred that even the "lord of Mangaia" approached him, not without an offering, *on all fours!* It may not be out of place to give the story of Numangatini's installation as king (A.D. 1814). The morning star had just appeared, when the loud call *E tama*="O sir!"[1] aroused him. Coming

[1] Kings were never addressed by their proper names, but as above, *E tama!*

outside he found Tamaine and Vaipo, deputed by "the lord of Mangaia" as representing the victors. Two curiously plaited cocoa-nut leaves were placed on the ground; he was desired to plant his feet on them. His legs were then carefully anointed with scented cocoa-nut oil. Then the sacred girdle (*maro aitu*) was adjusted by them on his person. Six stout white garments (*tikoru*), beaten out from the inner bark of the *Broussonetia papyrifera*, were next placed on his shoulders. Finally these vestments were removed and hidden in a sacred cave. This was the secret ceremony. The public installation of the new king took place a day or two later. He was on this occasion formally seated by the temporal lord, in the presence of the leading underchiefs, upon "the sacred sandstone" in Rongo's *marae* on the sea-shore, facing the setting sun.

'During the many years of our close intimacy I saw very much to admire and nothing whatever to blame in the character and Christian profession of King Numangatini. He was always in his place in the house of God. Never was a ruler more sincerely lamented at his death at a very advanced age in 1878. He passed away in possession of all his faculties, and left a beautiful testimony of the power of Christianity[1].'

3. AITUTAKI. The first resident missionary was the Rev. Henry Royle, and his work upon Aitutaki is a beautiful illustration of the quiet, long, and fruitful service rendered to the cause of our common Master by men whose names are unfamiliar even to the vast majority of the supporters of the Society in whose service they toil. Some missionaries, seem by reason of almost accidental circumstances, to acquire a world-wide reputation. Others, in a quiet corner of the world's vast vineyard, labour for long years absolutely unknown beyond the sphere of their daily toil and the narrow circle of their relatives and personal friends. Yet it is more than probable that when the issues of life are estimated by the Judge

[1] *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, pp. 378, 379.

who never errs, the work accomplished by these quiet, faithful servants will be found quite as precious in His eyes as that of some who have loomed largely before the eyes of their own generation.

Henry Royle worked on quietly in the lovely little island of Aitutaki for seven and thirty years. The inhabitants were never very numerous, and in later years hardly exceeded a few hundreds. Wyatt Gill writes:—

'This beautiful and fertile island was discovered in 1789 by Captain Bligh in the Bounty, a few days before the celebrated mutiny broke out. It is hilly and park-like, and about eighteen miles in circumference, with an encircling reef extending on the south-west for seven or eight miles. There are two settlements on the island; the principal one, on the sheltered north-west side, is almost hidden among groves of orange and citrons[1].'

To this lovely but solitary islet Mr. Royle dedicated his life. So remote was it from all the frequented routes of traffic, that constantly in the annual reports this sentence occurs: 'No report has come to hand from Aitutaki.' Mr. Wyatt Gill, writing in 1862, of a visit he had paid in the John Williams, says, 'I had then the pleasure for the first time of meeting our brother, the Rev. H. Royle, although we have been labouring together in the same group for *ten years!* So few opportunities are there of meeting each other in these islands.' Mr. Royle went out in the Camden in 1838, and reached Aitutaki in 1839. At first he found the work very difficult. The natives, ignorant of his beneficent intentions, opposed him; a hurricane devastated the island; and in the midst of the distress caused by this, some of the worst natives, including two who had actually sought to destroy Mr. Royle, were converted. From this time the work steadily grew, and in the course of the next few years Mr. and Mrs. Royle, by their devoted labours, made Aitutaki the centre of most successful missionary labour. In 1846 he wrote:—

'The church in this island is the keystone to the struc-

[1] *Life in the Southern Isles*, p. 6.

ture of society. Politically free, the people enjoy liberty of speech and action to the fullest extent. The current of popular feeling is so strong against a mere profession of religion that it is hazardous for any one to assume a character which he cannot consistently sustain. The male members of the church, as Scripture Readers, visit every dwelling in the island once a fortnight. Frequently these devoted men are seen sitting beneath a palm tree, reading aloud the inspired Word to a listening throng.'

The peace and progress of the island were sadly disturbed in 1874 by the shipwrecked crew of a French whaler. The islanders had exerted themselves to save property from the wreck, and carefully guarded it. In return the Europeans gave themselves up to the most hideous debauchery and outrage, notwithstanding Mr. Royle's strenuous efforts to restrain them. The Governor of Tahiti finally sent and removed these disturbers of peace and morality. As examples of the work carried on quietly and effectively year after year in Aitutaki, and also of what Christian work would have been in many a Polynesian island could they have been kept from hostile and debasing 'civilized' influence, two pictures painted by Mr. Royle are here reproduced. The first was drawn in 1850.

'The church here is indeed "like a city set upon a hill," it is composed at present of ninety-seven male and ninety-three female communicants. Our first systematic efforts have been with reference to the young. These classes from the first formed the centre of operation, and ere long they became auxiliaries with us in our labours. Through their means intelligent adults were brought under instruction, who, on acquiring a knowledge of letters, were advanced to be teachers in our schools. These have been long superseded by a more efficient body of teachers, of whom seventy and upwards are engaged in conducting our children's schools, and fifty-six are pious and intelligent members of the Church of Christ on this island. From the same source eight others have been accepted as fitted by their piety, zeal, and intelligence for teachers among their fellow-men

in heathen lands. Five are still pursuing their studies at the Rarotongan Institution; three have already gone forth to their devoted toils—one to Manihiki, a newly discovered heathen island; another to New Hebrides; while the third, who deserves prominent mention, is Rupe, a young man who was instrumental in saving the life of Mr. Heath on the occasion of a boat accident at Aitutaki. After being very useful at Rarotonga during Mr. Buzacott's absence, he is now sustaining a devoted course of evangelical labour at Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro. Never were our schools in so prosperous a state as at present. So eager is the desire for instruction, that with a view to meet the demand, I have for two years past had an evening school, attended by about eighty young men. No testimony to the consistency of our church members—for the most part composed of young people of both sexes—can be more satisfactory than the rare occurrence of any open transgression, and the general prevalence of order and happiness throughout our little society[1].'

The second picture was drawn four years later.

'All the means of grace are invariably well attended, and on the Sabbath especially we have our chapel crowded to excess. The riveted attention, the orderly approach to, and devout return from, the courts of the Lord's house, bespeak the deep interest felt in the theme of the preacher. The church here continues to increase, and the members are evidently ripening in the graces of the Spirit, especially is their faith strong in that capital doctrine of the Bible—the great atonement. Their hopes are intelligent, practical, and influential. The love is expansive and exemplified in an ever-ready disposition to serve each other in the Lord. The institutions of the Gospel are appreciated from intelligent convictions of their Divine appointment, and their merciful adaptation to their spiritual necessities. Mrs. Royle has an adult Bible Class, conducted each Sabbath day during the intervals of service, the attendance at which averages 140. There is also a fortnightly gathering of the

[1] Annual Report, 1851, p. 36.

Christian mothers of our island to pray for their offspring. These, together with our Friday meetings, afford a rich field of productive labour; here are utterances of the deepest import, while listening to which we are frequently carried back to those times when "they that feared the Lord spake often one to another, and the Lord heard them"; and occasions have not been rare when we have been constrained to exclaim, "Surely the Lord is in this place." Only imagine a number of young men, born in heathenism, but educated under Christian influences, rising up in orderly succession to address an assembly of 800 persons, of all ages and both sexes, on religious subjects, quoting largely from the sacred Scriptures, and thus attempting with humility to ascertain the stage of progress which has been obtained in the Divine life.

'It is a matter of no ordinary gratification to me to be in receipt of very interesting communications from five dear Aitutakian youths of my own school, now engaged as evangelists among the western and eastern islands of this ocean. Rupe is at Atiu. I spent four months there in 1852, and had the pleasure of admitting ninety-five persons to church fellowship[1].'

After thirty-eight years of successful toil, with only one break—a visit to Sydney in 1864—Mr. Royle relinquished work, and retired to Sydney in April, 1876. There in 1877, on December 4, Mrs. Royle died; and on February 14, 1878, Mr. Royle passed to his rest.

For some years the island was left to the superintendence of native teachers, and in 1885 the Rev. W. N. Lawrence became the resident missionary, and was in charge of the work there at the end of 1895.

4. The other islands of the Hervey group are Atiu, Mauke, and Mitiaro. Work on Atiu, distant 120 miles from Mangaia, was begun, as described on page 259, by native teachers. The island was visited from time to time by the missionaries from Tahiti. In 1836 Papeiha was

[1] Annual Report, 1855, p. 26.

sent from Rarotonga, and remained there two or three years, instructing the people, and consolidating the work. In 1842 the Rev. E. Krause became resident missionary, but after a short stay his wife's health led to his removal to Tahaa. From that time the missionary work on the island has been in the hands of native teachers, visited occasionally by the resident missionaries on the neighbouring islands. In 1845 Mr. William Gill visited Atiu, and found that the native teacher placed there by Mr. Royle was succeeding very well. By 1846 they had built themselves a large church of tamanu, a wood which resembles mahogany.

Tapaeru, whose name is ever memorable in connexion with the introduction of Christianity into Rarotonga, about 1820, had landed on Aitutaki, and while there had a son named Rupe. When Tapaeru accompanied John Williams, Rupe remained behind with his father, a chief. In later years he came under Mr. Royle's influence, exhibited intelligence and Christian character of a high order, and was sent to Rarotonga to be trained. In 1846 he was appointed to Arorangi, and shortly afterwards to Atiu as native teacher and pastor of the church. Here he laboured for many long years, dying in 1886 at Rarotonga. Mr. Hutchin thus refers to him in his report for 1887: 'He was the first student of the Rarotongan Institution. After leaving he went to Mangaia, and then to Atiu, where he laboured many years. It did me much spiritual good to visit him in his last sickness; he was full of Christian joy and confidence; not a cloud of doubt hid the face of his Saviour from him; living or dying, he was the Lord's.'

The history of Atiu during the last fifty years has been that of many islands brought under Christian influence, but left, by necessity, largely to native teaching. All the worst features of heathenism have long disappeared. There has been a steady, if slow, progress, uplifting the people in civilization and deepening their Christian life. At times the survival of heathen superstition, drunkenness, the incapacity of the native teacher, have sorely hindered the work; but, on the whole, there has been steady growth in

the right direction. The last official (1895) reference to the island is: 'In Atiu there has been a considerable accession to the church.'

Twenty-seven miles east by north of Atiu lies the barren *atoll*[1] of Mitiaro; and fifty-five miles east by south lies the fertile islet of Mauke. In the earlier days of this century the inhabitants of these two islands were most cruelly conquered, and many of them devoured by the Atiuans under Roma-tane, the ferocious chieftain converted by John Williams in 1823. They followed Atiu in the reception of Christianity, and all through the century they have been guided by native teachers, sent in the first instance from Tahiti, and then by native pastors trained at Rarotonga. As it has been impossible to spare resident missionaries for tiny islets like these, the consequent limitations of the work have had to be borne. Mr. Lawrence, who has from time to time visited these islands, writing of their condition in 1885, describes what has been the condition of this and similar Christianized atolls for the last sixty years:—

'Our teachers have done their work conscientiously and well; they have wrought according to their ability, but we want a better class of teachers if we are to make progress. Their education is too limited; they are too near the level of their congregations. The people are growing more in intelligence than in holiness; their material prosperity is more marked than their spiritual prosperity; yet I am convinced that with all the drôss there is much fine gold[2].'

From the Hervey Islands the Gospel was carried still further to the little group, 600 miles further north, known as the Penrhyn Islands. These for the last fifty years have been out-stations of the Hervey group. Three only, Manihiki, Tongareva and Rakaanga have native pastors. Manihiki owed its first imperfect knowledge of Christianity to a Tahitian who had been educated at a mission school, and was working as sailor on a whaler. His vessel touched

[1] A coral island, consisting of a ring-shaped reef enclosing a lagoon.

[2] Annual Report, 1888, p. 219.

at Manihiki, and he deserted, relapsed into heathenism, and *then* taught the islanders what he knew about God and about 'the word and reign of Jesus, the Son of God.' In 1849, a large party of the natives left Manihiki in canoes for Rakaanga, thirty miles away. A storm swept down upon them, drowned many, a few reached Rakaanga, and the rest in one canoe were driven out to sea. After drifting about for many weeks a whaler met them, eighty miles from land, rescued fifteen men and four women who were half dead, and carried them to the Hervey Islands and landed them on Manuae, the only island which the captain could make. There an American runaway sailor was collecting cocoa-nuts and feeding pigs for the Tahiti market. The captain left these natives with him, telling him to send them to Aitutaki or Rarotonga at the first opportunity. He made them work for him, and became a kind of chief over them. This man had not wholly forgotten his Christianity—he kept a rest day, and having a Tahitian Bible, used to read it to them, with his gun in one hand, for he had not yet learned to trust them. News of them reached Aitutaki, and a deacon was appointed to go and visit them. A trading schooner offered to take him, if the natives at Aitutaki would ballast his vessel. This they did, and then the scoundrel sailed straight away to Tahiti, carrying the deacon with him. But the John Williams was there, and brought the deacon back to Rarotonga, and then went to Manuae and brought the natives of Manihiki to Aitutaki. There they stayed for a fortnight, mingling with the Christian natives, and being instructed themselves. Then with two native teachers they were taken by the John Williams back to Manihiki.

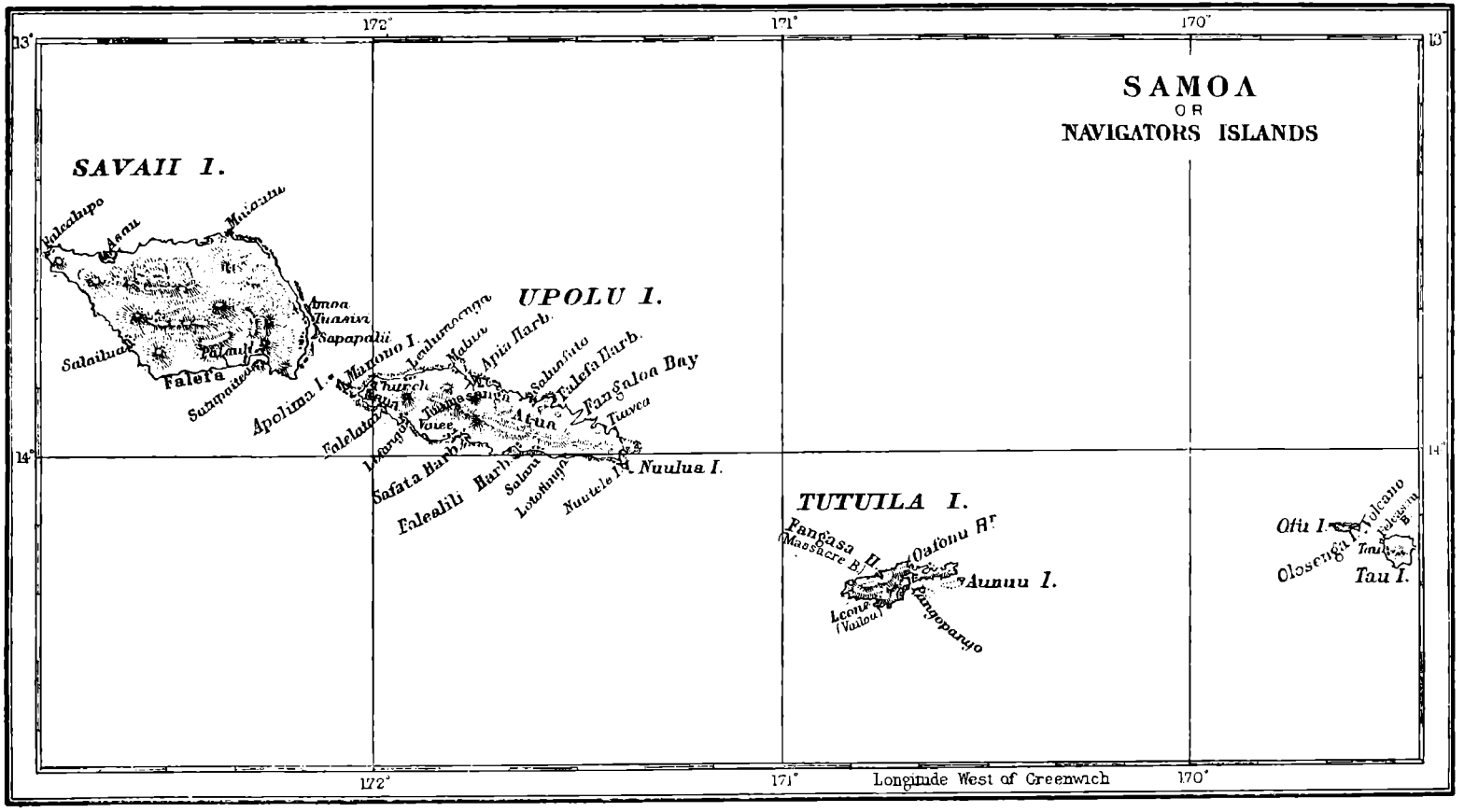
In less than twelve months after their return most of the idols were destroyed, two chapels built, and daily schools for the children were begun. When, three years later, Mr. William Gill visited them in 1852, he found 'that the greater part of the young people could read, and many of them had been taught to write.' From that time Christian work has been steadily carried on.

One hundred and forty miles north-east of Manihiki lies Tongareva or Penrhyn Island. In 1854 three teachers from the Rarotongan Institution volunteered to carry the good tidings to this remote spot. Ever since that date the work has been carried on there by native agency, the missionary ship calling once a year, and bringing a European missionary who spends a short time with the people, and exercises a general superintendence over the work.

Pukapuka, or Danger Island, to give it the more widely known name, has since 1857 been an out-station under the care of a native teacher. It was here on May 17, 1863, that the first John Williams was wrecked. In the absence of wind she was drifted upon the reef by the strong current, and dashed to pieces by the tremendous Pacific surge. Happily no lives were lost.

The Hervey Islands hold a high place in the record of Polynesian evangelization. After Tahiti and its immediate neighbours they were the first by whom the glad tidings were joyfully accepted; and by none have more intelligent, persistent, and courageous efforts been put forth to hand on to others the glorious Gospel of the kingdom.

[AUTHORITES.—Original Letters and Journals; Annual Reports; *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific*; *A Narrative of the Life and Labours of Aaron Buzacott*; *Gems from the Coral Islands*, by William Gill; *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*; *Life in the Southern Isles*; *Savage Life in Polynesia*; *Jottings from the Pacific*; *From Darkness to Light in Polynesia*, all from the pen of Dr. Wyatt Gill; and *The Bible in the Western Pacific*, by A. W. Murray.]


SAMOA
OR
NAVIGATORS ISLANDS
SAVAII I.
UPOLU I.
TUTUILA I.
Aunuu I.
Tau I.
Ofu I.
Olosenga I.
Nuulua I.
Falealili Harb.
Safata Harb.
Apia Harb.
Falefa Harb.
Fangaloa Bay
Massacre B.
Leone
Pangopango
Longitude West of Greenwich
172°
171°
170°
13°
14°

CHAPTER XI

SAMOA, 1830–1895

SAMOA is the native name of a group of volcanic islands, formerly called Navigators' Islands, lying between 13° and 15° south latitude, and 168° and 173° west longitude. The mountains of Savaii, some of which are 4,000 feet high, can be seen for fifty miles. The principal islands of the group are Savaii on the west; Upolu, ten miles distant, in the centre; and Tutuila, forty miles to the east of Upolu. They are all extremely beautiful and rich in vegetation. Upolu is almost surrounded by reefs, at distances from the shore which vary from thirty feet to four miles.

Little was known of these islands until 1830, when John Williams first landed there. In 1834 Mr. Charles Barff of Huahine came to Rarotonga in a schooner of fifty tons which he had chartered, and taking on board Mr. Buzacott, sailed away to Samoa. Their object was to prepare the way for the permanent work which the Directors had resolved to undertake in the group. The visits of John Williams, and the work of the native teachers whom he had stationed in the islands, had created in the minds of large numbers of the natives a desire for the new *lotu* or religion. So powerful had this feeling become, that various runaway sailors were induced by the chiefs to attempt the task, for which they were wholly incompetent, of teaching them the white man's religion.

'As the desire for the new *lotu* (religion) had become universal, and the natives supposed that these white men

who came from the land of the missionaries and the Bible must understand it, chapels were erected at many of the villages, and these ignorant and in many cases wicked men were requested to act as their instructors, and to conduct their worship. This some of them attempted. The poor people would meet together, and the white man would ascend the pulpit and read to them in English out of any book in his possession. The natives did not understand what was read or spoken, yet these pretenders obtained a considerable influence over part of the Samoans, and proceeded so far as to baptize, and administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on Christmas Day and Good Friday. Mr. Barff and Mr. Buzacott visited Savaii, the residence of Malietoa, under whose protection the native missionaries brought by Messrs. Williams and Barff on their first visit to these islands had been placed. Great progress had been made since that time. The teachers were now preaching to large numbers of converts. In rotation they visited all the chiefs and people on the island who professed to be willing to abandon idol-worship and the abominable customs connected therewith, and to become the worshippers of Jehovah. All the islands in this group appeared ripe unto the harvest, but the labourers were few. The resolution was formed in Mr. Buzacott's mind, that on his return to Rarotonga he would devote much more time and labour to the training of pious men and women for the work of God among the heathen[1].'

One immediate result of the visit of John Williams to England in 1834 was the dispatch in 1835 of the first party of European missionaries, six in number, to the Samoan group—Messrs. Heath, Hardie, Mills, Macdonald, Murray, and Barnden. All except the last were married, and accompanied by their wives. They took farewell of the Directors on Oct. 5, 1835, and it is pleasant to note that this was the first Board Meeting held in the new premises in Blomfield Street, which have ever since been the Society's head-quarters. Dr. Pye-Smith delivered an

[1] *Mission Life in the Islands of the Pacific*, pp. 118, 119.

address on the new building and its relation to the work; prayer was offered by G. Collison, Dr. Bennett, and T. Lewis; and John Williams gave the missionaries a valedictory address. They sailed from Gravesend in the Dunottar Castle on Nov. 7, 1835, and reached Rarotonga in May, 1836. By the request of the Directors, Messrs. Barff and Buzacott accompanied these workers to Samoa and settled them in their new homes. On reaching Tutuila they secured as interpreter Teava, a Rarotongan teacher, who had been working in the islands for some years. and stationed Mr. and Mrs. Murray at Pangopango, and Mr. Barnden at Leone on Tutuila; and then proceeded to Upolu. Apia was reached on June 7, 1836, and here they found Mr. Platt from Raiatea, and Samuel Wilson, son of C. Wilson of Tahiti, who at the request of the Directors had visited Samoa to prepare the way for the permanent workers, and who had been actively engaged in this service since September, 1835. Mr. Platt soon returned to Raiatea; and in 1839 Mr. Wilson left the Society. At Apia the principal chiefs assembled and pledged themselves to protect the missionaries and their property, and to regard them as neutrals in time of war, to be respected equally by both parties. Mr. and Mrs. Mills made Apia their home, and Mr. and Mrs. Heath went to Manono. Savaii was next visited, Mr. Hardie being stationed at Sapapalii. Mr. Macdonald, who had remained in Rarotonga, reached Savaii in April, and settled at Safune in August, 1837. All these missionaries were plunged at once into hard and congenial labour. The natives were eager to be taught, and it was computed that by 1838 not less than 23,000 were under instruction.

It was not to be supposed that John Williams would forget his children in the faith at Samoa, and among the band of missionaries conveyed in the Camden, which reached Tutuila in November, 1838, were three for Samoa —Mr. Day, who settled at Falefa in Upolu; Mr. J. B. Stair, a printer, who set up his press at Falelatai, Upolu; and Mr. E. Buchanan, a normal schoolmaster, who began

work at Falealili. Christian churches were soon organized in the group: at Sapapalii in 1837, on Manono and Upolu in 1838, and on Tutuila in 1839.

While the Camden went on to the Hervey and the Society Islands, Mrs. Williams resided at Fasitootai, carrying on missionary work there. Mr. Williams returned on May 2, 1839. For the next six months he gave himself to evangelistic work in Upolu and Savaii, and in preparing for his intended voyage to the islands yet in darkness. The Camden returned from the Society Islands on October 26, bringing Mr. and Mrs. Pratt, and Mr. Harris, a gentleman who, having visited Polynesia for his health, had become so interested in mission work that he wished to devote himself entirely to it, and for this end purposed visiting England and offering his services to the Society. November 3, 1839, the last Sunday before starting on his eagerly longed-for voyage to the New Hebrides, John Williams spent with his wife at Fasitootai. As the text of his farewell address, the veteran explorer selected Acts xx. 36–38. On November 5 the Camden sailed. Mr. Williams carried with him twelve native teachers, whom he intended to land at such islands as were willing to receive them, trusting God would enable them to rival the deeds of those first landed on Samoa. On Nov. 12 the Camden touched at Rotuma, Mr. Williams thinking he might possibly find there some natives from New Caledonia or the New Hebrides whom he might induce to go with him. In this he was disappointed, and after landing two Manono men as teachers, the chief having promised to protect them, the Camden pursued her voyage westwards. On November 17 Futuna was reached, Mr. Williams landed, and one of the islanders was induced to come on board, but no teacher could be spared. The next day the Camden was off Tanna, and Mr. Williams' journal ends abruptly with the following words in his own handwriting, written probably that evening. 'This is a memorable day, a day which will be transmitted to posterity, and the record of the events which have this day transpired will exist after

those who have taken an active part in them have retired into the shades of oblivion, and the results of this day will be——' Here the active hand ceased writing, the writer little thinking that the sentence would never be finished.

Mr. Williams had a very deep sense of the importance of the work he was now trying to initiate. A landing had been made upon Tanna, November 18, the day referred to in his journal, and the natives had been very eager for barter. Three teachers, Lalolago, Salamea, and Mose, had been designated for the island. They were introduced to the chiefs, who seemed pleased on hearing that they were to stay. The teachers were left on shore for the night to see how the natives behaved. This experiment proved satisfactory, and on November 19 the Camden went on her way. The story of the next day has become one of the famous pages in missionary story. The Camden hove to off Erromanga all the night of November 19. On the morning of November 20 in Dillon's Bay, at the request of Mr. Williams, the whale boat was lowered, Captain Morgan and Mr. Cunningham with four hands going in it, together with Mr. Williams and Mr. Harris. They passed a canoe in the bay containing four natives. Their language was strange, and they were wild and shy, and Mr. Williams failed in his efforts by presents to induce them to come into his boat. The whale boat then rowed up to the head of the bay, and the natives on the shore were also shy, and beckoned to them to go away. Mr. Harris landed first, and then Mr. Williams, and although the natives were not very friendly, there was nothing to excite alarm. Shortly afterwards a sudden attack was made. Mr. Harris first fell; Mr. Williams reached the beach, but was clubbed to death under the eyes of Captain Morgan and his boat's crew, who were horrified, but powerless to aid him. The bodies were carried off by the natives and consumed.

Thus closed one of the most conspicuous missionary lives of the century, in a manner which, considered in the light of the marvellous career of John Williams, could hardly have been more fitting. Energetic, impetuous, able to gauge

affairs accurately, he had not been long on Tahiti first, and then on Raiatea before he saw what ought to be done, and set himself strenuously to do it. He was likely to be misunderstood by slower workers; and misrepresented by those who easily fall into, and willingly stay in, the well-worn grooves of action and thought. The later years of his life verified the truthfulness of his famous assertion: 'I cannot content myself within the narrow limits of a single reef.' With the Hervey and Samoan groups his name is linked for ever, and if, in the good providence of God, such a career was destined to come to an early termination, how better could he have fallen than with his heart full of love for the miserable dwellers in the islands still in the gross darkness of savagery and cruelty and debasing superstitions, and his brain ceaselessly active with schemes for their uplifting and spiritual blessing! The years of toil at Raiatea, the daring and courage of the voyage which brought Rarotonga to light, the extraordinary enthusiasm he aroused in Great Britain, the perils he had faced for so many years, were fittingly consummated when the Master let fall upon him the awful but ennobling crown of the martyr.

Samoa has exhibited few of those sensational episodes or outstanding personalities which impress the imagination and captivate the general reader. From 1835 to 1895 the record was one of diligent service, of progress often retarded, but never wholly checked, and always towards a higher level of life and practice, and of growth in religious knowledge and in civilization. The mission includes three large and several small islands, and possesses many separate stations, each of which has been served by a succession of able and consecrated workers. To give the story of this work in such detail as would do full justice to the results achieved and the men who obtained them, and at the same time to control and enchain the attention, would require a volume. Nor, on the other hand, is it possible to do full justice to the religious beliefs, the social customs, and the attractive features of character and daily life of the Samoans under both heathenism and Christianity. Our

aim must be humbler, contenting itself with giving a clear but concise sketch of the growth of Christian life and civilization; of the chief hindrances to this growth, notably the native love of warfare; and of the remarkable educational work steadily carried on in Samoa, which has resulted in missionary work of a high order in Samoa itself, in the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, Savage Island, and in New Guinea. The reader desirous of minute details, either concerning the history of the mission or the beliefs and habits and customs of Samoa, can obtain these by consulting Dr. Turner's *Nineteen Years in Polynesia* (1861), his *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before* (1884), Mr. A. W. Murray's *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia* (1876), and Mr. J. B. Stair's *Old Samoa* (1897).

By 1840 the three main islands, Upolu, Savaii, and Tutuila, had been covered with a network of mission stations. At the chief point in each district a European missionary resided, and from that centre he itinerated and sought to evangelize the different villages and groups of natives—often very numerous in his district. Preaching, education of both young and old, instruction in such of the arts and crafts of civilization as the natives could be induced to learn and the missionaries were competent to teach, and rudimentary medical practice filled, and more than filled, the busy toiler's days. The rate of Christian progress varied. In Tutuila, furthest removed from native politics and from contact with foreign vessels, it was more rapid and more abiding. In Upolu the distractions of warfare and the vices of civilization were more constant and more powerful hindrances to Christian work. But the sixty years which have passed since the mission was fairly organized, contain, when justly and wisely viewed, a marvellous record of work done in all the islands, of a whole people uplifted in the scale of civilization, of multitudes brought to a saving knowledge of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

As a good illustration—one out of many—we may select Tutuila. On July 1, 1838, Mr. A. W. Murray constituted a Christian church there by observing the Lord's Supper

with three natives—Pomare, Pita, and Fauvasa—whom he believed to have truly come under the influence of the Gospel. The first of these men in 1840 went as teacher to Tanna, and there died soon after from exposure, and from hard work for Christ's sake among those turbulent savages. Fauvasa went to New Caledonia, and after carrying on there the work of a teacher, unsuccessful through no fault of his own, returned to Tutuila, where he died a few years later. Pita went to Tanna after Pomare, his brother-in-law, had died there, was 'in perils oft,' and finally had to flee to Aneiteum. There, in 1846, it was chiefly *his* resolution which kept the teachers from abandoning the island altogether; and there he faithfully toiled till in 1860 he returned once more to Tutuila. He died in 1870.

From the date of its formation this church on Tutuila continued steadily to grow, and in 1839 a very remarkable religious awakening began among the natives at Pango-pango, the beautiful landlocked harbour on the south coast, where Mr. Murray was stationed. Much prayer had preceded this great movement, and it resulted in the conversion of a very large number of the natives. During the years 1840, 1841, and 1842 the influence of this movement was very powerful, and its impress has remained upon the subsequent life of the island.

In 1843 the missionaries were distributed through the group as follows. On Savaii: at Sapapalii Mr. Charles Hardie, at Palauli Mr. A. Macdonald, at Salailua Mr. Chisholm, at Matautu Mr. George Pratt, at Falealupo Mr. George Drummond. On Upolu: at Apia Mr. W. Mills, at Sagana Mr. W. Day, at Lepa Mr. Harbutt, at Leulumoenga Mr. Stair the printer, and in the same district Mr. Nisbet, at Vaiee Mr. Turner. The last two had been compelled to relinquish the attempt to found a mission in the New Hebrides, on the island of Tanna. On Manono: Mr. Heath. On Tutuila: Mr. Murray and Mr. Bullen. Manua, the little group of three islands, the most easterly of Samoa, was under the charge of a European named

Matthew Hunkin, a very useful worker, but not on the Society's regular staff. Not unfrequently in different parts of the world valuable service has been rendered by Europeans who have been converted by, or who have received benefit from, the Society's missionaries; or who, resident in those regions, have been constrained to give time and labour to the service of their fellow-men.

During the year these brethren laboured at their respective stations. Twice every twelve months they gathered together, usually at Apia, for conference and for consultation upon matters affecting the mission as a whole. Upon the recommendations of this General or District Committee the action of the Directors in London was usually based.

The chief hindrance in Samoa to the progress of the Gospel, apart from those common to the hearts of all men, savage and civilized, has been the native practice and love of warfare. Inter-tribal wars were almost incessant in heathen days, and even Christianity has only partially succeeded in restraining the excesses and the frequency of these conflicts. In 1848 a civil war broke out which lasted seven years. It gradually drew into its whirlpool the greater part of Upolu and Savaii. This not only tended to revivify heathenism, but also drew back into savagery some of those who had become Christians, and threw great obstacles in the way of all missionary work.

At the conclusion of this struggle peace was maintained for a few years. Mission work went steadily forward, and as Christianity strengthened its hold upon the people, here, as elsewhere in the Pacific, commerce followed the Gospel. Apia, which in 1830 was without a single European resident, had by 1870 become a considerable port, and was in 1895 one of the chief trading stations in Polynesia. Here as elsewhere, to the reproach of civilization, this closer contact with the outside world has tended to make missionary work more difficult. In 1869 war broke out afresh. Shortly after the termination of the earlier struggles, Malietoa, King of Tuamasanga, died, and the chiefs, upon

whose votes the choice of a successor depended, were divided between Malietoa's brother, Pe'a, and his son, Laupepa. Finally it was decided to allow both to use the title Malietoa, and under these conditions Samoa was governed until early in 1868. Meanwhile a code of laws had been adopted, a parliament established, commerce had increased, and Apia had become so largely the centre of trade and European influence that the seat of native government was transferred thither from Malie, the ancient residence of the Malietoa dynasty.

Soon after this transference Pe'a was deposed, and Laupepa proclaimed the *one* Malietoa and King of Tuamasanga. Pe'a with his adherents took up his residence at Mulinuu, on the west side of Apia Bay, and there gradually his adherents from Manono and three districts of Savaii congregated. The leading men of Atua and Aana came together nominally to mediate, but in reality to establish a new government for the whole of Upolu, Manono, and Savaii. Laupepa's party urged delay, and a future meeting of all the states to consider the question of a union. Finally Manono, Savaii, with Atua and Aana formed a union of seven states, and ignoring Laupepa, began a new government at Mulinuu. Laupepa at once drove the union party out of Mulinuu. The result was war, and Laupepa's party were in March, 1869, beaten. They fled, some to Tuamasanga and some to Aana, fifteen miles west of Apia. The decisive engagement was fought on a Sunday, the first instance of a battle on that day since the introduction of Christianity. The struggle which ensued went against the unionist party, and in August, 1870, a successful attempt at mediation was made by the missionaries. Messrs. Murray, Powell, Whitmee, and W. G. Lawes of the London Society; Messrs. Brown and Wallis of the Wesleyan Society; Captain Fowler of the John Williams, J. C. Williams, son of John Williams, British Consul in Samoa, and Mr. George Pritchard, son of the old missionary of that name, met the chiefs of both parties. This attempt, though partially successful, did not put a stop to hostilities, and it

was not until May, 1873, that peace was restored, and then only for a time.

Of these inter-tribal wars no less than ten, according to the native reckoning, have taken place since 1830. During that long period no one chief has succeeded in obtaining and wielding supreme power in the islands. The clan feeling and the peculiarities of Samoan clan life tend to render peace and security much less stable than is consistent with steady progress. Since 1880 three of the great powers, England, Germany, and the United States, have taken an ever-increasing interest in Samoan affairs, and exerted more and more influence upon them. They have supported Malietoa, and yet even their support has not so far done much to diminish civil strife. In August, 1887, the German Government deposed Malietoa, having demanded from him a fine of $13,000 as compensation for some alleged thieving by the natives from German subjects. He was transported to the Cameroons in Africa, and there kept in exile. A renewed outbreak of civil war followed. Unwillingness on the part of other great powers to allow any one nation to become dominant in the islands led to negotiations, which resulted in the signing at Berlin in June, 1888, of a convention by which Germany, England, and the United States bound themselves to preserve the autonomy of Samoa, and to combine their influence for the establishment of good and stable government. On April 28, 1890, the convention was accepted by Malietoa, who had previously been restored to Samoa. The conflict, so far as the natives were concerned, had been embittered by the fact that while Malietoa had been a constant adherent of the Society, his great rival, Mataafa, had embraced Roman Catholicism. Even this convention has not been sufficient to put an end to the native wars. In 1894 the islands were again embroiled in civil war, in which some of the worst features of heathenism reappeared. Yet the opinion of so competent an observer as the Rev. J. E. Newell is that 'the whole of the ten wars which have proved so great a hindrance to the progress of Christian intelligence and

Christian life have probably not resulted in the bloodshed and cruelty which characterized the great war of vengeance and extermination which was raging in the district of Aana when John Williams first arrived in Samoa[1].'

Whenever that glad event for Samoa comes to pass—the establishment of a stable government securely based upon the support of the vast majority of the people—the good, solid, long-sustained Christian work which has been accomplished there must bear rich fruit in the progress and development of the national life.

The all-important work of translating the Bible into Samoan was begun in 1835 by George Platt and Samuel Wilson, the latter preparing a version of the Gospel of Matthew. In 1837 2,000 copies of this Gospel were printed by Charles Barff, at Huahine, and sent to Samoa. Imperfect as it doubtless was, the aid it gave to the large band of new missionaries was of the highest possible value. This part of the work was deemed so important that in 1836, even before the first band of missionaries sent from England reached the islands, the New Testament had been apportioned among them for translation. An abridgement of the Gospels and Acts called 'A New Testament Scripture History,' was prepared and printed at Rarotonga.

Mr. Stair was compelled to leave Samoa through the failure of his health in 1845. But he finally settled in Victoria, and for nearly fifty years was a minister of the Episcopal Church in that colony. Only a few months before his death, in 1898, he sent to the author the following account of the mission press which he established at Falelatai, and over which he skilfully presided for seven years:—

'Although the Camden reached Samoa on Nov. 27, 1838, it was several months before the press and printing material reached us from Sydney, where it had been detained for the return voyage of the Camden. At length, when all was ready, and the printing office floored and put in order for its reception in May, 1839, the entire plant was brought

[1] *Founders' Week Convention Report*, p. 43.



A. W. Murray
(Samoa)



Thomas Powell
(Samoa)



George Pratt
(Samoa)



Captain Morgan
(The Camden)



Ruatoka
(New Guinea)

safely to Falelatai, Captain Morgan himself coming in charge of the precious cargo, and landing the whole safely to our great joy and thankfulness. The whole settlement rang with shouts and songs of welcome from the natives as they bore aloft on their shoulders the heavy packages of material, and the strongly bound massive iron framework of the Albion press itself.

'Two young Samoan lads, who had gone to Sydney in a whaler, returned with us to Samoa in the Camden, on her first voyage, as part of the crew. I engaged them as servants and assistants in the office, where they proved of great value, and formed the nucleus of my first printing staff. Others gathered around me, so that I quickly formed an efficient staff of native assistants. Every day, as the work progressed, the few natives who were privileged to attend and watch our progress looked on with interest and surprise at the different operations, making many comments, and waiting eagerly for the time when the *lomi tusi*, or "book presser," should begin work. The distribution of the type in the cases in the usual irregular manner, at first greatly puzzled them, and when the *pae-tusi*, or placing the separate types in the composing stick, commenced, when the lines were adjusted, and paragraphs and columns formed, their astonishment and delight was great. But even this was exceeded as the different pages were arranged, and the whole adjusted and made secure in the "forme." Their astonishment still more increased when the first sheet was printed and the press "proof" produced on July 18, 1839, and the actual work of the *lomi tusi* begun.

'The news soon spread, and crowds came to see the wonder. When the native lads became more skilful, and able to work the press themselves, it was an amusing scene to look upon them, surrounded by a number of their countrymen and countrywomen, keenly watching them and cheering them with frequent expressions of delight. Some looked on in wonder, with eyes and mouth open; others gazed in silent astonishment, whilst many showed

their pleasure and approval by such expressions as *tama popoto, e, tama popoto, e* (clever boys, Oh! clever boys), the girls especially being loud in their praises of the skill of the workmen, who in return redoubled their efforts to please. Everything about the press was carefully examined and scrutinized, its marvels dilated upon, and its importance gladly recognized. Its doings were talked of far and near. Boat and canoe songs were composed in its honour, and in after years, as the different portions of the Scriptures were issued from the press, it became known by the appropriate and significant title of "The Spring from whence the Word of God flows throughout Samoa, in its length and breadth," and was valued accordingly.

'Although the press had been waited for so long, when it did actually come there was a great dearth of copy, no one portion of the Scriptures being ready to send to the press. Much of the New Testament had been translated and revised, but even after many careful revisions, it was felt by the missionaries that still further careful and anxious thought was essential to ensure accuracy in the sacred Scriptures. The delay was much regretted, but it was felt better to go slowly than to issue an imperfect translation. And no one, cognizant of the difficulties of the language, will question the wisdom of this decision.

'In the absence of any portion of the sacred Scriptures other useful booklets were prepared and published. The first booklet issued from the Samoan Press was an edition of 5,000 of *O le Tala i Lotu eseese*, or *A Talk about different Religions*, a short treatise, designed to give help to the Samoans in their troubles and perplexities, caused by the contentions of the different religious bodies, and the confusions arising out of this unfortunate invasion of previous unity and peace. The Samoan Christians gladly welcomed the little pamphlet.

'This was followed by the first number of a useful little magazine, *O le Sulu Samoa*, or *The Samoan Torch*, which was published in 1839 and continued ever since. A very useful little book was printed in 1840, entitled *The History*

of Jesus and his Apostles, which was eagerly sought after and diligently read by the natives throughout the Islands. This indeed was the case with all the books and publications issued from the Samoan Press during the years I had charge of it. When I left the Islands, at the close of 1845, there had been issued from the Samoan Press "79,000 copies of the principal portions of the New Testament, with numerous other publications such as Hymn Books, Catechisms, Spelling Books, A Life of Christ, Sermons, &c., amounting together to 7,721,000 pages of useful reading matter, which were scattered throughout the different Islands."

'The first portion of the sacred Scriptures that issued from the Samoan Press was the Gospel of St. John, of which 5,000 copies were printed in 1841. This was followed by 10,000 copies each of St. Mark, St. Luke. The Acts, Romans, 1st Corinthians, and Galatians, with 6,000 copies of 2nd Corinthians, 1st and 2nd Thessalonians, and Revelations.

'After my return to England (in 1849) the British and Foreign Bible Society printed a later and more fully revised edition of the whole New Testament, which I had the great pleasure of supervising and carrying through the press.'

The 15,000 copies of which this edition consisted were invoiced to the mission at £1,388 13*s.* 6*d.* The whole of this sum was in due time remitted to the Bible Society from the proceeds of sales to the natives.

The version of the Old Testament was completed in 1855. Hardly had it been finished when Mr. Nisbet and Mr. George Pratt were appointed to superintend a thorough and complete revision of the whole Samoan Bible. Dr. Turner, while in England in 1860, saw this edition through the press, and the Bible Society printed 10,000 copies. These were sold at seven or nine shillings a copy, the more expensive books being bound in calf. By 1867 these were all sold, and the Bible Society was asked to prepare and stereotype a new edition. In view of this a second

careful revision was made by Mr. Pratt and Mr. Murray; Dr. Turner and the Rev. S. J. Whitmee acting as referees in matters of difficulty. This revision was completed in 1870. Meanwhile the Bible Society had printed a large type edition of the New Testament and the Psalms. Two other large editions of the whole Bible have also been issued; and in 1886 20,000 copies of a small handy edition were printed. All of these editions have been readily purchased by the Samoan people.

While many willingly and lovingly contributed their share of toil in the Samoan translation of the Scriptures, to Mr. George Pratt belonged the chief honour, and to his remarkable linguistic skill and diligent scholarship much of its great excellence was due. Mr. Pratt reached Samoa in 1838, laboured there for forty-one years, and died at Sydney in 1894. Mr. S. J. Whitmee, an old colleague and friend, and one most competent to form a judgment, thus wrote of him: 'Mr. Pratt was a specialist. He was a born linguist, and he faithfully used and cultivated his special talent in the service of Christ. To him, more than to any other person, although several rendered efficient aid, the excellence of the Samoan version of the Scriptures is due. I think I may say he did more than all the rest put together. The translation, and then the revision of the Samoan Bible, was the great work of his life. To this he devoted almost daily attention for many years, with the result that the Samoans have a Bible which, as a classic, is, and will be to them, very much what the Authorized Version has been in England. His Hebrew Old Testament and his Greek New Testament were among his most cherished companions, whether he was at home or travelling. He had also a very perfect knowledge of the Samoan language, and spoke it like one of the natives of a generation now passed away, before the language had suffered from modern corruptions. He was so familiar with the classic traditions of the people, and could illustrate and give points to his speech by such telling references and allusions, that it was always a treat to the natives to hear

Palati speak. He had no uninterested hearers. He accordingly had little patience with missionaries who were contented with an imperfect knowledge of the language of the people to whom they preached, or who were given to careless speech[1].'

Samoa is famous among nineteenth-century missions for educational work. The strong band of English missionaries who settled there in 1836 and 1837, and who were instrumental in the rapid and complete overthrow of heathenism, so far as the most degrading and objectionable features were concerned, early recognized the pressing need for a thoroughly educated and trained native ministry. Out of this conviction sprang in 1844 the remarkable Malua Institution. In March, 1844, a general meeting of the missionaries decided to set apart Mr. Hardie and Mr. Turner for this work. The spot chosen was the important district of Malua, on the north-west coast of Upolu, about twelve or fifteen miles west of Apia. The chiefs were all eager to secure the institution, and offered the needful land free of charge. But the missionaries determined to keep clear of subsequent possible land complications and disputes, and chose a site in the bush, remote from any native settlement. Twenty-five acres were first purchased with calico and hardware, and subsequently twenty-five more were added. The total cost was £28 3*s.* 11*d.*, or about 11*s.* per acre. Upon this land the buildings intended for the use of the students were constructed and arranged round three sides of a parallelogram. They were substantially built, and consisted of a class-room, sixty feet by thirty, and ultimately of twenty-two cottages, each thirty-two feet by sixteen. Two houses adjoining were also built for the tutors. All the labour necessary was duly paid for, the total expenditure on this head amounting in fifteen years to £570, or an annual expense of only £38. The fifty acres were also soon stocked by the labour of the students with large quantities of bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and each student has

[1] The *Chronicle*, 1895, p. 5.

a plot of land containing some of these trees, which he cultivates, and upon their produce he partly lives. He has also a plantation for yams, taro, and bananas which he tills. When he leaves, these become the property and the care of his successor. With limitations he is allowed to sell surplus produce, and thus, with a gift of clothing from the institution, he is able to supply all his needs and to support himself without any aid from his friends. In this way also from the first, by the agricultural and manual labour of the students, the institution has been able to pay the bulk of the working expenses, exclusive of superintendents' salaries.

Unlike most colleges, marriage was a distinct qualification for admission. The wife thus derived great benefit and received training which she could not possibly get elsewhere. The children also had a special school for their benefit.

In the first year work began with a mixed class numbering twenty-five, varying in age from ten to twenty. In the second year a new class was formed numbering twenty-one, and consisting of young men, carefully selected, from different parts of the islands. The course was fixed at four years, and from the first the supply of students has always been more than equal to the capabilities of the institution.

At the end of the first twenty-five years, in 1869, Dr. Turner sent home a valuable and instructive Report on the work of the institution. The work of the twenty-fifth year had embraced among other subjects the exposition of the Psalms, Galatians, and part of the Gospel of Mark; Scripture history from Elisha to Jeremiah; a weekly class had been held on pastoral theology; writing, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, natural history, English, and drawing had all received attention. From Mr. Whitmee also the students had received several courses of lectures. The Report continues:—

'During the twenty-five years we have enrolled among the members of the institution 543 men, 395 women, and

205 boys—in all 1143. Many of these 205 boys are dead. Numbers of them have taken influential positions as heads of families, local councillors, and chiefs. One of them is the present young Malietoa, whose good behaviour is the reason alleged by many for wishing him to be king of the Tuamasanga. Twenty-four are teachers in various parts of the group. Of the 543 men many are dead. Numbers were from other islands, and after a time were taken back in the John Williams to Savage Island, Tokelau, Aneiteum, Tanna, Vate, Erromanga, Maré, and Lifu. 177 are native agents, and 76 have retired from active service, but still aid the village teacher, and occasionally preach, making a total of 253 more or less in actual service.'

In 1872 Dr. Turner visited England, and in his speech at Exeter Hall, on the occasion of the Society's anniversary that year, he emphasized the great and ever-increasing importance of this native training and educational work. He said—

'We own by purchase in the name of the London Missionary Society about 120 acres of land, bushland, which we have brought under cultivation. It is divided into little plots; each student has his plot of ground, and there he plants his yams and bananas; he has a lagoon in front of him where he can fish; and without interfering with the time of these young men more than is absolutely necessary for the good of their health, we simply keep them to their agricultural and fishing habits for an hour or two every day, and in this way they provide all that is necessary for the wants of their table from day to day and from year to year, saving us a good deal of trouble and expense—at least £1,000 a year. We keep these young men in the institution for a course of four years' instruction, and for the last twelve years we have had a very stringent law on this matter; we do not allow a student to leave until he has completed the four years' course. During that time they get about 1,200 consecutive portions of Scripture exposition, the notes of which, carefully prepared by their tutors, they keep. They have a course of lectures on

systematic theology, on church history, and on Scripture history; and their attention is turned, of course, to the elements of natural philosophy, natural history, and other branches of useful instruction. When their course is completed, they go to some village to which they have been called, and there they preach the Gospel, conduct schools and Bible-classes, visit the sick, baptize the children of church-members, and in many instances administer the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. In this way we are gradually transferring to these native ministers the entire responsibilities of the pastorate—for the last sixteen years the villages in Samoa have supported their native ministers. I have summed up the amount contributed to the Society during the ten years before I came home, and found it amounted to £10,715, a steady average of £1,000 a year; and all from the children of the men about whom the unfortunate La Perouse recorded in his journal, as he sailed away from the massacre of his men in 1787: "I willingly abandon to others the care of writing an uninteresting history of such barbarous nations; a stay of twenty-four hours, and the relation of our misfortune, sufficed to show their atrocious manners."'

Mr. Hardie retired in 1854 and Mr. A. W. Murray took his place at Malua, but relinquished it for Apia, in 1856. In January, 1859, Mr. G. Stallworthy who had spent 1834 to 1841 working in the Marquesas, removed from Falealili, his station since 1844, and came to Malua to take charge of the institution during Mr. Turner's absence in England on furlough. But after only a few months' labour there he died on November 7, 1859, to the great regret of all his colleagues, and to the great loss of the mission. Mr. Stallworthy's place was taken by Mr. Henry Nisbet, Mr. Turner's former colleague on Tanna in 1842. Mrs. Nisbet was a daughter of Mr. Crook, the Tahiti missionary. Mr. Nisbet began work at Malua in December, 1859, removing thither from Sapapalii on Savaii, which station he had occupied since 1850. He was in sole charge of the institution until Dr. Turner's return to Samoa in November,

1863. From May, 1862, when Mr. Ella left Samoa, Mr. Nisbet had also directed all the work of the mission press. During Mr. Turner's sojourn in Great Britain in 1861, the University of Glasgow conferred upon him the degree of LL.D. Until June, 1867, Dr. Turner and Mr. Nisbet jointly managed the Malua Institution ; the latter visiting Australia in 1867, England in 1868. In 1870 Mr. Nisbet also received the degree of LL.D. from the University of Glasgow. Dr. Nisbet died at Malua, May 9, 1876. In 1878 Mr. John Marriott was appointed to succeed him as joint-tutor with Dr. Turner, and in 1882 failing health compelled the latter to retire from the active missionary work in which he had spent forty-two years of strenuous, varied, and most fruitful labour. Mr. Marriott was in 1896 the senior tutor at Malua, having as his colleague the Rev. J. E. Newell.

This famous and most useful missionary educational institution celebrated its jubilee on September 26 and 27, 1894. At that time war was raging, and the king, who in his youth had been a boarder in the Boys' School, and whose reminiscences would have been deeply interesting, wrote that he deemed it prudent to exercise self-denial and refrain from attending. The assembly on September 26 was 'the largest and most picturesque remembered in Samoan history.' All the scholars of the Girls' Central High School, Papauta, the Boys' High School, Leulumoenga, and of the boarding schools were present in festive dress. Surrounding these were former students, pastors in active service, retired pastors, native missionaries from the out-stations home on furlough, and then the present students, 106 in number, with twenty-eight boy boarders, and the wives and families of forty married students. The Rev. John Marriott, senior tutor, reviewed the wonderful past of the institution. There had passed through its training during the half-century 1048 students and 333 boy boarders. Among the Samoan speakers were two, of whom one had helped to clear the site in 1844, he then being a boarder in Mr. Harbutt's school, while the

other was able to describe the life and habits of the islands prior to 1830. Many meetings were held, and many addresses were delivered by missionaries, native pastors, and former students. The last was a stirring address by a native pastor from Vaitupu in the Ellice group, to whose heart the Gospel message had been brought by a Samoan, and whose earnest appeals were rendered all the more powerful by the fact that he was himself a trophy of the Malua Institution.

In addition to the Malua Institution, much educational work of different kinds has been accomplished in Samoa. At every mission station, whether superintended by a missionary or entrusted to native agency, the need for training the children has never been allowed to drop out of sight, and in many cases it has been prosecuted with both vigour and success. Elementary schools have been held in all villages where there was a native church. They met about six times; that is, twice a day for three days a week. An English missionary annually examined the scholars on the five great subjects—reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and Scripture history—prizes being awarded for special proficiency. In certain districts—Malua, Aana, Tuasivi, and Matautu—higher grade schools have been founded, in which boys selected for their ability and promise of future usefulness were carefully trained. They boarded in the pastors' houses, except at Malua, where the higher grade school is an integral part of the settlement, and their studies were superintended by a missionary. Strenuous efforts have also been made through higher grade schools to teach large numbers of the natives English.

Educational work has thus been largely developed in recent years. A school for whites, half-castes, and better-class natives resident at Apia was begun there by the residents, and called the Apia Protestant School. In 1890 it had 103 children in attendance: thirty-three of English parentage, twenty-nine of American, ten of German, four of other nations, and twenty-seven of Samoan. The Society, at the request of those most closely concerned,

took over this school, and in 1891 Miss Large took charge of it until her removal to Rarotonga in 1894.

Mr. Hills in 1887 took charge at Apia of a Normal Training and High School for Samoan youths. The importance of this higher education cannot be over-estimated. In this school the future chiefs and rulers of Samoa are being trained. Here boys are prepared to enter the Malua Institution, and here also a sound Christian instruction is given to others who will occupy positions of influence in village and political life. The natives realize the value of this higher education, and the number of candidates constantly exceeds the vacancies. In 1889 this school was removed to Leulumoenga, where it has since remained.

The Deputation in 1888 called the most earnest attention of the Directors to the need in Samoa of much more effective education for girls. In 1891 Miss Schultze and Miss Moore were appointed to this work, and it was begun upon a small scale at Malua. On August 16, 1892, the new building for what is to be known as the Central Girls' School, at Papauta, was occupied, and formally opened on August 29 by the Countess of Jersey. Miss Schultze and Miss Moore removed thither the eight girls who had been for a year and a half under their care at Malua. By 1893 the number of pupils had increased to fifty-four. At the end of 1894 there were seventy-two girls upon the books. This school marks a most important development in Samoan work. It has so far been conducted with great skill and devotion, and is full of promise for the future. The lady teachers, writing in 1895, said—

'We long to see the girls becoming earnest, active Christians, whose influence shall tell upon the whole of this people; and also sensible, capable, conscientious wives and mothers, by whom the next generation shall be trained for Christ. Many of the girls are developing into thoughtful and earnest young women, professing to have given their hearts to Jesus Christ. Many of the students in Malua are looking to Papauta school to provide them wives. This is just what we wish for, that the educated

Christian youth of both sexes should come together, and form refined Christian homes throughout Samoa.'

The clan life of Samoa modified from the first the working and development of Christianity in the islands. The unit in Samoa is the family, in which the head or chief is supreme. A group of families constitute the village. All the land is owned by these chiefs or heads, and disposed of by them, but only in consultation with the members of each family or clan. Each village community, including from 200 to 500 people, is quite self-contained, independent, and entitled to act within its own boundaries exactly as it pleases, free from all external control. Frequently, to the number of eight or ten, the villages united to form a district for mutual protection. In cases of war these groups of villages acted as a unit. The whole groups contained ten such districts[1]. When heathenism was overthrown and Christianity established in the islands, this system of government continued and was modified only very slowly. The Christian Church resembled in some of its features the old family life, and the old independent spirit was reflected in the determination of each community to be self-governing in its affairs as a church. This was, of course, modified by the respect and obedience rendered to the missionaries, but the facts of Samoa's religious history will be misinterpreted if these facts are not kept in view. Native pastors were appointed in many of the villages, and the life of the Christian Church tended to reproduce, with the native pastor or teacher as the equivalent of the old family head or chief, many of the features and qualities of the old village life. Of course, from the first, and throughout, Christianity was opposed to two of the most potent factors of the old heathen life. It always refused to give any sanction to the rank of chief simply as such. It often used the power of the chief when he was friendly to Christianity, but it refused to give him, simply as chief, any status in the church. Christianity

[1] On this very interesting subject see Dr. Turner's *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, ch. xxix, and his *Samoa*, ch. xvi.

also steadily refused to extend any countenance whatever to the frequent wars between the districts. The rapid growth and the educational efficiency of Malua also tended to develop early in the life of the mission a fine body of native home workers as well as a noble band who carried the Gospel, often by the sacrifice of their lives, to the islands still in the darkness and cruelties of heathenism.

There have been during the latter half of the century many earnest workers in Samoa. Among these special mention should be made of Thomas Powell, who, aided by his devoted wife, gave forty years of active labour in the different stations and varied services of the mission, 1845 to 1885; of S. H. Davies, who was connected with the mission for twenty-eight years, 1867 to 1895; and of men like Samuel Ella, 1848 to 1862, Joseph King, 1863 to 1872, S. J. Whitmee, 1863 to 1876, G. F. Scott, B.A., 1865 to 1873, Dr. G. A. Turner, 1868 to 1879, Charles Phillips, 1878 to 1886, W. E. Clarke, 1883 to 1895, who have all contributed to the building up of Samoan Christianity. The staff in 1895 consisted of the following missionaries:—On Upolu, the Revs. J. Marriott. J. E. Newell, W. E. Clarke, J. W. Hills, W. E. Goward, Miss Schultze and Miss Moore; on Savaii, Rev. S. H. Davies, L.R.C.S., and Rev. S. A. Beveridge; and on Tutuila, Rev. E. V. Cooper. There were then connected with the mission 142 ordained native agents, and 184 native preachers; 5,743 church members; 209 schools and 7,715 scholars; and the local contributions amounted to £3,618. When it is remembered that in 1830 the Samoans were ferocious savages these statistics become eloquent in their testimony to the extraordinary progress made in two generations.

In the year 1888 a very important Deputation was sent to Samoa by the Directors. It consisted of Mr. Albert Spicer, the treasurer of the Society; the Rev. Joseph King, missionary in Samoa from 1863 to 1872; and the Rev. A. W. Murray, who, though he had long retired from active work, gladly gave his invaluable services as interpreter. The carefully prepared report of this Deputation is full of

very valuable information, and especially upon the peculiar and characteristic features of Samoan life in relation to Christianity, and the condition and past history of the native churches. Some passages in the report of this, by far the strongest and most competent Deputation which has yet visited Samoa, throw much light upon this all-important question:—

'Church membership is open only to those who have previously belonged to a catechumen class. A candidate for church fellowship is required to attend the class for at least a year before he can be proposed for admission to the church. The question of taking away this restriction was raised by our native pastors; but the English missionaries advised its retention for a time at least, and we concurred in this advice. The usage has been in force from the beginning of the mission, and its sudden abolition would be dangerous. The superintendence of the candidates' class was handed over to the native pastors in 1875, and since then it has rested with them, and not with the English missionaries, as formerly, to decide when a candidate shall be nominated for membership. It is of the first importance that the native pastors should accustom themselves to this work, but as far as practicable it should still have a measure of supervision from the English missionaries.

'When the year of candidature has expired, the pastor submits to his deacons the names of those whom he thinks ready for admission, and with the deacons' approval he nominates them. There is a church in every village, but when the villages are small, the churches in these villages combine for the transaction of church business. Candidates are nominated at the local meeting in their own village one month, and admitted a month later at the united meeting. In large villages the church is self-contained.

'It was not satisfactory to find such a large percentage of cases—about ten per cent. per annum in the districts inquired into—coming before the meeting of the churches

for discipline. It must, however, be borne in mind that a wholly different practice obtains amongst Samoan churches from that in use in the churches of Britain, and that the circumstances of life are entirely dissimilar. In regard to the life and character of Samoans there is no secrecy; everything is known, every angry word is heard and repeated, every quarrel is talked about and becomes public knowledge. An inconsistency in a church member is observed, and, according to the usage which has been long followed, it has to be dealt with by the church. Gross inconsistencies, rightly enough, lead to expulsion; but in the past there has, we think, been too great readiness to expel for trifling causes, and we were gratified to discover amongst the missionaries and pastors a disposition to repeal some existing discipline regulations, and to avoid over-legislation in such matters. A uniform code of discipline regulations has been drawn up and endorsed by all the missionaries and pastors in confidence, and this code, printed and circulated, secures uniformity of action throughout all the churches of the group.

The conditions of Samoan life, and the infantile weaknesses of Samoan character, must be understood in order to appreciate the need for such a code. It will surprise some readers to know that one of the discipline regulations is a prohibition of cricket matches. Let the prohibition be explained. The game of cricket was introduced into Samoa only three years ago by the officers and crew of H.M.S. Diamond. Every one regarded the introduction with favour; but, within a short time, instead of keeping to the ordinary rules of cricket, matches were arranged with two hundred a side, and the play was continued during the whole day for a month at a time, to the utter neglect of home, plantations, and worship. The excitement passed beyond all reasonable control, and led to very much that was distinctly heathenish. Against such cricket it was absolutely necessary to protest in the case of church members, and the protest took the form of a recognized discipline regulation.

'Each village church is under the care of a Samoan pastor. These pastors are all trained at Malua. Considering the preparatory training necessary to reach the Malua standard, and the four years of thorough instruction which follow, it will be apparent that the Samoan churches are enjoying the advantage of an educated ministry. We use the term in its comparative sense. In knowledge, Samoan pastors stand at a higher level than the body of the people, higher even than that occupied by the chiefs and leaders of the nation. The appointment of a pastor to a native church rests with the church members, in conjunction with the chiefs of the village. They meet conjointly at the close of a service, and decide to give a call to a pastor, whose name may have been previously suggested to them by the English missionary, or of whom they may have obtained knowledge in some other way. The English missionary has no absolute authority to veto a selection; but, should he be convinced that a serious mistake has been made, he would use his normal suasion to prevent a settlement, and such an attitude on his part would be almost certain to succeed. In the case of a student from Malua settling over a church, he is not ordained until he has been acting as pastor for a year. The decision to ordain rests with the English missionary of the district, and he may withhold ordination for a lengthened period, if he deems it wise.

'For church work, Samoa is divided into several large districts, some of them extending along a coast line eighty miles in length. These large districts are again subdivided.

'The pastors of the subdivided district meet monthly. At this meeting the English missionary, should it be his home district, presides. At these meetings the pastors seek advice of each other about any question affecting their individual churches. The position of the missionary as president of this assembly gives him no more official power than is possessed by the other members of the assembly, but by his superior moral influence he does

control the discussions and determine to a large extent the resolutions. A quarterly meeting of the entire district is held, similar in its character and functions to the more local monthly meeting, with this difference, that it is only from this meeting of the whole district that resolutions can be sent to the general meeting of all Samoan pastors.

'A General Yearly Meeting is also held at which resolutions forwarded by the district assemblies are considered, and a united decision arrived at. All pastors have a right to attend this gathering, but for convenience delegates from all the districts generally constitute the meeting. The English missionaries are not present at this meeting. A joint meeting of the English missionaries with appointed delegates from the assembly of Samoan pastors is held the same day, at which the questions submitted on behalf of that assembly are considered and dealt with finally.

'The committee of English missionaries, although it forms no part of the church organization of Samoa, acts as stewards for the Board of Directors, and is responsible for all matters affecting the Society's interest and work.

'The form of church government observed in Samoa is Presbyterian rather than Congregational, with a semblance of Episcopacy in the relation of the English missionary to the native churches. The missionaries, in harmony with the broad spirit of the Society which sent them forth, have allowed to grow, unfettered by denominational tradition, a form of church organization which seemed to them best fitted to serve the conditions of society they found existing amongst these weak races. The government of the churches has naturally fallen into the hands of pastors—first, because the patriarchal instincts of the people make them more than willing to be legislated for by others; and secondly, because the higher education has been confined to the pastors. With the introduction of a more liberal secular education, this evil will be righted. While our Society gives abundant latitude to its agents to set up what form of church government may seem to

them and their people best, neither its Directors nor its supporters in these days will be satisfied to see growing within the pale of its operations a church union or assembly from which the presence of the laity is excluded. The Samoan missionaries in the field fully concurred with the Deputation that it would be wise as soon as practicable to entrust the government of the Samoan churches to the joint control of ministers and laymen. Considering the past history and the present circumstances of the mission advance in this direction must be by slow stages.

'The Samoans have been nominal Christians for more than fifty years. The time has been long enough to effect a great change, but it is unreasonable to expect from a people who had sunk so low a type of exceptional holiness, or to complain because they are not paragons of virtue and superior to the grosser forms of vice. A very great change has been wrought, and a change as great as we have any right to expect. We have met and addressed large assemblies of native Christians. We have met in conference more than two hundred native pastors. We have attended meetings at the college where more than one hundred students were present. We have had quiet talks with individuals. We have talked with missionaries and foreigners about the converts, and unhesitatingly we affirm that a great and unmistakably Christian work has been accomplished, for which the supporters of the London Missionary Society may be very thankful. Samoan Christians have not yet conquered their characteristic national and social weaknesses, but the force of new Christian principles is felt and the Divine truths of the Gospel are transforming, by a sure process, the character of the people. It is possible, we know, to throw over paganism a Christian dress without changing the old pagan heart or eradicating the pagan nature. We are persuaded that more than this has been done in Samoa. The pagan nature has, in many cases, been brought into subjection to the mind of Christ, and the subjection has advanced as rapidly as the circumstances surrounding these people

would permit. We place no limit on the power of the Spirit of God, but we do not forget that the effect of human environment is still seen in those who are manifestly the subjects of the Spirit's power.

'In spite of every alien influence, a Christian community has been gathered in the tropical islands of Samoa, and in that community many loyal and loving followers of the Lord Jesus Christ may be found—a community well acquainted with the Scriptures. Young people in Samoa are better acquainted with the Bible than the average Sunday-school scholars in England, and the Samoans' knowledge of the Bible in very many cases has changed the heart and lifted the old pagan life to the level of conscious communion with God. We have spoken of native pastors. Too much cannot be said in commendation of the faithful Christian work which many of them are doing. They are good preachers; but better than this, many of them are good men—men whose Christian character commands respect. We have been abundantly satisfied with what we have seen in Samoa, and with what we have heard of the interesting work which is being carried on through Samoan teachers in the north-west out-stations of the group.'

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Missionary Enterprises*, by John Williams; *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, and *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, by Dr. Turner; *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia*, and *Western Polynesia*, by A. W. Murray; and *Old Samoa*, by J. B. Stair.]

CHAPTER XII

EXTENSION OF WORK IN WESTERN POLYNESIA

THE success which followed the introduction of the Gospel into Samoa in 1830 sustained a strong missionary spirit, and developed it in the hearts of the European workers, also in many of the best natives. Rejoicing in their new liberty and truth, they felt that they were debtors to the many islands yet in darkness. To the New Hebrides, the Loyalty Islands, Niue or Savage Island, the Gilbert Islands, and the Ellice group they successively handed on the torch of truth. No mission field more richly abounds in episodes illustrating the courage, the devotion, and the perseverance of both European and native workers. In every case the natives led the way. In many places the pioneers sealed their witness with their lives. Wherever the blessings of Christianity were brought they came through self-sacrifice bravely endured for Christ's sake to those at first unwilling and unable to appreciate them. Romance, heroism, patient continuance in well-doing, casting bread upon the waters to be seen only after many days, and never in this life by many of the most earnest evangelists—these are the marks of the work done in the out-stations of the Samoan Mission. It would be a pleasant task to detail the inspiring episodes, the lovely Christian lives, the conquests won over the most savage heathenism, the triumphs of the Gospel in this part of Polynesia. For these the reader must consult the Reports and *Chronicle* of the Society, and such works as Mr. A. W. Murray's *Western Polynesia, The Martyrs of*

Polynesia, and *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia;* and Dr. Macfarlane's *The Story of the Lifu Mission.* We can but outline in the broadest fashion this story of splendid service.

I. THE NEW HEBRIDES. The Society has long ceased to have any direct connection with this portion of Polynesia. It is, perhaps, all the more needful to emphasize the fact that the Society's missionaries, and especially native workers trained by them, laid the foundations upon which our Presbyterian brethren from Nova Scotia and from Great Britain have since so well and so steadily built. The group early attracted John Williams and his colleagues. It consists of thirty inhabited islands, two of them with a coast line of more than 200 miles. They run north-west and south-east from Espiritu Santo in the north to Aneiteum. Those most prominent in mission story are the last named, together with Erromanga, Futuna, and Tanna.

The massacre of John Williams and Mr. Harris in 1839 summarily ended the attempt then being made to gain a footing for Christianity upon the New Hebrides. But in March, 1841, the Camden again visited them, conveying Mr. A. W. Murray in charge of a company of native teachers. Futuna was first visited, and there on March 29, 1841, two teachers were landed—Apolo from Tutuila, and Samuela from Upolu. Mr. Buzacott visited the island in the Camden in 1842, bringing to Samuela his wife and daughter. In April, 1845, Mr. Murray, accompanied by Mr. Turner, a second time visited Futuna. The long interval had been unavoidable, and in all probability nothing could have prevented the catastrophe with which they then first became acquainted. Early in 1843 an epidemic had visited the island. In accordance with the native belief, this was connected with the coming of the teachers, and the natives resolved to murder them all. Apolo and Samuela and his daughter were killed. Samuela's wife was offered her life if she would become

the wife of the leader of the band of murderers. She refused, and was also killed. The house was burnt, and one of the bodies eaten; the other two were cut up and cast into the sea, probably as an offering to the offended gods. In 1853 two teachers, natives of Aneiteum, resumed work there, but no conspicuous success was attained.

At a spot called Ipece on the beautiful island of Aneiteum, lying to the south-south-west of Futuna, Mr. Murray in March, 1841, landed two Samoans, Tavita and Fuataiese, natives of Sapapalii. The natives at first showed themselves friendly, but the work there proved both difficult and dangerous. One of the native teachers soon died, and the other returned to Samoa. Mr. Buzacott in 1842 landed two other native teachers, named Apolo and Simeona, and in 1845 Messrs. Murray and Turner found them safe and to some extent prospering. A new station was formed at Anelecauhat, where Simeona was taken from Ipece, receiving Poti as colleague, while Apaisa was left with Apolo. Though often in great danger, frequently suffering much from disease and scarcity of food, and at times on the brink of destruction, these men were enabled to hold on until the day of grace for Aneiteum came. This was on May 29, 1848, when Mr. Geddie of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia, accompanied for a time by Mr. Powell of the Society's Samoan Mission, began his splendid service for Christ in that dark seat of heathenism. The temptation to dwell upon this famous episode in modern missions must be resisted. The London Missionary Society, having prepared the way for Mr. Geddie and his colleague of a few years later, Mr. Inglis, were only too glad to welcome them, and to do all in their power to encourage and sustain them. At the same time it is but just to record the fact that, humanly speaking, but for the existence of the Samoan Mission, the support and advice rendered by the missionaries resident there, the visits of the missionary ships of the London Society, and above all the courage and consecration of the native workers trained at Raro-

tonga and Samoa, the work accomplished by Messrs. Geddie and Inglis and their colleagues and successors in the group would have been much more difficult, even if at that period not impossible. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in 1836 gave John Williams, in response to one of his powerful appeals, £300 to assist in opening up New Caledonia, the understanding being that as soon as native teachers had prepared the way, the United Presbyterian Church would send out missionaries. The knowledge of this fact led the United Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia to send Mr. Geddie to the South Seas [1].

For more than four years Mr. Geddie and his devoted wife, ably assisted by the native teachers, toiled hard in their difficult and unpromising field. During this period great progress had been made in the overthrow of cannibalism, widow-strangling, war, and other abominations of heathenism. The foundation of a Christian community had been laid, and some evidences of the renewing power of the Gospel had appeared. On July 1, 1852, Bishop Selwyn in his schooner the Border Maid, who had brought from New Zealand, where they had been at work for some years, the Rev. John Inglis and his wife, landed them on Aneiteum. Mr. Inglis belonged to the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Mr. Geddie found in the newcomer a colleague after his own heart, and for long years they were spared to labour together. How their work prospered can be estimated from Mr. Turner's description, when in the John Williams he visited the island in October, 1859, a little more than eleven years after Mr. Geddie landed:—

'The population of Aneiteum is 3,513. Hardly one can now be found who calls himself heathen. The church members number 297. The island possesses fifty-six schools, eleven chapels, and sixty native assistants. The sum raised for the Bible Society during the last two years is £60 [2].'

[1] See *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia*, A. W. Murray, pp. 240–242.

[2] *Western Polynesia*, A. W. Murray, p. 131.

Of recent years the portion of the New Hebrides Mission which has been brought prominently before the public both in Great Britain and in Australia is the island of Tanna. Here too the pioneer work done by the Society is sometimes forgotten. As early as November, 1839, three Samoan native teachers were placed on the island, this being the last missionary work done by John Williams. In April, 1840, Mr. Heath in the Camden added two other Samoans. Shortly after two of the teachers died. The natives viewed this as a sign of the gods' displeasure, and consequently neglected and refused to help the survivors. In June, 1842, Mr. Turner and Mr. Nisbet, who had been appointed to take charge of the mission, landed. For a long time all went well. Then troubles began; the natives determined to murder the missionaries, and after being in imminent peril and one ineffectual attempt to escape, the opportune arrival of a vessel brought deliverance. Mr. Turner and Mr. Nisbet with their families were conveyed to Upolu in February, 1843. In 1845 seven teachers, three Rarotongans and four Samoans, were stationed on the island; but disease again broke out among the natives, and was again attributed to the evil influence of the new teachers. One was murdered, and the rest took refuge for a time on Aneiteum. In March, 1847, by invitation of the chief at Port Resolution two teachers returned, and were soon after joined by a third. A fresh outbreak of disease again destroyed the fair hopes which for two or three years had been cherished, and again the teachers' lives were endangered. In May, 1852, a vessel from California, having small-pox on board, anchored at Port Resolution, allowed the natives to come on board freely, took no steps to prevent infection, and imparted the fell disease to the islanders. Three of the teachers died. The disease also carried off numbers of the natives, who not unnaturally traced the scourge to the whites and to strangers, and finally banished the sole surviving teacher.

In October, 1854, another attempt to gain a permanent footing on Tanna was made. The natives who had visited

Aneiteum were impressed by the progress achieved there, and promised that if teachers were once more sent to Tanna they would treat them better. Two were sent, and by 1859 eleven were at work. At the close of 1858 three missionaries from Scotland (Messrs. Paton, Copeland, and Mathieson) were stationed at Tanna; the first two at Port Resolution, the other at Juaraka. This was the beginning of the good work which, with many trials and dangers, and yet with abiding success, has since been carried on in Tanna by the Presbyterian Church.

The murder of John Williams in 1839 at Erromanga, sad and tragic as it was, did but stir the hearts of the native teachers at Rarotonga and Samoa to renewed prayer and toil for the fierce inhabitants of that island. The great pioneer fell because white men—sandal-wood traders—had for some time before his visit been guilty of crimes and excesses that were even worse than the savagery of the natives, since they were committed by men who were supposed to be both civilized and Christian. Native teachers landed on Erromanga in May, 1840, but were able to stay only a short time. In 1849 four natives of the island were induced by Mr. Murray and Mr. Hardie to go to Malua, there to be instructed and trained. They returned in 1852 in the John Williams. But one died when still two or three days' sail from Erromanga. Two Rarotongan teachers, Vaa and Akatangi, with their wives and families, were stationed on the island, and were greatly aided in their work by the three natives who had been to Malua. In 1854 Mr. Murray and Mr. Sunderland visited them, and found all going on well. On this occasion the missionaries were told by Kauiaui, the chief who had killed Mr. Williams, that his own son had been killed by the foreigners only a short time before. They succeeded in getting the club with which Mr. Williams was said to have been killed. At this time Kauiaui was eager for a Christian teacher.

In 1857 the Rev. G. N. Gordon, from Nova Scotia, with his wife, settled on Erromanga as the first resident white missionary. An outbreak of war had driven away the

teachers and their native helpers some time before. Two new teachers, Taevao and Toka, both Rarotongans, accompanied Mr. Gordon.

Work proceeded hopefully for two or three years, but in May, 1860, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon were murdered by the natives, and again work there was perforce suspended. An evil-minded but powerful native named Rangi had persuaded the natives that a deadly epidemic of measles was caused by Mr. Gordon, and this led to the murder of the missionary and his wife. Even this second tragedy was unable wholly to check the good work on Erromanga.

The visits of inspection and supervision paid by the missionaries in the John Williams led to attempts, all of which were ultimately successful, to plant Christianity on Niua, Vate, and other islands of the New Hebrides, and also upon New Caledonia and the Isle of Pines. The care of the New Hebrides was gradually entrusted, on the principle of division of labour, to the Presbyterian Church; from the other islands the missionaries of the Society were rigorously excluded by the French.

II. THE LOYALTY ISLANDS—Maré, Lifu, and Uvea. The first visit of a missionary character to Maré was made by Mr. Murray in the Camden in 1841. Rowing along the coast with Captain Morgan, in the hope of meeting friendly natives, he was gladdened by the approach of a canoe containing a native, who called out, 'I know the true God.' Overjoyed, Mr. Murray welcomed him, found that his name was Taufa, that he was a native of Tonga, and had been living on Maré for seven years. On April 9, 1841, two Samoan teachers, Tataio and Taniela by name, were landed. They were promised protection by the chief, and thus Christian work began in the Loyalty group.

In 1854 the Society appointed the Rev. S. M. Creagh and the Rev. J. Jones resident missionaries upon Maré. This step was imperative, because the mission had reached the stage beyond which it was impossible for native teachers to carry it. The native teacher for sustained and progres-

sive work always needs the spiritual impulse, the moral stay, the higher civilization, and the greater practical wisdom of the white man to render his labour sufficiently persevering and effective. Messrs. Creagh and Jones began work under the most favourable conditions. Heathenism in all its worst features had been overthrown, the people were willing and anxious to be led into higher regions of knowledge and thought and practice. The outlook was full of hope. But the sky soon darkened. In February, 1855, Mrs. Creagh died, and not long after Mr. and Mrs. Jones had to mourn the loss of two children.

In addition to personal trials, they had to endure others from the hands of the natives. Both at Maré and Lifu the population ranged itself into parties, occupying different portions of the island. The one accepted Christianity and its consequences; the other, mainly because the missionary had not first come to them, clung to the old heathenism, though even these abandoned some of its most repulsive features. Yet the work made steady progress.

In 1861 the missionaries on the Loyalty group were anxious to recommence work on New Caledonia, of which island and its dependencies France had taken possession in 1854. Nominally the French proclaimed religious toleration in that island, but when in 1861 Mr. Macfarlane, at the request of his colleagues, visited the Governor of New Caledonia, he was informed that no English missionaries would be allowed to labour there.

Work on Maré proceeded steadily until bitterness, strife, and bloodshed were introduced by the advent of Roman Catholic priests. They landed in 1864, and pursued the policy of aiding pretenders to the chieftainship who accepted Romanism against the lawful chiefs who were Protestant. At the end of 1869 war broke out, the priests laying the blame upon Mr. Creagh. A French Commission empowered by the French Government, which visited the island in 1870, held him guiltless. In 1871 Mr. Creagh removed to Lifu to take Mr. Macfarlane's place, and Mr. Jones was left alone on Maré. Disgusted at the report of the Commis-

sion, the priests left the island. Five years later, 1875, they returned. Strife and bitterness at once recommenced. War again broke out, and upon the defeat of the Papist section that party was sustained by the French, although they had been the aggressors. Some of the native leaders of the Protestants were banished to Cochin China. In 1884 the Government appointed a French Protestant minister superintendent of the religious work of Maré, thus repeating their action on Tahiti. Mr. Jones was summoned on board a French man-of-war and told that he was superseded by M. Cru, and that the natives were no longer under Mr. Jones's jurisdiction, but were to look in the future for their guidance in all matters to M. Cru. At the end of four months all schools in which the French tongue was not spoken were to be closed. Mr. Jones loyally accepted this harsh regulation, and for some years did what work he could in the face of these vexatious restrictions. But in December, 1887, a French steamer arrived at Maré. An officer and soldiers at once came ashore to the house of Mr. Jones, told him that he was under arrest, and was to be expelled the island, and gave him half an hour to get ready. At the end of that time force would be used if needful. The only charge brought against him was that his proceedings were 'calculated to compromise public order and tranquillity in the Loyalty Islands.' Although efforts were afterwards made by both Lord Kimberley and Lord Salisbury to induce the French Government to redress this grievance, Mr. Jones was never allowed to return to Maré, and no compensation was ever awarded him for the loss and danger he sustained through this high-handed injustice. Since 1887 Maré has been without a resident Protestant missionary, and the condition of the natives has changed for the worse in many respects. It has been a grievous sight to see a mission field, nobly and completely won from a savage and degraded heathenism, rendered to a large extent barren and unfruitful by the action of those who exert power in the name of a great civilized nation, and who, while professing to serve the

same Master, act so as to stir up strife against those who ought to be treated as brethren.

Lifu is the largest and most populous island of the Loyalty group. Its savage inhabitants first heard the 'glad tidings' in 1845, and then from native lips. Messrs. Buzacott and Slatyer during the missionary voyage of 1842 left at Maré two teachers, who were to proceed to Lifu at the first opportunity. They soon crossed over to that island; but there one apostatized, and Pao, the other, was sorely hindered in his work by an English renegade, whose nickname, 'Cannibal Charley,' reveals the depth of his degradation. But Pao—a name ever memorable in the annals of Lifu—persevered. Nothing strikes the student of this great expansion of Christian influence in Western Polynesia more than the wonderful helpers God raised up from time to time for His faithful servants. Taufa, a Christian native, greatly aided in the conquest of Maré; Bula, the old heathen chief of half the island of Lifu, a blind man, and one who never openly renounced heathenism, sustained Pao in the critical early stages of his work by his most powerful and timely protection.

The story of the Lifu Mission—full of hope and encouragement as a history of the Gospel triumphing over savagery and sin; depressing as a picture of the disturbing and debasing effect of political interference on the one hand, and religious intolerance on the other, upon a people just coming into the light—has been fully traced by Mr. Macfarlane in *The Story of the Lifu Mission*.

In 1859 Messrs. Macfarlane and Baker, resident missionaries, reached Lifu. They were introduced to the natives by Mr. Jones, of Maré. Over the half of the island ruled by Bula, after his death, though his son was chief, civil war raged for a time. The chief of the western half of Lifu was named Ukenezo. Constantly at war with the other half, since Bula and his people had favoured Christianity, Ukenezo and his people clung to heathenism. They were also the occasion for the entrance into Lifu of Roman Catholicism.

As soon as he had mastered the language, Mr. Macfarlane felt the great need of more native workers. Like his predecessors at Rarotonga and Malua, he instituted a seminary where natives might be properly trained. A single code of laws was drawn up, and sanctioned by Bula's son and his chief for the eastern half of the island. Ukenezo objected to such a code for his half, but ultimately the under-chiefs and the priests persuaded him to accept one they drew up.

In May, 1864, French soldiers landed and established a camp at Enu, a village about half a mile from Chepenehe, the chief eastern native station, where Mr. Macfarlane lived. At the instigation of those natives who were under Roman Catholic influence, it was only too easy to cause disturbance; and by the assertion on the part of the French of absolute authority over both the island and the natives, it was easy to put the latter constantly in the wrong. This was the course of events for the next few years in Lifu. Christian work was almost entirely stopped, the natives were oppressed, many were killed, many imprisoned, the liberty even of Mr. Macfarlane and his colleague Mr. Sleigh was very greatly curtailed, and matters reached such a pass that the English missionaries were not allowed to officiate in any public capacity, but were not hindered from rendering service to the mission as 'private English residents.'

Meanwhile the Directors and friends of missions in England, anxious and alarmed at the tidings sent home from both Maré and Lifu, were not idle. In reply to influential representations laid before Napoleon III, the emperor sent a letter under date of Jan. 24, 1865, in which he states: 'I am writing to Commandant Guillain (New Caledonia) to censure any measure which would impose a restraint upon the free exercise of your industry in those distant lands. I feel assured that, far from raising any difficulties in the way of the representatives of French authority, the Protestant missions, as well as the Catholic, will seek to diffuse among the natives of the archipelago the benefits of Christianity and civilization.'

To promise liberty of conscience in Paris was easy; unfortunately it was also easy for the officials of the emperor in distant Lifu to interpret the meaning of that phrase practically as they liked. Hence though matters improved somewhat on the receipt of the emperor's instructions, the local commandant and the resident priests still ruled the Lifuans very much as they liked. Remonstrances were in the long run sufficiently powerful to lead the French Government in 1869 to send out a Commission. Much of the value of this was lost by the fact that the commandant whose high-handed action was the cause of most of the trouble was a member of the Commission. Nevertheless as a result of their visit the Governor of Lifu was recalled and replaced by a civilian, and a new governor appointed to New Caledonia. But in 1869 the French Government had demanded the removal of Mr. Macfarlane, and after a lengthy diplomatic correspondence between the French and British Governments, the Directors appointed him, in company with Mr. A. W. Murray, to visit New Guinea with a view to opening up mission work there. He left Lifu in 1871, and was succeeded by Mr. Creagh from Maré. Under him and Mr. Sleigh the work was carried on until 1886, when Mr. Creagh retired after thirty-four years' service in the Loyalty group. Mr. Hadfield from Uvea took his place, and as Mr. Sleigh also retired in 1887, the Loyalty Islands were left with but one resident English missionary. Consequently the state of affairs has been very unsatisfactory during recent years, and is not unlikely so to continue. The natives are not yet sufficiently developed to be able to stand alone. The residence of foreigners in the islands has produced a large class of half-castes, who are vicious both in origin and practice, and who form a permanent element of demoralization. French influence, and especially that of New Caledonia, is extremely hostile to morality. The natives in this respect are, in the opinion of competent judges, distinctly worse than they were years ago. Notwithstanding all these hindrances, a fair amount of life and vigour abides in the native church.

On that island in 1895 the Society had 5,659 adherents, of whom 2,450 could read, 868 of the latter being children: on Uvea, 712 adherents, 510 able to read, of whom 140 are children. Lifu in 1895 contributed £447 10*s.* to the Society, in addition to a Centenary contribution of £75.

The island of Uvea shared the fate of its neighbours. This is a group of little coral islets rather than one island, and is one of the loveliest in Polynesia. Natives from Maré brought the Gospel thither in 1856; French priests arrived in 1857. In 1860 Mr. Macfarlane visited Uvea, and found the mission work steadily progressing, notwithstanding the hostile influence and action of the priests. The Rev. J. Jones landed there in 1863, and found that further progress had been made, and that the natives were more eager than ever for a resident missionary. The missionary first appointed by the Directors, the Rev. Alexander Irvine, died at Sydney from the result of an accident during his voyage thither. In 1864 Mr. Ella, who had been compelled by Mrs. Ella's health to leave Samoa, came to the Loyalty group, hoping to work as missionary for Uvea. The French commandant of Lifu refused to allow him to settle there as missionary, but finally permitted him to live on Uvea as an English *resident*. It was not until 1865 that he was allowed to begin public religious work. Opposition and persecution of the kind common in Lifu and Maré at the same time, and in some respects even more violent, greatly hindered all Protestant mission work on Uvea until 1869, when, as a result of the visit of the French Commission, the conditions of work became more tolerable.

In 1879 the Rev. J. Hadfield became the first resident missionary, and in 1887, just after he had taken up the work on Lifu, he was able to write:—

'The work on Uvea has been steadily prosecuted, and a fair share of advancement has been made in every branch. I have observed a growing desire for instruction both among young and old. Mr. Creagh left in the institution

for training native teachers, ten; I have now fifteen. The people have had a sad experience of persecution and trial. No wonder they feel some fear and uncertainty as to the future. Their past sufferings have not, however, been endured in vain, but they have rendered them more earnest and self-sacrificing.'

III. NIUE OR SAVAGE ISLAND. Like many other islets in the vast Pacific, Niue or Savage Island has no claim upon the world's attention either by reason of exceptional beauty, commercial importance, or vastness of population. It is an ordinary coral island, lying between 18° and 19° south latitude, and 170° west longitude. It is about 350 miles south-east of Samoa, is about forty miles in circumference, and has a population of from 4,000 to 5,000. But to those who judge men and things in the light of the Gospel, it is one of the most attractive spots in the world. Few more powerful examples of the transforming influence of Christianity can be found on the globe.

The name by which it is commonly known was given to the island by Captain Cook, who tells us that the natives rushed upon him like wild boars. The first missionary visit, after John Williams' unsuccessful attempt to get a footing in 1830, was in 1840, when another attempt, this time from Samoa, to plant native teachers upon the island was unsuccessfully made. In October, 1846, the Rev. W. Gill and Rev. H. Nisbet called at Niue in the John Williams, and were able to station there a teacher, Peniamina by name, a native of the island. For some years previously, tidings of what had happened at Samoa and elsewhere had reached even the Savage Islanders. Although dread of disease led them to keep all foreigners at arm's length, curiosity stirred many of their breasts. Peniamina one day went on board an American whaler, found it was going to Samoa, and prevailed on the kindly captain to take him there. The captain handed him over on his arrival to Mr. Mills. He was placed at Malua, and there received the instruction which rendered him capable

of preparing the way for the Christian missionary into the hitherto inaccessible island.

On his return from Samoa, he was allowed to land, and although a native of the island, Peniamina was yet not free from danger. A Savage Islander who went away and then returned, was considered by his fellow islanders a foreigner, and was exposed to the same treatment. As soon as he landed, many wished to put him to death, and to send back even the canoe in which he came ashore, lest the foreign wood should cause disease among them. But Peniamina told his fellow islanders the new and glorious truths he had learned at Malua. Still many wished to kill him, and it was with very great difficulty that any one was persuaded to give him shelter. In 1848 Messrs. Turner and Nisbet visited the island, and found but few signs of progress. In October, 1849, Mr. Murray called at Niue, and discovered that although Peniamina had been the pioneer, he was not of the spiritual rank of Papeiha, Elikana, and others. A teacher named Paulo and his wife were landed. They had been carefully trained at Malua. With all his imperfections, Peniamina had succeeded in attaching a few to himself, and had conveyed to them some knowledge of Christianity. With these Paulo began his work. Mr. Murray took back with him two natives who were very eager to visit Samoa. In 1852 Mr. Murray and Mr. Sunderland again visited Niue. The teacher and his wife had passed through many trials and some imminent perils. But they had won over nearly 300 to Christianity, and these stood by them. A chapel had been built. On this visit a second station was made at a place called Alofi, and the two natives who had gone to Samoa in 1849 were appointed to work there. In 1852 a French man-of-war, which had called at Savage Island for the crew of a ship which had been wrecked upon the reef, on account of a theft illtreated the natives, causing the death of fifteen, among whom was a chief who had just before taken Paulo under his protection. This hasty and cruel action might have led to the destruction of the mission party.

Fortunately the hold upon the people which the teachers had gained was now such that the heathen drew a distinction between them and foreigners visiting the island for other than missionary purposes.

Meanwhile Christian work went steadily forward, successive visits of the John Williams marking advancing stages of Christian development. In 1854 Mr. Hardie wrote: 'The people now go from part to part without fear, and the teachers can work everywhere, and are kindly treated. To use the words of one of them, "The mountains of difficulty are now all removed, and the Word of God is growing, and will grow, rapidly in this land."'

In 1861 the Rev. W. G. Lawes, who has since become famous in connection with the New Guinea Mission, was appointed first resident missionary. The selection was both wise and timely – wise as to the quality of the new worker; timely, if the natives were to be lifted still higher in Christian life and civilization. The native teachers had done magnificent work, and one had fallen a martyr. Mr. Lawes, writing home in April, 1862, says—

'The more we see and know of the people, the more we are convinced that God has been working mightily in their midst. Distinguished in former times for their savage cruelty, they are now no less distinguished for their zeal in the cause of God. When we came seven or eight only were heathen; these have since renounced heathenism. Fifteen years ago a foreigner would not have dared to land, nor been suffered to live on the island. Now foreigners are treated with hospitality and kindness. Fifteen years ago they lived in the bush like brutes; now, in plastered cottages and villages. Fifteen years ago anarchy, war, and bloodshed prevailed throughout the island; now, law, order, and peace. Fifteen years ago they had no written language; now, they have the Gospel and other books, with *two thousand* readers. Fifteen years ago they were all before God dead in sin; now, there are 360 in church fellowship, living to His glory, besides many who, we have reason to hope, are new creatures in Christ Jesus.'

Mr. Lawes directed the work on Niue alone until 1868, when he was joined by his brother, the Rev. F. E. Lawes. During these seven years of solitary toil he superintended the public worship, directed the native teachers, conducted a training class for them, and devoted much time and labour to the important task of Scripture translation. He acquired the language rapidly. 'I *read* my first sermon after we had been here nine weeks, and *preached* my first seven months after we landed. I have conversed individually with 260 candidates for church fellowship. This helps me greatly in the acquisition of the language, and gives me an insight into the workings of the native mind.'

In 1872 Mr. Lawes visited England on furlough, and was then appointed to New Guinea, whither he sailed in 1874. Since 1872 the Rev. F. E. Lawes, the brother of the Rev. W. G. Lawes, has been in sole charge of the mission. Owing probably to its being on none of the commercial highways of the Pacific, and not attractive enough in itself to draw thither many vessels, Christian work for the last twenty-five years has gone steadily and prosperously forward. The statistics for the year 1895, in the light of the facts already given, reveal what has been the Christian history of Niue.

English missionaries	1
Native teachers ordained	11
Native preachers	27
Church members	1730
Native adherents	2683
Schools	23
Scholars, boys and girls	1500

Contributions to the Society £618 8*s.* 8*d.*

IV. THE TOKELAU OR UNION GROUP lies about 300 miles to the north of Samoa, and consists of three clusters, each forming an atoll. In 1861 Mr. Ella of the Samoan Mission stationed two teachers, Maka and Mafala by name, on the island of Atafu (Duke of York Island). They

were successful at once, and in 1862 two double canoes visited Nukunono (Duke of Clarence Island), to persuade the natives there to accept the new teaching. They found that French priests had successfully established Romanism on that island, so, after spending five days there, they sailed away to Fakaofo (Bowditch Island). There they spent a fortnight. The king and his chief counsellor alone opposed Christianity, but as the king was obdurate and ruled that all who wished to become Christians must go and live on Atafu, six double canoes, containing eighteen men, fifteen women, and twenty-three children, sailed away with Mafala and his two canoes. They reached Nukunono in safety, but on their way from that island to Atafu were caught in bad weather, and compelled to make for Samoa, 300 miles distant. At Apia they were received with great kindness, and finally carried safely back to Atafu. They were accompanied by Messrs. Wyatt Gill and P. Goold Bird, who in their report, dated February 13, 1863, refer to the fact that heathenism had been practically overthrown in the group, polygamy abolished, and a chapel built. 'Such,' they say, 'are the results of the labours of two devoted native teachers among a people who were a year since heathens. These poor islanders shame many who have long enjoyed higher privileges.'

During the last half-century mission work has been steadily maintained in this group. In 1870 they were visited by the Rev. S. J. Whitmee, who thus writes of the state of Fakaofo, the island where the king in 1862 would not allow his people to remain if they became Christians. 'The whole visit was deeply interesting to me, especially the church meeting and the Lord's Supper. I was much pleased with the general intelligence of the people, and especially the knowledge of Divine truth which some of them manifested. Nearly all the Protestants are able to read the Scriptures.' The state of Atafu was at this time equally satisfactory.

The steamer which in 1895 replaced the third John Williams should greatly increase the efficiency of these

distant out-stations. The islands can now be visited at least twice a year, and thus unsuitable native teachers may be the more speedily removed, the gaps made by disease and death more quickly filled, and successful work made even more prosperous by the moral support and useful advice of the European missionary being available at shorter intervals.

V. THE ELLICE ISLANDS. The incidents which led to the beginning of Christian work in the Ellice Islands are among the most romantic and surprising in the marvellous story of the Pacific. On April 22, 1861, a canoe left the island of Manihiki in the Penrhyn group, from 1,200 to 1,500 miles east of the Ellice Islands, intending to cross to Rakaanga, only thirty miles away. It contained six men, two women, and one child, who had been attending the annual 'May meeting' at Manihiki.

'The craft in which the party sailed consisted of two canoes lashed together by means of transverse spars. Over these boards were laid, which formed a sort of deck, and on that was a shed covered with the braided leaf of the cocoa-nut, which afforded a shelter from the sun and rain. The canoes were about forty-eight feet in length, and the platform was six feet in breadth. There was one large sail of native matting, and two small calico sails. The provision for the voyage consisted of a quantity of cocoa-nuts, and four calabashes of water (perhaps about two gallons). They commenced their voyage with a fair wind, and all went smoothly till they were within a few miles of their destination. They were so near that they could discern the sandy beach and the houses along the coast. An hour more of fair wind, and they would have been safely landed. A sudden change of wind dashed their hopes, and was the first of a series of perils and sufferings which has few recorded parallels in our missionary annals[1].

'For a while they strove to reach Rakaanga, but finding

[1] *Forty Years in Polynesia*, by A. W. Murray, pp. 375 et seq.

that impracticable, they changed their course with the intention of returning to Manihiki; but this being low, was not in sight, and Rakaanga was soon lost sight of, and so night overtook them in the open ocean and out of sight of land. They kept on all night, supposing that they were making their way toward Manihiki; but when morning dawned, neither Manihiki nor any other land was to be seen. And what a plight was theirs! Afloat on their frail craft, with only cocoa-nuts and about two gallons of water, on the great, wide sea, without chart or compass, and altogether uncertain as to their position! They held a consultation and determined to abandon the search for Manihiki, and stand to the south, in the hope of making Rarotonga or Samoa, or some other land in that direction. Three men of the six were required to be always on duty to keep the canoe afloat, one to steer and two to bale; so they divided themselves into two watches, and kept on, day and night, at their weary, monotonous task. They kept steering southward till Friday, the seventh day from the commencement of their voyage, when a strong southerly wind set in which prevented their getting farther in that direction. This continued till Sabbath, when it fell calm. Then came a westerly wind, and other changes followed, but brought them no relief.

On the following Friday, about noon, they sighted land. They strove with all their might to reach the land, and got very near it; but the weather was squally, night overtook them, and their efforts were fruitless. One thing, however, they gained by getting near land, which was to them of priceless value. A copious shower of rain fell, and they managed, with the aid of their sails, to obtain a supply of water.

On the following day they again sighted land, but were unable to reach it on account of the roughness of the weather. They kept on guiding the movements of the canoe till the following Monday, when they gave themselves up pretty much to the winds and currents, or rather to the providence of God, to be carried where that might

conduct them. Now and again one would take a spell at the steer-oar, but, being uncertain as to whether any advantage would be derived from so doing, there was no motive of sufficient power to prompt to persevering effort. Thus they went on from day to day for six weary weeks, and then a consultation was held, and it was proposed that they should give up exertion, and resign themselves to what seemed to be their inevitable fate. But hope was not yet extinct in the bosoms of all. One stated that he felt able to go on baling for a little longer if another would join him. It would have been useless for one to go on alone. While he was baling the one canoe the other would fill and sink both. One of the canoes was less leaky than the other, and another of the party volunteered to do his best to keep that afloat. But now only six cocoa-nuts remained, and those who kept at work, and on whose continued exertions the lives of all depended, must have support. Hence it was agreed that the six cocoa-nuts should be kept for them. The others had to subsist as best they could on scraps that had been thrown aside during the early part of the voyage. They caught two sharks and one sea-bird during the course of the voyage.

'For nearly two weeks longer they lingered on, the two balers exerting themselves most bravely, while the others quietly awaited the issue. During the whole voyage they had worship regularly, morning and evening, and on the Sabbath they had services somewhat more protracted. Four of the party were members of the Church, and one, Elikana, was a deacon. On the eighth Sabbath matters reached a crisis. Only half a cocoa-nut remained for the balers, and when that was consumed nothing further could be done. They had finished their Sabbath evening worship; they concluded that the end had come, and committed themselves into the hands of God, to wait His will. The evening was calm and beautiful, and the sky without a cloud. Elikana looked round the horizon—one more despairing look—before what was expected to be their last night closed in upon them. Eagerly scanning

the horizon, something having the appearance of land caught his eye! Nothing similar was to be seen in any other part of the heavens, and soon all were satisfied that what they saw was in very deed land. But they had seen land before, and been near it too, more than once, and had failed to reach it, and so it might be again; especially was this to be dreaded as a squall of wind sprung up soon after the land was discovered. The wind, however, brought a shower of rain, which was as life from the dead. They drank, and were refreshed and strengthened for a final effort to save their lives; but the wind that brought the rain was from the land, and should it continue so, the last door of hope had closed. It was not so, however. The wind that brought the rain was only a passing squall. They had one sail remaining; this they hoisted and ran straight in for the land. On they went, and towards midnight their frail craft was close to the reef, and very soon they were among the breakers; but on they went, roller after roller bearing them onward, till the welcome shore was reached. One woman and one man and the child, after surviving all the perils and hardships of the voyage, perished among the breakers; and soon after the canoe had grounded another died. The remaining five were saved, and one of these was Elikana, who was destined to act an important part in the evangelization of the islands, on the shores of one of which he and his fellows were now cast.

'The island which the voyagers made was Nukulaelae of the Ellice group. They were of course greatly exhausted—so much so, that though cocoa-nuts were hanging over their heads they were unable to reach them. The morning light, however, brought relief. They were soon discovered by a native named Faivaatala. He had occasion to visit the island, Tumuiloto, on which they landed, on the morning after the memorable night when they made the land. Passing near the spot where they were, his attention was attracted by seeing articles of wearing apparel on the bushes. Going down to the beach, he found a man dead, lying on the sand. He stripped off his own shirt and

wrapped it around the body, and removed it a little inland. The survivors were soon found, and their affecting tale told. The situation was such as would have moved a much less feeling heart than that of Faivaatala. They were in a famishing state. No time was lost in supplying them with cocoa-nuts; and, that done, Faivaatala proceeded to get food cooked for them, after which he went for help and canoes in order to get them to the settlement. When he returned, a grave was dug and the dead buried, and then all proceeded to Motutala, the island on which the people generally live.

'In return for their kindness, Elikana set to work to instruct them in the knowledge of the true God, and told them of the Saviour whom he had learned to love and trust. They manifested a great desire and aptitude to learn, and applied themselves with the utmost diligence while he remained among them, and they consented to his leaving them after four months, only on condition that he should go to Samoa and return to them with a teacher. This he was enabled to do, but four years passed, three of which were spent in training Elikana himself at Malua.'

The island or group of islets named Nukulaelae, known in the earlier charts as Mitchell's Islands, lies in lat. 9° 18′ S. and long. 179° 48′ E., about 600 miles from Savaii. The other chief members of the Ellice group are Funafuti (Ellice Island), thirty-one islets in an immense circular reef, sixty miles north of Nukulaelae; Nukufetau (De Peyster Island), similar to Funafuti only smaller; Vaitupu (Tracy Island), a single island four miles long and three wide; and Nui (Netherland Island). Upon Vaitupu, about two centuries before Elikana was drifted to Nukulaelae, Samoans had landed, and hence the language and associations of the group are those of Samoa. On May 3, 1865, Mr. Murray sailed from Apia upon the first missionary visit to the Ellice group. He carried with him two Samoan teachers and their wives and Elikana. On May 10 the tiny vessel, a trader of fifty tons, anchored outside the reef of Nukulaelae.

'The people were surprised and delighted to see their old friend Elikana, and they gave us all a hearty welcome; but events had transpired since 1861 which cast a sad gloom over our meeting. At that time there was a population of three hundred, a peaceful, harmless community, wanting just one thing to make them contented and happy, and many of them earnestly desirous of being put in possession of that one thing. Now they were reduced to a remnant considerably under one hundred, and the bulk of these were women and children. The iniquitous Peruvian slavers came upon them like beasts of prey, and carried off about two hundred to bondage and death. Nowhere, perhaps, did these infamous men act more basely than at this and the neighbouring group, Funafuti. They first endeavoured to induce the people to go with them, by putting before them the temporal advantages which they pretended they would gain by so doing; and when they found that they could not accomplish their object in that way, they, guided by a wicked fellow who had resided on the island some time, named Tom Rose, took advantage of the desire that existed among the people for religious instruction, telling them that, if they would go with them, they would take them to a place where they would learn about God and religion, and after a time bring them back to their own land. Tom Rose had been acting as a sort of religious teacher, and he was going to ship in one of the vessels. Hence it is not surprising that they fell into the trap so cruelly laid for them [1].

'Thus was this base transaction accomplished, and these poor people deceived away from their quiet homes. Alas! for them. Surely He who heareth the groaning of the prisoner, and delivereth them who are appointed to die, did not forsake them in the hour of their sore affliction. It is an affecting and deeply interesting fact that they carried with them to the land of bondage, as their most prized treasures, portions of the Rarotongan New Testament and Hymn Book, which they had obtained from

[1] *Forty Years in Polynesia*, pp. 381 et seq.

Elikana. These he had managed to save when he and his companions were cast upon their shores, and so eager were the people to learn to read, and to become acquainted with the truths which the books contained, that they constrained him to take them to pieces, and divide them out, giving a few leaves to each, as far as they would go. As Elikana put the question to one after another among the women we met, "Where is this one? and where is the other?" the unvarying reply was:—"Gone, gone; carried away by the men-stealing ships."

'After consulting with the chief, who, being an old man, had been rejected by the slavers, and the few others who remained, and finding them earnestly desirous of having a teacher, I determined to leave with them one of the three at my disposal, Ioane and his wife, notwithstanding the smallness of their number.

'It is a remarkable fact that, a number of years before Elikana was conducted to the group in so remarkable a manner, the people of it, and several other of the islands (groups) with which it is connected, had burnt their idols and ceased to be idolaters. Hence the prepared state in which he found them, and the cordial welcome which he and his companions received. All I could learn respecting the origin of a movement so strange among a heathen people was, that the master of a trading vessel, named Stuart, from Sydney, had told them of the true God, and advised them to turn from idolatry and worship Him. All honour to the man who, at this and other islands in the neighbourhood, sought to turn the benighted people from the service of idols to that of the living God.

'It was a vast advantage also in carrying on evangelistic work in the Ellice group, that the language differs so little from the Samoan, that our translations of the Scriptures and other books were available, and that our teachers were able to speak intelligibly to the people almost at once.'

Funafuti was next visited, and a teacher landed there; then Nukufetau, where a chapel 45 feet by 40 had been built by the natives, and attempts made to conduct

services, and here Elikana was stationed. Vaitupu and Nui were also visited, and at both islands Mr. Murray was deeply grieved at not being able to satisfy their strong desires for a teacher. In 1866 Mr. Murray visited the group for a second time, and at both Nukulaelae and Funafuti remarkable progress had been made. A teacher named Peni and his wife had been landed on Vaitupu late in 1865. Nukufetau was also visited, and then for the first time Niutao and Nanomea. On the way back Nui was also visited, then rejoicing in the possession of a teacher named Kirisome and his wife.

From that date the superintendence of the work in the Ellice group has been a regular part of the Samoan Mission. A visit has been made by an experienced missionary, if possible at least once a year; native teachers have been stationed wherever they could be useful; and Christian literature has been provided for the natives, the vast majority of whom have learned to read. The population has always been small. Even had the islands not been ravaged by the slave-stealers, the total of both Ellice and Gilbert groups would still have been insignificant. But the wonderful manner in which Christianity found a lodgement upon them, the simplicity and teachableness of the people, the beauty of the islets, their freedom from many of the contaminating influences of the larger centres of population, have all combined to make this a field dear to those whose labours therein have not been in vain, and also to those by whose faith, prayer, and liberality the success has been rendered possible.

VI. THE GILBERT ISLANDS. In 1870 the Gilbert Islands were added to the Samoan Mission. This group lies between parallels 4° north and 2° 36′ south latitude, and 172° to 178° east longitude, and consists of seventeen islets, nine north and seven south of the equator. Work was begun in some of the northern islets as early as 1857 by American missionaries for the Sandwich Islands. But on Oct. 15, 1870, Mr. Whitmee, in the John Williams, sighted the island of

Arorae. The fear caused by the first impression that the John Williams was a 'man-stealing ship' changed to confidence when they found it was a missionary ship. They gladly consented to receive the teacher and his wife, whom Mr. Whitmee had brought with him. In succession the islands Tamana, Onoatoa, and Peru, were visited, making a beginning of Christian work upon each. Mr. Pratt visited the islands two years later, August 1872, and found them making steady progress.

Since that date mission-work has been steadily continued, subject of course to those fluctuations inseparable from the conditions under which it has to be conducted. In these out-stations many of the evangelists trained at Malua give the best of all testimony to the value of that institution by the faithful, diligent, and successful service they render in both the Ellice and the Gilbert groups.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Forty Years in Polynesia*, and *Western Polynesia*, by A. W. Murray; *The Story of the Lifu Mission*, by S. A. Macfarlane.]


SOUTH EAST
NEW GUINEA
Scale 15.500.000
Statute Miles
0 50 100 150
GULF OF PAPUA
TORRES STRAIT
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
Cape York Peninsula
AUSTRALIA
(QUEENSLAND)
BRITISH
(GERMAN)
NEW POMERANIA
D'ENTRECASTEAUX
Owen Stanley Mts
Mt Victor Emanuel
Mt Albert Edward
Mt Chapman
Mt Yule
Mt Victoria
Mt Suckling
Mt Stanley
Mt Obree
Mt Nisbet
Mt Barada
Mt Hood
Mt Hayter
Mt Trafalgar
Mt Hamilton
Mt Hanover
Mt Ayrton
Mt Brown
Mt Parker
Mt Hardy
Mt Hercules
Mt Lamington
Mt Victoria
Mt Ambua
Mt Kerr
Mt Sargood
Mt Macarthur
Mt Walker
Mt Marsden
Mt Murray
Mt Stanley
Mt Albert
Mt Pollard
Mt Fubbs
Mt Edward
Mt Fenton
Mt Hall
Mt Victoria
Mt Hayter
Mt Trafalgar
Mt Nisbet
Mt Barada
Mt Obree

CHAPTER XIII

NEW GUINEA

NEW GUINEA, if Australia be considered a continent, is the largest island in the world, and is about 1,400 miles in length, and 450 broad at its widest part. It nearly touches the equator in the north, and in the extreme east stretches down to 11° south latitude. Even in 1895 little more than the coast-line had been explored. It possesses magnificent mountain ranges, much fine scenery, some mighty rivers, and much land that even under native cultivation is very fruitful. The climate is extremely trying to Europeans, and the inhabitants prior to 1870 were among the most savage and degraded upon the face of the earth. But the very qualities in them which repelled the trader and squatter and globe-trotter only rendered them more attractive in the eyes of Polynesian Christians and European missionaries. The harder the field the more needful to win it for the Saviour.

Although it was 1871 before active steps were taken to found a mission in New Guinea, the project had long been before the mind of the Directors at home, and on the hearts of many of the missionaries in Western Polynesia. Towards the close of 1870 it had become obvious that French Catholic influence in New Caledonia and the Loyalty group had developed into a formidable hindrance to all Protestant mission work. French intolerance had, moreover, insisted upon the removal of the Rev. Samuel Macfarlane from Lifu. The Directors therefore instructed

him to be in readiness to go on a visit of inspection to New Guinea whenever a promising opportunity presented itself. He, entering heartily into the new enterprise, began at once to collect information about that wild land of which rumour told such awesome tales, while so little about it was accurately known. The native pastors and the students in the Lifu Training Institution were consulted, and *all* offered themselves for this new and dangerous work. Four pastors and four students were finally selected, and a vessel chartered. On December 2, 1870, the John Williams reached Lifu, having on board the veteran Samoan missionary, the Rev. A. W. Murray. He had come, partly for his health, and partly to superintend, in succession to Mr. Macfarlane, the work on Lifu. As Mr. Murray possessed an almost unique experience in the work of stationing native teachers among savage islanders, Mr. Macfarlane naturally enlisted his most valuable aid in the new enterprise. Mr. Murray was more than willing to further such an undertaking. The original plan was modified. Mr. Macfarlane had intended to take only two native teachers and station them on Darnley Island whilst he returned to Lifu. Finally the Surprise, a vessel of about ninety tons burden, was chartered; Mr. Thorngren, who had resided for some time on Darnley Island, was also engaged to accompany Messrs. Murray and Macfarlane and aid them with his knowledge of the Torres Straits natives, and *eight* teachers, four from Maré and four from Lifu, were selected as pioneers. Their names were: from Lifu, Gucheng, Tepesö, Elia, and Mataika; from Maré, Keresiano, Waunaea, Simone, and Josaia. As to these men will ever belong the honour of being the first Christian native teachers to land in New Guinea, the following facts about them from the pen of Mr. Macfarlane will at once interest the reader, and also illustrate the splendid qualities of these Polynesian native teachers:—

'Gucheng was the son of a warrior who took a leading part in an insurrection against the king of the western half of Lifu, which led to a change of dynasty. Gucheng

came to live with us as servant-boy when we landed on Lifu in 1859. Besides regularly attending the day school, he naturally received a good deal of private instruction in useful arts as well as Bible lessons. He was one of the first students in the seminary for the training of native pastors and pioneer evangelists, and one of the best educated natives on the island. He became the pastor of the pretty coral church at the model native village I planned and got built at Hnacaum, where he was much beloved and did splendid work. His wife was one of the best girls in Mrs. Macfarlane's school, and they were the first couple that I selected as pioneer teachers for New Guinea.

'He was located with Mataika at Darnley Island. Here he laboured successfully for several years before his wife died from the effects of the malarial fever of the country. He was my first lieutenant, accompanying me in forming most of the new stations, and in the pioneer voyages along the unsurveyed coast and up the newly discovered rivers, during the first years of the mission, both in its eastern and western branches.

'After starting the mission in China Straits and Milne Bay, we commenced a mission on the banks of the great Fly River, and Gucheng, at my request, took charge of the first station for a time. The first station formed on the mainland of New Guinea, which was at the mouth of the Katau River, having proved exceedingly difficult and dangerous from the sickly character of the climate, and the wild, treacherous, warlike nature of the people, and some of the teachers having died, and others left the place, Gucheng bravely undertook to give the place a fair trial; he was obliged, however, to give it up, and we left it, with some others, to be taken up later by New Guinea native teachers. Gucheng, after his recovery, returned to the Fly River, where he died from the deadly fever after many years' faithful service.

'Tepesö was the son of an old medicine-man at Lifu, and succeeded his father in the craft soon after the Gospel was introduced to Lifu. He became a convert, and was one

of the first students in the Lifu Seminary. He was pastor of a large church when the French arrived and took possession of the Loyalty Islands, and suffered a good deal of persecution at their hands on account of his zeal and the misrepresentations of the Roman Catholic priests. Strange to say, he was one of the first to succumb to the fever of the country; his wife and child did not survive him many days.

'Elia, like Gucheng, was first our servant-boy, then entered the seminary, was a diligent student, generally head of the class. He also married a girl from my wife's school, and had the honour of being one of the eight pioneers who laboured longest in New Guinea, and one of the three who returned to his own country after his work was done. The scene of his labours was chiefly at Saibai, where he attempted, and succeeded fairly well in, translating the Gospel of Mark into the language of the people; also a small hymn book and school book. When he left Saibai, it was one of the most prosperous mission stations in the whole of the New Guinea Mission. His wife died from the fever of the country.

'Mataika was the son of one of a party of Tongans, who were blown away from their island home and drifted to Lifu just before the Gospel was introduced, where they were received kindly by the old King Bula, and settled there as his subjects. They are much lighter in colour than the Lifuans. Mataika was a good all-round man, could build a good canoe and manage it well in rough weather. An energetic man, with great force of character, and full of enthusiasm for the spread of the Gospel. He was permitted to labour in the mission for many years, and rendered good service. He was one of three who returned to his native land, his wife having died in the mission.

'Kercsiano was, like Tepesö, a man of middle age. He had been a pioneer evangelist in New Caledonia, whence he was driven by the French. He then became the pastor of a church at Uvea, and suffered considerable persecution

from the Roman Catholic priests and French authorities. Afterwards he settled at Maré in charge of a native church, whence he was selected as one of the New Guinea pioneers. He was a faithful, energetic, judicious and godly man, who died from fever during those first few dark years at the commencement of the mission.

'Waunaea was the son of a Maré warrior. He was a cautious, quiet, devout, and conscientious man, thoroughly consecrated, most reliable, and of great moral weight amongst his brethren. He and Keresiano were the two who, when their lives were in great peril, and it was proposed to escape by boat, said, 'No, the missionary has placed us here, and here we will stay till he takes us away. If we die we die, if we live we are in the hands of God; our duty is to remain here.' Waunaea gave many years of faithful service. He was placed on Yule Island as the pioneer teacher there, but had to remove after a short residence owing to the murder of Dr. James and Mr. Thorngren by the natives. He died from fever near the Baxter River.

'Simone was one of the first to die from the deadly fever of the country. He was a native of Maré.

'Josaia was to Mr. Jones, of Maré, what Gucheng was to me at Lifu. He was one of the best trained of the native teachers; could speak and write several languages, English amongst them; could build a house and make the furniture, or build a boat and manage it well in rough weather. He could shoe a horse and ride it. His plantation was a model. He was also an expert fisherman. In addition to all this he was an exceptionally good schoolmaster, and an excellent preacher. Josaia was with me in starting the mission stations both in the eastern and western branches of the mission; then he settled down at Murray Island, and was of great service in helping to establish and carry on the Papuan Institute. He and his wife both lived to return to their native country.'

On May 31, 1871, the Surprise sailed from Lifu. 'It would be difficult,' writes Mr. Macfarlane, 'to describe our feelings as

we sailed towards that great land of cannibals, a land which, viewed from a scientific, political, commercial, or religious point of view, possesses an interest peculiarly its own. Whilst empires have risen, flourished, and decayed; whilst Christianity, science, and philosophy have been transforming nations, and travellers have been crossing polar seas and African deserts, and astonishing the world by their discoveries, New Guinea has remained the same: sitting in the blue, warm, Southern Ocean, kissing the equator at the north and shaking hands with Australia in the south, bearing on her bosom magnificent forests and luxuriant tropical vegetation, yet lifting her snow-capped head into the clear, cold atmosphere 17,000 feet above the level of the sea—steaming hot at the base, where the natives may be seen in the cocoa-nut groves mending their bows and poisoning their arrows, making their bamboo knives and spears, and revelling in war and cannibalism as they have been doing for ages, but freezing cold at the summit, where the foot of man has never disturbed the eternal snows. It was this *terra incognita* that we were approaching, with its primeval forests and mineral wealth and savage inhabitants[1].'

On June 29 Mount Owen Stanley was sighted, and the coast of New Guinea was made near Hood Point. But even when the land sought for was thus in sight the initial difficulties to be overcome were very great. It was an unknown and dangerous coast, and the captain would not take his vessel near the mainland, and so the coast region had to be explored in a small boat. The climate, as surmised by those who viewed the new land through eyes able to interpret the signs before them, was to prove a deadly foe. The dialects spoken by the natives differed so seriously that practically a new language was found every fifty miles. The absence of chiefs wielding power like those in Polynesia made it far less easy to secure proper protection for the native teachers.

[1] *Among the Cannibals*, pp. 14, 15.

Darnley Island was chosen as the site of the first attempt, in the hope that it might become the Iona of New Guinea. The Surprise arrived there on July 1, 1871, and intercourse with the people began through a native who was induced to come on board, and sent away with presents. On July 3 the people showed willingness to receive a native teacher, and thus the first stone in the foundation of the New Guinea Mission was laid. It was at Darnley Island, and on this occasion, that the famous incident, which so well illustrates the zeal and courage of the best native teachers, occurred. Some men from Murray Island, not liking the restraint which the establishment there of a mission would place upon their actions, tried to convince the teachers that it was a hopeless task. 'There are alligators there, and snakes and centipedes.' 'Hold,' said Tepesö; 'are there *men* there?' 'Oh yes, there are men: but they are such dreadful savages that it is no use your thinking of living among them.' 'That will do,' replied Tepesö; 'wherever there are men missionaries are bound to go.'

Ultimately two teachers were left on Darnley Island, Gucheng and Mataika. The latter was to proceed later on to Murray Island. Mr. Macfarlane records a touching incident which occurred when the goods of the teachers had been landed, and the Surprise was about to proceed on her voyage to the north. Gucheng's wife had for a time lost courage, and was weeping bitterly at the thought of being left among these strange and savage islanders. Just as Mr. Macfarlane unknown to them came up, he heard Gucheng say, 'We must remember for what we have come here. Not to get pearl shell, or trepang, or any earthly riches, but to tell these people about the true God and the loving Saviour Jesus Christ. We must think of what He suffered for us. If they kill us, or steal our goods, whatever we have to suffer, it will be very little compared with what He suffered for us.' Mr. Macfarlane adds, 'As we pulled off to the ship, and beheld the weeping little group on the beach, surrounded by naked noisy

savages, one could not help feeling how little the world knows of its truest heroes[1].'

After leaving Darnley Island the captain of the Surprise would not go nearer the main coast than Warrior Island. Consequently the teachers could be landed at the stations chosen on New Guinea itself only in a small boat. Dauan Island was first visited. It is only four or five miles from the mainland, and is separated from the large island of Saibai by a strait three miles wide.

'The first night we spent on shore was a memorable one. After all was landed, and our teachers were preparing the supper, Mr. Murray and I walked along the beach, and sat down by a creek, with the great land of New Guinea before us. The sun had set, and the dark outline of the land stretched away on either side. We were alone, for all the natives were busy with their evening meal. We sang a few of the good old missionary hymns, and prayed together, and talked of the great work we were beginning, with its probable consequences, both of a depressing and encouraging nature; but we little thought that we should live to see and hear of so many martyrs of the New Guinea Mission, most of them none the less martyrs because they have been struck down by the deadly fever of the climate, whilst others have fallen by the clubs, spears, and poison of the natives[2].'

Two teachers were left at Dauan, and then Katau on the mainland was visited; but it did not seem prudent on closer inspection to land the two teachers there. They were, however, introduced to the natives, who promised to receive and care for them; meanwhile they were stationed with the others at Dauan to study the language. A boat and supplies were left with the teachers, and then Mr. Macfarlane returned to Warrior Island. It took two days hard beating up against the strong trade wind for the little open boat to reach its point.

Half the plan had been thus completed, and Mr. Macfarlane was proceeding in the Surprise to station the other two

[1] *Among the Cannibals*, p. 37. [2] Ibid. p. 39.

teachers on the Fly River, when the news reached him that two of the teachers and their wives had fled from Dauan, and that it was feared the other two had been murdered. Hastening to Dauan once again in the open boat, this was what Mr. Macfarlane found. Two days after the teachers had landed a trading vessel called at Dauan. The captain sent his crew of South Sea Islanders ashore armed, and robbed the plantations of the natives. They were powerless to prevent this, but considering the teachers, inasmuch as they were South Sea Islanders, members of the tribe who had robbed them, the natives urged their chief to murder them all in revenge. Only the word of this savage stood between the teachers and death; but he remained firm. In the morning two of the four teachers fled in their boat; but the other two remained steadfast at their post. The boat was restored to the teachers at Dauan, and two other teachers were stationed at Warrior Island. It was thought that their presence would tend to restrain acts of violence by South Sea Islanders in the employ of the pearl fishers, and this proved to be the case.

After visiting Cape York, and revisiting Darnley Island, where all was found to be going well, the Surprise sailed across the Gulf of Papua to the mainland of New Guinea, making that coast off Yule Island. Redscar Bay was visited next, the captain being eager to find traces of gold. Natives were induced to come on board, and then the discovery was made that both in appearance and language the inhabitants of Eastern New Guinea resembled the Polynesians much more closely than did the Papuan tribes of the Gulf. This led Mr. Murray and Mr. Macfarlane to recommend the Directors to appoint a couple of missionaries from Eastern Polynesia, with a staff of native teachers, to begin the evangelization of Eastern New Guinea.

'It is a somewhat remarkable fact that the London Missionary Society was the only society in a position to supply missionaries and native evangelists from both Eastern and Western Polynesia, to meet the peculiar wants of a mission in New Guinea. Our society had just the kind of agency

needed for the evangelization of the two races in that portion of New Guinea which we intended to make the field of our mission, and which has now become a colony of Great Britain. Here was a fine field for mission work for the native churches of Polynesia: the Loyalty Islands Mission taking the dark race; and the Tahitian Mission, the Hervey Islands Mission, the Niue Mission, and the Samoan Mission, the lighter coloured tribes on the peninsula. If nothing more had been done in the South Seas than prepare a native agency for this great work, it would be a grand result[1].'

The return voyage to Lifu was stormy and lengthy, but the Surprise reached her destination safely on November 2, 1871. Thus ended the preliminary work in the latest and highly important extension of work undertaken by the London Missionary Society in the nineteenth century. For persistence on the part of the Directors in the face of great discouragement, for lavish expenditure of resources, for the skill, devotion, enterprise, and heroism of the noble band of missionaries who have extended the work, and for the enthusiasm, endurance, and faithfulness unto death, far beyond all praise, on the part of the magnificent band of native teachers engaged in its service, the New Guinea Mission has been equalled by few of the great evangelistic enterprises of the century.

Mr. Macfarlane returned almost at once to England, and in March, 1872, Mr. Murray, who had in the meantime settled down to mission work on the island of Maré, received a letter from the Directors instructing him to take charge of the New Guinea Mission. This necessitated his removal to Cape York. The John Williams was ordered there, and on September 14, 1872, Mr. Murray sailed in her from Lifu. A second band of native teachers went with him: four from Maré, three from Lifu, and one from Uvea. There were also six teachers from the Hervey group, and these had come in charge of the Rev. W. Wyatt Gill, then of Mangaia. Of this first group of Hervey Island

[1] *Among the Cannibals*, p. 59.

teachers, and the incidents attending their departure, Mr. Chalmers has given one of his graphic sketches:—

'My dear old friend and fellow worker, the Rev. Dr. Gill, had arranged to go home on his first furlough in 1872, and we decided in committee to ask him to take a number of teachers in charge, and with Mr. Murray place them on the mainland of New Guinea. Preparations were at once begun to get our first contingent away. At one early morning meeting the chapel was crowded, and I proposed that we should pray that God would help us to select the best men for the very important undertaking. At that meeting several old men stood up and said, "Take us all: if we cannot learn the language to speak for Jesus, we can live for Him, and help the younger men in station work." The enthusiasm was intense. Five men and their wives were selected, and from all the islands we had numerous offers of service. The time was drawing near when they must leave. Who that witnessed that "setting apart" Sunday at Avarua, Rarotonga, will ever forget it? Old men and women, young men and women, wept with real joy. That sobbed "Amen" of the setting-apart prayer of the whole assembly I hear now. Five men and their wives leaving home and friends and all that was dear to them for the name of the Lord Jesus Christ! I think of it now with wonder and praise. The churches and congregations were everywhere thrilled.

'The John Williams arrived and remained a few days. Then the parting came, a never-to-be forgotten day. Twenty-two years have gone since then, but the memory is still fresh. One of the five, Ruatoka, was sent with fear and trembling, being apparently in bad health and very weak, and I was strongly urged not to send him. He much wished to go, and thinking he could bear it, I agreed; and to-day he is the only one left—all the others are dead and buried. The names were:—Ruatoka and wife, from Mangaia; Rau and wife, from Aitutaki; Heneri and wife, from Manihiki; Adamu and wife, from Manihiki; Anederea and wife, from Rarotonga. They called at Aitutaki, and

there the interest was as intense as on Rarotonga and Mangaia. At Samoa they were joined by Piri and his wife, who were there in charge of a Rarotonga colony, so that they were now six[1].'

No reader of Mr. Chalmers' thrilling books needs to be reminded of Ruatoka's wonderful career. No higher praise can be afforded him than that he is probably the noblest of the long succession of Eastern Polynesian teachers who have done such grand service for New Guinea. In 1899 he was still alive and well and active as ever.

Cape York was reached on October 11. After a prospecting trip by Messrs. Murray and Gill in Torres Straits in a small steamer called the Wainui, they landed at Dauan on November 1, there to await the teachers who were being conveyed by Mr. Thorngren in a little vessel named the Viking. This reached Dauan on November 6, and the next morning four teachers, Josaia and Elia, two of the 1871 party, with Saneish and Pethin, two of the second party, were conveyed to Katau, which was reached the same evening. Josaia and Saneish were stationed at Katau; and Elia and Pethin on New Guinea itself, at Torotoram, or as it is now called Tureture, a few miles distant. November 7, 1872, thus becomes an ever-memorable day in the history of New Guinea, as the date upon which Christian teachers were first stationed upon the mainland of the vast island. On November 9 Uaunaea and Gutacene were sent to Moa (Banks Island), but afterwards moved to Mabuiag (Jervis Island). Murray and Gill had chartered a small vessel called the Loelia, and in her they sailed on November 11 to station the remaining teachers. They touched first at Ugar (Stephens Island), but there they met with what Mr. Murray tells us was 'the first and *only* refusal' he ever had either in Torres Straits or on the mainland. Darnley Island was next visited, and of the work there Mr. Murray wrote: 'Gucheng and his wife had completely won the affection and gained the confidence of the people. It would be too much to say that they

[1] *Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea*, pp. 22, 23.

esteemed them very highly in love for their work's sake, in the highest sense; but they understood and appreciated the temporal advantages which they derived from their presence.' Thence the Loelia sailed to the Murray Islands, three in number. Mer, the largest of the three, has become famous in New Guinea story. In 1871 a teacher, Mataika by name, had been intended for it. At his own request he had been left for a time with Gucheng, and it was hoped that in a few months a trader would convey him to Mer, but this was not realized.

'Mataika, however, was equal to the occasion. He was a John Williams in a small way. There was wood in the bush, and he had tools, and health and strength, and assistance could be had. Why not set to work and construct something that would carry him to Murray Islands? So he thought; and with the aid of his brother teacher, and two Lifu men who were on the island, he built a canoe. It was dug out of a single tree, but it was raised a little at the sides, that it might not so readily fill, should the sea be rough; and in this poor craft Mataika started for Murray Islands, which lie dead to windward, and are thirty miles distant from Darnley. He had a crew of five, including himself, viz. two Lifu men, and two natives of the islands to which he was bound. His object was to ascertain the disposition of the people—whether they would allow him to live among them as a teacher of a new religion. The voyage occupied one night and two days, and ended in the party reaching their destination in safety, and being well received. A boat was engaged belonging to a coloured man residing on the islands, in which Mataika returned to Darnley Island, and in which he and his wife and property were conveyed to Murray Islands, and so commenced the mission[1].'

From Murray Island the Loelia sailed on November 19 across the Gulf to Redscar Bay, and Manumanu[2] was

[1] *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia*, pp. 470, 471.

[2] For a full and very interesting account of the natives as they appeared at this time, see *Life in the Southern Isles*, by Wyatt Gill, pp. 247-263.

finally chosen as the site of the mission. This incident, even more important than that of November 7, is thus described by Mr. Murray:—

'We had seen nothing at all equal to Manumanu before on any part of the mainland or the islands. It stands on the banks of a large river [1], and has a large population for a heathen village. We counted ninety houses, many of which had two stories. The houses are placed in two straight rows, with a broad street between. They are similar in construction to the houses at Katau, but none that we saw are nearly so long as these. There was no mistaking the origin of the people. They are as evidently of the Malay type as their dark neighbours are of the Papuan. They gave us a very friendly reception, and reposed in us perfect confidence, and we saw no reason to distrust them. They signified their willingness that the teachers should remain amongst them; so, after looking round the place, we returned to the ship, and during the evening of that day, and on the following day, which was the Sabbath, we had very anxious consultations as to what plan we had best adopt with reference to the location of the teachers. We came to the conclusion that the best thing we could do under the circumstances was to leave the teachers together at Manumanu, to remain there till I might be able to return to them, which I hoped to do in a few months. In commencing a new mission, in a strange country, there must always of course be some risk. In the very nature of the case the thing is an experiment, and both teachers and missionaries must be prepared to take risk; but it is our part to do everything, of which the circumstances admit, to make the risk as small as possible.

'We left the teachers, six in number, Piri, Rau, Anederea, Ruatoka, Adamu, and Heneri, and their wives, with a good supply of food (so it was considered by all on board our vessel), and they had a supply of medicines, and a good

[1] 'To this river, of which we were the discoverers, we gave the name of the Manumanu River.'

boat, and a little trade. Part of their property had been left at Murray Islands, as it was not thought advisable to bring a large quantity of property among a heathen people. And, in all our experience throughout the South Seas, we have found that natives will not be allowed to starve among other natives, whereas the possession of a large amount of property might expose them to danger. Still, with all the precautions we could take, it was not without anxiety that we took our departure from Redscar Bay [1].'

On November 27 the Loelia left Redscar Bay for Bampton Island, 200 miles due west, and there, on December 1, landed two teachers, Cho and Mataio. The natives seemed so friendly that fears were entertained only on the score of health, the site to veterans like Murray and Gill appearing too low to be really healthy. From Bampton Island the Loelia returned to Cape York.

Mr. Murray remained at Cape York to superintend the infant mission. He had relied upon being able to charter a small vessel whenever he required one. But accidental circumstances have often greatly affected missionary work, and so it was then. The Queensland Government, in order to stop the abuses connected with the pearl fishery, had ordered every vessel in the Straits to procure a licence at Sydney or Brisbane. The result of this order was that during the first half of 1873, a most critical time for the native teachers, Mr. Murray was utterly unable to secure any vessel whatever, and consequently could hold no communication with the native teachers. Bad news reached him from Redscar Bay. Adamu had cut his foot and died from the wound, his wife having died a few days before him. The wife of another had died, and all were more or less disabled by sickness. Captain Moresby in the Basilisk was, at Mr. Murray's request, very kind and helpful, and brought two teachers with their wives back to Cape York, thus saving the life of at least

[1] *Forty Years' Mission Work in Polynesia*, pp. 473-475.

one of them. There had also been much sickness in the western mission. Mr. Murray's anxieties were further increased by the report that on March 12 the teachers on Bampton Island and their wives had all been murdered. Different versions of this tragedy were current at the time, and the teachers do not seem to have acted altogether as prudently as they might. Many years later some of the natives told Mr. Chalmers that the teachers had all died from sickness. It is more probable, however, that they were murdered, either for their property, which against the advice of Murray and Gill they had taken with them, or because they tried too energetically to restrain the evil habits of the savages. Mr. Murray, in the Viking, a vessel of only eight tons, managed to visit all the western stations, and was intending to risk the voyage in her to Redscar Bay. His health, however, prevented this. Meanwhile a gentleman named Orkney, in the old Loelia, which had been changed into a yacht, visited Manumanu, and alarmed at the enfeebled state of the teachers, brought them all back to Cape York. There they were enabled to recruit.

Captain Moresby had, in 1873, discovered the fine harbour, which has ever since after him been called Port Moresby. Though not free from drawbacks, it was yet undoubtedly less exposed to fever and ague than Manumanu. Thither, in November, 1873, Mr. Murray conveyed and stationed at a village in Port Moresby, called Hanuabada, the teachers Ruatoka and Anederea with their wives, and Rau and Heneri, whose wives had died at Manumanu. Piri and his wife, left behind at Cape York, because there was no room for them in the little vessel, were in March, 1874, stationed at Boera.

During 1873 and 1874 the Directors and Mr. Macfarlane had not been idle. The latter had aroused in the mind of Miss Baxter, a wealthy and benevolent lady of Dundee, so deep an interest in New Guinea that she presented to the mission a steamer of 36 tons register, named after her own home, the Ellengowan. The Directors decided that

four missionaries should superintend the New Guinea work: Mr. Macfarlane in Torres Straits, and the Rev. W. G. Lawes, of Niue, at Port Moresby. Each was to have a younger colleague. Mr. Macfarlane reached Cape York in July, 1874, and Mr. Lawes in October. In August the Ellengowan arrived, and was refitted for the mission use by Captain Nares of the Challenger, which vessel happened then to be calling at Cape York. The John Williams reached Somerset in November, and, accompanied by the Ellengowan, conveyed Mr. Lawes and his family to Port Moresby, anchoring there on November 21. In the course of little more than a week, by the combined labour of crews, teachers, and natives, the frame house which Mr. Lawes had brought from Sydney was put up and rendered habitable, and the mission upon the mainland of New Guinea fairly started upon its marvellous career.

Mr. Macfarlane, on the return of the Ellengowan, visited his stations, and then, in search of suitable positions for teachers, explored for ninety miles a large river some twenty miles to the west of Dauan, which he named the Baxter River. This region did not commend itself to his judgment as a suitable sphere for mission work. Later on he sailed some distance up the great Fly River. No high land having been discovered on the banks of either the Baxter or the Fly, and Port Moresby proving, like Manumanu, very unhealthy, the Ellengowan ran over to Hanuabada, and picking up Mr. Lawes, visited the south-east coast and east end of the island. The result of this trip was the establishment of mission-work at the eastern end of New Guinea. Thus in the course of three years mission-work had been begun in Torres Straits, at Port Moresby, and at the eastern extremity of New Guinea.

As the work in Torres Straits differed in important respects from that carried on upon the mainland, and as it was based upon a somewhat different conception of methods, it may be well to complete first the sketch of what has been attempted there. Darnley Island not proving suitable as the centre of the Torres Straits' Mission, Mr. Macfarlane

selected Murray Island in 1877, as the permanent centre of work. His desire was to found on Murray Island an institution, like those at Malua and Rarotonga, whence, after proper training, New Guinea native teachers might go forth to evangelize their own tribes. Side by side with this an industrial school was to teach young natives some of the arts of civilization. In 1877 Mr. Macfarlane visited East Cape on a mission which will be described later on. During the same year the Murray Islanders renounced idolatry, and in January, 1879, the Papuan Gulf Native College was inaugurated. The main convictions underlying Mr. Macfarlane's action were, first, that the mainland of New Guinea could be best evangelized from the islands in the Torres Straits; and, secondly, that native teachers could be best trained for their work by removing them when young quite away from their heathen surroundings and training them for several years in a school and college entirely under Christian influences. For both these ends Murray Island appeared to him eminently suited, and his ideal was to make it a strong centre from which the light of truth might be carried up the great Fly River and all along the Papuan Gulf coast of New Guinea.

The other view, acted upon by Mr. Lawes and his colleagues, was that mission-work in New Guinea could be done effectively only by living among and with the people. A fixed centre was needful, but it should be on or very near the mainland. Teachers should be placed wherever possible, and frequently visited, and superintended by the missionary.

Into the controversies which have arisen over these differing views we do not enter. But in the history of the New Guinea Mission it is needful to note that the results have not so far vindicated the Murray Island scheme. The reasons for this need not be set forth at length. Certainly among the chief were the rapid changes in the personnel of the mission. In the middle of 1879 Mr. Macfarlane revisited England, not returning to Murray Island until September, 1881, and in 1886 he retired from

the mission and took up permanent residence in England. In July, 1880, the Rev. Tait Scott was appointed to the mission, reaching Thursday Island in September of that year, but in less than two years he gave up the work, and retired from the Society's service. The Rev. Harry Scott reached Murray Island in December, 1883. He threw himself into the work of the Institution with energy and success, and in September, 1885, welcomed as his colleague the Rev. E. B. Savage. In 1886 Harry Scott's health failed, and he had to retire from the field—a serious blow to the work. In August, 1887, the Rev. A. E. Hunt reached Murray Island as colleague to Mr. Savage. Both men were relatively untried and inexperienced. Mr. Savage proved unequal to the responsibility placed upon him; and, at the request of the Directors, Mr. Hunt took up work at Matautu, Samoa. Thus after two years' further trial the condition of affairs had become so unsatisfactory that at Port Moresby in September, 1889, a committee meeting, attended by every European missionary on the New Guinea staff, decided upon the following important changes:—Murray Island, being too isolated and too distant from the mainland to serve as a good base, was no longer to be a chief, but only an out-station. A suitable spot much nearer the mainland was to be chosen and worked by Mr. Savage, under the superintendence of Mr. Chalmers. In 1891 Mr. Savage retired from the mission, and since that date what work has been done in the Fly River region has been superintended by Mr. Chalmers from Motumotu. The mere enumeration of these rapid changes, due to varying causes, accounts for the relative paucity of results in Western New Guinea. Whatever may be urged on theoretical grounds, the fact remains that in the Port Moresby and Eastern Districts much good work has been done, while in Western New Guinea hardly more than two or three permanent footholds have yet been obtained.

We now resume the story of the development of the mission at Port Moresby. In the latter part of 1874 the Rev. W. G. Lawes of Savage Island became permanent

missionary at this most important station. In a letter dated December 30, 1874, he writes: 'The present position and prospects of our mission are on the whole hopeful and encouraging. But you must take a very large discount off Mr. Murray's report. Things appeared very much brighter to him than they really are. No casual visitor, however often he may come, can get the same accurate knowledge which a resident acquires.' Mr. Lawes points out that the natives welcomed missionaries entirely because they hoped to get plenty of tobacco, tomahawks, shirts, and food. 'Our lives are as safe as they would be among any heathen savage tribes. A very little makes them angry, and then they run for bow and arrows and club. We have no intention of leaving unless the chiefs who promised us their protection say, Go. Of course they can have only a dim conception of the object of our mission, for teachers have only been a year with them, and no one has yet shown any disposition to embrace Christianity.'

Mr. Lawes' description of Port Moresby will answer for almost every village along the coast of South-eastern New Guinea.

'Port Moresby consists of the two villages of Hanuabada and Elevara. Our house is between the two, stands on high ground between two little hills, commands a fine view of the harbour in front and a pretty valley at the back, while lofty mountain ranges rise behind all. The harbour is a fine one, but has a nasty reef just at the entrance. The villages consist of about forty or fifty houses, each built close together, all on piles or rather poles, half way up which the sea comes at high tide. Fear of an evil spirit called Koitapu causes the natives to build their houses in the sea, and the same cause prevents them from going out of their houses landward after dark. The houses are clean and tidy. Each one has a sort of verandah in front, on which men and boys sit, smoke, talk, and sometimes make nets. Here too you may see a netted bag suspended swinging in the air, in which lies a young New Guinean fast asleep. Inside the houses fine long fishing nets hang,

with floats and sinkers, all well made. All their fish is caught with nets or speared; the use of fishhooks is unknown. Under and behind the houses are sure to be quantities of pottery in different stages of manufacture. The women only make these; they are of different shapes, the prevailing one being just the shape and size of the old Saxon urns as they are occasionally excavated in different parts of England. The women are by far the most industrious; the lords of creation are lazy scamps.

'There is no doubt, I think, of the Malayan origin of this people: their language alone indicates it sufficiently; they only inhabit the coast. I have seen some bushmen from the interior. They are darker in colour, have a finer physique, and speak a totally different language to the coast tribes; they are undoubtedly the indigenes of the land. The Malayans have driven them inland and taken possession of the coast. The people here never go inland to work unarmed. They are afraid of the bushmen, not as a body, but of stragglers who might surprise and kill them. Occasionally a man or woman is killed in this way.'

For a few months things went well at Port Moresby, but in the course of 1875 the prospect darkened. This was due partly to sickness, and partly to the fact that after the arrival of Mr. Lawes the natives showed a tendency to neglect and despise the native teachers. This was due not so much to defects in the teachers themselves as to the recognition by the natives of the white man's superiority, especially in his possessions and his power of making presents.

In a letter dated January 3, 1876, Mr. Lawes sums up the results of a year's work. The attendance at services is smaller, the spirit of inquiry less active. But on the other hand the confidence of the natives has been obtained, the object of the mission is better understood, the language has been reduced to writing, and seven stations are now occupied.

In 1876 the natives, in reprisal for previous outrages by white men, murdered Dr. James and Mr. Thorngren near

Yule Island, and for a time the lives of the teachers on that island were in great danger. Yet the chief under whose protection they were living carefully and vigorously protected them. But at Port Moresby affairs assumed a very critical aspect. Dr. W. Y. Turner had been appointed as a colleague to Mr. Lawes, and with his wife reached Port Moresby in March. In October, on account of Mrs. Turner's health, they returned to Somerset. There Mrs. Turner died on November 21, and Dr. Turner almost immediately abandoned the mission, his connection with the Society ceasing in October, 1877. In April, 1876, Mr. Macfarlane and Mr. Lawes visited the south-eastern end of New Guinea, and came to the conclusion that work ought also to be begun there. Prior to this, in December, 1875, Mr. Lawes had proceeded in the Mayri, a little vessel which had been acquired for the use of the mission, to the region of Hood Point and Bay, where he stationed some of the teachers who had been brought to Somerset by the John Williams. Hula and Kerepunu were the chief stations thus occupied.

In 1877 James Chalmers of Rarotonga was requested by the Directors to proceed to New Guinea, to begin and to superintend regular work at the south-east end of the island. This, in the experience of the next twenty years, proved to have been an appointment of the highest moment to Christian work in New Guinea. Mr. Chalmers was a born pioneer. He had worked for ten years in the Hervey group, he had trained many of the Rarotongan teachers, who had already begun to work in and around Port Moresby. His heart was full of love to New Guinea, and of the desire to carry thither the light of the Gospel. The new field and the novel conditions of life and work were to reveal the extraordinary qualities he possessed as explorer in overcoming the most serious difficulties, in winning the confidence of fierce and degraded savages, and in planting along the whole south-eastern coast of New Guinea centres of light and help. Some details of the next eighteen years of his life—and these bulk very largely in the history of the

mission—are given in his books: *Work and Adventure in New Guinea* (1885), *Pioneering in New Guinea* (1887), and *Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea* (1895). The reader who wishes to study the inner working of one of the most courageous and important of modern missions, abounding in thrilling incident, resolute bravery, and persistent endurance, should carefully study these volumes. To set forth here in any detail the work at the many villages and stations occupied by missionaries and native teachers between 1877 and 1895 is impossible. We can but indicate how the work grew and developed into its present importance.

It fell to Mr. Macfarlane to introduce Mr. Chalmers to his first post of work in New Guinea. In October, 1877, Macfarlane and Chalmers sailed along the south-eastern coast of New Guinea, in a little schooner called the Bertha, to explore the coast, and to fix upon a suitable central site for a mission station. Practically nothing was known at the time of either coast or people. Mr. Macfarlane was in charge of six Loyalty Island teachers, while Mr. Chalmers brought with him two Rarotongans, and at Kerepunu two more Rarotongans were taken on board. Teste Island was first visited, and two Loyalty teachers landed there; then Moresby Island was visited, and next East Cape, where teachers also were landed. Then they proceeded to South Cape, where Mr. Chalmers decided to begin work. Originally South Cape was supposed to be on the mainland, but it turned out to be on an island, which afterwards received the name of Stacey Island. The stations occupied by the Loyalty Islanders were for a time under the general superintendence of Mr. Macfarlane; those at and near South Cape or Suau, as it is often called, fell to Mr. Chalmers' charge. Very shortly such as continued in occupation became out-stations, superintended from Port Moresby. It was at Suau in 1878 that the earliest and some of the most exciting episodes in Mr. Chalmers' New Guinea career occurred. He went unarmed, he refused to give presents under compulsion, and from the first he exerted

a powerful influence over the superstitious and savage natives. Many times his own life and that of his courageous and devoted wife were in imminent peril, but God protected His servants. On the return of the Mayri, the captain, a man unable apparently to get on well with natives, shot dead one whom he believed to be on the point of attacking him. This placed the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Chalmers in the greatest danger.

'The principal people seemed friendly, and kept assuring us that all was right, we should not be harmed. Great was the wailing when the body was landed, and arms were up and down pretty frequently. Canoes began to crowd in from the regions around. A man who has all along been very friendly and kept close by us advised us strongly to leave during the night, as, assuredly, when the war canoes from the different parts came in, we should be murdered. Mrs. Chalmers decidedly opposed our leaving, saying that God had sent us, we were doing His work, and He would protect us[1].'

Not for the first time in the history of missions, when the decision to go or stay rested with a Christian lady, courage and faith triumphed over very present and very real peril. 'God has brought us here. We came to do Christ's work, and He will protect us.' All that has been done since these words fell from the lips of Mrs. Chalmers is an eloquent vindication of her faith and steadfastness.

Early in 1878 Mr. Chalmers explored a large part of the neighbouring coast. He sailed in the Ellengowan, visiting 105 villages. In 90 of these he was the first white man the natives had ever seen. It was on this journey that the famous club incident, since so frequently described by Mr. Chalmers in his public addresses, took place:—

'The tide was far out when our boat touched the beach. A crowd met us, and in every hand was a club or spear. I went on to the bow, to spring ashore, but was warned not to land. I told them I had come to see the chief, had a present for him, and must see him.

[1] *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, p. 58.

'"Give us your present, and we will give it to him, but you must not land."

'"I am Tamate, from Suau, and have come as a friend to visit your old chief, and I must land."

'An elderly woman came close up to the boat, saying, "You must not land, but I will take the present, or," pointing to a young man close by, "he will take it for his father," he being the chief's son.

'"No; I must see the chief for myself; but the son I should also like to know, and will give him a present too."

'Springing ashore, followed by the mate, a fine daring fellow, much accustomed to roughing it on the diggings, and not the least afraid of natives, I walked up the long beach to the village, to the chief's house. The old man was seated on the platform in front of the house, and did not even deign to rise to receive us. I told him who I was, and the object of my coming. He heard me through, and treated the whole as stale news. I placed my present on the platform in front of him, and waited for some word of satisfaction; but none escaped the stern old chieftain. Presents of beads were handed to little children in arms, but indignantly returned. Loud laughing in the outskirts of crowd, and little jostling.

'"Gould," said I to the mate, "I think we had better get away from here; keep eyes all round, and let us make quietly to the beach."

'To the chief I said, "Friend, I am going, you stay." Lifting his eyebrows, he said, "Go."

'We were followed by the crowd, one man with a large round club walking behind me, and uncomfortably near. Had I that club in my hand, I should feel a little more comfortable. When on the beach we saw the canoes had left the vessel, and were hurrying ashore; our boat was soon afloat; still, we had some distance to go. I must have that club, or I fear that club will have me. I had a large piece of hoop-iron, such as is highly prized by the natives, in my satchel; taking it, I wheeled quickly round, presented it to

the savage, whose eyes were dazzled as with a bar of gold. With my left hand I caught the club, and before he became conscious of what was done I was heading the procession, armed as a savage, and a good deal more comfortable. We got safely away[1].'

In many conversations with the writer the great missionary has affirmed and reaffirmed, with many striking illustrations, his belief in a special Providence. In some cases God, for reasons beyond our ken, permits the young and enthusiastic and able worker to fall at the very beginning of the work that seems so needful, and for which he seems so fitted. In others God brings His servant time after time safely through perils, the escape from which can be traced only to the Divine protecting Hand. More times than he can well number has James Chalmers fearlessly and safely walked with only a step between him and death. Here is one out of many such experiences:—

'After visiting the Keakaro and Aroma districts, our journeyings were nearly brought to a sudden termination. When we got halfway between the point next to Macfarlane Harbour, and Mailu, where there is a boat entrance, we saw the boat, and waved to them to approach. They came near to the surf, but not near enough for us to get on board. I called out to them to proceed to the boat entrance at Mailu. Great numbers of natives were with us; we saw, in the distance, numbers more sitting on the beach, and armed. Some of those following us were armed. When within two miles of where the boat was to await us, we came upon a crowd of men and women; the former carried spears, clubs, or pieces of hard wood, used in opening cocoa-nuts; the women had clubs. Some time before this, I said to the teacher and Loyalty Islander, "Keep a good look out; I fear there is mischief here." When we came upon the last group, I asked for a cocoa-nut in exchange for beads; the man was giving it to me, when a young man stepped forward and sent him back. We hastened our steps, so as to get to the village, where

[1] *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, pp. 66, 67.

the strangers from Mailukolo and Kapumari might help us. The teacher heard them discussing as to the best place for the attack; and, not knowing that he knew what they said, he heard much that left no doubt in our minds that murder was meant. I carried a satchel, which had beads and hoop-iron in it; they tried to get it. I gave presents of beads; some were indignantly returned. I was in front, between two men with clubs, who kept telling me I was a bad man. I held their hands, and kept them so that they could not use their clubs. The Loyalty Islander had a fowling-piece, thinking we might be away some days, and we might have to shoot our dinners. They tried hard to get him to fire it off, and twice tried to wrest it from him. They knew what guns were, and with reason. They tried to trip us; they jostled us. On we went.

'Two other men, when near the village, came close up behind me with large wooden clubs, which were taken from them by two women, who ran off to the village. Things looked black, and each of us prayed in silence to Him who rules over the heathen. Soon a man came rushing along, seized the club, and took it from the man on my left, and threw it in the sea. He tried to do the same with the one on my right; but he was too light a man, and did not succeed. An old woman, when at the point, came out and asked them what they meant, and followed us, talking to them all the way, so dividing their thoughts. An old chief, whom we saw on our way up, came hurriedly along to meet us, calling out, "Mine is the peace! What have these foreigners done that you want to kill them?" He closed up to the teacher, and took him by the hand. Another chief walked close behind me. They began to talk loudly amongst themselves. Some were finding fault that we should have been allowed to get near the village, and others that there was yet time. The boat was anchored some distance off: we got her nearer; and, when ready to move off to the boat, I opened my satchel, gave hoop-iron to our friends the chiefs, and threw beads amongst the crowd. I shouted for Kapumari, and a sturdy young fellow fought his way

through the crowd. I gave him a piece of hoop-iron, and, with our friendly chiefs, he forced the crowd back, calling on us to be quick and follow. So into the water we got, the chiefs calling, "Go quick; go quick!" We got on board; our Chinamen got flustered, and very nearly let the boat drift broadside on the beach; we, with poles and oars, got her round and off, sails set, and away for Kerepunu. Before changing clothes, we thanked God our Father for His protection and care over us. We felt He alone did all; unsettled their thoughts as to who first, where, and when; and it was He who gave us friends.

'Why should they want to kill us? It was surely never for the small satchel I carried. I believe it was revenge. Some years ago a vessel called off Aroma; trading for food was done on board; thieving went on; food was sold twice: revolvers and rifles were brought out; the natives were fired on, several were wounded, and very likely some were killed. Natives on the beach were fired upon, and some were wounded who were hiding in the bush close by. We land—the first foreigners to visit them—and on us they will be revenged. What a pity that the same foreigners who fire on the natives do not return the following week, and so receive their deserts[1]!'

During 1878 a vigorous attempt was made to consolidate the Eastern Mission. Samarai, better known as Dinner Island, was made chief station by Mr. Macfarlane, and several new stations were opened up around Milne Bay. Mr. Chalmers also visited the districts of Farm and Orangerie Bays, and placed teachers at the Leocadie Islands, Savaia, Isuisu, Dufaure, and Orangerie Bay. Meanwhile Mrs. Chalmers' health failed, and in September, 1878, she left for Sydney, where she died, February 20, 1879. Mr. Chalmers remained in New Guinea, and after a short visit to Sydney subsequent to his wife's death, returned and threw himself with greater energy than ever into the work of exploration and stationing teachers.

[1] *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, pp. 80–83.

On November 22, 1879, in company with Mr. Beswick, who had reached New Guinea in January of that year, and Piri, one of the first band of Rarotongan teachers, Mr. Chalmers started to explore the Gulf of Papua. Brief visits had previously been paid by travellers, traders, and Mr. Macfarlane, to points on this coast, but very little was really known about it. The natives were believed to be the most ferocious and degraded on the island. On this occasion Mr. Chalmers visited and practically opened to missionary efforts the coast-line from Yule Island to Bald Head, containing such now well-known villages and stations as Maiva, Oiapu, Jokea, Motumotu, Vailala, and Orokolo. It was during this journey that Mr. Chalmers first sketched the plan of work adopted in later years of making Motumotu his head quarters, and working from thence as a permanent centre the whole coast-line of the Papuan Gulf.

For some time to come journeys of this kind made up the bulk of work done, and of work possible. To get to know the country, to get on terms of acquaintanceship and of friendly relations with the people, to gain by skilful presents their good will, and to enable them dimly to comprehend why mission work was being undertaken on their behalf, to place wherever possible good native teachers—these things month by month were laying broad and fair the foundations for future successful work. During 1879–1882 Mr. Lawes at Port Moresby was more and more perfectly acquiring the language, preparing the needful elementary books, and first translations of the Gospels, founding, conducting, and developing the training institution for New Guinea natives. Mr. Chalmers was making himself known from South Cape to Bald Head, everywhere as the friend, the teacher, and the helper of the natives.

It is not always easy for those at home to realize how necessary, nay how indispensable, work of this kind is among savage peoples. They are impatient for results, and too often even the missionary grows either too hasty in judging fruitfulness or too sanguine in his outlook. Mr.

Chalmers rarely yields to this weakness, as an illustration will prove.

'On the Sunday after landing at Delena we went down and had service in the village. Kone interpreted into Lolo. When telling the people we had no work for them on Sunday, Kone said: "Oh! we know, and we, too, are going to be *helaga* (sacred) to-morrow." I asked him, "Come, Kone, how do you know?" "From Boera." I met a lad repeating the Lord's Prayer in Motu, and found he had been taught by Piri. The Motu tribe has already had great influence, and will have more and more every year. I have an interesting class of children, and hope, before we leave, they will know their letters well. What nonsense one could write of the reception here—such as "Everybody at service this morning listened attentively; commented on address or conversation; children all come to school, so intelligent, and seemingly anxious to learn; and, altogether, prospects are bright." At home they would say, Why, they are being converted; see the speedy triumph! Alas! they are but savages, pure and simple, rejoicing in the prospect of an unlimited supply of tobacco, beads, and tomahawks[1].'

On December 12, 1880, Chalmers wrote home as follows:

'May I ask you to still wait awhile for a report on the mission. Sometimes in the boat I have found it difficult to say whether it was the first streaks of dawn I saw or not; so waited a little, and if they increased there was no doubt left. We are in that state here. I think it is morning breaking, but I want to be sure. Natives do many things like parrots—pray, keep Sabbath, and come to services, so that I would not put too much trust in their doings. We have all these and something more, I think, a few who really pray, and whose lives are working parallel.'

On March 7, 1881, the Kalo Massacre occurred, an event which illustrates the risks of mission work among excitable and cruel savages. Kalo is a village at the head of Hood Bay, at which for some time Anederea, one of the original Rarotongan teachers, had been stationed. The teacher at

[1] *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, pp. 210, 211.

Hula, Taria by name, heard a rumour that the Kalo people were going to kill their teacher. With an inland teacher named Matatuhi, who wished to visit Anederea to get some medicine, Taria visited Kalo, told Anederea what he had heard, and urged him to leave. He refused to believe the report, and would not abandon his work. Matatuhi remained with him, but two days later, March 7, Taria returned, having with him in his boat the Kerepunu teacher and his wife, whom he was removing for the benefit of their health. Anederea, his wife and two children, with Matatuhi, came down to the boat and got into it. A chief who had all along pretended to be friendly to the teachers then gave a preconcerted signal, and ten persons were immediately speared. The only reason assigned for the savage deed was that the people of Kalo wished to rival the deeds of their neighbours, who had recently murdered some foreigners. The teachers murdered on this occasion were some of the best ever stationed in New Guinea.

In 1884 the British Protectorate was formally proclaimed over a large part of south-eastern New Guinea, first at Port Moresby, then at certain stations in the Papuan Gulf, then at the eastern extremity, and finally along part of the north-eastern coast. Every effort was made on the part of Her Majesty's officers to enable the natives correctly to understand the meaning of the Protectorate, and in this effort Mr. Lawes and Mr. Chalmers, acting as interpreters, were able to be of the greatest possible assistance. It was of incalculable benefit to the natives at the time of the annexation that the two whites who possessed so powerful an influence over the native mind were earnest active Christian men.

The following unpublished letter from Mr. Lawes enables the reader to picture the condition of the New Guinea work. It is dated October 30, 1884.

'Before you get this you will have learnt that New Guinea is proclaimed a British Protectorate. H. M. S. Harrier came last week with Mr. Romilly, Deputy Commissioner, on board. He was authorized to proclaim the

Protectorate, and at the same time to announce that all purchase of land from the natives was strictly prohibited. A week ago to-day the ceremony of hoisting the Union Jack and saluting it took place. Mr. Romilly read the proclamation. I read a translation of it at his request, and explained it briefly to the people. The flag was then hauled up, I offered prayer, and directly after twenty blue-jackets fired a *feu de joie* in honour of the flag. So ended the ceremony of adding a country larger than Great Britain to the dependencies of the British Empire. This is the second time that our flagstaff has been honoured by hoisting on it and saluting the English flag.

'The Sunday before all this happened we had a ceremony of a different kind in the church—one which in many respects was more important, and is likely to have a greater influence on the people of New Guinea. On that day the first student from our college here was publicly set apart for the work of the Christian ministry. Eight others will be the subjects of a like dedicatory service next Sabbath. The appointment of these young men has created a wonderful amount of interest and enthusiasm. We were afraid that when the time came for them to go out there would be a great objection to going far away. Instead of that they are all anxious for "foreign" work, and those to be placed in villages near want to be sent by-and-by to regions beyond. The reason for the ordination of one before the others was that the Ellengowan was going west, and the large Kevori district there had just been left teacherless by the death of their recently appointed Tahitian teacher, Tuaana. Rarna goes to take his place. Most of the others are going to places where we have had foreign teachers. How glad we are to be able to fill these gaps with natives about whose health we need not be anxious.

'You will wonder, perhaps, what are the qualifications of these young men who are now going out. They have been two years with us here, we know them well, and have no doubt whatever of their fitness for the work to which they

are going. Just such men as these have been most highly honoured of God in our South Sea Island Mission. The early pioneer teachers in the South Seas had not as much knowledge as these New Guinea pioneers. They have the Gospels of Matthew and Mark in their own language, can read them well, and have a fair grasp of their contents. Their Christian character from the time of their admission to the church until now has been thoroughly consistent.

'The expense of training these young men has been very small. You have no training institution connected with the London Missionary Society that is so cheap. Thirty shillings will cover all expense of a man and his wife for keep for one year, and clothes come to about the same. It is an immense advantage that all the instruction we give and all the books they have are in their own language, or in a language which is so near their own that they understand it thoroughly in a few weeks. No advantages of non-residence, or deportation to an island miles away, can ever compensate for the loss of this.

'It is ten years next month since Mrs. Lawes and I landed here at Port Moresby. I have no wish to take stock or weigh results, but I rejoice and thank God for all that my eyes see and my ears hear. *He* has blessed His work beyond all our expectations. A church has been formed, teachers sent out, and the four Gospels translated into the language of the people. Through His grace the foundation has been laid upon which a grand temple may rise to His glory. I look upon the completion of the Gospels as the necessary complement to the appointment of the teachers. Without that portion of the Word of God they would go out but poorly equipped, and at best with but a few weeks' rations. No translation from a translation made by a South Sea Island teacher can be worth much. One of our best teachers, Pi, at South Cape, prepared at our request the Gospel of Mark in that dialect. We intended having it printed, but when Mr. Chalmers began revising it, with some of our South Cape students, he soon found that it was a hopeless task attempting to correct it.'

For years the Roman Catholics had been trying to gain a footing in New Guinea. At length, in 1886, Yule Island was permanently occupied by them, and after discussion and mutual agreement the Society withdrew the native teacher whom for some time it had maintained there.

Owing to some informality, or to the receipt of late instructions, the British Protectorate was again proclaimed on November 6, 1884, at Port Moresby, by Commodore Erskine, of H.M.S. Nelson, who was in command of a small fleet. Mr. Chalmers accompanied the squadron as far west as Motumotu, and then as far east as Teste Island. In December, 1884, Commander Ross, of the Raven, received orders to proceed at once to Huon Gulf and there hoist the British flag. This expedition also Mr. Chalmers accompanied, placing at the service of the Government his unrivalled knowledge of the natives and of their habits and customs. The first Special Commissioner appointed to New Guinea was Sir Peter Scratchley. In the latter part of 1885 he reached New Guinea and visited all the chief places in his district. He was anxious to have the benefit of Chalmers' services in introducing him to the chiefs, and in securing on their part a proper understanding of the new relations of the British Government towards them. Although his furlough was many years overdue, so important did Chalmers feel this work to be, that he postponed it another year, and accompanied the general throughout his whole first visit of inspection. Unfortunately the general contracted the New Guinea fever in such a severe form that he had to return to Australia, and there died—a great loss to New Guinea. His successor, Sir William MacGregor, resembled him in two most important respects—deep interest in, and active effort to secure the best interests of the natives under his control; and the desire to consult, and frequently to be guided in his decisions by the knowledge and experience of the resident missionaries. So far at least the annexation of a large part of New Guinea has been wholly beneficial to the native population.

The last step in the series of political changes was taken

in 1888, when British New Guinea was formally annexed, and British sovereignty proclaimed over the whole of it. A letter from Mr. Lawes, dated Port Moresby, September 24, 1888, is of special interest in this connection :—

'The long-expected proclamation of British sovereignty was duly performed on the 4th inst. British New Guinea is now a part of the Queen's dominions, and the people of it are as much her subjects as you and I. On the morning of that day the Harrier with Tamate on board left for Thursday Island, so that, to our regret, he was not present at the inaugural function. There was not much display, and it was well that there was not, for flag-hoisting must seem to the natives to be a white man's amusement. The function of the 4th was the tenth at which I had been present on New Guinea. It is getting monotonous.

'The Proclamation was duly read, Dr. MacGregor's appointment as Administrator, the Letters Patent containing his instructions, &c.; then the oaths of allegiance and office were administered by Capt. Bosanquet of H.M.S. Opal, the Royal Standard was hoisted and saluted with twenty-one guns from the Opal, the marines fired a *feu de joie*, three cheers for the Queen were given by her white subjects, and the ceremony ended, so far as the official programme was concerned. But as soon as the English cheers died away a party of well-dressed New Guineans stood up behind the flag-staff and sang clearly and well a verse of God save the Queen. It took the officers and men quite by surprise. Dr. MacGregor expressed his surprise and pleasure at this unexpected addition to the ceremony. Of course it was done by our mission young men and women. When I saw them grouped behind the flag-staff, I sent a message to them which they obeyed very nicely.

'I think the bearing of this new order on our work will be for good. Dr. MacGregor is a man who thoroughly understands natives, and in his long Fijian experience has become well acquainted with the work of the Wesleyan mission, and with the persons of the teachers. This is an

enormous advantage, and one for which we may be deeply grateful. Any one who knows the misunderstandings and friction of the last three years will appreciate it. I am quite certain that the natives and mission have a good friend in Dr. MacGregor.

'Already laws (officially called Ordinances) have been passed by which the land has been secured to the natives in a more stringent manner than we dared to hope for. Deportation of natives has been made illegal, and the introduction of intoxicants, opium, firearms, and explosives is prohibited.'

The development of Christian life and work in the New Guinea Mission must form part of the second century of the Society's history. All that can be claimed at present (1899) is that the needful pioneer work has been done; vast influence over the native mind has been obtained; many very hopeful stations have been commenced; and in a large number of individual cases the Gospel has brought life and joy and peace to dark and savage hearts. But the conditions of work have been hard, and the changes in staff, due to sickness and other causes, have been very rapid, and this necessarily has hindered the progress of the work. In 1885 Mr. Watson Sharpe reached Port Moresby, and in 1886 he died. In 1887 Mr. Pearse of Raiatea came to New Guinea. He, like Macfarlane, Lawes, and Chalmers, had served a long and useful apprenticeship in the South Seas. For the last eight years he has been a most effective worker at Kerepunu. In 1888 Messrs. Walker and Dauncey, two young active men who had just completed their course at Cheshunt College, arrived; and under the former the work at Suau has been steadily maintained and developed. In 1890 Mr. Abel reached New Guinea.

In 1891 the head quarters of the Eastern Mission were removed from Suau to Kwato. Samarai or Dinner Island was requisitioned by the Government. In exchange they presented the Society with the island of Kwato, only a few miles west of Samarai, and this Mr. Walker selected as the best permanent centre of work. Here he was joined by

Mr. C. W. Abel, who carried on the central work, while Mr. Walker superintended the out-stations. In 1891 also the natives of Niue presented to this branch of the mission a fine little vessel called after the name of their own island. During 1892 the work went steadily forward. Mr. Walker, visiting Sydney for his health, carried through the press there the Gospel of Mark; a hymn-book, containing also a Catechism, the Commandments, and the Lord's Prayer; and a lesson-book, all in the Suau language. Mr. Abel reported an attendance at Kwato of twenty-four students and wives, with eighty-two boys and girls in the school. In 1894 the work at Kwato passed entirely under Mr. Abel's care, Mr. Walker having removed to Motumotu to take charge of Mr. Chalmers' district during his absence in England at the Centenary celebrations.

At Kerepunu under Mr. Pearse the work has steadily grown in importance and success. A Christian Church is being surely and effectively built up there. In this district the most manifest and wide-spread evidences of blessing are found. In 1895 the number of communicants at Kerepunu was 515. School work is also actively superintended, and a considerable part of the New Testament has been translated into the vernacular.

Port Moresby, on the other hand, has retrograded. As at Papeete, Apia, and other ports, the influences adverse to Christian life are very strong. So keenly was this felt to be the case, that in 1894 the training institution was removed to Vatorata, a district situated to the eastward of Port Moresby, a short distance inland from Kapakapa. The aim of Dr. Lawes was to establish there an institution on the lines of Malua, free from the special hindrances at Port Moresby, and capable of training good native pastors for the coast-line a good distance on either side of Port Moresby. Here also he superintended that literary work which is of such incalculable importance for the future. The New Testament has been translated into Motuan, and printed by the Bible Society. An Old Testament history, a school geography and arithmetic, a hymn-book

containing 204 hymns, and other less important works have been issued. Similar work in the languages of the respective regions, but on a smaller scale, is being carried on at Kerepunu, Kwato, and Jokea. In 1894 Mr. A. E. Hunt returned from Samoa to New Guinea to reside and continue mission-work at Port Moresby.

Toward the close of 1891 Mr. Chalmers purchased the steam launch Miro, and in this, during 1892 and 1893, many visits were made to all the stations in Torres Straits and along the coast of the mainland. One considerable journey up the Fly River was also made. The evangelization of the banks of that great stream is still a dream of the future. The wise course seems to be to strengthen as much as possible the work at those stations which the experience of twenty-five years has shown to be most hopeful. Then, as the work consolidates there, a sound and reliable base will be obtained for the still greater extension of the work necessary to win all New Guinea to Christ.

At the present moment (1899) mission-work is being actively carried on from Milne Bay to Bald Head. By friendly arrangement the north-east coast-line, with the adjacent islands, from Milne Bay to Cape Vogel, is entrusted to the Australasian Wesleyan Missionary Society; and from Cape Vogel to the Mitre Rock, to the Australian Church of England Mission.

The number of London Missionary Society native teachers varies from year to year, but on the whole the list of stations and of teachers is steadily lengthening. The rate of progress varies at each station, just as the people themselves differ, and also the mental and spiritual qualities of the teachers. But good work is going on, sometimes quickly, sometimes slowly, but ever *going on*. Each station is a centre of light and help for the surrounding region.

The mission possesses exceptional value and interest from the fact that the native teachers, the men and women who carry on the arduous work of these stations, are themselves the fruit of missionary work in Polynesia. During the last twenty-five years the flower of Christian

manhood and womanhood in Samoa, Rarotonga, the Loyalty Islands, and other parts of Polynesia have devoted themselves to the great task of evangelizing New Guinea. Not a few have been murdered; many more have succumbed to the climate; many have spent themselves in the work. But as the workers have fallen others have always pressed forward, eagerly and willingly to fill the places of those who have finished their course. No episode in modern missions is more thrilling and inspiring than the story of what the Polynesian native teachers have done and have suffered for New Guinea.

New Guinea has been fortunate also in many of the European workers sent there, but it is one of the most difficult fields to work successfully. The Society has no reason to be ashamed of the twenty-five years of preparation. It is for the Church at home, during the next twenty-five years, so to labour and to pray as to banish for ever from that great island the darkness of savagery and of ignorance of the Gospel.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Among the Cannibals of New Guinea*, by S. A. Macfarlane; *Forty Years in Polynesia*, by A. W. Murray; *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, by James Chalmers and W. Wyatt Gill; *Pioneering in New Guinea*; and *Pioneer Life and Work in New Guinea*, by James Chalmers.]

CHAPTER XIV

A CENTURY'S RESULTS IN POLYNESIA

IT would be a fascinating task to set forth in detail the results in Polynesia of a century's Christian toil and self-sacrifice. This volume deals with the work of one Society, first in the field, it is true; yet now only one out of many co-operating in the good work. A complete treatment of this subject is, therefore, impossible. But at the close of our wide survey it may be well to summarize the main benefits and blessings which Christianity has conferred upon these islands of the sea.

1. Heathenism, with its most degrading and superstitious observances, *has practically disappeared* from every island and group to which the Gospel has been carried. Only those who have taken the trouble to realize what heathenism meant—the absence of the very idea of morality, cruelty, cannibalism, tyrannical superstition, the discomfort of daily life, an abiding reign of terror, the degradation of women, absolute disregard of human life—can begin to measure the beneficial results achieved by its overthrow.

2. Wherever the Gospel has come, *civilization has followed* in its train. In Tahiti not a native would work regularly, or admit that any of the observances of civilized life were preferable to his own customs, until he had embraced 'the new doctrine.' It was only after Christianity had conquered that a civilization, even then very halting and imperfect, so much as *began* to establish itself. To-day, while there is

much capable of greater improvement in the way of comfortable homes, of civilized habits, of settled law and customs, and enjoyment of the fruits of labour, the whole of Polynesian life has been lifted up to a much higher level. That civilization alone would not have done this is proved by the fact that the universal testimony of those competent to judge is that one of the deadliest foes to true progress in the Pacific has been the presence and influence of unchristian 'civilized' men. These are the men who have attempted, only too successfully, in spite of all legislative enactments, to bring drink to the natives, destroying them body and soul; these are the men who have supported all the kidnapping cruelties and miseries; and by these men native women all over the Pacific have been encouraged in an immorality even more debasing than the heathenism of past generations. It is from observers of this class that many of the oft-refuted and oft-repeated slanders upon Christian work in the Pacific have proceeded.

3. Intercourse between the islands has been developed by the missionary ships. A missionary ship first carried the Gospel to Polynesia. John Williams' keen eye soon saw that only by missionary ships could the work be successfully maintained and developed. Reference has been made above to the Hawcis, the Endeavour, and the Messenger of Peace. It was not until the visit of Williams to England in 1834 that the supporters of the Society recognized the need for, and the importance of, a vessel of their own. There have been in all five of these beneficent vessels.

(1) The Camden, a vessel of about 200 tons, purchased by Mr. Williams for £400, which sailed on her first missionary voyage under Captain Morgan on April 11, 1838. She did much useful service, but on her return to England in 1843 was sold.

(2) The first John Williams, a vessel given to the work by the children, who raised no less a sum than £6,237. She was launched on March 20, 1844, at Harwich, and wrecked upon Danger Island in 1864.

(3) The second John Williams, built in 1865, and wrecked at Niue during her first voyage on Jan. 8, 1867.

(4) The third John Williams, which, built in 1868, under the skilful guidance first of Captain Morgan, and then of Captain Turpie, carried on her most needful and beneficial service until replaced, in 1894, by a steamer.

(5) The fourth John Williams became a necessity owing to the growth of the work. The circuit of the missionary ship had by 1890 come to mean a voyage of 15,000 miles, with thirty-eight places of call, hardly any promising secure anchorage. For this great work a sailing-vessel had become inadequate. Hence in 1893–1894, at a cost of just over £17,000, the first steamer owned by the Society was built. She is so constructed as to be able to sail whenever there is a suitable wind, and she can carry coal enough for a voyage of 9,000 miles.

The contrast between the Messenger of Peace and the fourth John Williams, between the short and dangerous run from Rarotonga to Raiatea and Tahiti, and the 15,000 miles' circuit of the steamer is one measure of what Christianity has done in Polynesia. It has enlarged the horizon of every island; it has brought them into touch with the great world; it has imparted new hopes, new thoughts, and new desires, and done much to satisfy all these. The influence of these missionary ships has been very great. They have conveyed the European missionaries and the native pastors to their respective stations; they have carried students from dark heathen islands to the various training institutions, and in due time sent them back trained, each to become a centre of light and civilization, to his place of service. They have facilitated intercourse between the islands. They have enabled something like an adequate superintendence of out-stations to be maintained. They have been a terror to evildoers, men-stealers, and the like, and have been a potent force in restraining other vessels from deeds of violence. The fact that, at stated intervals, a Christian ship visits so many of the islands

has in itself been the source of many direct and indirect blessings to the natives of widely scattered groups.

4. Wherever the Gospel has been received *education has followed.* The chapel and the school-house stand side by side over the wide Pacific. Christianity has also endeavoured to secure a true native ministry by the establishment in every suitable place of institutions and colleges for the training of the most intelligent natives.

5. It is to missionary efforts that all *South Sea literature* is due. So far as we know there is not a single case on record of the reduction to writing of a Polynesian language by other than a Christian worker. Tahiti, Rarotonga, Samoa, Niue, Lifu, Maré, Uvea, and New Guinea have all received the complete Word of God, or the most important portions of it, in their native tongue as a result of the labours of the London Missionary Society. Other Societies have also done noble service in the same direction, as in New Zealand, Fiji, and the Sandwich Islands. And in receiving the Word of God the natives receive a whole literature; they receive what has already in some cases proved the germ of a true native literature saturated with Gospel influence. If Christianity rested its claims merely upon its literary achievements, she would have ample justification for all the expenditure of money and labour and life this has involved.

6. Polynesia has herself become the centre of much valuable missionary extension work. Preceding chapters have borne ample testimony to the heroic self-sacrifice exhibited by Polynesian Christians from the Society Islands, Samoa, Rarotonga, and other evangelical islands in the New Hebrides and in New Guinea.

7. Statistics are not wanting in connection with Polynesian work, but they are not very reliable evidences of true progress. It would be easy to show remarkable numbers as a proof of Christian progress; for example, in Tahiti in 1818, in the Sandwich Islands in 1838, in Lifu and Maré in 1864, in Fiji in 1845. But true growth is not measured in this way. All through the century there have been

abundant and remarkable instances of how the Gospel transforms the evil heart of man. Tamatoa, chief of Raiatea; Papeiha, evangelist of Rarotonga; Ruatoka, of New Guinea, and hosts of others, are proofs of this. But in considering what Christianity has done over so wide an area as the Pacific, and during so long a period as a century, we need a wider outlook than the individual. What the Gospel has done towards *lifting Polynesia in the scale of manhood* is the true test by which Christianity will stand or fall. The refusal of a Samoan to take part in a tribal war because war is contrary to the Gospel is a far more eloquent testimony to the power of the truth than the enrolment of a dozen Samoan names upon a church roll, some of whom fall away when war breaks out. Makea, chief of Rarotonga, *voluntarily* offering himself for punishment in the presence of all his people, who marvel at a chief submitting to punishment on any pretext, is a more powerful evidence of the growth of Christian ideas than the announcement of the conversion of a dozen chieftains. It is along this line that Christian results are to be sought. And hither all testimony converges. One century cannot absolutely overcome the inherited tendencies of many centuries of heathenism. If, with more than ten centuries of Christianity behind them, the most civilized nations in the world are still so far from the Christian ideal, none need be surprised at the obvious drawbacks and defects of Polynesian Christianity.

But, making all due allowance in this direction, the growth has been very rapid. Tahiti in 1810 was wholly heathen; to-day she is among the semi-civilized nations, with strong elements of Christian growth and culture. New Guinea in 1870 was a *terra incognita*, wholly in darkness, cruelty, and savagery of the worst kind; to-day she is full of points of light, from which the light will shine out ever more and more unto the perfect day. And what is true of the earliest and of the latest Polynesian mission is true, in more or less degree, of every mission that has found a place between them.

AFRICA

1. 'Ethiopia shall haste to stretch out her hands unto God.'—PSALM lxviii. 31 (R.V.).

2. 'The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light: they that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined.'—ISAIAH ix. 2 (R.V.).

3. 'Did then this plan spring forth only out of your own heart?'—The question of Gaika, the Kafir chief, to Vanderkemp, 1799.

4. 'We need more faith in the Bank of Heaven.'—ROBERT MOFFAT.

5. 'To me those who never heard the Gospel are greater objects of compassion than those who have heard it for seven years, and rejected it.'

'The end of the geographical fact is but the beginning of the missionary enterprise.'

'Christianity alone reaches the very centre of the wants of Africa and of the world.'—DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

CHAPTER XV

THE MISSION TO THE FOULAHS

IN the Second Report of the Missionary Society, presented at the annual meeting in May, 1796, we read:—

'Early in October (1795) a memoir was presented by one of our brethren respecting a mission to Africa, which memoir he submitted to the correction of Mr. Macaulay[1], Governor of Sierra Leone, who obligingly favoured him with all the knowledge he was then master of concerning it.'

In the *Evangelical Magazine* for December, 1896, the Directors plead very strongly on behalf of an African mission. 'Africa,' they write, 'that much-injured country, has been visited by Europeans, not for the communication of benefits, but to carry on a commerce which inevitably inflicts on its inhabitants the wounds of slavery and death. The very mention of Africa produces in every breast the pang of sympathy, and the mingled sentiments of pity and indignation. To this benighted and oppressed country we are desirous of sending the Gospel of Christ—that best relief of man under his accumulated miseries—that essential blessing which outweighs the evils of the most suffering life[2].' This address further sets forth the belief that Providence is opening up South Africa in such a way as to make it a most promising field of labour; and that in the first instance their attention is directed 'towards the western coast of this vast continent; and it is here where the guilt of Europeans has inflicted the deepest wounds on the

[1] Zachary Macaulay.

[2] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1796, p. 494.

unoffending natives.' The existence of the Sierra Leone Company, 'founded on the purest and most disinterested principles,' rendered it possible, they thought, to send the Gospel to the natives in the vicinity of that colony.

The Sierra Leone Company arose out of various attempts to form, between 1786 and 1791, a colony of liberated African slaves in that part of the West Coast. Known first as the St. George's Bay Company, and having connected with it such men as Granville Sharp, William Wilberforce, Sir Richard Carr Glynn, and others, it was in 1791 incorporated by royal charter into the Sierra Leone Company. In 1807 the company transferred all its rights to the Crown. At the time of the Foulah Mission Zachary Macaulay was the most influential person in the colony.

The choice of the Foulah country as the scene of this first African missionary effort was due to a visit paid to that region, lying about 250 miles to the north-east of Sierra Leone, by two agents of the Sierra Leone Company, Mr. Watts and Mr. Winterbotham. Extracts from their journal were printed in the *Evangelical Review*, and the statement which strongly moved the mind of the Directors at this time was to the effect that the King of the Foulah country would welcome Europeans as residents.

Acting upon the information derived from this journal, supplemented, as it was, by Mr. Dawes, the late governor of the Sierra Leone Company, and the Rev. Melville Horne, who had filled the post of chaplain there, the Directors at once attempted to secure volunteers for this service. Their address describes the kind of men required. They were to be 'Christians, well instructed in the principles of Divine truth, possessing a supreme love to the Saviour of sinners, and a fervent zeal for His honour in the world, to promote which they are not unwilling to endure the hardships of life or meet the conflict of death. Serious and zealous Christians, acquainted with husbandry and other useful occupations, appear best suited for this occasion.' One 'person of education,' and one 'acquainted with surgery and the medical science,' should accompany them.

In the early part of 1797 correspondence took place with both the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies, and it was finally settled that the expedition should consist of six persons, two from each Society. The persons selected for this service were the Rev. Peter Ferguson and Mr. Robert Graham by the Glasgow Society; the Rev. Henry Brunton and Mr. Peter Greig by the Edinburgh Society; and Mr. Alexander Russell and Mr. George Cappe by the London Society. They were to co-operate, but each Society was to be responsible only for the men it sent out. All were under forty years of age, Mr. Brunton alone being married, and his wife and two children were left with friends in Scotland.

On October 12, 1797, the six missionaries journeyed to Gravesend, and on October 16 the Calypso, a vessel of 170 tons, belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, sailed. Mr. Brunton and Mr. Ferguson during their stay at Gravesend had conducted several services, and had given 'the most pleasant evidence of their piety and gifts.' But a discourse delivered there by the former was destined to produce disastrous results, as it led to serious theological contention among the missionaries. This was known before the vessel sailed, and so serious was it deemed that three Directors were appointed to visit the Calypso at Falmouth, and to do what they could to compose it. But the vessel did not put in at that port, and the difference appears to have grown in bitterness throughout the voyage.

The letter of instructions sent with the missionaries indicated the Foulah country as their sphere of work, but informed them that so long as war or other circumstances prevented them from reaching that region, they were to be under the guidance of, and act in consultation with, Governor Macaulay and Mr. Clark, the chaplain at Sierra Leone.

Upon the arrival of the Calypso at Freetown in December, 1797, Governor Macaulay exerted himself to settle the dispute which had embittered the voyage, and as the Foulah country was still inaccessible through war, he

placed Brunton and Greig at Freeport Factory, on the Rio Ponges, about sixty miles from Freetown; Ferguson and Graham on the Bananas, three small islands forty miles from Freetown and about four miles from the coast; and Russell and Cappe on the Bullam shore.

The mission at once began to feel the effects of two factors which have exerted a powerful influence over every effort to evangelize that dark land—the quality of the workers, and the deadly nature of the climate. Within half a year three of the six missionaries were dead, a fourth had to be recalled, and the other two were able to pursue their labour for only a brief period. Mr. Brunton succeeded Mr. Clark, upon the death of the latter, as chaplain of Sierra Leone, and Mr. Greig continued to work at Freeport Factory. As the latter were agents of the Edinburgh Society, no reference to them appears in the records of the Society after the Report of 1800. The career of the two belonging to the London Society was very brief. Alexander Russell died at Freetown, July 16, 1798; and George Cappe proved so unsuitable to the work, and so unamenable to discipline, that his connection with the Society was terminated on August 31, 1798.

In this speedy and disastrous fashion the first mission attempted in Africa by the Society, and the only one as yet undertaken by them on the West Coast, came to an end.


BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY
GERMAN
GREAT
SOUTH WEST
NAMAQUA
AFRICA
LAND
DAMARA L.
HERERO
Kalahari
Desert
BECHUANA
BAMANGWATO
BARWENA
MATABELE
MASHONA
LAND
MOZAMBIQUE
TRANSVAAL
ORANGE FREE STATE
ZULU LAND
NATAL
BASUTO
Griqualand West
Griqualand East
CAPE COLONY
Great Karroo
Little Namaqua Land
Bushman Land
Kaffirland
Pondo Land
Tambuland
Bamboo
Port Nolloth
Kamies Berge
Hondeklipp
Brand Vley
Carnarvon
Richmond
Colesberg
Aliwal North
Cape Town
C of Good Hope
C. Agulhas
Table Bay
Simons Bay
Saldanha B.
St Helena B.
Mossel B.
Plettenberg B.
Algoa B.
Port Elizabeth
East London
Kei R.
Great Fish R.
Great Kei R.
Buffalo R.
Umzimvubu R.
St Johns R.
Umtamvuna R.
Umkomaas R.
Umgeni R.
Tugela R.
Umlatoosi R.
Umhlatuzi R.
Umfolosi R.
Umvoti R.
Durban
Port Maritzburg
Pietermaritzburg
Newcastle
Ladysmith
Harrismith
Winburg
Boshof
Kimberley
Griquastad
Bloemfontein
Thaba Nchu
Ficksburg
Smithfield
Philippolis
Fauresmith
Hopetown
Prieska
Griquastown
Campbell
Taungs
Vryburg
Mafeking
Gaberones
Shoshong
Palapye
Tati
Shashi
Macloutsie
Francistown
Tonga Bay
Inhambane
Sofala
Beira
Victoria
Zimbabye
Manhlanga
Salisbury
Umtali
Chimoio
Tete
Zambesi R.
Shiraz
Matabele
Inyati
Hope Fountain
Belingwe
Gwelo
Charter
Mashonaland
Lake Ngami
Mission Sta.
Kgwebe Hills
L. Kumadau
Otyosondjupa
Omaruru
Omaruru Mt.
Omataka Mt.
Otjimbingue
Okombahe
Rehoboth
Wesley Vale
Windhuk
Walvisch B.
Swakop R.
Omaruru R.
Ugab R.
Huab R.
Kuiseb R.
Tsoachaub R.
Orange R.
Gariep or Orange R.
Fish R.
Kowie R.
Bushmans R.
Kromme R.
Gamtoos R.
Olifants R.
Doorn R.
Breede R.
Berg R.
Zwartkops R.
Sundays R.
Keiskamma R.
Buffalo R.
Umzimkulu R.
Umtamvuna R.
Umkomaas R.
Umgeni R.
Tugela R.
Umlatoosi R.
Umhlatuzi R.
Umfolosi R.
Umvoti R.
Durban
Port Maritzburg
Pietermaritzburg
Newcastle
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Harrismith
Winburg
Boshof
Kimberley
Griquastad
Bloemfontein
Thaba Nchu
Ficksburg
Smithfield
Philippolis
Fauresmith
Hopetown
Prieska
Griquastown
Campbell
Taungs
Vryburg
Mafeking
Gaberones
Shoshong
Palapye
Tati
Shashi
Macloutsie
Francistown
Tonga Bay
Inhambane
Sofala
Beira
Victoria
Zimbabye
Manhlanga
Salisbury
Umtali
Chimoio
Tete
Zambesi R.
Shiraz
Matabele
Inyati
Hope Fountain
Belingwe
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L. Kumadau
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Omaruru
Omaruru Mt.
Omataka Mt.
Otjimbingue
Okombahe
Rehoboth
Wesley Vale
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Swakop R.
Omaruru R.
Ugab R.
Huab R.
Kuiseb R.
Tsoachaub R.
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Kowie R.
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Olifants R.
Doorn R.
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Berg R.
Zwartkops R.
Sundays R.
Keiskamma R.
Buffalo R.
Umzimkulu R.
Umtamvuna R.
Umkomaas R.
Umgeni R.
Tugela R.
Umlatoosi R.
Umhlatuzi R.
Umfolosi R.
Umvoti R.
SOUTH
AFRICA
Scale 1:10,000,000 (157 miles to 1 in.)
English Miles
0
100
200
CAPE TOWN
TABLE BAY
Scale 1:100,000

CHAPTER XVI

VANDERKEMP AND THE MISSION TO THE KAFIRS

A GREAT man is the prime requisite and the sustaining force in every great enterprise. It was a happy day for South Africa when, in the good providence of God, Dr. Vanderkemp was led to open up correspondence with the London Missionary Society. What Nott was to Tahiti, what Morrison became to China, Vanderkemp was to the suffering and perishing millions of South Africa.

From their earliest meetings the Directors kept the Cape of Good Hope in view as a most desirable and promising field of missionary labour. In the last year of the eighteenth century they were enabled to make good a foothold upon this Land of Promise. From that day to the present the Society's wise labours, and the self-denying and noble efforts of their missionaries, have led to an ever-widening and more fruitful extension of Christian influence.

In the Minute-book for April 24, 1797, stands this entry:—

'A letter was read from Mr. J. T. Vanderkemp at Dordrecht in Holland, addressed to the Secretary. Mr. Vanderkemp offers himself to the Society as a missionary, and proposes to translate any pieces the Directors may send to him, on purpose to rouse the languid spirit of his countrymen, and to promote the designs of this institution. Mr. Love was desired to answer this in the most respectful manner, to acquaint Mr. Vanderkemp that it is referred to the serious consideration of the Directors, and to transmit to him such Reports of the proceedings of

the Society as may be proper to be translated into the Dutch language for general utility.'

Johannes Theodosius Vanderkemp, to give him his full name, was the son of a Dutch minister of the Lutheran Church, and was born at Rotterdam in 1748. He was, therefore, nearly fifty years old when he penned the letter referred to above. His thoughts had been attracted to the work of the Society by reading an address which the Directors had prepared specially for Germany, and circulated in that country. A copy of this was placed in Vanderkemp's hands by a Moravian brother from Herrnhut. A reference in this address to the sermons preached at the foundation of the Society led him to procure a copy of these, and to contemplate the issue of a translation of them into Dutch. He was very powerfully moved by the closing passage of Rowland Hill's discourse, preached in Surrey Chapel on the morning of September 24, 1795. The effect which these words had upon him he himself has recorded in a letter to the Directors:—

'I fell on my knees, and cried, "Here I am, Lord Jesus; Thou knowest I have no will of my own, since I gave myself up unto Thee, to be spent in Thy service, according to Thy pleasure; prevent me only from doing anything in this great work in a carnal and self-sufficient spirit, and lead me in the right way, if there be any way of wickedness in me." I felt my heart immediately directed to communicate to you the ideas which presented themselves to my mind, and took up my pen for that purpose. Allow me to say I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to be sent, if it be the will of God, by your means to the heathen; or to abide in this country, endeavouring to serve my Lord, in stirring up the too languid zeal of my countrymen to imitate your example in word and deed[1].'

Later in the same letter he thus sketches his life and experience:—

'As I am, sir, entirely unknown to you, I think I ought to give you a short account of my circumstances. I am

[1] *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, i. pp. 351–353.

near fifty years of age, born at Rotterdam, a member of the established religion of the country, of tolerable health. I first studied physic at Leyden, but afterwards entered into the army, where I served sixteen years, and rose to the rank of Captain of Horse and Lieutenant of the Dragoon Guards, living a slave to vice and ungodliness. Marriage, however, put an end to scandalous irregularities, and brought on some external reformation. I then left the service, and went over to Edinburgh, where, after two years' study, I took my degree, having, during my stay, composed a Latin work on Cosmology, entitled *Parmenides*. On my return home, I practised physic in Zealand, where I became publicly a Deist, blaspheming the name of Christ, under the full conviction that I pleased God. Ten years after, I lost my dear wife and only child at the same moment, and was myself, as by a miracle, rescued from the jaws of death. Six days after this terrible event, the Lord revealed Himself to me, since which time I am His bounden servant, devoted to the will of my master and conqueror. Some of the clergy advised me to enter into holy orders: but though I was desirous to preach the Gospel of Christ, I was persuaded it was not His will in this way. He soon after sent me to the army, in quality of Director and Superintendent of an Hospital, near Rotterdam, where I served till the revolution. I then thought it my duty to quit the service. At present I am retired from all business, employing my time in oriental literature, and in finishing a commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, which I commenced before I went to the Dutch camp, and wish to leave behind me as a testimony of my conviction of the truth as it is in Jesus. And now offering myself on His service, I humbly and earnestly request to be favoured with your correspondence and advice.'

As a result of further correspondence with the Directors Dr. Vanderkemp came over to London, where he spent several months in close intercourse with the friends and chief men of the Society. He seemed to them as clearly designated by Divine Providence to superintend the South

African Mission as Captain Wilson had been to command the Duff. Returning to Holland towards the close of 1797 to make the needful arrangements for his great enterprise, Vanderkemp carried with him an address from the Directors which was very widely circulated in Dutch. This led immediately to the formation at Rotterdam of the Netherlands Missionary Society, which for a number of years cordially co-operated with, and aided the work of the London Society. A similar organization was started in East Friesland.

The information about the work of the London Society circulated in Holland had also attracted the attention of a young man named John Kicherer. He offered himself to the Society, and was accepted by them. Two Englishmen, John Edmonds and William Edwards, were also accepted. About this time Vanderkemp returned to London and was ordained at Crown Court, November 3, 1797. His interest and sympathy had by this time centred upon a mission to the Kafirs. Much time and trouble were consumed before suitable arrangements could be made for the conveyance of Dr. Vanderkemp and his colleagues to their field of labour. Finally a passage was secured for them in the convict ship Hillsborough, bound for Botany Bay, but timed to touch at the Cape on her outward voyage. She sailed from Spithead on December 23, 1798, in company with the Duff, then commencing her disastrous second voyage, and conveyed Vanderkemp, Kicherer, Edwards, and Edmonds. Convict ships have long been things of the past, and our missionaries are now rapidly and comfortably carried to almost every part of the globe by the magnificent steamships of modern commerce. It will aid the reader to appreciate the risks and toils and hardships of the pioneer workers if we give some extracts from Vanderkemp's journal of the voyage. It was a time of war; the sea was unsafe for any but armed vessels, the press-gang was in full swing, the comforts of even the cabin passenger were not greatly in excess of those enjoyed in the steerage of to-day.

'On the arrival of the Hillsborough with the convicts, the missionaries went on board, and before they left the harbour had a specimen of the spirit of their companions, and a proof of the divine impression their attentions and labours immediately began to make on this forlorn hope of society. It being suspected that some deserters from the men of war had taken refuge among the convicts in the orlop, a boat with naval officers came on board to search for the seamen, suspected to be concealed in the hold; but no sooner had the officer, with his gang, attempted to pass the entrance of the orlop, than the convicts seized him, snatched from him his dagger, and wounded him, with imminent danger of his life; he cried out for mercy, and was released with the loss of his hat, the sheath of his dagger, and the rending his clothes, and counted himself fortunate in not being murdered by them. Apprised of this brutal conduct, the captain desired Dr. Vanderkemp and the missionaries to beware how they entered the orlop, as they would, he apprehended, be hustled and robbed, if not more injuriously treated; but they descended without fear, took with them some Bibles and books to distribute, and making known their kind intentions in coming on board, they were received with reverence, and heard with attention, from the first moment to the last. A cutter with officers, and a detachment of marines, having come on board two days after, with a determined purpose to search the hold, found the convicts so exasperated and determined, that to prevent much bloodshed they desisted and departed. At this very time of confusion and desperation Dr. Vanderkemp and his brethren continued to visit in their dark and dismal abode, to sit and converse with them freely, and soothe their turbulent spirits to submission to their fate, as such rebellious conduct could only exasperate; but many of the refractory planned a scheme of sawing off their irons, and seizing the vessel; this was discovered and punished. A second scheme was to bore holes in the vessel and sink her, in hope of being able to escape in the boats; but the salutary influence of the

missionaries soon began to be apparent. Their constant attendance upon, and attention to their spiritual concerns, began to make impressions of a pleasing kind on a few, and their desire to alleviate their misery, their friendly intercession with the captain, on a variety of occasions, to alleviate or abridge their punishment, or grant them some proper indulgence, so won upon the whole body, that these lions behaved to the missionaries with the gentleness of lambs, heard their admonitions with respect, their warnings with seriousness, and their consolations with thankfulness.

'But our brethren were to be called not merely to the activity of preaching and teaching daily, but to the more painful and dangerous employment of visiting the hospital, and attending the dying beds of those who now were solely afflicted with a putrid and pestilential fever, a misery which hardly any convict ship escapes; and seems difficultly to be avoided, considering the persons who come on board from jails and hulks, and the place where they are confined in irons; the dreary darkness of which, the closeness, the heat, and putrid effluvia, are inconceivable to those who have not visited these abodes of wretchedness, and, with the clank of the chains, affords the strongest idea of Hell, and of the damned, which can be conceived. Disease now advanced with rapid strides, and death began to make havoc among the convicts. Our intrepid brethren intermitted none of their friendly offices, but visited the hospital, and stood over the beds of the dying, exposed to all the danger of so dreadfully infectious a situation, and earnestly employed in endeavouring to pluck those brands from the burning. Thirty-four died on their passage to the Cape, from whence may be drawn a certain conclusion how crowded must be the hospital; indeed, the whole orlop might be nearly considered as such; the sickening, the dying, and the convalescent afforded each peculiar calls for their attention[1].'

It was not until March 31, 1799, that the Hillsborough

[1] *Transactions*, i. pp. 360–362.

dropped anchor in Table Bay. It was a period of trouble and war and change for Cape Colony as well as for so many other parts of the world. Since April 9, 1652, the Cape had been under the control of the Dutch. In 1795 it was seized by Great Britain, and ruled successively by General Craig, the Earl of Macartney, Sir George Young, and Sir Francis Dundas. In 1803, by the Treaty of Amiens, it was restored to Holland; but in 1806, after the battle of Blaauwberg, on January 8, in which the Dutch were defeated by the English under Sir David Baird, it was again surrendered to Great Britain, and has remained an English colony ever since. Watching the battle of 1806 from one of the ships of war in the Bay, was Henry Martyn, then on his way to India. 'I could find it,' he writes in his journal, 'more agreeable to my own feelings to go and weep with the relatives of the men whom the English have killed, than to rejoice at the laurels they have won. I had a happy season in prayer. No outward scene seemed to have the power to distract my thoughts. I prayed that the capture of the Cape might be ordered to the advancement of Christ's kingdom; and that England, while she sent the thunder of her arms to the distant regions of the globe, might not remain proud and ungodly at home; but might show herself great indeed, by sending forth the ministers of her church to diffuse the Gospel of peace[1].'

Martyn knew that Vanderkemp was at work in the direction of his prayers. He and his colleague Read had been driven into Cape Town at that time by the Boers. During the five weeks of his stay Martyn saw much of the old missionary, and when he sailed he wrote: 'Dear Dr. Vanderkemp gave me a Syriac Testament as a remembrance of him.' In this way two great lives touched for a moment in passing. Vanderkemp, laying broadly and well the foundation of Christian work in Africa, speeds on his way Henry Martyn, who, little as he dreamed it then, was to live those few years of heroic service in India and

[1] *Henry Martyn: Saint and Scholar*, by George Smith, p. 125.

Persia, and become one of the most inspiring influences of modern missionary effort.

The purpose upon which Dr. Vanderkemp had set his heart was the evangelization of the Kafirs, tribes which could be reached only by a long and toilsome journey from Cape Town, reported to be fierce and cruel in character and intractable by nature. He and his colleagues were well received in the Colony. The governor, General Dundas, and other officials lent him and his colleagues their favour. The Christian people resident there cordially welcomed them. An official letter from the Directors, addressed to all Christians, was publicly read from the pulpits, and very shortly after their landing the South African Society for the Spread of Christ's Kingdom was formed. All things promised well for the new effort.

Before the needful preparations for the wagon journey were completed the claims of other regions upon the work and evangelistic energy of the little company were so powerfully forced upon their attention that a division of labour took place. There happened at this time to be in Cape Town two chieftains from the Bosjesmen, Boschemen, or Bushmen, named Vigilant and Slaporm, and one from the tribe of the Corannas, named Orclam. These men expressed a most earnest desire to be instructed in the things of God, and to cease from the acts of crime and violence common to their tribes. After much consideration Kicherer and Edwards were set apart to go with them, and endeavour to establish a mission among their people. The Moravians had at this time a missionary settlement at Bavian's Kloof, nearly 100 miles east of Cape Town. Hearing of Vanderkemp's intention they sent him a Hottentot elephant-hunter named Bruntjie to act as interpreter and guide. The country occupied by the Kafirs lay beyond the Great Fish River, which at that date formed the eastern boundary of the Colony. Vanderkemp started on May 29, 1799. The first part of the journey lay through Rodezand and the district watered by the Hex River. Here farms were not unfrequent, and they received

help and hospitality from the settlers whose farms they passed. Crossing the Hex Mountains, they traversed the Great Karroo, and then continuing eastward they reached Graaff Reinet on June 29, just one month after leaving Cape Town.

After resting here for a fortnight the start for Kafirland was made on July 10. The region was in a very unsettled state. The few settlers and their Hottentots were at war with the Kafirs. At the end of six weeks, Vanderkemp and his party returned to the house of a colonist, named John Vanderwaldt, there to wait for a more promising opportunity to reach the Kafir chieftain, Gaika. On August 28, 1799, Vanderkemp decided to renew his effort to establish himself in Kafirland. Peace had just been concluded between Gaika and the colonists. A few extracts from his journal illustrate Vanderkemp's character, and the difficulties of the task he had undertaken[1]:—

August 27. 'Piet Prinslo arrived with an extract out of the resolutions of the Landdrost[2] and Heemraaden[3], by which they consented to the proposals of peace concluded with Gika, under approbation of General Vandeleur. I thought this was the time which we ought to embrace, in order to try a second time to enter into Caffraria. Brother Edmond[4] was of a contrary opinion, being afraid that we provoked God, who had once delivered us from death, by pushing forward into new dangers. He submitted, however, to accompany me, as he saw no means of going back into the Colony.'

September 2. 'I communicated my plan to Bruntjie, who disapproved of it. He said that the Caffrees, seeing our musquets, had observed that these (pointing to the bayonets)

[1] This journal is printed in vol. i of the *Transactions*.

[2] An official who collected the revenue, and managed the Dutch East India Company's affairs locally.

[3] A local council, consisting of eight burghers, equivalent to a Local Board or County Council. It had power to compel settlers to supply wagons, slaves, labour, &c., for the public service.

[4] In the official records this name is spelt Edmonds. In the quotations it is usually Edmond.

were the very English instruments by which their countrymen were treacherously murdered; that they looked upon us as sent to betray them, and certainly would kill us at the first recommencement of the war. Satan pressed me very hard; but the more the difficulties and dangers were mentioned, the more I was excited in my mind to go forward, and found my faith increased. I prayed to experience the same favour, which I had once so remarkably enjoyed at Amsterdam, in 1798, and I found my mind easy, and at rest in the Lord.'

September 17. 'We passed the Kat River, and five or six lesser streams, with much labour and difficulty, being obliged to cut our way through woods and stones. At noon we saw plenty of cattle on the mountains. This was the first mark of habitation we saw since the 8th, when we left Krieger's farm. Soon after, we heard the barking of dogs, and arrived at a kraal of Caffrees. These people gazed at us, and begged many things.'

September 20. 'After we had cut a way through the wood, and filled up the river, we went on, and arrived at Gika's cattle kraals, then the place of his residence, near the river T'Chommi, which discharges itself into the T'Keiskamma. About a hundred Caffrees flocked together, and we inquired for King Gika; but nobody answered. After we had waited for about ten minutes in suspense, the king approached in a majestic and solemn attitude, advancing slowly, attended on each side by one of his chief men. He was covered with a long robe of panthers' skins, and wore a diadem of copper, and another of beads round his head. He had in his hand an iron kiri, and his cheeks and lips were painted red. He stopped about twenty paces from us, and one of his captains then signified that it was the king. We then stepped towards him, and he at the same time marched forward. He reached us his right hand; but spoke not a word. I then delivered him his tobacco-box, which we had filled with buttons. He accepted it, and gave it to one of his attendants. At a distance behind him stood his captains and

women, in the form of a half-moon; and at a great distance the rest of the people. During all this time he moved not an eyelid, nor changed the least feature in his countenance.'

By means of a Boer named Conrad Buys, who soon came on the scene, Vanderkemp was able to explain to Gaika the reason of his coming. The chief's reply was that since there had been war so recently he could not rightly entertain visitors, and for some time it was doubtful how the verdict would go. At a second interview the next day 'many questions were put concerning our plan, political connections, and if we were not sent over by the English. To this I answered in the negative; but said, that we had found favour from every government with which we had to do; that the English governor had permitted us to go to and fro the colony, and had given us a passport and a letter to General Vandeleur, not to hinder us; forgetting thus to mention our great Master, by whom we were sent. "Did then," continued he, "this plan spring forth only out of your own heart?" This very question upbraided me of my unfaithfulness, and put this answer into my mouth: that this my plan was indeed formed only in my own heart, though it never was formed by it; but that the God of heaven and earth, in whose hand were their hearts, and my heart, had put into it to go to this people, and to communicate in His name things with which their temporal and eternal happiness was connected. Thus it pleased my Lord to put, by their question, the proper answer into my mouth. They then retired, seemingly well satisfied.'

October 3. 'Our Hottentot, W. Bruntjie, pressed me very hard to return to the Colony till a more favourable period should give me admittance. The uneasiness of Brother Edmond, who wished to prosecute his plan, and to go to Bengal, teazed me also: and I myself was almost exhausted; but I looked up to God, praying that He would rule and keep my heart quiet, as I relied upon Him.'

Gaika finally gave his consent to Vanderkemp's proposal,

and indicated a place where he could stay for the present. But his troubles were not yet at an end. Edmonds wished to get away and go to India. Governor Dundas came to Graaff Reinet and asked Vanderkemp to return thither. He feared that the missionary's life was not safe. On December 29 Edmonds departed.

January 1, 1800. 'To see my brother Edmond departing from me was a very trying circumstance; but the Lord supported me. He returns to the Cape with a view to proceed to Bengal, in the fullest confidence that the Lord has called him to labour in that country. Before he left me, we went over the river into a wood, and there we wrestled in prayer once more, which was often interrupted by our tears. After I had recommended him to the grace of the Lord, I gave him my last blessing, and he took a final leave of me. I went upon a hill, and followed his wagon for about half an hour with my eyes, when, it sinking behind the mountains, I lost sight of him, to see him no more.'

February 3. 'This day my house was finished. Four Hottentot women and children, and Thomas the deserter, attended our missionary prayer.'

April 5. 'Mr. Buys and his associates, being informed that the Caffrees intended to kill us, were in great terror; but I found that God comforted me in a remarkable manner. I viewed Jesus to be the King of the Heathen, who were not able to touch me without His will; in which I was enabled to acquiesce by His grace; and I slept this night in the arms of His love, in peace and safety; while they spent it in great fear and trouble.'

April 25. 'Gika went back, and this morning and afternoon came again to school with the children. In the evening, he told us that his will was, that we should break up, and settle ourselves near the Debe.'

April 27. 'We broke up in the morning, and left Tabakwa Hoho with two wagons, and the cart of Mr. Buys. In the afternoon we reached the mountain Khandoda, and there we slept in the open field.'

August 17. 'The king came to me, asking what law he

must follow to obtain rain for his country? I said, that God had sufficient reasons to keep His rain back from this country. Asking what these reasons were, I answered, that the evils committed in his country were more than sufficient to account for it. He said, he knew not of any crimes committed under his dominion, and if I knew of them, I should mention them. I then represented to him the plunderings and excesses of some of his Captains against the Christians, to which he made no reply.'

While unable to found any permanent centre for missionary work among the Kafirs, Vanderkemp was instant in season and out of season in the work of the Gospel. His trained intellect acquired the native languages very rapidly. His knowledge of Dutch was most useful in his intercourse with the colonists. His sympathies went out to the down-trodden Hottentots. In a multitude of ways he sowed the good seed in the depraved and sorrowful hearts around him. He exerted great attractive power over many who came to know him. His simple journal records the good effect of many a word spoken in season.

At length, on December 28, 1800, he heard of the arrival at the Cape of Anderson, Read, Vanderlingen, and Tromp—the first reinforcements the Directors had been able to send out. In his journal for that day he notes thankfully the evidences of God's blessing upon his work in Africa revealed by the letters he had just received. These brought him tidings that Read and Vanderlingen had been chosen by lot as his assistants in Kafirland; but that the governor found it unadvisable for the present to allow them to proceed on their journey, and that they were now employed in the Wagenmaker's Valley. The colonists who were living among the Kafirs fell into a panic, and resolved to leave the country, but were undetermined where to go. Vanderkemp was in doubt himself as to what he ought to do, and finally, after much heart-searching and prayer, on December 31, 1800, he reluctantly withdrew from Kafirland. In this way ended the first missionary effort among those wild tribes.

From January until May, 1801, Vanderkemp journeyed and camped with a roving company of colonists who, like most of their kind at that day, had their hand against all sorts and conditions of men—Bushmen, Kafirs, and Hottentots. On May 14 he reached Graaff Reinet, and there, to his joy, he found awaiting him Read and Vanderlingen. Vanderkemp was at once urged, as he had already been repeatedly by letter, to accept the pastorate of the Dutch Church at Graaff Reinet. This he resolutely declined; and on May 31 Vanderlingen accepted the post, thus early illustrating one great hindrance to missionary labour in South Africa. Not unfrequently those sent out to do mission work settled down to the easier and more comfortable employment of presiding over churches attended and maintained by the Dutch colonists.

It is not easy to form an adequate conception of the state of South Africa in 1801. Many of the Dutch settlers scattered over the country gave but scant respect and still scantier obedience to the Government. They hungered for the land occupied by the natives, whether Kafirs, Bushmen, or Hottentots. Their cruelties had driven all classes of natives into the wildest excesses of revenge, and the land was full of crimes of every kind. Into this seething turmoil of conflicting passions came Vanderkemp and his colleagues. The better sort of colonists—a small minority—welcomed them and aided them. Of the rest some tolerated their presence, but most began to hate them almost worse than they did the natives. Most of the Boers were fairly loyal to the Government, and submitted with more or less grace to the legislative enactments regulating their treatment of the natives. But upon many of them, especially in the outlying regions, the hand of authority pressed very lightly indeed, and they did not scruple even to use force against the authorities in order to secure their own selfish ends. These were the men who did not care to have their cruelties scanned by impartial eyes. They did not wish the natives to become educated and civilized. Their object was to annihilate or

reduce to servitude the whole heathen population and to seize upon their lands. Anything that tended to fit natives for the duties and responsibilities of life, and thus to lengthen their stay as the legitimate occupiers of the soil, they could not away with. Hence the moment the true tendency of Vanderkemp's work became evident, every weapon that could be used against him—slander, misrepresentation, covert influence and open force—was freely and constantly employed to cripple and, if possible, to terminate his beneficent labours. Here are a few examples in proof of this contention from Vanderkemp's journal in 1801 of proceedings in and around Graaff Reinet :—

June 1. 'At the missionary prayer meeting, which was kept this evening in the church, besides the church members, a great number of heathen of the Hottentot and other nations were present, who opened this solemnity by singing Psalm cxxxiv, which was answered by the Christian congregation by singing Psalm lxxiv. 4–10.'

June 2. 'Brother Read began to keep with me a reading and writing school for the instruction of the Hottentots.'

June 9. 'A number of colonists, with about three hundred wagons, left their houses and assembled in Zwagershoek, murmuring against the instruction of the heathen. We were informed that they intended to come, and to burn Graaff Reinet, and even the nearest inhabitants in its neighbourhood fled from their farms. They alleged that the Caffrees had molested some of the farmers at Bruntjeshoogte, and robbed them of their cattle; that they also were dissatisfied on account of the privileges which were granted to the Hottentots, and their admission into the church.'

June 30. 'Graaff Reinet was alarmed by the intelligence that the inhabitants of the Colony who had recently left their farms, armed, had united in a body behind the snow mountains, under pretext of being driven away by the Caffrees. This pretext soon proved to be false. They complained that government protected the Hottentots and Caffrees, and encouraged them to rob and murder the

Colonists; that they were instructed by us in reading, writing, and religion, and thereby put upon an equal footing with the Christians; especially that they were admitted in the church of Graaff Reinet, and that we kept meetings with them every evening in that place; that they intended to fall upon Graaff Reinet, and to force the Commissioner to put a stop to these proceedings.'

On July 9 the rebels[1] prepared for an attack upon Graaff Reinet, and were held in check only by the bold attitude of the commissioner, supported by some English dragoons. Finally, largely by Vanderkemp's personal influence, a temporary peace was patched up.

During this suspension of hostilities, hearing that the Kafir chief Gaika wished to see him, and was still favourably disposed towards a mission, Vanderkemp, with Read, and the son of the commissioner, Mr. Maynier, went in search of him, and had interviews with him on August 19 and 20. These only served to convince Vanderkemp that for the present the Hottentots and not the Kafirs were to be his first concern. He returned to Graaff Reinet on August 27, and on September 7 he describes the acquisition of the first land possessed by the Society in South Africa.

September 7. 'Our Hottentot congregation increases gradually in number, knowledge, and grace. The number of children at present in our school is sixty-two. We have resolved to fix a small missionary settlement at Graaff Reinet, under the care of one missionary, consisting of a hall for keeping meetings and a school, and a house for the missionary; the Commissioner Maynier gave us for this purpose a piece of ground on the banks of the Sunday river, about 2,660 ft. long, and 537 ft. broad; this we accepted in the name of the Missionary Society.'

The missionaries were cheered at this time by instances of conversion among the Hottentot slaves, and attempted to push on steadily with their work. But on October 23

[1] That is, dissatisfied Boers who were chafing against the restraints of the British Government.



DR. VANDERKEMP
Cape Colony)



WILLIAM ASHTON
(Bechuanaland)



DR. PHILIP
(Cape Colony)



KAMA
Paulipolis



JOHN MACKENZIE
(Kuruman and Hankey)

hostilities broke out again between the insurgents and the authorities. Graaff Reinet was attacked, several houses burned, and Vanderkemp fired at several times by the insurgents, who, however, were soon compelled to retreat. On November 8 a letter arrived from Governor Dundas, giving Vanderkemp authority to take land and found a missionary settlement wherever he thought it would prove most useful. Finally a settlement was made at Botha's Farm near Algoa Bay in March, 1802.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vol. i.]

CHAPTER XVII

THE FOUNDING OF BETHELSDORP

IN March, 1802, Vanderkemp and Read took possession of Botha's Farm near Algoa Bay. As this settlement led to the formation of the first missionary 'institution' in the colony, and as this and others which succeeded it became the objects of bitter prejudice, obloquy, and misrepresentation on the part not only of colonists but also of later historians, we give in some detail the objects it was intended to secure. At the time it was founded Hottentots and Bushmen were absolutely at the mercy of the colonists. Theoretically, and according to the letter of the law, they had a few rights; practically they had none. They were enslaved, they were robbed, they were even murdered with impunity. Not only from the fact that unlike their oppressors they were savages, but also goaded to desperation by a long series of outrages, they did the most natural thing in the world—they robbed and even murdered colonists, when they could. On this account the men whose oppressions and outrages had driven them to more savage deeds in the way of reprisals than they would otherwise have committed, represented such reprisals as clear proof of their untameable ferocity, and as ample justification for a policy of absolute subjection and even annihilation. When Vanderkemp founded Bethelsdorp there was no spot of territory in all Cape Colony where Hottentots were safe from colonial oppression. That he succeeded

in establishing such a refuge was in the judgment of the colonists an unpardonable offence.

The principles upon which the new settlement was to be based are set forth at length in a letter from Vanderkemp to Governor Dundas, dated February 11, 1801[1]. These are thirteen in number; but the most important, especially in the light of later calumny and opposition, were the following:—

'2. The chief object and aim of the missionaries under whose direction this settlement shall be established ought to be to promote the knowledge of Christ and the practice of real piety, both by instruction and example, among the Hottentots and other heathen, who shall be admitted and formed into a regular society; and, in the second place, the temporal happiness and usefulness of this society, with respect to the country at large.

'3. Into this society only those ought to be admitted who will engage themselves to live according to the rules of the institution.

'4. The actual admission and expulsion from this society shall entirely depend upon the judgment of the missionaries.

'6. As we are of opinion that the rule laid down by Paul, "that if any would not work, neither should he eat," ought to be strictly observed in every Christian society, our intention is to discourage idleness and laziness; and to have the individuals of our institution, as much as circumstances shall admit, employed in different useful occupations, for the cultivation of their rational faculties, or exercise of the body, as means of subsistence, and of promoting the welfare of this society, and the colony at large.

'7. As the introduction of these employments will involve the European missionary societies in considerable expenses, the workmen should be considered as journeymen in the service of the society, and be paid weekly for their labour;

[1] Quoted in *Researches in South Africa*, i. pp. 71-76, by Dr. Philip; also in *Transactions*, i. pp. 497, 498.

but the products of their labours should be the property of the society, and sold for its benefit.

'10. We have no severer punishment than excommunication from the Church and expulsion from the society. If we shall be compelled to proceed to this last step, we shall think it our duty to inform the landdrost of the fact, that justice may be administered by the court to whose cognizance the crime belongs, and no malefactor find shelter within our walls.

'13. As to the protection which we may expect from your excellency, we entirely trust to your excellency's declared resolution to favour our missionary exertions, and request that we may enjoy the same protection and privileges which are granted to the (Moravian) Brethren at the Bavian's Kloof.'

Convinced by his African experience that his true mission was to the downtrodden and oppressed Hottentots, Vanderkemp sought to make his settlement a secure home for them. He had no sympathy with the numerous marauding bands of Kafirs and Hottentots which were only too common in the colony, but he allowed any who wished to leave such bands to come and share the benefits of Botha's Farm. This led his enemies to say that he was hand-in-glove with all the worst bandits of the colony. In September, 1802, the garrison of Fort Frederick being ordered to the Cape, Governor Dundas urged Vanderkemp either to occupy the Fort or else return with him to Cape Town. Vanderkemp declined both proposals, resolving in dependence upon God to continue his work where he was. Only eight days after the troops left the station was attacked at night by a band of marauding Hottentots. A chance shot killed their leader, and the rest fled. Two days later another attack was repelled by force.

'We were not at all pleased with this, because our intention was to gain our enemies by a soft and amiable behaviour, and thus by no means to provoke them by a hostile opposition. Besides this, we foresaw that the enemy reinforcing himself more and more, at last would be

able to lead on a superior power, sufficient to destroy us entirely. For this reason we proposed to them on the self-same day, to take over our institution into Fort Frederick, till Government should show us a place fit for our residence, and under its protection. This was resolved upon, and on the following day, October 1, was executed by the assistance of the colonists, who came for that purpose from the fortress, and conveyed us on our way. They thought undoubtedly, that we should now make a common cause against the savages; but saw themselves deceived, when we told them the intention of our mission, and that we should keep a complete neutrality in the war with the savages, and that we did not make use of arms but only for unavoidable self-defence, nor opposed the disorders of the savages but by Christian admonitions and examples, of which they could see the effects in our Hottentots [1].'

April 23, 1803. 'Monday evening last a Dutch man-of-war put into the bay, and brought me your letters of April 16 and July 2, 1802. It also brought the tidings of the restoration of the colony to the Dutch, and of the appointment of Jan Willem Janssens as the new Governor.' In a later letter Vanderkemp continues:—

'Since I wrote the above, the Governor has come to see me. He has been looking out for a suitable place of abode for us, and thinks he has found a good one, at the mouth of the Zwartkops River. The Governor wished us to desist for the present from the instruction of the Hottentots in reading and writing, chiefly the latter; but I could not, however, with all the regard due to his rank and character, consent to a proposal so contrary to the apparent interest of Christ's kingdom, and so unworthy of the rights of a free nation, merely to stop the clamour of a number of ill-natured people; but the prejudices of honest men against us diminish gradually, as they become better acquainted with us, and I hope that some prohibitions under which we are at present will shortly be removed [2].'

These events led to the founding of the station after-

[1] *Transactions*, ii. p. 89. [2] Ibid. p. 94.

wards so famous under the name of Bethelsdorp. Contrary to the hopes and confident expectation of all the enemies of the natives, the new Dutch governor, who was a personal friend of Dr. Vanderkemp, manifested a sympathetic attitude towards his work, although serious attempts had already been made by the Dutch colonists to poison his mind on this question. In his journal at this time Vanderkemp wrote :—

'The Governor's mind, we found, by false representations, had been preoccupied against our institution, by persons whose malicious projects had struck at the very root of the mission. "But the counsel of God standeth sure, and He will do all His pleasure." The Governor, however, seemed immediately convinced of the utility of our labours among the Hottentots, and steps were immediately taken to find a spot of ground for our settlement; and the only one that could be found, not in the possession of farmers, was about seven miles north of Fort Frederick, near a small river, called by the Hottentots Kooboo, at the entrance of a kloof which separates a ridge of high mountains. After this place was assigned for the establishment, the Governor requested Brother Vanderkemp to give it a name. Brother Vanderkemp, after a moment's hesitation, and recollecting the text from which he had preached the Sunday before our departure from Graaff Reinet, Gen. xxxv. 2, 3 [1], proposed to his Excellency the name Bethelsdorp (Village of Bethel), and his Excellency approving it, it was concluded that that should be its name. Governor Janssens seemed, however, prejudiced against our teaching the Hottentots to write, considering them not to be sufficiently civilized to make a proper use of it. This prejudice we supposed had been much strengthened by the Christians, who would not have had the face to have mentioned it under the English Government. We

[1] 'Then Jacob said unto his household, and to all that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you, and be clean, and change your garments. And let us arise, and go up to Beth-el; and I will make there an altar unto God, who answered me in the day of my distress, and was with me in the way which I went.'

kept our ground, considering it a privilege, that we could not conscientiously keep from them without a positive prohibition, which we, however, did not receive. Governor Janssens, while he tarried at the Bay, visited us frequently, and gave us every token of friendship. His Excellency left the Bay on the second of June [1].'

'The state of poverty in which most of the Hottentots are, obliges many to go to the Boers to work; others go from their own free choice, as these have no care upon them to provide for themselves, which is one of the characteristics of a Hottentot. Others choose to lie in the bushes, and live upon the roots of the field, rather than be subject to the discipline of a civilized life. Laziness is the most prevalent evil among our people, which exposes them to the greatest distresses [2].'

'The inconstancy of the Hottentots in their matrimonial connections subjects us to great irregularities. We exhort, as much as possible, those who are still heathen to abide with their wives, and not to leave or change them, as their custom is; and those who believe in Christ, we oblige, with consent of the unbelieving moiety, publicly to bind themselves to each other in the inviolable ties of matrimony. In this manner Brother Read was married, on the twenty-ninth of June, to a young Hottentot woman, by Brother Vanderkemp [3].'

Few attempts have been made to estimate accurately the influence exerted by Christian missions in South Africa during the first fifty years of the nineteenth century. That they very powerfully affected public opinion is proved by the intense hostility they aroused in so many quarters. The various educational institutions established by the missionaries became potent forces in the civilization and development of the colony. There were also very many instances of direct conversion, those who thus became trophies of Divine grace having been not unfrequently monsters of evil in their unregenerate state. The con-

[1] *Transactions*, ii. p. 162. [2] Ibid. p. 165.
[3] Ibid. p. 166.

version of Cupido may be taken as a typical example of this class. This man had long been notorious for swearing, lying, fighting, but especially for drunkenness, which often brought him upon a sick bed, being naturally weak. 'At such times,' writes Vanderkemp, 'he always resolved to leave that practice and lead a sober life. He was, however, surprised to find that no sooner did his health return than his sins again prevailed. He was sometimes afraid of God, although ignorant of Him: and expected that his conduct would prove the destruction of his soul. He inquired of all he met with for means to deliver him from the sin of drunkenness, supposing that to leave the rest would then be easy; but in vain. His feet were providentially led to Graaff Reinet, where he heard, in a discourse from Brother Vanderlingen, that Christ Jesus, the Son of God, could save sinners from their sins. He cried out to himself, "That is what I want, that is what I want!" He immediately left business to come to us, that he might get acquainted with this Jesus; and told all he met that he had at last found one who could save him from his sins. . . . He was then brought earnestly to seek an interest in Christ, and he is now become one of our most zealous fellow-labourers. To Brother Cupido has been added this year seventeen persons—nine men, and eight women, besides thirteen children. One of the women is now the wife of Brother Read[1].'

The hostile action taken by some of their neighbours did not cease as time passed on. On April 18, 1804, Vanderkemp, on behalf of his brethren, wrote to the governor, that their consciences would not permit them any longer to observe that hard article of the settlement granted to the institution, by which they were recommended to encourage the voluntary engagement of the Hottentots into the service of the colonists, on account of the cruelty and injustice with which those who entered into their service were treated, without any justice being done to them by the magistrates. In answer to this the Governor ordered

[1] *Transactions*, ii. pp. 166, 167.

the landdrost of this district to take the necessary steps. This not being done, and the oppression of these inhuman wretches, who called themselves Christians, for the greatest part continuing unpunished, Vanderkemp and his colleagues persisted in their resolution.

Although not able to destroy the good work, its enemies continued to do all in their power to cripple it, while the veteran missionary eagerly longed to pass on to new fields of work. In a letter dated November 1, 1804, Vanderkemp writes:—

'My Brother Read longs with me for the arrival of two or three faithful missionaries, to whom we could (under the approbation of the Society, by which this mission shall be directed) transfer the care of this infant congregation, that we may, if God opens the door, attempt a missionary excursion either into the more northern and entirely unknown parts of this continent, or to Madagascar, with a view, however, to return to our present station. The number of our inhabitants increases but very slowly, and amounts at this time to 320 in all. The wandering spirit and unsettled mind of the Hottentots permits them not to stop long with us, and more than 300 have left us since the erection of this institution. There are, however, a few exceptions. In the course of this year I have baptized twenty-two adults and fourteen children. The whole number of our church members is forty-three, one of whom we have to our grief been obliged to cut off from our communion, though we still hope that she is a real Christian. At Graaff Reinet, where the labours of my dearest Brother Read have been so eminently blessed among the English soldiers, the spiritual seed now springs up among the heathen. This poor flock is without a pastor, but the great Shepherd watches no doubt over their souls. Now and then our Hottentot brethren visit them, and afford them spiritual food.

'The ground which Government has assigned for our institution, and which we now occupy, is about ten miles in circumference, but very barren, and seems very unfit for

the subsistence of a people, who in their present state of imperfection can live only upon cattle and corn. Their stock of the former is inadequate to maintain them, though by our care it gradually augments, and the experience of two years successively, in which our harvest has totally failed for want of water, leaves so little hope of procuring the latter, that there is much reason to fear a famine. This prospect contributes much to the dispersion of our people among the colonists; and the rest who continue with us, show, not ambiguously, a strong desire that this institution may be transferred to a more convenient spot.'

The year 1805 saw the arrival of reinforcements. On March 3 John Gottfried Ullbricht, one of the company of six who came out with Mr. Kicherer in 1804, and Mr. Tromp joined them. On April 24, 1805, both Vanderkemp and Read were summoned to Cape Town by Governor Janssens. 'We made the journey in just five weeks, in which nothing happened more than is common in such journeys.' Such pressure had been brought to bear upon the governor that he was compelled to take this step in the direction of stopping work at Bethelsdorp. But, as we have seen, just when the original workers were stopped new labourers were sent to the field. Active friends in the colony were also aroused to greater effort and sacrifice.

Month after month Vanderkemp and Read were compelled to remain inactive at Cape Town. They were allowed neither to return to Bethelsdorp nor 'to undertake an exploratory excursion into the adjacent countries beyond,' because of the Boer outcry against them 'as Englishmen and addicted to English interests.' On January 10, 1806, Cape Town surrendered to the English under Sir David Baird. The British commander received Vanderkemp graciously, and consulted him as to the best course to pursue with the Hottentot prisoners. On February 5, 1806, Vanderkemp was permitted to begin his return journey to Bethelsdorp, which he reached on

March 12; Read, who had gone by sea, arriving there twelve days earlier. His voyage was adventurous. Read had been on board the Duff in 1798 when she was captured. Near Cape Town, wrecked on the beach, whither she had been driven by an English frigate, lay a French privateer. 'There,' said the captain to Read, 'lies your enemy: that is the ship that was cruising off South America during the last war.' The wreck was the Buonaparte! The ship carrying Read was at one time on fire, and at another was almost on the rocks.

The work at Bethelsdorp had prospered meanwhile, more especially that of Mrs. Smith[1] among the women. Vanderkemp himself had come to feel more strongly than ever that events were teaching him that his place for the remaining working years of his life would be Bethelsdorp. During 1807 the mission proved no exception to the rule that times of prosperity are not always seasons of spiritual progress. Free from their external anxieties the little community suffered from the backsliding of some of its members. It became more and more evident also that nothing in the way of successful agriculture could be accomplished. During the year Read built a smith's shop; Ullbricht a carpenter's shop, and also a windmill. Vanderkemp, in addition to his other labours, finished his work, *The Theodicy of St. Paul.* Read was also formally elected minister of Bethelsdorp.

The irregularities as to the maintenance of missionaries which were so common in the South Seas obtained in South Africa also. Read writes on February 10, 1807:—

'My private expenses are now nearly or quite double what they were when single, so that this year it has cost me nearly or quite £50 when I used to be able to live for £30. I am under a thousand obligations to the Society for the favours already received, and have no claims for more; but if the Directors would have the goodness to grant an additional sum, it would be very acceptable, and without it I shall not know what to do.'

[1] An enthusiastic missionary worker in Cape Town, who had gone to Bethelsdorp when Vanderkemp and Read were called away.

This financial question cropped up from time to time in the tentative efforts on the part of both Directors and missionaries to arrive at a just and adequate permanent arrangement. On November 6, 1809 Vanderkemp wrote:—

'You most liberally desire that we should mention the sum which, in our opinion, would be adequate to provide a Missionary at Bethelsdorp with the necessaries of life. As hitherto the Lord has enabled me to maintain myself and family without any expense to the Society, I have left the determination of this sum to Brethren Read and Ullbricht; and the result of their consideration is, that as at present a new-coming Missionary receives £10 to build a house, £40 to buy cattle once, and for annual subsidy, being unmarried, every year £30, or if married £40, and nothing for his children; in future, besides the house and cattle-money, an unmarried Missionary may have yearly £35, a married, for himself and his wife, £45, and for each child £5. We are unanimous in opinion, that a Missionary of Christ, who is abundantly rewarded for his labours by his Master whom he serves, not hired by men, but out of free love, is unworthy that name if he accepts any payment for his service from men. We therefore earnestly request that this money may not be considered as a stipend or salary, but only as a subsidy for those who are, by the nature of their service, unable to subsist from their manual labour[1].'

During the year 1808 the little colony prospered, having for the first time in their history a tolerable harvest. In April, 1809, when visited by Colonel Collins, the commissioner sent to regulate the affairs of the Kafirs, a census was taken with the following result:—Present at the time, 146 men, 211 women, 282 children, total 639; absent, 113 men, 121 women, 106 children, total 340; in all 979. Individuals who had been absent more than a year were not counted. The uncertainty which prevailed from year to year as to the continuance of the mission on the old site checked attempts to erect permanent buildings. The spirit in which Colonel Collins regarded Bethelsdorp

[1] *Transactions*, iii. p. 249.

is shown by the questions he put to Vanderkemp, and the recommendations in his Report.

'Among other questions in the paper which he held in his hand, he asked the Doctor, "Will you, sir, agree to send over to Uitenhage Hottentots whose services may be required by the magistrate, Major Cuyler?" To this Vanderkemp directly replied in the negative. Being requested to state the grounds on which he rested his objections, he remarked, "That to apprehend men as prisoners, and force them to labour in the manner proposed, was no part of his duty." To a question, "Whether he did not consider it his duty to compel the Hottentots to labour," he replied, "No, sir; the Hottentots are recognized to be a free people, and the colonists have no more right to force them to labour in the way you propose than you have to sell them as slaves." Being asked why he would not obey the order of the landdrost, in calling in the Hottentots who were among the farmers, when they were required by the landdrost: "Because, sir," said he, "that is the duty of the landdrost himself, and he is paid for it." Being asked if he would agree to prohibit the Caffers from visiting his institution, and whether he would send such as might resort to him under the pretext of coming to seek instruction, as prisoners to Uitenhage; he replied, "Sir, my commission is to preach the Gospel to every creature, and I will preach the Gospel to every one who chooses to hear me. God has sent me, not to put chains upon the legs of Hottentots and Caffers, but to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison-doors to them that are bound[1]."'

On February 10, 1810, Michael Wimmer and Carl Pacalt arrived from England. Erasmus Smit had been actively at work also for the last three years. Vanderkemp's outlook was still towards the regions beyond. Correspondence had passed between him and the Directors as to the renewal of the Kafir Mission, and in January, 1810, Read visited Kafirland; also with regard to a mission to Prince

[1] *Researches in South Africa*, i. pp. 124, 125.

Edward's Islands, and another to the Tambookie tribes lying to the north and north-west of Kafirland. But Vanderkemp's heart was still set on Madagascar, and thither he now hoped to go, accompanied by Ullbricht and Pacalt. The Government were willing to afford such facilities as they could, and Lord Caledon, the governor, promised that if possible they should be conveyed thither in a man-of-war[1]. But the day was never to dawn on which Vanderkemp's eyes should look upon the great island which had dwelt so long in his thought. His race was nearly run, his work all but ended.

The whole weight of the mission influence was exerted more strongly than ever now in the struggle to obtain justice for the Hottentots. Read put the case powerfully in a letter to Lord Caledon, dated October 19, 1810. He also shows, without attempting to do so, how impossible it is for the true missionary to avoid altogether social and political complications.

'MY LORD,—On the 8th of this month I was summoned to appear before the Landdrost, to give information upon some acts of cruelty and murder, mentioned in a letter of mine, written to England, dated Aug. 30, 1808. I have given him information of the persons who had informed me, and shall, with the greatest cheerfulness, give every further information upon the subject in my power, if it should be your Lordship's desire.

'I have likewise given to the Landdrost, two papers, containing an account of similar acts of barbarity, which have been brought to my knowledge since I have been in this country, and in which, as far as I know, not only no justice has ever been administered, but not the least notice

[1] The true inwardness of this offer is seen in the following extract from *Researches in South Africa*, i. p. 126:—'Colonel Collins states in his report to government (without supposing, I presume, it would ever be seen by a missionary) that he did all in his power to dissuade Vanderkemp from thinking of renewing the Caffer mission by endeavouring to impress upon his mind the importance of a mission to Madagascar. This he did, not from any regard to Madagascar, but merely to get rid of Vanderkemp's application to be allowed to recommence a mission in Cafferland.'

taken of them, which is undoubtedly the cause of the continuance of the inhumanity and cruel deeds committed against this poor people.

'It hath pleased God, in His providence, my Lord! to cast me, and my fellow Missionaries, in this part of the colony, in such a situation as enables me to become better acquainted with the sufferings of this poor people than any person whatever. The poor Hottentot in vain turns his eye to any person, to whom he dares to unbosom his wounded spirit, and lay open his sore complaints: he has sought for redress, perhaps at the hazard of his life; at last he finds in a Missionary a friend, whom he afterwards begins to experience, is more or less concerned for his temporal and spiritual welfare; then, and not without some degree of fear, he tells his pitiable story, and even a heart of stone must bleed to hear the father relate the loss of his child, the child that of the father, the tender husband his wife, and the wife the husband, &c., &c., and the survivors forced into an almost endless bondage, and the orphans made worse than slaves. I hope that the time is near that their cries will be heard, and their numerous complaints impartially attended to, and effectual means adopted to deliver them from such oppressions.

'Another idea I have to submit to your Lordship, and which I conceive to be of the utmost importance, is the well-known rooted dread that reigns in the breast of almost every Hottentot, at least in these distant districts, to give information against any boor upon any subject. He considers himself endangering his life, and sacrificing himself to the resentment of all the connections of those against whom he is called to bear witness. It is therefore my opinion, that the truth of the crimes already committed, or which may be committed, will never be brought properly to light, till gradual and effectual means are taken to protect and encourage those who are able to give information of them.'

In consequence of this letter Lord Caledon requested Vanderkemp and Read to come and have an interview with

him at Cape Town. On March 28, 1811, they left Bethelsdorp; Vanderkemp never to return. They reached Cape Town on April 27, and on the 29th Lord Caledon received them. Soon after their arrival a change of governors took place, and they deemed it prudent to wait and see the incoming ruler, Sir John Cradock, who arrived on September 3, 1811. The facts brought to light by Vanderkemp and Read led to action on the part of Government which was very obnoxious to many colonists. An illustration of the views on mission-work and its influence held all through the century by that section of South African society which had no true sympathy with Christian work is supplied by an extract or two from the latest, and in some respects the ablest, of South African historians. In his *South Africa*, published in 1894, Mr. G. M. Theal prints these statements: 'In 1799 the first agents of the London Missionary Society arrived in South Africa. Unfortunately, almost from the day of their landing, some of them *took a more prominent part in politics than in elevating the heathen*, and as they advocated social equality between barbarians and civilized people, they were speedily at feud with the colonists[1].' Here the sentence we italicize is the exact reverse of fact. It was because they were straining every nerve to elevate the heathen that Vanderkemp and Read appealed, wherever it could legitimately be done, to law and to Government.

With regard to Vanderkemp's and Read's assertions, that cruelties had been practised by many colonists towards Hottentots, Mr. Theal writes: 'Unfortunately, however, the reverend Messrs. Vanderkemp and Read had given credence to a number of stories of murder of Hottentots and other outrages said to have been committed by colonists, and their reports, in which these tales appeared as facts, were published in England. By order of the British Government the charges thus made were brought before the Second Circuit Court, which held its sessions in the last months of 1812. In this, the Black Circuit as it has since been

[1] *South Africa*, by G. M. Theal, p. 126 (1894).

called, no fewer than fifty-eight white men and women were put upon their trial for crimes alleged to have been committed against Hottentots or slaves, and over 1000 witnesses—European, black, and Hottentot—were summoned to give evidence. The whole country was in a state of commotion. The serious charges were nearly all proved to be without foundation; *but several individuals were found guilty of assault*, and were punished. The irritation of the relatives and friends of those who were accused without sufficient cause was excessive; and this event, more than anything that preceded it, caused a lasting unfriendly feeling between the colonists and the missionaries of the London Society[1].'

That a colonist should have any check exerted over his dealings with Hottentots was in 1812 an extraordinary event; that a Hottentot had any rights whatever in the eyes of a Boer was a doctrine never in practice admitted by them; that he should be supported by those who were powerful enough to see that even white people should be tried for their crimes was intolerable. Even the historian has to admit that some of those who were tried were guilty of the offences charged against them. And any one who knows how difficult it was in 1812 to secure a conviction in a colonial court for any charge in which a 'barbarian' was the accuser, knows perfectly well that for every guilty one punished at least ten equally or more guilty escaped. The real source of colonial hostility to the early missionaries was not at all that they interfered in politics—a charge absolutely unfounded—but it was because they believed in *equal* rights for black and white, for Kafir and Boer, for Hottentot and colonist. They based this view upon the teaching of Jesus Christ, and they strove in dependence upon Him to secure these rights. This was why many colonists in 1812 hated them; and this is why historians in later days misrepresent them.

On September 13 six new missionaries arrived from England, and in December Read returned to Bethelsdorp.

[1] *South Africa*, pp. 145, 146.

A British expedition reached Algoa Bay in November, intended to compel the Kafirs to cross to the east of the Great Fish River. Vanderkemp meanwhile remained at Cape Town, where he was joined in September by Pacalt, who was both ready and willing for the expedition to Madagascar. The war with Holland had brought the Netherlands Society to an end so far as contributing to the South African Missions was concerned, and from this time their whole cost fell upon the London Society, and upon local contributions. At this time an auxiliary to the London Missionary Society was started in Cape Town, and subscriptions to the amount of £150 collected.

But ere the year 1811 closed Africa had lost one of her greatest benefactors, the Society one of its noblest workers, Bethelsdorp its father and main support, and the whole South African missionary community its most stimulating influence. 'Dr. Vanderkemp was very weak,' wrote Read, 'before I left the Cape; repeated strokes of apoplexy had greatly injured his health; so that he could scarcely use his right leg, and often expected, when he left home, that he should not return again. I never knew him in such a state of uncertainty and care as some time before his death; and I doubt not but this tended to hasten his dissolution. He was fully determined upon going to Madagascar, and without much anxiety, till a gentleman, a friend of ours, called and made some observations on the imprudence of either of us leaving the colony at the present juncture—that having laid before Government numerous details of complaints, in which many persons were involved, our leaving the country before the business was investigated would seem as if we were afraid to abide the investigation of the business, and that others would be injured by it. This seemed to wound his heart, and from that time his trouble of mind was very great. He sometimes thought of going to England, on account of the poor suffering Hottentots, and also to secure for his children a good education; but in his last letter to me he writes thus: "I am still in the same state of perplexity as before, respecting

what is my duty to do; but God, I trust, will give deliverance; my prayer is, that He would preserve me from taking a wrong step. The Cape is unpleasant to me—to go to England, and so give up Madagascar, I dare not—for if I do not go thither, who will?[1]"'

Occupied in this way until the call to higher service came, Vanderkemp was engaged to the very last upon the extension of mission-work. An unfinished letter to the Directors, the last he wrote, deals entirely with the plans and work of the different missionaries. Upon the back of this letter Mrs. Smith, one of the most devoted helpers resident in the colony, wrote the account of his last hours:—

'*Cape Town, December* 15, 1811.—I have to mention to you my great grief and sorrow, that our faithful and beloved Brother Vanderkemp is no more. After Brother Read's departure from the Cape, he was very anxious to see everything in order about the brethren for Namaqualand. Four of them proceeded to their destination, and Brother Albrecht remained to settle the last, and when that would be done, to settle with Mr. Hammes; after which time he told me, "My dear Mother Smith, I must say that I feel very weak, and wish for an opportunity to settle my own affairs." But God's thoughts were not as our thoughts—He has been pleased to afflict our worthy friend, on Saturday, the 7th of December (after he had spoken from a chapter in the fulness of the Spirit), with a shivering followed by a fever, so that he was under the necessity to take to his bed; he took some suitable medicine, but was never able to come out of his bed. He was very much inclined to sleep, and when we spoke to him he was scarcely able to give us an answer. We used all the means in our power for his recovery, but to no effect. I asked him, "My dear friend, what is the state of your mind?" He answered, with a smiling countenance, "All is well!" I asked whether it was light or darkness? He answered, "Light[2]."'

[1] *Transactions*, iii. p. 405.

[2] Ibid. p. 409.

Dr. Vanderkemp passed away on the eighth day of his illness, December 15, 1811, at the age of 63 years. His last recorded word was characteristic of the last twenty years of his life—'Light.' He was highly educated both in the school of human learning, and in the harder school of human experience. He had been disciplined by sorrow, by mental stress and strain, and by long acquaintance with men and affairs. Having known the bareness and pain of life without a knowledge of the Gospel, and having come to realize in a very simple and yet profound manner the preciousness of Christ to his own soul, he eagerly sought to make all men acquainted with the same loving and merciful and all-powerful Saviour. His gifts of mind and body and temperament fitted him in a very high degree to be the leading spirit in the great enterprise of laying broadly and well the foundations of the work of the London Missionary Society in Africa. The success and the development of that missionary enterprise, and the mighty influence it has exerted throughout the century upon the social and moral, and even upon the political condition of that vast continent, are the noblest tributes to his work. Multitudes who never heard his name have had cause to bless that overruling Divine guidance which fitted Vanderkemp for his great task, and which enabled him to toil so nobly to its close.

The day after Vanderkemp died, on December 16, 1811, a very important decision was taken by the Board of Directors in London. They had long felt the need in South Africa of a strong, capable, general superintendent of all the scattered missions and missionary work. Many letters had passed between them and their valued colleague on this question. And almost at the very time when that great heart ceased to beat and that clear, strong brain to plan, they passed five resolutions which were to guide the future policy of the Society in South Africa. The first appointed Mr. P. F. Hammes, of Cape Town, financial agent through whom all bills on the treasurer were to be drawn. The second ran—

'That the Rev. Dr. Vanderkemp be appointed superintendent or inspector to the Society, or in the event of his decease or departure from the Colony, that Mr. James Read shall be appointed to that office, and that he be empowered to take a general oversight of the affairs of every station, and to exercise, as a Director of the Society and its representative at the Cape, such powers of control and influence as may appear requisite for the great object in view.'

The third appointed the following local superintendents or presiding missionaries: Anderson at Orange River; C. Albrecht among the Namaquas; Wimmer or Ullbricht at Bethelsdorp should Read leave. The fourth settled the allowances, according to Vanderkemp's ideas. The fifth apprised all the missionaries of this policy, and instructed them to arrange for supplies, and all the important details of their work with the general superintendent. These resolutions embodied Vanderkemp's own policy; but his successors carried it out.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vols. ii and iii; *Researches in South Africa*, by Dr. Philip.]

CHAPTER XVIII

OTHER PIONEER MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. THE MISSION TO THE ZAK RIVER.—The original intention of the little company of missionaries who entered Cape Town, March 31, 1799, was to attempt as a united band the mission to the Kafirs. But God ordered it otherwise. The Bushmen, the descendants probably of the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa, and by many considered to be almost the lowest in the scale of human beings, were not to be neglected. Very singular was the providential sequence of cause and effect which separated Kicherer and Edwards from Vanderkemp and Edmonds, and sent them to the Zak River instead of to Graaff Reinet. Kicherer and Kramer thus describe the origin of the mission:—

'Our coming among them was occasioned by a very singular providence. Just as we arrived at the Cape, three deputies from the Boschemen (Bushmen) arrived also: these men requested us, by means of an interpreter whom they had with them, to come and instruct them. A certain Floris Fischer, being field cornet, in the name of the Government, had, some time before, gone amongst these people to contract a peace with some of the nearest of them. In this attempt, under the Lord's blessing, he had happily succeeded. This good man did, at evening and in the morning, bow his knees before God, and also sung psalms, which made such an impression upon this

nation, that they from that moment neglected not to request that he would take care that they might learn to know that God whom the Dutch prayed to; hereupon he promised that he would, and that they should obtain among them an instructor or teacher, though he was utterly at a loss to procure one, as everybody appeared afraid of this people, and few would willingly live in such a wilderness, separated from all Christian society. See, dear brethren, this was to take place previously; and even at that period that they were thus assembled, we were influenced to come from far countries to comply with their desire. How clearly is the hand of God to be observed in this! Wonderful God, how adorable art Thou in Thy ways!'

These three men were Bushmen leaders, and were named Vigilant, Slaporm, and Orclam, and the last named belonged to the tribe of the Corannas. A young Dutchman, a native of the Cape, Cornelius Adrian Kramer by name, had been drawn to the work, was approved by Vanderkemp, and associated by him with his two colleagues for this new and difficult work.

On May 22, 1799, Kicherer, Edwards, and Kramer left Cape Town, accompanied by Vanderkemp and Edmond, who travelled with them as far as Rodezand, on their way to Kaffraria. On June 25, Kicherer and his party left Rodezand, and after a fortnight's journey through the mountainous Roggeveld, and the level Karroo, they arrived safely at Floris Fischer's, where they continued three weeks, in order to prepare for their further journey. On July 22 they left the Karroo, accompanied by their generous host, Mr. Fischer, with several other farmers and their servants, to the number of about fifty, having in their train six wagons full of provisions, sixty oxen, and near two hundred sheep, the kind presents of the Dutch settlers. On the 29th they passed the last inhabited house in Roggeveld, and found the country a perfect desert, without a blade of grass. After travelling seven days without meeting a human being, on August 3 they arrived at

a spot where a few Bushmen resided, three of whom visited them. They crossed the Zak River the next day, and on July 6 fixed on a spot where they agreed to settle, and called it Happy Prospect Fountain. It was near two fine springs of water, with a good piece of ground for cultivation, but the surrounding country was barren, and the inhabitants few.

They had been accompanied by Mr. Fischer and other kind friends, who were obliged to leave on August 12, and return home. But they soon began to have company, a party of about thirty Bushmen arriving to inquire into the reason of their coming. They were, at first, exceedingly shy, but small presents of tobacco presently gained their confidence[1].

Kicherer was probably the first intelligent, educated, and sympathetic European who lived in close contact for many months with these degraded Bushmen, under circumstances most favourable not only for observing their customs, but also for gaining some knowledge of their ideas and thoughts. His observations, duly recorded in 1800, became thus of special and permanent value[2]:—

'Although they are not idolaters, the doctrine of a Supreme Being was to them entirely unknown; and, in one word, we found them resemble the brute beasts, with this exception, that they were capable of instruction, of learning to know and to honour a deity, which also afterwards appeared.

'Their manner of living is very horrible. Their dwelling and resting place is between the rocks, where they dig a round den of about three feet deep, in which they lie, with their whole family. This den is sometimes covered with a few reeds, to shelter them from the wind and rain, which, however, seldom answers the design, as they are generally soaked through by the first shower. They mostly lie down and sleep, except when hunger greatly torments them; then they go a-hunting; but they live many days without any food. When they find no wild beast, then

[1] *Transactions*, ii. pp. 2–6. [2] Ibid. pp. 6–8.

they make shift with a sort of small wild onions and wild potatoes, which the women seek, but never the men. They are content to eat snakes and mice.

'Their language is so very difficult to learn that no one can spell or write the same. It consists mostly of a clicking with the tongue. By a kind direction of Providence, we have in our service two interpreters, who are a bastard Hottentot and his wife. They are natives of the Boschemen's land; but have served under Christians, and have learned the Dutch language.

'They are total strangers to domestic happiness. The men have several wives, but conjugal affection is little known. They take no great care of their children, and never correct them except in a fit of rage, when they almost kill them by severe usage. In a quarrel between father and mother, or the several wives of a husband, the defeated party wreaks his or her revenge on the child of the conqueror, which in general loses its life. Tame Hottentots seldom destroy their offspring, except in a fit of passion; but the Boschemen will kill their children without remorse on various occasions, as when they are ill-shaped, when they are in want of food, when the father of a child has forsaken its mother, or when obliged to flee from the farmers or others; in which case they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive.

'The Boschemen frequently forsake their aged relations when removing from place to place for the sake of hunting. In this case they leave the old person with a piece of meat, and an ostrich eggshell full of water: as soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor deserted creature must perish by hunger, or become the prey of wild beasts. Many of these wild Hottentots live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the most horrid and atrocious actions.'

The way in which the work of the mission was done is thus described[1]:—

'Our days are spent in the following manner:—About

[1] *Transactions*, ii. pp. 9–12.

the time of sun-rising we collect together for prayer, when we read the Scriptures and sing a hymn; then the elderly people depart, and the business of the school commences. We teach the younger people to spell and read Dutch. In the mean time our provision is prepared by a Boscheman girl. School being over, we proceed to our manual labour, such as gardening, building, &c. About noon we dine, and the afternoon passes away in the same occupations as the forenoon. Evening arriving, we conclude our day by prayer, singing hymns, and communicating, in the plainest manner we can, the knowledge of divine things.'

In January, 1800, Kicherer found it necessary to take a journey to Cape Town, for the purpose of procuring supplies. He wrote in his journal:—

'Soon after our arrival at Cape Town, I was called to preach at the Calvinist Church, a very capacious building, then overflowing with a very genteel auditory. My Boschemen, accompanying me, were greatly struck with the large number of well-dressed people, whom, in their simplicity, they compared to a nest of ants; and the sound of the organ was at first mistaken by them for the noise of a swarming bee-hive. From that time they entertained a higher opinion of their minister; for, before, they had been tempted to consider me as a beggarly fellow, who had come among them merely to obtain a livelihood.'

Soon after Kicherer's return Kramer went for a time to the Hex River; Edwards left the mission, and soon ceased to have any connection with the Society; while Kicherer and a friend of his named Scholtz removed nearer to the Zak River. Meanwhile the Directors in London, in conjunction with their fellow-workers in Holland, had been taking active measures to strengthen the South African Mission. On April 10, 1800, four missionaries sailed for the Cape, landing there in September. Two were Englishmen: William Anderson and James Read. Two were Dutchmen: Bastian Tromp and A. A. Vanderlingen. At the time of their arrival Kicherer happened to be at the Cape, and it was finally settled that Anderson should return with him and

attempt to begin Christian work among the Corannas, tribes inhabiting the banks of the Orange River to the north of the Karroo, whose chiefs had repeatedly asked for teachers. They left Cape Town on February 10, 1801, and reached the Zak River five weeks later. Leaving the Zak River on March 25, Anderson reached the Orange River on April 5, and finally selected as his station a spot he called Rich Fountain, three days' journey north of the Orange River. In May, 1801, Kicherer and his colleagues came from the Zak River to Rich Fountain. His narrative of this visit is of interest as giving us the first sketch received in England of the notorious Africaner, and also the first references to the great Bechwana tribes.

'We soon found ourselves surrounded by crowds of different people—Korannas, Namaquas, Hottentots, Bastard Hottentots, and Boschemen, together with their numerous flocks and herds. The Korannas and Namaquas lived servants to the Bastards, having been reduced to this abject condition by the depredations of a monster, known by the name of the "African," a Bastard Hottentot. This bloody man, having murdered Penaar, his master, collected a band of robbers, with whom he made incursions into the Namaqua and Koranna countries. Some of these poor timid people sent him a message, requesting that he would restore a little part of their property, at least a cow for each family, that they might have a drop of milk for their starving children. The wretch promised to comply with their wishes on condition that they would cross the river, and fetch the animals; but when they came he treacherously tied them to the trees, cut out their tongues, or otherwise maimed them: some of them he shot dead. Being thus reduced to extreme poverty, they were glad for the sake of subsistence to serve the Bastards, who treated them with great severity, flogging and abusing them like slaves, and allowing little more for their support than the milk of the sheep which they kept. This horrid monster, the "African," understanding something of Colonial politics, has hitherto contrived to evade deserved punishment.'

It soon became evident to the missionaries that the establishment of permanent mission stations would be a matter of great difficulty. The character of the country, the climate, the habits and customs of the different tribes of natives were all adverse to settled life. Hence it is not easy to gain accurate conceptions of the movements of the mission at this period. By March, 1802, Kicherer was convinced that it was needful to divide the mission once again, as 'the produce of the land was insufficient for the support of our numerous cattle,' and so he returned to his old station, the Zak River.

Kramer had been left, with Anderson as his colleague, at Rich Fountain. In June, 1802, they removed eight days' journey lower down the Orange River to a place called Kok's Kraal. The work was successful chiefly among the Hottentots and Bastard Hottentots; but the missionaries were never able to make much impression upon the wild and degraded Bushmen.

In January, 1803, Kicherer, for family reasons, found it necessary to return to Holland, and determined to take with him three of his converted Hottentots. Their presence in London aroused the deepest interest in the work begun among their brethren, and became a powerful stimulus to the interest felt in the African Mission by friends and supporters in Great Britain.

On October 21, 1804, Kicherer sailed from Amsterdam for the Cape. He was accompanied by his three Hottentots, and six new missionary colleagues. They were nearly wrecked off the Scilly Isles, but reached Cape Town safely on January 19, 1805. From a letter dated 'Heck's River, September 16, 1805,' Kicherer seems to have paid a flying visit to the station which had been left in charge of Mr. and Mrs. A. Vos and Mr. Botma, where he found matters unsatisfactory owing to the difficulty which the Hottentots found in maintaining themselves. In the same letter the following significant sentence appears:—'You have already heard that I am married to the widow Hubart since May 26, 1805, and that she has given herself completely under my

direction, and her wishes are to do good with her property among the heathen.' Whether this event had any determining influence or not we do not know, but before the end of the year Kicherer accepted from the Dutch Government the appointment as pastor at Graaff Reinet, and so disappears from the mission staff. The temptation to accept these posts was very great, and so important did Vanderkemp feel this matter to be that on July 29, 1806, he wrote a long letter to the Directors on the danger of men sent out as missionaries becoming 'country clergymen,' that is, ministers of settled congregations.

The difficulties of maintaining the Zak River Station arising from drought, Bushmen, marauders, and other causes, were so great that in 1806 it was abandoned. Mr. Vos wrote under date of August 14, 1806: 'This day we leave Zak River, the place which has cost us so many sighs, tears, and drops of sweat; the place in which we laboured so many days and nights for the salvation of immortal souls.' The work ceased, but its fruit remained. Many years later Robert Moffat wrote that Kicherer and Kramer's labours were signally blessed in the conversion of Hottentots 'from whose lips the writer has frequently heard with delight the records of bygone years[1].'

2. THE MISSION TO THE GRIQUAS AT KLAAR WATER OR GRIQUA TOWN.—During Kicherer's visit to Europe Anderson and Kramer had continued steadily at work. They had removed from Kok's Kraal to a station called Klaar Water. This station was further to the east, and some little distance from the north bank of the Orange River. There Anderson and Kramer laboured in the face of even greater difficulties than those encountered at Zak River. Anderson was made of sterner stuff than Kicherer. Writing on August 22, 1806, he says:—

'We have for the last six years denied ourselves many comforts and necessities of life, and applied the money taken up for things more immediately touching the Mission.

[1] *Missionary Labours and Scenes*, p. 50.

The reason of our not writing oftener was, not being willing, upon uncertain ground, to elevate the spirits of our dear brethren and sisters in Europe; but though they have long waited, blessed be God they have not waited in vain. O no! I would not exchange my Mission for any in Africa. We have been enabled to endure a severe storm; our Blessed Redeemer was with us. O that He may keep us humble, faithful, and diligent!'

This mission soon passed through troublous times. In April, 1805, an epidemic of smallpox carried off a great many, and in May of that year Anderson nearly died of fever. Happily at this juncture Lambert Janz arrived as his colleague, and, aided by his care, Anderson was enabled to regain strength. The routine work of the station was carried on steadily through 1806 and 1807. In October of the latter year Kramer left for the Cape, and in March, 1809, Anderson followed him, and for a long period Janz was left alone at Klaar Water. Though alarmed by constant rumours of danger from the warlike Kafirs, he continued steadily at his post. Kramer and Anderson returned to Klaar Water in September, 1811. There Mrs. Kramer died in 1812, and in 1815 Kramer removed to Bosjesfeld, his connection with the Society then ceasing. Janz died January 14, 1815, and Anderson carried on the work till 1820. Klaar Water, as we shall see later on, became widely known under the name of Griqua Town.

3. THE MISSION TO THE NAMAQUAS.—The next extension of work, in point of time, in South Africa was due partly to the remarkable group of missionaries who went out with Kicherer in 1804, and partly to the conditions laid down by the Dutch Government. These practically compelled intending missionaries to labour beyond the boundaries of the colony. To half of the six new workers was entrusted the work of founding a mission among the tribes occupying the banks of the Orange River between its mouth and the territory of the Corannas. The land on the south bank was known as Little Namaqualand; on the

north as Great Namaqualand. This district had been selected in 1798 as that in which to begin work, although this plan was afterwards modified by Vanderkemp. The pioneer party was made up of two brothers, Christian and Abraham Albrecht and John Seidenfaden. All three were Dutchmen, trained in Holland, and selected by the Netherlands Society. They left Cape Town, May 22, 1805, and in January, 1806, reached the Orange River in the neighbourhood of the place afterwards known as Warm Bath. It was a season of drought. They all endured very great hardships and had much difficulty in obtaining the barest necessaries of life. Christian Albrecht indeed had to go to Cape Town early in 1806 to obtain provisions. They had selected as their place of residence a region in which there were two good fountains, which they immediately named Happy Deliverance and Silent Hope. They did not know at this time that they were thus becoming near neighbours of the notorious Africaner. Terrified and anxious when first made aware of this, they yet showed both their mettle and their fitness for work. Christian Albrecht, under date May 18, 1806, thus writes to friends at Rotterdam :—

'And when I observed that there was not any convenient place for our Mission but in their vicinity, I was very much distressed ; I wished to have been able to proceed further, but, on account of the fatigues already suffered, and which had entirely exhausted us, we could not go to a greater distance. The Lord himself put a stop to our going farther. When I reflected on this, I asked myself, Why have you made this perilous journey? To which I must answer, In order that we may make known the gospel to ignorant sinners. Well, these people are very great sinners ; and they tell me they wish for a better conduct, and for instruction in the way of salvation[1].'

In common with the other early missionaries the Albrechts sent home long descriptions of the people among whom they laboured, and these descriptions have

[1] *Transactions*, iii. p. 31.

now an ethnographical value, imperfect and immature as they sometimes are. Here is the picture of place and people drawn in 1806 by A. Albrecht[1]:—

'The country has no regular succession of seasons, nor can we depend upon a rainy season every year, as in other parts of the Cape colony; but it is by thunder-storms that the country is watered occasionally. Whenever such occasional showers of rain, accompanied by heavy thunder and lightning, happen to fall, the country immediately is covered with grass; whilst, perhaps, at a short distance from the track of the thunder-storm, not a green leaf is to be seen. The country produces no large trees or timber.

'The natives of this country are much like the Hottentots; their complexion, however, is rather darker. They seem also to speak the same language. Some of the men are very stout and tall; and some appear to arrive to a considerable old age. The whole nation is divided into different tribes, each of them distinguished by a particular name, and governed by a chief. Their usual food is milk and meat; but some of them, who are so poor as to have no cattle at all, are obliged to live on the gum which they gather from the kameel doorn (a *mimosa*), upon the bulbs and roots growing spontaneously, and upon wild honey. The natives hunt the smaller species of bucks, and kill them with arrows, or assagays; but the larger game they sometimes catch in holes, which they dig near the wells of fresh water.

'For clothing, they make use of karosses, made of sheep-skins. Five or six skins are requisite to make a kaross, which is worn the woolly side next the skin, and also serves as a cover during the night, but is thrown aside in summer. At this time of the year the men go quite naked, except a small piece of a jackal's skin. The women are clothed with sheep-skin karosses, like the men; but, like them, throw them off in summer, and wear only a small apron of skin. Their social pleasures consist almost exclusively in dancing; but, what is curious, only the men are the performers at a dancing party. The dancing consists chiefly

[1] *Transactions*, iii. pp. 208–212.

in jumping, and a violent shaking of the whole body, to the time of the music. The music is made by whistles, being cut out of a certain reed, and turned in such a manner as to produce a musical sound.

'The work in which the men are employed consists in taking care of the cattle, and in hunting. The task of milking, however, is chiefly left to the women; because the young men, as soon as they come of age, think it beneath them to milk a cow, and would even be banished out of the society of men, if they should stoop to this part of domestic employment.

'The Namáquas, in general, seem as capable of improvement as they are ready to listen to what is set before them with that view. At our prayer-meetings they are very attentive; and whenever our interpreters succeed in conveying to their minds the proper meaning and strength of what we speak to them in the Dutch language, from Scripture, it seldom fails to make a visible impression upon them.'

During 1807 the missionaries were hard at work in Warm Bath and the neighbourhood endeavouring to acquire influence with the natives and to consolidate the mission. Even beyond the other African Missions this proved a source of great expenditure to the Directors. The long wagon journeys, the frequent scarcity of food, the difficult conditions of life in such a land, all contributed to swell the cost of working. For this region as for the South Seas the Directors still cherished the delusive hope that their workers would become self-supporting. 'You express a hope,' the missionaries wrote in 1808, 'that we may soon be able to provide for our own subsistence; but we beg leave to state that there is no immediate prospect of it. Much as we study economy, experience teaches us that the needful provision for each person will amount to no less than 300 Dutch florins annually (about £30). Yet should it please God to preserve our cattle from misfortunes we hope in time to acquire so much as to be able to provide for our own support.'

By the end of 1808 the congregation had increased to about 700, consisting of ten tribes of Namaquas, Hottentots, and Bastard Hottentots. The people seemed so willing to be taught, and were yet so widely scattered that the missionaries wished for a large reinforcement. Events were soon to prove the fallacy of this hopeful view. In 1809 Seidenfaden and Tromp were appointed to open a new mission at Camies Burg (Khamiesberg). This left the Albrechts alone at Warm Bath. From this as a centre they attempted to work all the surrounding kraals, having given up the plan they once cherished of going still further north towards Damara Land.

In 1810 several important events occurred. On July 30, Abraham Albrecht, who had for some time been in declining health, died of consumption at Koningberg, the estate of Mr. Botma. On August 5, Christian Albrecht, then at Cape Town, married Miss Burgman, to whom he had been engaged for some years, and of whose capacity and usefulness very high expectations had been formed. On August 16 the newly-married couple started on their toilsome journey to Warm Bath, accompanied by their widowed sister-in-law, arriving there on October 22. Mr. Tromp and his wife were there to welcome them. Mrs. C. Albrecht at once began work among the women and children, and in such a way that they soon said, 'This is our sister.' But clouds were fast settling down upon the little community. In the journal for December 25, 1810, we read :—

'This very week we experienced the first symptoms of threatening calamities. A Hottentot came to us with his whole family, being obliged to fly for safety, some men having by force taken some of his cattle, pretending that he owed these to them, and had determined to kill him. These men were sons of the African plunderer, whom we have mentioned in a former journal, who has been guilty of so many barbarities. On receiving this intelligence, I was greatly alarmed and distressed; and it also greatly disquieted our community. Although they live at more than

two days journey from hence, we thought it necessary to send to them, that we might enquire into the cause of this wicked conduct; but, although they received the message, they did not come, perhaps happily for me, since I was afterwards informed that they intended to attempt my life.'

During 1811 Africaner, who had been very quiet for some years, enraged by a fraud played upon him by a Hottentot named Hans Drayer, slew him, attacked and robbed Khamiesberg, and committed many outrages. This action on Africaner's part at once threw the affairs of the mission into confusion. 'For a whole month they were in constant terror, hourly expecting the threatened attack. On one occasion they dug square holes in the ground, about six feet deep, that in case of an attack they might escape the balls; there they remained buried alive for the space of a week, having the tilt of a sail thrown over the pit to keep off the burning rays of an almost vertical sun[1].'

In the midst of these anxieties Albrecht was cheered by the news that of the six new missionaries who had just reached the Cape, four—Sass, Helm, Ebner (who had married his brother's widow), and Schmelen—were appointed his colleagues. But before these could reach him the difficulties and danger connected with Africaner compelled Albrecht and his fellow workers to visit Cape Town and appeal for assistance to Lord Caledon, the governor.

The missionaries stayed at the Cape for some months, and during their absence Warm Bath was destroyed. In December, 1811, they began their return journey, which proved one of very great hardship. On April 7, 1812, they reached Kok's Kraal, and there on April 13 Mrs. Albrecht died. She was a lady of high attainments, rich spiritual experience, and intense missionary enthusiasm. This had been kindled by Vanderkemp, and after several years of anticipation and preparation the desire of her heart seemed fully gratified when she reached Warm Bath. But she had been permitted to labour there happily and

[1] *Missionary Labours and Scenes*, p. 87 (1842).

successfully for only a few months when Africaner's hostility drove away the members of the mission, causing them great anxiety and suffering. Her early death was a severe loss to the mission.

The period we have now reached marks the close of the first or pioneer epoch in South African missionary work. Warm Bath had been destroyed, and finally C. Albrecht, Schmelen, Sass, and Ebner resumed work at Khamiesberg, about three days' journey from Warm Bath. Meanwhile at Klaar Water mission work was being steadily carried on, and Mr. and Mrs. Sass were stationed at Silver Fountain, where in 1813 Mrs. Sass died.

Up to this date the work had been mainly experimental. Large numbers of Hottentots, Bushmen, Corannas, Kafirs, and members of other tribes had been evangelized. Educational work had been commenced in many parts. The Dutch churches throughout the Colony had received a great stimulus, and at Cape Town much useful work among the soldiers, the inhabitants, the slaves and occasional visitors, had been accomplished from time to time by the missionaries who were either stationed there, or else resident for a time while proceeding to or on furlough from their stations.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vols. ii. and iii.]

CHAPTER XIX

THE CLOSE OF THE PIONEER PERIOD

THE necessity for an official head at the Cape, so strongly urged upon the Directors by Dr. Vanderkemp, was at length clearly recognized by them, and in 1812 the Rev. John Campbell was sent out as a deputation to visit the stations in South Africa, to select sites for new centres of work, and to report to the Board on the state of the mission generally. His journey was one of the most remarkable in early African travel[1]. Leaving Cape Town on February 13, 1813, he first visited Bethelsdorp, whence he journeyed some short distance into Kafirland, choosing in Zuurfeld, near the Great Fish River, the sites for two new stations. Thence he passed to Graaff Reinet, journeying on in most adventurous fashion till he came to Klaar Water. Accompanied by Anderson, he travelled to Lattakoo, had an interview with the king, Mothibi, who, after being told why missionaries wished to settle among his people, said, 'Send them, and I will be a father unto them.' During this visit also Campbell received important information about the hitherto unknown Bechwana tribes. After a six weeks' journey of exploration down the Orange River, Campbell returned to Klaar Water, and then proceeded to Little Namaqualand, visiting Albrecht, Schmelen, and Ebner. Thence he returned to the Cape. He reached London in

[1] A full account of this journey was published in 1815 under the title *Travels in South Africa*, by John Campbell.

May, 1814. This visit led to important developments in the home administration of the African Mission, and also ultimately to the wide extension of missionary labour in Bechwanaland.

Immediately after Mr. Campbell's visit serious troubles, which had long existed in various parts of the South African Mission, began to attract public attention and comment. These were due, as by far the larger portion of really serious troubles in missionary work usually are, to defective mental and moral qualities in some of the workers. To understand the position in 1815 the condition of life and opinion in Cape Colony must be kept well in view. Missionary effort had thrust itself into the Colony, unwelcomed from the first by a large portion of the community. It was bitterly opposed later on by the same section, as soon as they began to realize the effect of Christianity upon slavery, upon Hottentot oppression, and the light it threw upon their own lives and actions. The missionaries often had reason to be grateful to the successive governors of the Colony and to various high officials for permission to work, and for both toleration and protection in their labours; but the Government kept a sharp eye upon them, was always more than ready to criticize their action, and not unfrequently, from policy which was anything but Christian, was not unwilling to limit and restrain missionary effort. Many also of the early missionaries were men of poor education and imperfect spiritual development, and hence it is not surprising that in a few cases their conduct should have been such as to justify the severest condemnation.

An additional element of difficulty was the presence among the missionaries of two distinct types of workers. One of these was wholly devoted to the evangelization of the downtrodden natives. They would have nothing whatever to do with the constant attempts made to draw them into the service of the settled colonial churches, except in so far as without interfering with what they considered their first duty, they could aid and benefit these

different communities. The other type admitted theoretically the claims of the natives upon their sympathy and labour, but as a matter of fact they held that the more important and pressing duty was to Christianize the colonists themselves before attempting to evangelize the ignorant and degraded slaves and natives. Some workers of the first class, among whom we number such men as Vanderkemp, James Read, Lambert Janz, and others, did not scruple, if the occasion arose, to ally themselves in marriage with converted native women. This gave deadly offence to the ordinary white population of the Colony, and was looked askance upon by such of their colleagues as were ministers of settled churches. This condition of affairs, combined with the great distance from London, the tardy means of communication, and consequent imperfect control on the part of the Directors, will explain the presence of some unpleasant pages in South African mission story.

On October 24, 1812, there arrived at Cape Town the Rev. George Thom, who was on his way to India, having been appointed to that field. At the request of some of the military authorities he was led to remain at the Cape, and to give himself to Christian work among the soldiers and the residents of Cape Town, and to itinerate in the Colony. In a short time Thom became, mainly from the fact of his residence at the Cape, an acting general superintendent of the mission. His correspondence with the Directors is still extant, and after a careful perusal of it the impression it leaves on the mind is that Thom was a well-meaning but highly opiniated man, more eager to listen to charges against his brethren than to sift and weigh carefully the evidence upon which the charges were based. He animadverts severely upon their imperfect education, he denounces vigorously such as married Hottentot wives, he draws a most gloomy picture of Bethelsdorp and its influence, and he attacked Campbell and his work almost as soon as that gentleman had left the Cape. The most serious of his charges were those which affirmed immorality against James Read and several others. In

some cases for these charges there was undoubtedly complete justification. In Read's case, while he was absent at Lattakoo, and unable either to hear or reply to the charges, an *ex parte* investigation, in which Thom was the chief mover, took place at the Cape. Read was suspended, and at the first this decision was confirmed by the Directors. He was, however, finally restored to full work and standing, and continued for many years one of the most effective, as he had been one of the earliest, workers in South Africa. Mr. Thom had spent hardly as many months in Africa as Read had passed years when he not only sent home these charges but affirmed his own belief in them. Mr. Campbell, who had journeyed long months in Read's society, who had visited Bethelsdorp and carefully studied the work there, refused to accept the charges as true without much better evidence than Mr. Thom produced. And any careful reader who now goes through the not very edifying correspondence will feel that in Mr. Thom's case zeal outran discretion, and that his comparative inexperience, and his very evident sympathy with Cape Town opinion, unfitted him for wisely judging the state of affairs at Bethelsdorp and elsewhere. But his correspondence led to the important step taken by the Board in 1818, when Mr. Campbell was sent out to visit a second time all the African stations, and when there accompanied him the able man who in 1820 became permanent Superintendent of the African Mission at Cape Town—Dr. Philip of Aberdeen. Mr. Thom's connection with the Society was brief. In 1818 he accepted the pastorate of the Dutch church at Caledon, and disappears from the Society's records.

Before sketching the extensions of work immediately undertaken it may be well to take a bird's-eye view of the stations superintended by the agents of the Society in 1818. These were—

1. Bethelsdorp, about 500 miles east of Cape Town, founded in 1802, and occupied by J. G. Messer, Evan Evans, and F. G. Hooper. In 1818 the settlement consisted in all of about 1,000 Hottentots.

2. Griqua Town (1802), formerly Klaar Water, near the Orange River, about 700 miles north-east of Cape Town. Occupied in 1818 by William Anderson and Henry Helm, with four native assistants.

3. Stellenbosch[1] (1802), twenty-six miles east of Cape Town, occupied by J. Bakker as missionary to a large number of slaves and Hottentots resident there.

4. Tulbagh[1], formerly Rodezand, forty miles north-east of Cape Town, with Arie Vos and Cornelius Kramer as missionaries.

5. Bethesda (1808), formerly Orlam's Kraal, about 700 miles north-east of Cape Town, near the Orange River, between Griqua Town and Pella; missionary, Christopher Sass.

6. Caledon Institution (1811), about 120 miles east from Cape Town, occupied by J. Siedenfaden. This place must be distinguished from the town of Caledon. The mission-station was at Zuurbraak, some little distance to the east of Swellendam.

7. Hooge Kraal (1813), afterwards Pacaltsdorp, about 300 miles east of Cape Town, occupied by Charles Pacalt.

8. Theopolis (1814), about 600 miles east of Cape Town; missionaries, J. G. Ullbricht and G. Barker.

9. Thornberg, or Grace Hill (1814), about 500 miles north of the Cape. Erasmus Smit was the missionary here.

10. Bethany, in Namaqualand, formerly Klip Fountain, fifty-five miles north of the Orange River, occupied by H. Schmelen and J. Kitchingman.

11. Peace Mountain (1815), formerly Africaner's Kraal; missionaries, E. Ebner and R. Moffat.

12. Kaffraria (1816), 700 miles north-east of Cape Town. Joseph Williams missionary, assisted by Jan Tzatzoe, a Kafir.

13. Hephzibah (1816), between Griqua Town and Graaff Reinet; missionaries, W. F. Corner and J. Goeyman.

[1] These stations, although they constantly appear in the Society's reports, seem to have been sustained by the Rhenish Missionary Society.

14. Lattakoo (1817); Robert Hamilton missionary.
15. Cape Town, George Thom.

The work carried on at these different stations varied, from Thom's, which was that of a settled pastor, to that of Williams and Moffat, who were living with savages in the hope of gaining their goodwill, and ultimately their hearts for Christ. Bethelsdorp, to which Hankey was soon to be added, the Caledon Institution, Pacaltsdorp, and Theopolis were 'institutions' possessing special rights, and affording the natives resident there special protection. Bethesda, Thornberg, Bethany, Peace Mountain, and Hephzibah were mission out-stations. A glance at the map will show over how enormous an area the evangelistic labours of the Society had spread during its first twenty years of African service.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vols. ii.–iv.; *Travels in South Africa*, by John Campbell, 1815.]

CHAPTER XX

DR. PHILIP'S ADMINISTRATION: 1820–1850

DR. PHILIP landed at Cape Town on Feb. 26, 1819. The conditions under which he first visited Africa were these:

'In the year 1818, the Directors of the London Missionary Society felt the absolute necessity of again sending a deputation of their Society to South Africa, to investigate into the real situation of their missions, and into the nature of the allegations urged against them by the colonial government, as the grounds of the opposition made to them. Mr. Campbell and myself were nominated and appointed as a deputation from the Society for this purpose. He was to make a visit, and return to England; and I agreed to remain five years in the country, that I might be able to gain a more thorough knowledge of the actual state of the missions, set them in order, and, if possible, secure the cordial co-operation of the colonial government in their favour. My appointment, and that of Mr. Campbell, for these specific objects, was communicated by a deputation from the Society to Lord Bathurst, when his lordship signified his approbation of the measure, and expressed his hope that our mission would be attended with the beneficial results anticipated[1].'

With the cordial co-operation of the governor, Lord Charles Somerset, Mr. Campbell and Dr. Philip were making all needful preparations in 1819 for their visit of

[1] *Researches in South Africa*, i, p. 200.

inspection to the mission-stations, when Moffat arrived at Cape Town with the notorious Africaner in his train. Dr. Philip had lost no time in securing a central site for a chapel at Cape Town and in obtaining government permission to erect suitable buildings. This was the beginning of Union Chapel in which for so many years he was to minister. On May 4, 1819, Campbell and Philip, accompanied by the missionaries Moffat and Evan Evans, started on their long journey. They visited the Paarl, Tulbagh, Caledon Institution, Pacaltsdorp, Bethelsdorp, and Theopolis. They had gone thus far when the outbreak of war with the Kafirs prevented further work in that direction. So Dr. Philip returned to Cape Town, while Mr. Campbell, in January, 1820, journeyed with Mr. and Mrs. Moffat to New Lattakoo, visiting also some of the neighbouring Bechwana centres of population [1]. Mr. Campbell left Cape Town on Feb. 15, 1821, and landed at Portsmouth on May 9. Meanwhile, Dr. Philip completed the arrangements for the erection of Union Chapel, and secured premises as part of the same establishment to serve as a dwelling for the Society's agent, and as a temporary home for the many missionaries passing through Cape Town. The chapel was opened for public worship on Dec. 1, 1822.

In October, 1818, the Directors had issued a new code of 'regulations for the missions in Africa,' two of which we give *in extenso*. 'It is a duty which the Directors owe to the great cause of propagating the Gospel among the heathen, no less than to the Society for which they act, to press on the attention of all their missionaries the obligation of finding their support from the people among whom they labour. This principle is of the greatest importance, and the acting upon it in any station will be in itself a security for the progress of the Gospel in that place. But while the principle is kept in view, so long as the circum-

[1] See *Travels in South Africa*, 2 vols., 1822. This account of Mr. Campbell's second journey is full of attraction for students of South African missionary progress.

stances of particular missions shall make it absolutely necessary, the Directors will afford to the missionaries a suitable support.'

'That the following resolution of the Board on May 23, 1818, be adopted as one of the present Regulations: "That to keep the persons of men or women in a state of slavery is inconsistent with the principles of the Christian religion, and with the character of a Christian missionary; and that if any missionary in connection with this Society shall, after the communication of this Resolution, be chargeable with this offence, the relation between such person and this Society is by that act dissolved, and all obligation on the part of the latter to contribute to his support immediately ceases."'

In 1820 Dr. Philip was appointed by the Directors Superintendent of the Society's missions in South Africa, and upon him came the much-needed work of consolidation, improvement of methods, reform of abuses, and the task of welding the various missions into a harmonious and effective whole. This appointment was an event of great moment to the after history of both the Society's work, and also of the Colony. Dr. Philip was in the prime of life, he had been minister of one of the most important churches in Aberdeen, and he was a man of cultured mind, experienced in affairs, of independent judgment, and of strong will. He went out under the conviction, then common in England, that the cruelties and oppression from which the native races had suffered under Dutch rule had been largely ameliorated by the transfer of power to England. But he was soon undeceived, and he had hardly assumed the full responsibilities of his new position before he began that course of ceaseless, energetic, and successful toil on behalf of the native races, which made him for long years the most unpopular man in South Africa among large sections of the colonists. In fact, the true standard of the good work he did, and the vast influence he exerted on the side of liberty, justice for all, and true progress, is the bitter hate with which those pursued him whose errors

he combated, whose cruelties he exposed, whose tyranny he checked, and whose vices he condemned.

Before turning to the great extensions of work undertaken subsequent to 1820 in Bechwanaland, Matabeleland, and Central Africa, we will complete the sketch of the work attempted within the Colony. We cannot give here a detailed account of the struggle which resulted first in the abolition of slavery in the Colony, then in the curbing under Lord Glenelg of colonial rapacity and indifference to native rights, and finally in the settlement of the South African colonies under systems of government and administration which were no longer a discredit to the British name. But the salient points at least must be indicated in a struggle which obtained for the natives some approximation to civil rights, which largely extended British commerce, which planted and developed civilization in many parts of Africa long years before it would otherwise have reached them, and which has carried the light of the Gospel from Cape Town to Ujiji; and from the mouth of the Orange River to Madagascar.

The state even of Cape Town at this time may be judged from a letter, dated January 11, 1820, sent to the Directors by Dr. Philip, in which he states 'there are at this moment above 7,000 slaves in Cape Town, and of that number there are not more than thirty-five or fifty at most under Christian instruction.' The same letter contains the statement that slaves were punished by their masters for going to school, and also this: 'A lady who resides in my neighbourhood informed me that she had seen a Hottentot servant in my family reading her Bible; that she hoped I would take the Bible from her, and that I would beat her with a stick the next time I found her with a Bible.' The population of Cape Town at the end of 1818 was—whites, 7,460; free blacks, 1,905; apprentices (practically slaves), 810; Hottentots, 536; slaves, 7,462; total, 18,173. 'This statement,' Dr. Philip adds, 'will show you the need we have for a chapel at Cape Town. Without a place for worship on the Sabbath, and on the week days for

teaching the slaves, nothing effective can be accomplished here[1].'

Prior to Dr. Philip's arrival, there had been a strong tendency on the part of the Government to regulate the movements of the missionaries, at one time prohibiting their departure to stations outside the limits of the Colony, at another recalling them. But as early as December 28, 1820, he was able to write, 'We can now send missionaries where we will.'

The financial arrangements between the Society and its missionaries had hitherto been haphazard, and they had been further complicated by the fact that the Netherlands Society, and also the local Society at the Cape, had possessed independent authority and responsibility in both the appointment and the support of missionaries. These details, consequently, occupied much of Dr. Philip's attention during his earlier years in Cape Town, and finally during his stay in England in 1826 the Board passed the following resolutions: 'That the salaries of the missionaries in Africa be in future as follows: A single missionary or missionary artisan, £75; a married missionary or missionary artisan, £100; for every child, £5.' This scale was the result of a lengthy correspondence on finance between the missionaries and the Board.

The regulation on slavery emphasizes the fact that Christian missionaries could not possibly live and work in South Africa during the first forty years of the nineteenth century without coming into sharp conflict with some of the social and political regulations and conditions which obtained there. We have seen in Chapter XVI how, in the same way, Vanderkemp was forced into conflict with colonial opinion and practice when he tried to evangelize the Hottentots. Dr. Philip was soon to pass through a similar experience. No aphorism is more common in the press of to-day, and no principle has been more steadily acted upon by the great missionary societies of Europe

[1] These extracts are from a letter printed in the *Evangelical Magazine*, 1820, p. 215.

and America, than that missionaries, as such, have nothing to do with politics. Sound as this maxim may be, it is from the Christian standpoint inevitable that if the Government of a country allies itself with cruelty, social wrongs, and oppression, the Christian missionary, working within the sphere of such Government, *must* find himself in active opposition to such things. Against slavery as it existed in Africa and the West Indies in 1825; against such treatment as the colonists of South Africa in 1825 meted out to Hottentots and Kafirs; against such Government support as was given in India to idol-worship at the same date; against such monstrous evils as the opium traffic with China, all missionaries must ever strive and labour and pray.

Dr. Philip spent much time in visiting the various mission-stations, and by this natural and necessary course of action he soon found himself in opposition to colonial public opinion and to some departments of colonial administration. Readers who wish to understand this question thoroughly should consult on the one hand such books as the *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, by A. Wilmot and John Centlivres Chase (1869), and *South Africa*, by G. M. Theal (1894). From them he will learn how constantly every question connected with the South African native is looked at from the point of view of the colonist's pocket. Either no credit at all is given to missionaries or missionary labours, or else it is rendered in such an ungracious manner as to arouse the conviction that while feebly blessing it they would much rather curse it. Missionaries are to be endured chiefly because Government tolerates them. The natives are of value only so far as they can be compelled to aid the white man in building up his fortunes. On the other side, he should study such books as Dr. Philip's *Researches in South Africa* (1828), Moffat's *Missionary Labours and Scenes in South Africa* (1842), and Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (1857). In these books he finds the Hottentot and the Kafir regarded as human beings entitled to the same moral and spiritual rights as ourselves. He will further see on

reflection that the very unpopularity of this advocacy is the best answer to all the strictures and malevolent attacks of its opponents.

As early as 1809, Colonel Collins urged that Bethelsdorp should be suppressed, on the cynical grounds that Vanderkemp had admitted his non-success; that the institution was designed not to benefit the *Colony* but the Hottentots; and that the Hottentots might be made useful to the farmers. In 1809, Lord Caledon issued the famous proclamation[1] intended for the regulation of all affairs connected with the Hottentots, and designed as a protection for them against oppression. Lord Caledon appears to have been touched by the sufferings of these unhappy people, brought under his notice in 1808 by some of themselves; but in drafting the proclamation he fell into the hands of men deeply interested in oppressing the Hottentots still further, and astute enough to use even this proclamation for their purpose. The result of the proclamation in its practical working was in the vast majority of cases, to condemn the Hottentots to a servitude that was really worse than slavery, and from which there was no escape. The Dutch Boer or English colonist, who had purchased his slave, to that extent took care of him, if only because he represented capital. Of the Hottentot, to whom he paid only a nominal wage, whom he constantly defrauded even of this, and whose labour he could have for the asking, he took no care whatever. If through either his cruelty, oppression, or neglect, the Hottentot died, his place could speedily be filled by others, doomed to tread the same hopeless path[2]. In 1812 the condition of the Hottentots was rendered still worse by a proclamation enabling a colonist to claim any child of a Hottentot born upon his premises, and who had reached the age of eight years, as an 'apprentice' for the next ten years. Here again the theory was that the Hottentot neglected his child, the tender and humane colonist would cherish it. 'It is difficult to say,' writes

[1] This is given in full in *Researches in South Africa*, ii. pp. 374-378.

[2] For full details and proofs of these statements see ibid. i. pp. 142-174.

Dr. Philip[1], 'which is most to be deprecated, the injustice, the inhumanity, or the pernicious consequences of this regulation.' Here is one example of how this system worked:

'In a journey which I made into the interior of the colony in 1825, I lodged two nights at the house of a respectable farmer, who had a number of Hottentots in his service, that had belonged to the missionary station of Zuurbrack before it was broken up in consequence of the measures pursued by the colonial government. Pointing to one family, consisting of ten brothers, the greater part of them born on the missionary institution, he remarked to me with great simplicity, "That family, sir, is my wealth: they are better to me than slaves, for they cost me nothing; and I shall have them apprenticed to me till they are twenty-five, perhaps till they are twenty-nine years of age, and perhaps I may be able to keep them for ever[2]."'

In 1814 a direct blow was aimed at the missionary institutions by the Opgaaf, or tax, which was levied *only* upon Hottentots in them. This tax was fixed at the monstrous amount of two-thirds of their possible annual earnings. It was perfectly well known that the natives could not pay the tax, and the end aimed at was to get them away from the institutions, shut them up in prison from inability to pay, and then compel them to enter into the service of colonists. The charge was constantly made that the missionary institutions collected the rebellious and discontented, encouraged them in laziness, and injured the colonists by preventing them from availing themselves of native labour. Any man of average common sense, who studies the facts, will see that the great vice of all missionary institutions, in the eyes of the colonists, was that they enabled the Hottentot to learn that, as a human being, he had rights; they taught him to claim these rights, they often enabled him to secure them, and they confronted Dutchman and Englishman alike with a power

[1] *Researches in South Africa*, i. p. 176. [2] Ibid. i. p. 183.

that said, 'You shall not enslave and oppress and harry to death, just as you will, men whose great offence is that they are the aboriginal inhabitants of the land you covet.'

It was as absurd in 1825, on the ground of probability, as it is now on the surer ground of experience, for the supporters of missions to expect marvellous results from these institutions. The Hottentots in them often were lazy and ungrateful, and sometimes the institutions may have become havens of refuge to Hottentot Ishmaels. Nothing was more natural. But even where the institution contained a few of such men, they and all their fellow-natives came in the missionary institution under the care of men who for Christ's sake were striving to educate them, to train them into habits of industry, to awaken the soul in them. At such institutions the average colonist of the first quarter of the nineteenth century was the last person in the world entitled to throw stones.

On the other hand, it would be equally absurd to believe that all colonists who employed Hottentot labour cruelly oppressed their serfs. There were good colonists, as there were up to 1863 good slaveholders in the United States. But the system in both cases was detestable, and no amount of virtue in the men who worked it could make the system which obtained in South Africa prior to the legislation of 1836, other than abhorrent to all lovers of human freedom and progress.

The chief point of attack in the colonial hostility to missions was Bethelsdorp. Dr. Philip's description of what he found there on his first visit shows that there was great need for renewed effort, and more careful superintendence:

'The system of oppression, of which Dr. Vanderkemp so bitterly complained, and under which he sunk into his grave with a broken heart, had been carried on for years without a single check. The institution was virtually converted into a slave lodge, and the people were called out to labour at Uitenhage, to work on the public roads, to cultivate the lands of the local authorities, or to serve

their friends, or the colonial government, receiving for these labours never more than a trifling remuneration, and very frequently none at all. In addition to the daily oppressions exercised upon the people, we found that seventy of the men had been employed for six months in the Caffer war. For this service they received nothing but rations for themselves: nothing in the shape of wages was allowed to their families; and the women, to keep themselves and children from starving, were under the necessity of contracting debts among the farmers, to be liquidated by the personal service of the husbands on their returning from Cafferland. To these circumstances I must refer for the cause of the deplorable condition in which the deputation found the spiritual and temporal affairs of this mission. In such a state of wretchedness, we could neither look for cleanliness nor industry: robbed of the fruits of their industry, the people had no motive to labour, and the place of worship was deserted[1].'

In 1821, James Kitchingman became superintendent of Bethelsdorp, assisted by James Read. Education was more carefully tended, and in accordance with the early policy of the Society, Dr. Philip took immediate steps to protect the Hottentots at Bethelsdorp from this crushing persecution, to stimulate their industry, and thus to improve their social well-being. Under his vigorous administration the people were induced to build better houses, to pay more regard to suitable and decent clothing, to prize more highly the benefits of education and of industry, to realize better the way in which the Society, through its missionaries, laboured for their welfare, and were thus enabled more intelligently and more sympathetically to receive their teaching on spiritual matters. That Dr. Philip fully recognized and acted upon the conviction that Christianity is the true centre and source of civilization is evident from his own testimony:—

'Vital religion has never been lost sight of in my labours in South Africa; and though, like the sap which nourishes

[1] *Researches in South Africa*, i. pp. 201, 202.

the tree and gives it all its foliage and fruit, it is not visible to the eye, it is nevertheless the source of all the fruitfulness and beauty which adorn our missionary stations. While I am satisfied, from abundance of incontrovertible facts, that permanent societies of Christians can never be maintained among an uncivilized people without imparting to them the arts and habits of civilized life, I am satisfied, upon grounds no less evident, that if missionaries lose their religion and sink into mere mechanics, the work of civilization and moral improvement will speedily retrograde. The church at Bethelsdorp is not, perhaps, more numerous than it was in 1821, but I believe it contains more real Christians than on any former occasion[1].'

In January, 1826, by the request of the Directors, Dr. Philip returned to England in order to assist their deliberations. Richard Miles, formerly pastor of Brigg in Lincolnshire, who had been appointed to Demerara, was sent to Cape Town to act as Dr. Philip's substitute during the latter's absence in England. Mr. Miles visited the various stations, including Kafirland and Kuruman, and, after Dr. Philip's return, early in 1830 returned to England, his connection with the Society being terminated soon after.

While in England, in 1828, Dr. Philip published his famous *Researches in South Africa*, to which we have already referred once and again. In a book covering so large an area, and dealing with such bitterly controverted subjects, it was unlikely that slips and errors would be entirely avoided. The book aroused in the Colony a bitterness of feeling which illustrates further how deadly was the hatred felt by many to any one who dared to defend the native, and to question either the justice or the wisdom of the actions of colonists towards them. It was perhaps possible here and there to convict Dr. Philip of some slight inaccuracy, and these were astutely used to divert attention from the enormous mass of irrefutable testimony adduced in support of his main contentions. An example of the hostility aroused by the book is the

[1] *Researches in South Africa*, i. p. 219.

fact that, soon after his return to Africa, Dr. Philip was sued for libel in the Supreme Court of the Colony. The libel was based upon a passage which Dr. Philip had quoted from Mr. Pringle, the secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society. All efforts to transfer the trial to England, and thus remove it from the intensely prejudiced and hostile atmosphere of Cape Town, were overruled, the case was tried in the midst of local prejudice, and without the benefit of a jury, and damages to the amount of £200 awarded against Dr. Philip. The costs amounted to £1,000. These sums were immediately more than met by the subscriptions and contributions of those in England, who felt that Dr. Philip had fought a good fight in the cause of our common humanity, and that he had been condemned only by one of those processes, quite familiar to all who fight the battles of freedom, in which even the forms and the power of law are used to punish the innocent and to shield the guilty.

Notwithstanding the attacks upon Dr. Philip, and the hostility shown in many ways against his book, it exerted enormous influence upon the administration of affairs in the Colony. One highly important result was the promulgation, on July 17, 1828, of the famous Order in Council, No. 50, by Sir R. Bourke. This was entitled, 'An Ordinance for Improving the Condition of Hottentots and other Free Persons of Colour.' 'Previous to the promulgation of this humane provision, an erroneous idea had become prevalent in the Colony that Hottentots, the original proprietors of the soil, could not hold land. A principle so atrocious, and a tenet so unfounded, therefore required some declaratory enactment, and this was provided by the one in question[1].' The 'principle so atrocious' had often been acted upon, but from the date of Order No. 50, plundering the Hottentot became less easy and more dangerous to those who pursued it. Hence in many quarters, where this practice had been both common and profitable, feeling ran high with regard

[1] *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, Wilmot and Chase, p. 297, edition of 1869.

to Dr. Philip. Those who are curious on this point, and wishful to understand to what lengths folly and prejudice can carry men, should read—if they can now find copies—such publications as *Some Reasons for our opposing the Author of the South African Researches: By the British Immigrants of* 1820.

In addition to whatever influence it exerted in bringing about Order No. 50, Dr. Philip's book also gave a great stimulus to the work of emancipation in Great Britain, and led ultimately to the appointment by the House of Commons, in 1836, of a Select Committee on the whole question of the relation of the British Government to natives in her colonies and along their frontiers.

A Commission of Inquiry, which visited many parts, had been appointed in 1824. The circulation of their report among members of the House of Commons was delayed until 1830, but when it appeared[1] it justified completely Dr. Philip's main contentions as to the relations of the colonists towards the natives. It shows how evil, in their influence upon Hottentots, were the proclamations of 1809, 1812, and 1819. The effect of the clause in the first, prohibiting Hottentots from moving about without passes, is thus set forth:—

'The effect of this clause placed the Hottentots under the control of every inhabitant of the Colony, and having been enacted at a period when the demand for free labour was encouraged by the prohibition to import slaves, the vigilance of those who were interested in obtaining it was naturally excited in detaining the Hottentots upon frivolous pretexts within the limits of their respective districts. It has likewise been attended with inconvenience to the inhabitants who employed them, especially in the neighbourhood of the villages and markets, with which constant and frequent intercourse was to be maintained.'

'The result of these regulations has been that of creating

[1] *Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry upon the Hottentot Population of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the Missionary Institutions.* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be printed, July 1, 1830.

perpetual obligation in the Hottentots to enter into service; for although it was declared that, at the expiration of his engagement, a Hottentot was free to make another, or to act in any manner that the laws of the Colony admitted, yet in the event of his not making a new engagement, he was liable to be apprehended as a vagrant, at the expiration of the time mentioned in his pass, thrown in gaol, and a master provided for him, who either advanced or became responsible for the expenses of detention. The keepers of the different gaols, who were allowed to have an interest in victualling the prisoners, and also a power of apprehending vagrants in the towns, were not remiss in this part of their duty.'

'Whatever may have been the ulterior views of Government, the system then acted upon has been unceasingly pursued, but in some districts with more severity than in others, and with the exception of the individuals of the Hottentot class who have found asylums in the missionary institutions, or who have served in the Cape Corps, the great majority have remained in a state of servitude to the white inhabitants of the Colony. In reporting upon the civil and criminal laws, my colleagues and myself had occasion to notice the insufficient protection which the proclamation of 1809 had afforded to the Hottentots against the undue severity of their masters, as well as the feelings which had prevailed in the provincial and colonial courts whenever the claims of the Hottentot servants to indemnity were balanced against the oppressive authority of the masters. We had also to notice the increasing frequency of the crimes committed by the Hottentots, and the prevalence of feelings in the higher classes of the agricultural population, which precluded any expectation of their consent to relax the system by which the condition of the Hottentots might be ameliorated.'

The proclamations of 1812 and 1819 legalized the apprenticeship system, by which the Hottentots lost control even of their own children. The report indicates the gross evils to which this led, sketches the history of

the missionary institutions, and finally sums up the position in words which amply justify the action taken by the Society's agents and supporters in the Colony and in Great Britain :—

'Much of the opposition that was shown by the Dutch Government to the exertions of Dr. Van der Kemp arose from the national jealousy of the sources from whence he derived his pecuniary support, and of the friendly feelings which the Hottentots under his care had always manifested towards the English Government. Allowing, however, for the operation of those scruples at a particular period, it must be admitted, that although the existence of the missions established by the London Missionary Society has been tolerated by the local government, yet no effort has been made by it to extend the sphere of their usefulness, or to realize the benefits of which they undoubtedly were the willing instruments. There has also been manifested a greater degree of sympathy for the demands of the white inhabitants for the labour of the Hottentots, than of respect for their rights as a free people, or of anxiety to compensate for the many injuries they had suffered by encroachment on their lands.'

'As the great sources of those evils of which the missionary societies have complained have been removed by the provisions of the Ordinance of Major-General Bourke, the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and by the confirmation which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to give to it, I shall be excused from entering into a detail of the advantages which this great measure may be expected to accomplish. The Hottentots will now no longer be dependent upon the caprices of the landdrosts for permission to repair to the missionary institutions, or to engage in any place or in any employment that is open to the choice of the free population of the Colony.'

In 1834, Sir Benjamin D'Urban reached the Cape, and began a governorship fraught with highly important consequences. He was charged by the Home Government to reduce administrative expenditure, which up to this date

had been upon an outrageously excessive scale; to develop, as far as possible, legislative and executive councils; and to carry out emancipation, Parliament having enacted that slavery in Cape Colony should cease on December 1, 1834. Colonial opinion thought itself further outraged by the fact that Parliament had allotted only £1,250,000 as compensation for the 39,000 slaves affected by this Act, the slaveholders thinking they ought to receive at least £3,000,000. But the most important part of Sir B. D'Urban's duty was to place upon a better footing the relation between the Government and the various frontier tribes. Before he could deal with the eastern frontier, war had again broken out with the Kafirs. To illustrate further the spirit in which anti-missionary writers see the events of this time, we will tell the story of the next few years in Mr. Theal's words:—

'The arrangements made by Sir B. D'Urban for the preservation of peace were such as every one approves of at the present day. He brought some 18,000 Fingoes from beyond the Kei and gave them ground between the Keiskama and Fish rivers, where they would form a buffer for the colonists. They and the Kosas[1] hated each other bitterly, and this feeling was deepened by their appropriating and taking with them 22,000 head of cattle belonging to Kreli's people. It was thus to their interest to act honestly towards the Europeans, whose support alone could save them from destruction. Between the Keiskama and the Kei the western Kosa clans were located as British subjects, but a great deal of authority was left to the chiefs. The territory was named the Province of Queen Adelaide, and Colonel Smith was stationed at a place in it called King-Williamstown, to command the troops and control the chiefs. This plan of settlement commended itself to the great majority of the colonists and of the missionaries[2], who hoped that under it the

[1] These were the leading section in that district of the so-called Kafir tribes.

[2] This statement so far as it refers to missionaries is incorrect.

Kosas would make rapid advances towards civilization, and that property on the border would be secure.

'There was, however, in Cape Town—500 miles from the Kaffir frontier—a party under the leadership of the reverend Dr. Philip, that entirely disapproved of the Governor's plans. It was composed of only a few individuals, but it had powerful support from abroad. This party desired the formation of states ruled by Bantu chiefs[1] under the guidance of missionaries, and from which Europeans not favoured by missionaries should be excluded. It maintained the theory that the Kosas were an eminently docile and peaceably disposed people, who could easily be taught to do what was right, and who must therefore have been provoked to take up arms by great wrongs and cruelties. The utmost fear was expressed that the Bantu tribes would perish if exposed to free intercourse with white people.

'To push his views, Dr. Philip visited England with a Kosa and a half-breed Hottentot, who had been trained by missionaries. A Committee of the House of Commons was at the time collecting information upon the aborigines in British colonies, and Dr. Philip appeared before it. His evidence was received at great length, and though it consisted largely of opinion, it was allowed to outweigh that of officers of greatest experience in South African affairs[2].'

Rightly to estimate this and other kindred references, it must be borne in mind that Lord Glenelg's action was based upon the report of the British Government's own Commission of Inquiry referred to above. Further, in the four folio volumes which contain the evidence given before, and the final report of, the Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed in 1836, there is found the amplest confirmation of the views and assertions of the Society's agents. To believe that the modern historian's view is correct, is to believe that half the

[1] Another incorrect statement.

[2] *South Africa*, G. M. Theal, pp. 190–192.

witnesses before one of the most powerful and important of House of Commons' Committees were either fools or knaves.

The powerful and warlike Kafir tribes inhabited the country lying to the east and north of the Great Fish River. Physically they were a fine race. The chief's power was despotic. Polygamy prevailed, and witchcraft, in which they all firmly believed, was the source of constant evil and cruelty. At the close of the last century and the beginning of this, constant warfare raged between the frontier colonists and the Kafirs. 'The farmers were forced to league together for mutual defence, and a system of commandoes was the result. *Abuses, no doubt, were frequently committed by these bands*[1].' These words entirely concede the contention of Dr. Philip and his friends. The Kafirs not unfrequently robbed the colonists, who were warlike and savage in their reprisals; but the bulk of the responsibility for the horrible crimes and slaughter which were perpetrated on both sides between 1820 and 1851 lies largely at the door of those colonists who were hungering for the land and the cattle of the Kafirs. On the occasion of every fresh outbreak of border violence it was easy to assert that the Kafirs were the aggressors. But the modern reader notes that one constant result of each successive outbreak was the enlargement of colonial territory and the concomitant increase of Kafir subjugation. This was inevitable, but the evidence favours the view that but for the presence of Christian missionaries in South Africa, little or nothing would have been done on behalf of the Kafir tribes, and their reduction to serfdom would have been much more rapid and complete.

As early as 1815, Graham's Town had been established as a frontier post in consequence of troubles with the Kafirs. In 1817, Lord Charles Somerset made a treaty with Gaika and other Kafir chiefs. by which the kraal to which stolen cattle could be traced was compelled to

[1] Wilmot and Chase, p. 250 (1869).

make reparation from its own stock. In 1818 a pretext was found for violating this treaty. War broke out, and finally in 1819 Lord Charles Somerset concluded an agreement with the Kafir chiefs 'that all Kafirs should evacuate the country between the Great Fish River and the Keiskamma. This region was to be a neutral territory. At this juncture the British Parliament voted £50,000 towards an emigration scheme, which resulted in the arrival in South Africa during 1820 of 4,000 emigrants, selected out of 90,000 applicants [1]. These families were landed at Algoa Bay (Port Elizabeth), and dispersed along the eastern frontier of the Colony. By the end of 1820, about 5,000 settlers had been located between the Sunday and Great Fish Rivers, and southward from Graham's Town to the sea—that is over a territory of about 3,000 square miles. Like many colonization schemes, this suffered at first from incompetency on the part of many of the settlers, from failure of crops, and also from the unconcealed hostility of Lord Charles Somerset. The settlers finally petitioned the Home Government for a commission of inquiry into their grievances, largely on the ground that the interests of the western and eastern branches of Cape Colony were by no means identical, and that the ruling powers at Cape Town gave little heed to, and cared still less about the requirements of the eastern half of the Colony. In July, 1824, Royal Commissioners arrived at Graham's Town. Among other achievements, this visit led in April, 1829, to the establishment of a free press in the Colony, a fact very potent in after effects upon the controversy over native rights. After the publication of the Report of the Commissioners in September, 1826, the eastern province was made, in civil government, independent of the western, under a Lieutenant-General residing at Uitenhage. Many local reforms were instituted, old Dutch monopolies and administrative methods disappeared, and in 1828 Captain Stockenstrom was appointed Commissioner-General at Graaff Reinet to watch over the native

[1] Wilmot and Chase, p. 273.

tribes of the frontier. Meanwhile, the Kafirs had been allowed to reoccupy the 'neutral territory.' Macomo, son of Gaika, attacked the Tambookies living on the Zwart Kei River, and then was deeply offended by the high-handed action of the Colonial Government, which expelled him and his people from the Kat River. At this point, in 1829, the famous Kat River Settlement, which we shall describe later on, was established. The 'reprisal' system, which had been suppressed for some years, began to revive.

In 1834, the first year of Sir B. D'Urban's government, a vigorous attempt was made to resume the oppression of the native races by the proposal of a new 'Ordinance for the Better Suppression of Vagrancy in the Colony.' Dr. Philip, aided by other missionaries, gave this proposal the most strenuous opposition, and while it was under discussion the Kafir war again broke out. Here also, no doubt, the Kafirs gave ample ground for misrepresenting their actions, and for reviving the worst features of the commando system. It was natural that savages should act as they did; it was not natural that men of a Christian nation should act as many of the colonists did. The crimes of the Kafirs were magnified, the outrages and crimes committed upon them by the colonists were minified. In December, 1834, the Kafirs invaded the Settlement, and by the close of the year were masters of the whole district, except Graham's Town and Theopolis. In the war which ensued the Kafirs were defeated, and Hintza, their most powerful chief, treacherously murdered. Public opinion at home was deeply stirred. Largely through the efforts of Dr. Philip, and other South African missionaries, the true state of affairs along the frontier was apprehended by the public and by Parliament, and in 1836 Lord Glenelg sent his famous dispatch to Cape Town. In this state document, the Home Government accepted fully and acted vigorously upon the view of native rights, of colonial aggression, and of responsibility towards the natives which all the missionaries had so strenuously advocated.

The furious hatred which this dispatch aroused, the persistent efforts made to limit its effect, and to reverse its action, taken in conjunction with the after history of the Colony, are strong proofs of its justice, wisdom, and efficacy. The dispatch affirmed that 'in the conduct which was pursued towards the Kafir nation by the colonists, and the public authorities of the Colony, through a long series of years, the Kafirs had ample justification of the late war; they had a perfect right to hazard the experiment, however hopeless, of extorting by force that redress they could not otherwise expect to obtain; and that the claim of sovereignty over the new province bounded by the Keiskamma and the Kei must be renounced. It rests upon a conquest resulting from a war in which, as far as I am at present enabled to judge, the original justice is on the side of the conquered, not of the victorious party.'

How colonial opinion viewed this policy the following extract shows. Prior to the arrival of the dispatch rumours had been current in Cape Town that the Home Government would not approve of Sir Benjamin D'Urban's action. Speaking of this Wilmot and Chase say in their history[1]:—

'The origin of the rumours preceding the arrival of this *cruel* despatch may be found in the proceedings of a small but active party in the South African metropolis, which commenced a systematic crusade, *under the guise of humanity*, against the Government and colonists. During the whole progress of hostilities that most influential and talented public journal—the *South African Advertiser*, printed in Cape Town—the editor of which had allied himself *to the ultra and not quite disinterested* views of the Rev. Dr. Philip—employed its utmost, and not very scrupulous endeavours in an unremitting series of articles to prejudice the case of the Colony.'

'After such representations, contradicted at the time by the frontier presses and one at Cape Town, which were never heeded, it can be no matter of wonder that the home authorities and the public were deceived, and this may account for

[1] *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, p. 332.

the despatch *dictated by the peculiar bias of its author.* But the delusion still continued to be maintained by the industry, worthy of a better cause, of the Cape Town *Mission party, and its tools on the extreme frontier*, who in order to deepen the impression, employed *the astute device* of exhibiting before the humane but too credulous masses of the British people a living specimen of "oppressed friends and brothers[1]."'

The reader who, after the lapse of half a century, is striving to arrive at the truth on this fiercely controverted issue, will find it difficult to accept a view which the historian, writing thirty years later, can enforce only by imputing hypocrisy, self-interest, bias, and conscious deceit, to his opponents, especially when these are men like Dr. Philip and Mr. Fairbairn, editor of the *South African Advertiser*. To such it appears more reasonable and likely that not a few colonists on the frontier were cruel and unjust oppressors of the natives, doing these deeds of violence from intelligible and obvious motives. They wished to enrich themselves easily and quickly, they yielded to the temptation of 'land hunger,' they liked the excitement of fighting the natives, and they considered it Utopian folly to even attempt to benefit Hottentots and Kafirs. What the journalists and historians who uphold the anti-missionary view have never yet succeeded in showing is why, if they were either hypocrites or misguided and self-seeking persons, Dr. Philip and his helpers should have cared to lift a finger on behalf of Kafir and Hottentot, and how, if they were misguided fools, they could have so long and so powerfully influenced public opinion.

In December, 1839, the territory which had been wrested from the Kafirs in 1834 and 1835 was restored, including the portion between the Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers; in the latter part of 1836 Colonel Smith, the Commandant of the Province of Adelaide, was tried for the murder of Hintza, and, in full accordance with colonial precedent, acquitted; and in the House of Commons at

[1] *History of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope*, p. 334.

the same time an Act was passed 'for the prevention and punishment of offences committed by His Majesty's subjects within certain territories adjacent to the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope.' This Act was intended by Parliament to be a restraint upon that system of outrage which invoked colonial law to punish and rob natives, who in many cases were ignorant of the existence and meaning of the laws they were supposed to have violated. On the other hand, it was intended to prevent colonists guilty of crimes that were detestable to common humanity from being able to crush those natives who had sufficient knowledge of colonial law to make the attempt to secure protection. Theoretically the law was impartial; actually, as it had been constantly administered by the aggressive party, the weaker always went to the wall. One result of the legislation of 1835 and 1836 was to induce large numbers of Boers, no longer able to do exactly as they pleased with Kafir and Hottentot, to begin those migrations which ultimately settled the regions afterwards known as the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

But legislation, even when on just, humane, and righteous lines, could only begin the settlement of such thorny difficulties as those connected with the Kafirs. The policy advocated by Dr. Philip, especially in the later developments of 1846 and 1850, can only be fairly judged by never losing sight of the fact that large numbers of colonists, all of whom had direct pecuniary interest in the results of their actions, were instant in season and out of season in both denouncing and in seeking to reverse it. Under these circumstances it is more remarkable that those who cared for the souls of the natives achieved the measure of success which attended their efforts, than that they were not able steadily and progressively to enforce their views more absolutely over the whole of South Africa.

Side by side with the powerful influence exerted upon public opinion in Great Britain, and upon public administration in Cape Colony, Dr. Philip steadily sustained work at the various stations occupied when he reached Africa,

and from time to time added new names to the long list. The following facts outline the progress made in direct and special missionary work during the stormy epoch of 1820 to 1850.

1. PACALTSDORP. Soon after the death of Charles Pacalt, its founder, on November 26, 1818, Mr. J. G. Messer took charge of this station, and continued to labour there until the end of 1821. At this time there was an average attendance at the Sunday services of about 300, and he also instituted a Sunday School for the instruction of slaves, and of those who could attend only on that day. In January, 1822, the superintendence passed into the hands of Mr. William Anderson, the veteran Griqua Town missionary, who brought to the task the ripe experience of over twenty years spent in close contact with South African natives. Mr. Pacalt had left all his property, in value about £300, to be used for the support of Christian work at his own greatly loved station. This money was chiefly devoted to the building of a suitable place for public worship, which was opened in June, 1825. Mr. Anderson continued in charge of Pacaltsdorp until his retirement from active service in 1848. He died at Pacaltsdorp on September 24, 1852. He had passed forty-seven years in active service. He was one of the pioneers in one of the hardest of African fields, and one of the most successful of Christian workers. During his twenty-seven years as superintendent at Pacaltsdorp he was assisted by a succession of active educational workers, such as Mr. Rogers Edwards, afterwards of Lattakoo, Mr. Thomas Edwards, and Mr. Hood. The history of Pacaltsdorp is one of the most satisfactory on the Society's book. The founder transformed the moral and spiritual wilderness into a garden and died there; while Anderson spent the last twenty-six years of his active life there, most of his family actively co-operating with him in evangelical and educational work. For many years Pacaltsdorp came nearest to the ideal of the founders of the Society as to what a station should be. Begun in prayer and self-

sacrifice, it became at once a haven of refuge for the downtrodden and oppressed; it uplifted and instructed the degraded, forlorn, and ignorant slaves and Hottentots; the first workers linked their lives inseparably to its interests, and very many proofs were granted to them of the transforming and renewing power of the Gospel. 'Pacaltsdorp,' said a visitor in 1831, 'is one of those places on which the eyes look, and the thoughts dwell with peculiar feelings and associations. . . . Comparing what the place was when the mission was established with what it now is, it may well be said, "What hath God wrought[1]!"'

2. THEOPOLIS, sixty miles north-east of Bethelsdorp, was begun in 1814 by a number of Hottentots from Bethelsdorp under the care of G. Ullbricht and J. Bartlett, upon land granted for the purpose by the then governor, Sir John Cradock. The former died in 1821, and the station passed into the care of Mr. George Barker. The methods of work and conditions of life were similar to those at Bethelsdorp. The land belonged to the station, and formed the one secure spot for Hottentots in all that region. A Christian church was constituted, and many became members by profession of love, trust in, and loyalty to Jesus Christ. In 1827 the work had progressed so as to require a new church capable of seating 800 or 900 persons. In 1829 about 100 families removed to the 'Neutral Territory.' In 1830 Mr. Christopher Sass became Mr. Barker's colleague, and in 1839 the latter removed to Paarl. Mr. Sass, who like William Anderson was an Orange River veteran, remained at Theopolis until his death in 1849. At this station also educational work was vigorously prosecuted. Being beyond the limits of the old colony and on the border of the Kafir territory, Theopolis suffered severely from the Kafir wars.

3. GRAHAM'S TOWN, twenty-six miles from Theopolis, and seventy from Bethelsdorp, was founded as a centre of trade and a military post for the district of Albany, as it was then called. The missionaries at once recognized

[1] *Evangelical Magazine*, 1834, p. 39.

the importance of the post, and mission work was begun there in 1827 by Mr. John Monro, and continued by him for the next eleven years. He ministered both to colonists and natives, the latter consisting of Hottentots, Kafirs, Mantatees, and other tribes.

4. HANKEY. This station, so prominent in the story of South African missions, consisting of a tract of land stretching along both sides of the Gamtoos River, and situated about sixty miles from Bethelsdorp, was purchased for £1,500 in 1822. It was designed as an outlet for the surplus population, and consisted partly of pasture land, and partly of land which by irrigation could be made fertile and fruitful. About 100 residents of Bethelsdorp co-operated with the Society in the purchase, and supplied £500 of the purchase money. The extent of the station was 4,100 acres. The first European worker was J. G. Messer, who superintended the station from 1823 to 1831. He was assisted by Mr. William Foster, who was sent there in 1826 to establish a school for the children of missionaries, like the South Sea Academy described on pp. 296, 297, and to superintend educational work. In this project Mr. Foster was unsuccessful, and after a very brief spell of service returned to England in 1829, and ceased in 1830 to be connected with the Society. Mr. Messer was succeeded by Mr. John Melvill, who laboured there till 1838. Mr. Edward Williams carried on the work till 1842, in which year William Philip, son of Dr. Philip, took charge of the station. He greatly improved it by carrying out successfully the great engineering feat of cutting a tunnel through a mountain, thus utilizing the water of the Gamtoos to irrigate part of the valley. This cost £2,500, of which the Society gave £500, the rest being raised from the rental of the land. In July, 1845, Mr. Philip was drowned in the Gamtoos River, and was succeeded by his brother, T. Durant Philip, who remained in charge of the station until 1876.

5. KAT RIVER SETTLEMENT. Next to Bethelsdorp itself this station became the object of most bitter and envenomed attack. To this the site chosen, the date of formation,

and the influence which the settlement began to exert all contributed. The Kat River formed in 1820 the western boundary of Kafirland. It is about 200 miles north-east of Bethelsdorp. That earnest and devoted missionary, Joseph Williams, who in 1816 attempted to found a mission in this region, died in 1818, and for a time the enterprise failed. In 1829 the Colonial Government authorized Captain A. Stockenström, then commissioner-general on the eastern frontier, to execute a plan which he himself proposed. This was to form a strong Hottentot settlement in the 'Neutral Territory.' The spot chosen was a tract of wild country, surrounded by mountains whence the streams flow which form the Kat River. The original idea was to limit the selection of Hottentots to those who by character and intelligence were likely to make good settlers. But so great was the inrush of Hottentots, as soon as the project became known, that this principle of selection could not be maintained. The first location consisted of 250 men, capable of self-defence should they be attacked by Kafirs. This was in 1829, and in the same year 100 Hottentot families came from Theopolis, and forty from Bethelsdorp, bringing with them their cattle and farming implements. The plan of settlement followed on this occasion was one not unfrequently imitated in later times.

'The plan adopted in the distribution of the land was to divide the whole tract into locations of from 4,000 to 6,000 acres each; to plant in each location one, two, or more villages, as eligible situations were found for irrigation; to divide the arable land into allotments of from four to six acres, of which every family capable of cultivating it received one, while additional lots were reserved for such as should distinguish themselves by superior industry, or by their exertions in maintaining good order, or who after probation should be able to show that they possessed ample means for the profitable occupation of more land. The pasture-land was reserved for commonage to each location. The conditions to grantees were, to build a cottage, to enclose

the arable ground, and to bring it under proper cultivation within five years; at the expiration of which, the conditions being fulfilled, the property was to be granted in freehold; but if these conditions were neglected the allotment to revert to the Government. Each holder to have a right to keep live stock in proportion to extent of arable land and the capabilities of pasturage[1].'

At first the Kafirs were hostile, but at length Makomo and other chiefs became friendly with the settlers, and soon the settlement had a Hottentot population of 4,000. The Government appointed a minister to look after the religious interests of the people. Mr. Thompson and the Hottentots from the missionary institutions requested Mr. James Read from Bethelsdorp to become their minister. Mr. Read, Vanderkemp's colleague, was at this time the Society's senior missionary in South Africa, he having already spent twenty-nine years in its service. The village which formed the centre of mission work was called Philipton, and there the congregation at public worship on Sunday amounted to about 1,000. From Philipton natives visited as local preachers the surrounding districts, especially Buxton and Wilberforce. As the locations were widely scattered educational work was difficult. At Philipton Mr. Read's son—Mr. James Read, junior—superintended the day school, and the infant school was taught by one of the missionary's daughters. In the various villages the best educated of the Hottentots were appointed teachers.

In 1835, by order of Colonel Smith, Mr. Read went to Graham's Town, and was not allowed to return to Philipton. He visited England in 1836, and gave evidence before the House of Commons Committee on the treatment of native races, and in 1838 returned to Kat River. There he laboured until the abandonment and destruction of the settlement in the Kafir War of 1851.

6. KAFFRARIA. In 1826, at the suggestion of Dr. Philip, Mr. John Brownlee recommenced mission work in this

[1] From Pringle's *African Sketches*, quoted in the *Evangelical Review*, 1834, pp. 294, 295.

great district. He had reached Cape Town in 1817, and after a short period of work at Somerset Farm, while attempting to establish a mission on the Chumie River, he became at the close of 1818 a Government agent, and resigned his connection with the Society. Seven years later Dr. Philip invited him to resume work as a missionary, and in January, 1826, with Jan Tzatzoe as his helper, he went to Buffalo River. There he began his new labours on the spot which is now King William's Town. The kraal of Tzatzoe's father was here, and the missionary was heartily welcomed by the old chief. In 1827 he was joined by Mr. and Mrs. Kayser of Halle, who left him in 1833 to found a new station on the Keiskamma River, and in 1836 Mr. Kayser went to Knapp's Hope, with which station he was identified till his death in 1859. Brownlee amid all the vicissitudes through which the district passed between 1834 and 1851, kept steadily at work in King William's Town and the district, until in 1867 he retired from active service. Both he and his wife died there in 1871. From Tzatzoe's kraal as a centre evangelistic work in the early days of the mission was done over a wide area, Mr. Kayser and young Jan Tzatzoe visiting large numbers of Kafir kraals. The New Testament was translated into Kafir by Mr. Brownlee and Mr. Kayser.

We have already traced the early Kafir wars, the legislation of 1836, and the intensely hostile spirit in which this was received. With the change of Government in England came a change of colonial policy. It was not, happily for the natives of South Africa, possible to entirely reverse Lord Glenelg's policy, but all that could be attempted in that direction was done by the Colonial Government at Cape Town. In 1846 war again broke out with the Kafirs, resulting in the formal annexation of Kaffraria. As the Wesleyan Society began to throw so much energy into their mission work in Kaffraria the London Missionary Society was able to gradually withdraw from the stations it had occupied there, and concentrate its efforts upon Bechwanaland and Matabeleland.

7. CALEDON INSTITUTION. This station was for a time thrown into confusion by the evil conduct of John Seidenfaden. He was placed in charge of the station in 1811. In 1819 Dr. Philip found his work so neglected, and his character so deteriorated, that he removed him. But the Government refused to allow a successor to be appointed, and it was only by the most strenuous exertions that Dr. Philip averted the destruction of the station. For about six years all regular mission work was suspended, but in 1827 Mr. Henry Helm, who had already completed sixteen years' work at Kok's Kraal, Bethesda, Griqua Town, and Bethelsdorp, re-opened the institution. Mr. Helm was the first member in the African field of a family which has rendered yeoman service in the century's task of evangelizing Africa. In 1835 Daniel J. Helm, son of Henry, was appointed to co-operate in this work with his father, who died in 1848. Daniel then conducted the affairs of the institution satisfactorily until about 1859, when the station became self-supporting. He died there in 1873.

8. The other stations, which during this period continued centres of missionary activity, were Paarl, Tulbagh, Dysselsdorp, Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Graaff Reinet, Colesberg, Somerset, Cradock, and Fort Beaufort.

At these centres the work proceeded, successfully at some, unsuccessfully at others, and with varying retrogression and progression at others. Between 1840 and 1850, the financial position of the Society led the Directors to urge upon the churches within the Colony the view that the time had come for them to relieve the home organization of any further expenditure. This appeal and its consequences we will trace in the next chapter.

After twenty-seven years of active and resourceful labour, Dr. Philip was beginning to feel severely the combined pressure of advancing years and of personal sorrows. After the sad and sudden death, in 1845, of his son William, the doctor sent to the Directors his resignation, and only at their most earnest request withdrew it for a time. In 1844 Mr. J. C. Brown had arrived from England

to take charge of Union Chapel, Cape Town, but did not afford Dr. Philip the relief he had looked for, since he relinquished work there at the close of 1847. Then Mr. Elliott, of Barrack Street Chapel, for a while undertook the duties at Union Chapel. On October 23, 1847, Mrs. Philip died. She was in many ways a remarkable woman. In addition to all the work falling within her legitimate sphere, from a very early date she entirely relieved Dr. Philip of all correspondence with the Directors on the details of finance. She kept all the extensive and complicated accounts of the South African Mission, and was a business-like woman of a very unusual type. Notwithstanding most urgent appeals from Dr. Philip, for reasons soon to appear, no competent successor was appointed. He paid a long visit to Hankey, and, owing partly to his increasing weakness, and partly to Mrs. Philip's death, the affairs of the mission generally began to fall into confusion. On July 18, 1848, he wrote home, 'I beg you to recollect that I am working in the service of the Society with one foot in the grave and the other in heaven.' Just at this time the controversy, long maintained, commenced on the question of leaving the stations within the Colony to support themselves, the Society using its funds and resources only to forward the work of the Gospel among the Bechwanas, and to carry it to tribes and regions yet unvisited. Had Dr. Philip been twenty years younger, he would undoubtedly have exerted a powerful controlling influence over a discussion which served only, so far as he was concerned, to disturb the closing months of his life. At length the right successor to Dr. Philip appeared in the person of the Rev. William Thompson, who had spent the years 1837 to 1840, and 1841 to 1848, in mission work at Bellary, in South India. He accepted the pastorate of Union Chapel, Cape Town, where he began work in June, 1850. He thus ceased to be on the Society's staff as a missionary, but he was also appointed, in succession to Dr. Philip, Agent at Cape Town for the South African missions of the Society. By him the affairs of the missions

in the Colony were directed with great devotion, wisdom, and success, during the stormy and troublesome period of the twenty-five years from 1850 to 1875. Dr. Philip died at Hankey, August 27, 1851.

The death of Dr. Philip closed a life that will ever be memorable in South Africa. When he first set foot on its soil in 1819, the Hottentots and other native tribes in and near Cape Colony had practically no rights, and were in a worse position than the slaves. When he died in 1851, largely as the result of his own clear, wise, bold, and persistent efforts, the liberties they now enjoy were secured and rendered permanent. When he took up the reins in 1819, the affairs of almost every station needed the most careful attention. He brought order out of chaos, he imparted the impulse of his own vigorous personality to those who lacked a stimulus, he consolidated and developed mission work, notwithstanding the weakness caused by the folly of some of its friends, and the hindrances thrown in its path by those whose bitter hatred nothing could remove. His rule was not always wholly acceptable to those who came within its scope, but it was always the rule of a strong man, of one who loved the truth, who fought for freedom, and who was as ready to resist injustice in the highest places as he was to stretch out the hand of brotherly help to the lowest and most degraded savage or slave. Although in the twenty-seven years he fought many a sturdy conflict, he was not quick to enter into a struggle, but being in he bore himself so that those who opposed him were likely to remember his prowess. On the foundation laid by Vanderkemp he raised strong and fair the structure of human freedom.

Dr. Philip's departure was closely preceded by the death of a good comrade in arms and a veteran in service, and still more closely succeeded by another. In 1848 James Kitchingman died; in 1852 James Read. It was to Kitchingman that Dr. Philip turned when in 1821 he was striving to infuse new life and hope into the discouraged and despondent dwellers at Bethelsdorp. There he toiled

with success from 1821 to 1826, and again from 1832 to the close of his active service. James Read's name has appeared constantly in this narrative, and his life story covers the whole of the first half-century. His work had been done in what Mr. Thompson calls, in the letter dated May 29, 1852, announcing his decease, 'the high places of the field.' With Vanderkemp he founded Bethelsdorp, and after the doctor's death he carried on that work. With Campbell he made the memorable first journey to Lattakoo, and later on he began the Lattakoo Mission. Though for a time the object of bitter calumny, he lived patiently through the season of cloud and darkness. He was the central missionary influence in the Kat River Settlement. So eager was he to influence the natives to whom he had consecrated his life, that he chose a despised Hottentot for his own wife, allying himself with her in the hope that he might thus gain greater influence for good. Thus his African service of fifty years passed in 'the very seat of missionary warfare.' 'Few men,' wrote Mr. Thompson, 'have been assailed to the degree he was when in the prosecution of his self-denying labours, few have been less vulnerable than he, and there have been few men whose characters have risen more triumphant than his over the misconception and worse malice and misrepresentation of unthinking or wicked men.'

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Official Reports; *Transactions of the Society*, vols. v-viii; *Researches in South Africa; illustrating the Civil, Moral, and Religious Condition of the Native Tribes: including Journals of the Author's Travels into the Interior*, by the Rev. John Philip, D.D., in two volumes. London, 1828; *Report of the Select Committee on Aborigines British Settlements*, ordered to be printed 1837, 4 vols. folio; *Travels in South Africa*, by John Campbell, 2 vols. octavo, London, 1822.]

CHAPTER XXI

THE RELINQUISHMENT OF WORK IN CAPE COLONY

A CONTROVERSY which exerted considerable influence upon the Society's policy in South Africa, was developed by a letter published in *Evangelical Christendom* for June, 1848. It was from the pen of Mr. W. Elliott, who had been a member of Dr. Philip's congregation at Union Chapel, Cape Town, and who had gone in 1821 as a missionary to Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands. He returned to Cape Town in 1822, visited England, where he was ordained in 1824, and in 1825 undertook work at Cape Town as an agent of the South African Society. In 1828 he was placed on the permanent staff of the London Missionary Society; and in 1830 took charge for a year of the Caledon Institution. From 1831 to 1839 he was at Paarl, in 1839–40 at Uitenhage, and from 1840 to 1846 at Tulbagh. In 1846 he revisited England, and in 1847 became pastor of Barrack Street Chapel, Cape Town. He had, with one exception, laboured for but a brief period at each station; but in the course of twenty-seven years he had seen much of the working of South African missions, and thought himself fully entitled to express with authority his views upon them.

Mr. Elliott's letter fanned into a flame a controversy which had long been smouldering. After fully recognizing the imperative necessity for the missionary institutions and

the great and good work done by them in the past, the letter continued :—

'The case is now completely altered. The rights and liberties of the Hottentot are recognized and protected by colonial law; he, like any other man, may go where he pleases, without a pass, and take his labour or his produce to the best market. He needs no city of refuge. In proportion as the necessity of our missionary institutions has been superseded by the altered state of things, the evils incident to them have been increased. The authority of the missionary has been diminished; the population of the missionary institutions has become injuriously dense, by a vast influx of late apprentices and other persons of colour, who prefer abundant leisure and unrestrained freedom, to those habits of industry, and those salutary restraints, which must be sustained and submitted to in ordinary social life; and multitudes of young persons are growing up in habits which render them as incapable of useful and profitable employment, as they are indisposed to it. A vast amount of labour is thus withdrawn from the towns, villages, and agricultural districts, without any corresponding advantage being realized by the labourers themselves. The present state of our missionary institutions, then, points to the extreme desirableness, not to say the absolute necessity, of a complete change in their construction and management.'

Mr. Elliott, in later letters, made it evident that he did not desire the abandonment, but only a wise reform of these institutions. This fact, however, was not made plain in the first letter printed. His statements attracted much attention both at home and in the colony, and they synchronized with a difficult condition of financial matters in the Society's affairs. Expenditure had been greatly in excess of income. Many subscribers in Great Britain felt strongly that, after fifty years of support, the colonial missionary churches ought to be able to walk alone. These views were influentially advocated on the Board of Directors.

The pressure of financial difficulties, combined with the

conviction held by many, that the time had come for the older South African missions to become self-supporting, led the Board in 1853, through Mr. Thompson, to send out a circular to all their African missionaries to ascertain whether, in their opinion, the various stations could now be safely left to themselves. The reply sent by Moffat and Livingstone, from which we extract a few sentences, embodies the policy which was afterwards steadily pursued. 'We believe,' they say, 'that the Colony has ceased to present the temporal and spiritual destitution which are understood to entitle a country to be treated as a missionary field by our Society. And the prompt establishment of the pastoral relationship in all its bearings is the only measure which either here or at home is likely to receive a continuance of public confidence and support. . . . We can attest, from our personal knowledge and observation, that the members of the Colonial and Griqua mission churches are, in point of temporal comfort and educational advantages, decidedly better provided for than the majority of the members of independent churches at home; and consequently no shyness need be experienced by them in accepting the honour of the entire support of their pastors.'

In 1855 the Rev. W. Ellis visited, on behalf of the Directors, all the stations within the Colony [1]. His mission was to examine into the present state of affairs at each station, to converse with the missionaries, native workers, and adherents, and then to prepare a report for the guidance of the Board.

How difficult and delicate a problem the Directors found the withdrawal of financial aid from churches founded, and so long sustained by the Society, is indicated in the resolutions they adopted after consideration of Mr. Ellis's report. In their Report for 1856 they state: 'In urging the native churches of South Africa to the duty of self-support, the Directors have not only been anxious to honour a Divine Ordinance, and to economize their funds for the

[1] Mr. Ellis gives a sketch of this journey in his *Three Visits to Madagascar* (1858), pp. 193–251.

spiritual welfare of millions who are still dark and miserable as the Hottentots were in 1798, but they are also convinced that a state of dependence is most unfavourable to the vigour and usefulness of Christian churches; and that, beyond the limits of absolute necessity, foreign assistance is a real evil rather than a benefit. But the Directors are aware that these principles may be applied *prematurely*, and the advantages secured by years of labour be precipitately sacrificed.'

These views were embodied in five resolutions adopted by the Board. The first expressed satisfaction at the recognition by the churches of their responsibility, and the fact that some were already self-supporting. The second affirmed the continuance of 'parental affection' and desire 'to maintain with them affectionate correspondence, and to publish in their Annual Report their position and prospects.' The third expressed readiness to transfer the Society's property in chapels, schools, and mission-houses 'to trustees for the sole use and occupation of the churches who carry out the scriptural principle of self-support.' The fourth pledged the Directors to give 'such temporary aid as their funds will admit' in seasons of special difficulty and trial. The fifth conserved the beneficial privileges of all existing pastors with their widows and children.

The direct result of this action was that a few churches at once ceased to depend any longer upon home assistance, and the others began to contribute larger sums to the support of Christian work than they had ever raised before. Further, while the work of withdrawing financial support was carefully and sympathetically carried out by the Directors, they continued to manifest sympathy towards the churches, and, in not a few cases, to give financial aid also. How gradually the work of self-support was accomplished the facts show. Although the stations of Swellendam, Stellenbosch, Bosjeveld, and Tulbagh appear frequently in the early reports, about 1812 these stations became the care of the Rhenish Missionary Society, and any aid they received from the London Society after that date was

special and occasional, not regular. In 1849 Theopolis, having been destroyed in the Kafir War, was abandoned, and never again came, as before, upon the Society's funds. In 1853 Colesberg and Beaufort, and in 1855 Philippolis, Dysselsdorp, Oudtshoorn, and George Town, became self-supporting. In most of the other stations after the year 1855 the greater portion, if not the whole, of the expenses was supplied by local effort, the Society paying the salary of the resident missionary only when special circumstances rendered it impossible for the natives to do so. But long years passed before all direct connection with the remaining stations ceased.

In consequence of the renewed attention directed towards the institutions by the reports of the missionaries, by action in the Cape Legislature, and by the fact that some of them, so far from becoming self-supporting, were again increasing their requisitions for funds from the Society, further action was taken by the Board in 1868. Under the leadership of Dr. Mullens, at that period all the foreign fields were carefully and thoroughly considered. As a consequence, on Nov. 2, 1868, the Board dispatched to all the missionaries in South Africa the fifth in a series known as the Budget Dispatches[1]. This dispatch set forth the reasons which had led the Board to pass new regulations for the governance of the mission. The chief of these were:—

1. That the mission should be carried on under the principles recently adopted in the West Indies, due regard being paid to the relations existing between several missionaries and the churches of which they are pastors.

2. That wherever possible the smaller stations be put under evangelists, the missionaries, as a rule, in the colonial towns.

3. That every effort be made to develop a native pastorate.

4. That an income be guaranteed to all the missionaries

[1] See on this whole question the Chapter upon the later home administration in Vol. II.

in the field, all efforts on their part to increase their means by trading to entirely cease.

5. That every effort be made to revive primary education, and a grant not exceeding £50 a year be made to each head station.

In the Colony the Directors appointed a Commission consisting of the Rev. W. Thompson, T. Durant Philip, and E. Solomon, to visit all the institutions with a view to ascertain what steps could be taken, in conjunction with the natives resident at them, to transfer the freehold of the land to the latter, thus setting the missionary free to attend entirely to religious and educational work. During the last quarter of 1868 the Commission visited Bethelsdorp, Hankey, Kruis Fontein, Dysselsdorp, Oudtshoorn, Pacaltsdorp, and Zuurbraak. At each place the proposals for the future regulation of the institutions were carefully explained to the people; they were encouraged to discuss them freely both in presence of the Commission, and also by themselves, and then a vote was taken. In every case a large majority voted in favour of the new proposals. At most of the meetings a Civil Commissioner was present by request of the governor, to be the medium of any communications the people might wish to make direct to his Excellency. After these meetings were concluded, the Commission had several interviews with the governor, and finally drafted, signed, and submitted to him their Report.

This Report ultimately came under the consideration of the Cape Parliament, and led to the introduction of the Missionary Institutions Bill on May 1, 1872. This was referred to a Select Committee, consisting of the Colonial Secretary, with Messrs. Moodie, Shawe, Ayliffe, Barry, Sprigg, and Saul Solomon, to take evidence on the question. Of this Committee Saul Solomon, Esq., was chairman; and their Report was printed by order of the House of Assembly in June, 1872. It is a document of seventy-six printed pages, and formed the basis of the Act passed in July, 1873, which sanctioned the carrying out of the recommendations of both the Society's Commission

and the Assembly's Committee. The chief of these dealt with the gradual transfer of the freehold of the lands of the institutions to the natives themselves, thus relieving the missionaries from many troublesome business matters and magisterial duties. It also checked the tendency for these institutions to become a refuge for the indolent and the ne'er-do-well. In consequence of this legislation the process for withdrawing the Society's aid from churches within the Colony was completed. Kruis Fontein, Hope Dale, and Ox Kraal had become independent in 1870; Philipton and Graham's Town in 1871; Zuurbraak in 1873. After the passing of the Bill Port Elizabeth became independent in 1874; Paarl, Cradock, and Hankey in 1876; Pacaltsdorp in 1878; Bethelsdorp in 1880; and Uitenhage and Graaff Reinet in 1882. All of these, except Hankey, have continued work without further aid from London. The property connected with these institutions —the lands owned and the buildings for public use—is still vested in the Society. The natives have been slow to avail themselves of the opportunities offered to secure the freehold of the land; and desirable and efficient trustees of the local property have so far proved unattainable.

The Report for 1881[1] thus refers to the close of a memorable and important department of service:—

'The Society has, within the last ten years, been able to rid itself of the responsibilities connected with the landed estates which it possessed during the early period of work in Cape Colony. The whole of the older stations are now self-supporting, and the three missionaries who still represent the Society within the Colony (at Oudtshoorn, Uitenhage, and Graaff Reinet) receive such support because they carry on purely evangelistic work. The Rev. B. E. Anderson, of Oudtshoorn, states that his people during 1880 opened a new church, seating 1,200, contributing £1,250 out of a total cost of £1,500. In addition they contributed £300 for their pastor, £12 for the Society,

[1] Page 19.

£25 for the poor, and £30 for a teacher. And yet it is not many years since these people were in extreme poverty and ignorance, from which condition they were elevated by the missionary who now enjoys their confidence.'

Hankey has been the only station within the Colony at which the Society has been constrained to resume work.

'In 1875 the lands were offered for sale to the tenants on very easy terms, in the hope that a fresh stimulus would be given to flagging industry by the desire to become proprietors. This hope has not yet been realized. The European purchasers of land in most cases appear to have had no intention of residing on the place. Their influence for good has, therefore, been very small. The native purchasers, accustomed through many years to the easy lot of tenants under a religious society, did not seem to realize that purchase meant the responsibility of payment, and made little effort to discharge their obligations. The time for final settlement was extended more than once, and at length, in 1888, it became necessary to reclaim the possession of a considerable part of the lands upon which neither purchase-money nor interest had been paid, the people who had occupied and tilled the soil being in most cases well content to resume the position of tenants under a much stricter rule of tenancy than had been enforced before.

'The social and religious history of the community has not been more satisfactory than their relation to the land. Too much isolated, too much on the same level with each other, and too easily able in ordinary seasons to get subsistence from their plots of land, all healthy ambition and stimulus to improvement was wanting. They became known in the neighbourhood for indolence and unreliableness. Meanwhile they were in church life left to independence of the Society, and under such conditions were unfitted for such a position. They had two pastors after Mr. Philip left them, and their relations to both were unhappy. When the Rev. H. Kayser removed to Knapp's

Hope in 1890, the Directors felt the time had come when they must take some decisive action for the good of the people as well as in the interests of the Society. A business agent had already been appointed to look after the property and collect the rents, but it was evident that there would be no real improvement except as the result of a great change in their moral and spiritual condition. They decided, therefore, though with very great reluctance, to resume for a time the spiritual oversight of the people.'

During 1891 the station was put under the care of Mr. Mackenzie. Considerable sums have been spent with the object of rendering the land more serviceable and consequently more valuable. There has also been improvement in the moral and spiritual condition of the station. In 1895 it had one ordained native agent, one native preacher, one teacher, 175 Church members, and 1,000 adherents. The local contributions for 1894 amounted to £107.

In this gradual way the Society has freed itself from almost all responsibility within the Colony, with the purpose and earnest resolve to give itself energetically to the great task of consolidating its influence in Bechwanaland, and of evangelizing Matabeleland and Central Africa. She parted from her firstborn South African children with regret, but she did it in the full belief that it was better for them to walk alone. She began the work, and for long years maintained it. Of the way in which it has grown since it has been thrown entirely on local resources, many instances might be given. One must suffice:

'Now that the missions of the Society in South Africa are entirely confined to the tribes in Bechwanaland and Matabeleland, it is well that from time to time the supporters of the Society should be reminded of the earlier work in the Cape Colony, and of the condition of some of those Christian communities which owe their existence to the labours of the Society's earlier missionaries, though they are now entirely self-supporting and self-governing.

The Rev. Charles Phillips, late of the Samoan Mission, who undertook the charge of the native Congregational church at Graaff Reinet at the beginning of 1889, has furnished some statistics of the present position of these former mission churches, as well as a brief account of his own sphere of labour. His statements afford material for serious and grateful reflection.

'"I am often struck, when I think of the remarkable extent to which work among the various races of South Africa has developed and the great results attained, with the splendid way in which the early missionaries of the Society laboured, and the good foundation on which to build up successful churches which they laid. We have at present in Cape Colony alone some 45 stations and 76 out-stations, accommodating 25,000 people, with about 10,000 communicants and 32,000 adherents, and this work rapidly spreading as the result of the Society's labours in South Africa."'

On May 8, 1889, the Rev. W. Thompson died at Cape Town. He had been compelled in the preceding year, by increasing infirmity, to resign his official connection with the Society's work, after no less than thirty-eight years' labour at the Cape. He was a worthy successor of Dr. Philip, and conducted to its completion the great warfare on behalf of native rights. As minister of Union Chapel, as financial agent of the Society, as adviser of many leading members of the Cape Legislature, as the friend and host of missionaries passing through Cape Town, he filled many parts, and he filled them all faithfully and well. In 1853 he was burnt in effigy in the streets of Graham's Town because of his energetic maintenance of native rights. In 1889 the Prime Minister of Cape Colony and many of its leading citizens followed his coffin. The developments and changes with which this chapter has dealt were largely influenced by his sound judgment; and the measure of success which has attended them was largely the result of his energy and skill.

CHAPTER XXII

KURUMAN: 1818–1895

ROBERT MOFFAT reached Cape Town in January, 1817. His intention of at once proceeding to Great Namaqualand was frustrated by the colonial authorities, who were then objecting to missionary enterprise on the ground that mission stations became refuges for runaway slaves. After some months' delay this prohibition was withdrawn, and Moffat, with James Kitchingman and John Ebner, left Cape Town on October 22, 1817[1]. Kitchingman was left at Byzondurmeid (Steinkopff), where he laboured till 1821. Moffat reached Africaner's kraal on January 26, 1818. The journey, like all the early visits to the interior, was a long succession of hardships and suffering. At one stage Moffat says 'we travelled about eight days, seeing nothing but barren hills, and we certainly must have suffered much here for the want of water had God not been graciously pleased to give us a supply of thunder showers.' The latter part of the journey Moffat had to take accompanied by natives only. They lost their way, and suffered terribly from thirst. 'After digging for two hours in sand water made its appearance, exactly like bilge water both in taste and colour; but thirst converted it into a cooling draught, as if from a crystal fountain.' 'The extreme heat of the sun renders it impossible to walk on the sand even with

[1] Moffat's Life and the Society's register give this date as September 22; his own letter from Africaner's kraal, March 2, 1818, gives it October 22.

shoes; the oxen stood together to render the ground cool by their shadows.'

Soon after Moffat's arrival Ebner rejoined him, and almost immediately quarrelled with the chief's brother on a question of barter. This was the last of a series of differences, and finally Ebner left the station on March 12, 1818, in great indignation against the natives. Moffat found that Vreedberg was utterly unsuitable for a mission station, owing to its dryness and the difficulty of obtaining food. Moffat's sketch of the people is hardly more favourable than of the place: 'It grieves me to see many stout fellows lying sleeping on their karosses (sheepskin blankets) nearly the whole day; but the question is, what are they to do? When the cows and goats come every morning and evening they drink the milk, and when that is scarce they bind their bellies with a belt to prevent hunger. They eat serpents and reptiles of every description rather than work, they are so inured to laziness; but were there a proper station, with perseverance I am convinced that great things might be done. Rather than run into debt by sending long distances for bread, I sit down with cheerfulness to the common fare, flesh and thick milk.' In this first letter also Moffat makes the suggestion 'that a station might be attempted at Angra Pequena Bay, on the west coast.' He also states his view that the language must be learned as soon as possible, and all educational work attempted in that, not in the Dutch.

The long, clear, vivid letter, from which all these extracts are taken, enables the reader to picture the conditions under which Moffat began his great career. Everything was against him. Could hardships have daunted him, could difficulties have broken him, could even the desertion of his senior colleague have disheartened him, he would have failed on the threshold. The quiet steadfastness with which he prosecuted the work, where and when Ebner threw it down, is one of the most remarkable proofs of his own zeal, common sense, and faith.

The attendance at services at Africaner's kraal was

fairly good, but the filthy habits of the people formed no slight obstacle to progress. 'Formerly, most of their attention in church was taken up in slaughtering their fat companions, and I always got my share of those restless inhabitants while preaching.' But a warm attachment had sprung up between Moffat and Africaner. 'Old Africaner is very still, pays strict attention to public worship, and, I believe, has a great affection to me.' Africaner agreed that it was desirable for the settlement to remove to a more favourable locality. Moffat travelled northwards, but failed in his search for a suitable place. At length he proposed 'to remove, with Africaner, to a fountain in the Bushmen's country, far east of Kuruman River,' and it was deemed necessary to inquire how far this removal would be agreeable to the Governor. For this purpose Moffat went to Cape Town, taking Africaner with him. The sight of this ferocious chief, 'clothed and in his right mind,' produced a profound impression in all parts of the Colony. The tidings of his conversion and growth in Christian life deeply stirred the hearts of all friends of missions at home. Moffat had intended to return to his old station, but finding while at Cape Town that it was the wish of the Rev. John Campbell, then at the Cape, that he should settle at Lattakoo, Moffat did not return to Namaqualand. He was married at Cape Town to Mary Smith, of Ashton-under-Lyne, to whom he had been engaged before leaving England, on December 27, 1819. Early in 1820 he started, with Campbell, for Bechwanaland. He remained only a short time at Lattakoo, and then went to Griqua Town to await the decision of the governor as to whether he might take up work at Lattakoo. Africaner brought Moffat's goods to Griqua Town, and then returned to bring his own, but died while at his old kraal. Difficulties having been removed, Moffat reached Lattakoo May 17, 1821.

Lattakoo had been brought under the notice of the Secretary by John Campbell, after his first visit in 1814. At the request of the Directors James Read of Bethelsdorp went to Lattakoo, arriving December 28, 1816, and there

began the work of Christianizing and civilizing the Bechwana tribes. In 1815 Evans, Hamilton, Barker, and Williams had been sent from England with instructions to work at Lattakoo; but Barker stayed in the Colony, and Williams went to the Kafirs. Evans and Hamilton reached Griqua Town January 11, 1816. They made two ineffectual journeys to Lattakoo, but, up to the time of Read's arrival at Griqua Town, had done little or nothing in the way of effecting a settlement. Evans left the mission, went to Graaff Reinet, and shortly afterwards died at Cradock. Read's greater experience of native life stood him in good stead. He secured the approval of the chief, Mothibi, and in June, 1817, Mothibi and the bulk of his tribe removed from Old Lattakoo to a more suitable location near the Kuruman River. This station was at first called New Lattakoo, but very shortly became known universally as Kuruman. Read and Hamilton worked as colleagues till July, 1820, when the former returned to Bethelsdorp. Hamilton, who was an artisan and a good zealous man, but no scholar, worked on alone until May, 1821, when Moffat joined him. Prior to Moffat's arrival nothing much had been accomplished except the all-important achievement—a beginning.

Many details of great interest connected with the early work at Kuruman are given in Moffat's famous book, published in 1842, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, and Moffat's Journal from November 26, 1821, to July 3, 1822, is full of incidents sufficient to discourage anything but a most robust faith. The people would do nothing for themselves without a reward—'nay, if they only sit a few minutes within sight of you they expect to be well rewarded.' 'It is to be recollected that a Bechwana will say and assent to anything, however derogatory to his own views, for the sake of a few pinches of snuff.' The congregations improved, but Moffat's description of them is not inspiring: 'Nothing is heard here but the noisy clamour of heathen tongues, exhibiting itself in mockery and insults.' The picture presented in the words penned from day to day is gloomy indeed: 'No conversions, no

enquiring after God; no objections raised to exercise our powers in defence. Indifference and stupidity form the wreath on every brow; ignorance—the grossest ignorance—forms the basis of every heart. Things earthly, sensual, and devilish, stimulate to motion and mirth, while the great concerns of the soul's redemption appear to them like a ragged garment, in which they see neither loveliness nor worth. . . . We preach, we converse, we catechize, but without the least apparent success. Only satiate their mendicant spirits by perpetually giving, and you are all that is good; but refuse to meet their endless demands, their theme of praise is turned to ridicule and abuse. . . . The prospect is neither calculated to encourage or cheer, but we labour in hope. . . . Though the vision be for an appointed time, at the end it shall speak and not lie; though it tarry it will surely come, it will not tarry.'

Speaking of this time, fifty years later, Moffat said: 'I still remember distinctly, when I first became a missionary, the great undertaking it seemed to learn the language. There were no interpreters, and the greatest difficulties were thrown in our way. However, I laboured on, gathering a few words at a time from one and another, until I could string a few sentences together and make my wishes known to the natives. I could make you laugh, as I laughed at the time when I discovered them, at jokes that were perpetrated upon us by the natives; but I laboured on. During all this time we had not a friend in the whole nation, not an individual that loved or respected us, or who wished us to remain; and, although they tried to drive us out, we persevered, and, by God's grace and assistance, overcame all the difficulties that lay in our path.'

When, in 1824, the station was removed from Lattakoo to Kuruman, considerable numbers of the natives took up residence at the latter place. In July of the same year Moffat went on a journey to the Wankeets, in the interior, with a hunting party of Griquas. On this occasion he witnessed terrible scenes of bloodshed due to the marauding tribes which were ravaging the district. Writing on

December 8, he says: 'The country is deluged with fierce and savage tribes, whose chief support seems to depend on destroying each other.' In consequence of this invasion, for a time the mission had to retire to Griqua Town. The missionaries returned to Kuruman in March, 1825. The land belonging to the mission, which had originally been purchased from Mothibi for forty pounds of beads, was divided into twelve allotments, three for the missionaries, and nine for those employed by the mission. It was at this time that the work of erecting stone buildings began. The mission had been reinforced by the arrival in August, 1824, of Mr. Isaac Hughes, a blacksmith. Meanwhile the buildings were finished; the routine work of the mission was carried on; and Moffat paid a visit to the notorious warrior chief, Makaba.

It was not until 1829 that the hearts of the patient and persistent workers were cheered by signs of the success they most desired. The congregations began to exhibit marks of spiritual awakening. The awakening came, as such things do come, without any human or visible existing cause. There was a wave of tumultuous and simultaneous enthusiasm. In a few months the whole aspect of the station had changed. The meeting-house was crowded before the service had begun. Heathen songs and dancing had ceased, and everywhere were to be heard instead the songs of Zion and the outpouring of impassioned prayers. The missionaries were beset even in their own houses by those who were seeking fuller instruction in things which had become to them all at once of paramount importance.

Six natives were baptized and admitted to church fellowship, and at the Lord's Table on the following Sunday, including the missionaries, twelve united in a Communion Service, the first at which Kuruman converts had been present. Long before Mrs. Moffat, in reply to a friend, had written in faith, 'Send us a Communion service.' Two or three years passed, and on the very day before this first public Communion was held a box, containing the plate, arrived from England. Great attention

was paid to education, and a school house had been built. The valley was irrigated, and greatly improved in productiveness. Moffat had also by this time translated the Gospel of Luke into Sechwana. This had, of course, involved the reduction of the language to writing, in itself no mean achievement. The translation was used first in MSS., and not printed until 1830.

This year is also memorable because Moffat then visited the great Matabele chief, Mosilikatse or Umziligazi, who was thus for the first time brought into contact with Christian missionaries.

In 1830 Mr. and Mrs. Moffat determined to visit the coast. It was now high time to arrange for the schooling of their two elder children. Moffat also was eager to get those portions of Scripture which he had been able to translate into Sechwana printed. At Philippolis they met MM. Lemue and Rolland, French missionaries on their way to work among the Basutos; and Mr. and Mrs. Baillie, appointed as their own colleagues. These all went on to Kuruman to await there the Moffats' return. Mrs. Moffat visited Salem, a Wesleyan school near Graham's Town; finally settling her children there. Moffat visited the stations in Kafirland, and then, finding it impossible to get anything printed in the Eastern Province, rode 400 miles to Cape Town, a journey he managed to accomplish in nine days. At Bethelsdorp he met Mr. Edwards, who had been originally intended for Kuruman, and finally took him on to Cape Town to help in seeing the MSS. through the press. Even at Cape Town no printer could be found equal to the work, and finally Colonel Bird allowed them to use the Government printing office. But only one man could be spared to help them, and he, assisted by Moffat and Edwards, finished the work. This experience proved valuable, because a printing press intended for Kuruman reached Cape Town while Moffat was there, and was by him thankfully conveyed to the station.

Edwards accompanied the Moffats on their return, and

Kuruman was reached in June, 1831. The three French missionaries, Lemue, Rolland, and Pelissier, who had been sent out by the Paris Evangelical Society to begin work for them in Africa, occupied a great deal of Moffat's time, and enlisted his warmest sympathy. Their first plan was to settle among the Bahurutse. This was frustrated by Mosilikatse's anger and suspicion, he having been attacked by a party of Griquas under command of a man named Berends. This failure led the French missionaries, in the good providence of God, to turn their attention to the Basutos, and thus to begin what has proved one of the most fruitful and satisfactory of South African missions. Here, as in so many other parts of the world's harvest field, the workers of the London Missionary Society were able to assist with their advice and sympathy, and active co-operation, the initiation of work by a sister society.

Baillie's career was brief. After but a short spell of work at Kuruman he removed, in 1833, to Blink Klip, where he attempted to form a new station. In 1836 he and his family returned to England, and his name disappears from the Society's annals.

The printing press at once began a career of useful service. On Sept. 15, 1831, Mrs. Moffat writes: 'The press is set up, and has been at work printing lessons for the school. It has been a formidable work to bring it and to set it going; but the advantages of it will be inestimable to the mission.' From 1831 to 1895 press work, in many forms, was carried on at Kuruman.

During 1832 and 1833 work was steadily and successfully maintained. In January, 1833, Moffat was able to report that five additional members had been baptized and received into the little native church. The chief hindrances were due to the bodily and mental characteristics of the people. In 1834 Moffat writes: 'This is a land where the people may be said (from necessity) to keep one perpetual fast. They live a starving life, and scarcely ever can say that they have had a full meal of wholesome food. From these causes the faculties of their minds, even from infant

years, are greatly impaired. We anticipate a new and superior race with a new generation.' By the close of 1834 the population of Kuruman amounted to 727, living in 236 houses. There were two schools, with 115 scholars. The services on Sunday had average congregations of 340, on work-days of 130. There were twenty-nine communicants and church members. The cattle of the little community amounted in all to 2,342.

In 1833 Mary Moffat, who had not seen her daughters for two years, took the long journey to Salem alone, her husband not being able to leave his work. On her return she was to bring up a supply of type and paper which had been sent out to Cape Town for the press. She writes: 'My journey was exceedingly prosperous. My travelling company of servants consisted of five Bechwana men and one Hottentot, and a girl to nurse my baby. In one of these men, Paul, one of the first converts, I had great comfort. Not having my husband with me, I had to put the more confidence in him, and truly it was not misplaced. I had continual joy in him as a brother in our Lord Jesus Christ.' The journey occupied five months, and is one of the many illustrations of courage and devotion to the work shown by Christian women in the mission field, and at the same time of fidelity and trustworthiness on the part of a Bechwana convert.

In 1835 both Moffat and his wife were dangerously ill. A son had been born on March 10, and Mrs. Moffat seemed unable to regain strength. Her husband was afflicted with bilious fever. Just when things were at their worst Dr. Andrew Smith providentially reached Kuruman, and was of the greatest service by his kindness and skill. He was at the head of an expedition fitted out for scientific purposes, which had come from the Cape, and wished to visit Mosilikatse. Dr. Smith persuaded Moffat to accompany them. Although reluctant to leave Kuruman, he was induced to consent, partly because he hoped to get from Mosilikatse timber with which to roof the Kuruman church, and partly because he hoped to induce the Matabele chief

to consent to receive missionaries. He had heard that some American brethren might be sent, and he wished to prepare their way. Thus it came about that, in 1835, Moffat paid his second visit to Mosilikatse, in what was then known as the Bakone country, lying to the north-east of Kuruman. He resided in daily intercourse with the great heathen chief for more than two months.

In 1836 ill health compelled Mrs. Moffat to visit the coast again. Moffat travelled with her as far as the Vaal River, and then paid a visit to his old friend Mothibi, the chief of the Batlaping. The early part of the year 1837 was a season of steady progress at Kuruman. 'We are no longer,' writes Moffat, 'left to pray alone, or to complain that we have spent our strength for naught. The day has dawned, the fetters of superstition are comparatively broken.' But at this moment of brightening prospects serious differences sprang up between the brethren at Kuruman and those at Griqua Town. Mr. Peter Wright, senior missionary at the latter place, was then, with the knowledge and hearty concurrence of Dr. Philip, acting also as Government agent. Relations between Moffat and Dr. Philip were not of the most cordial character. Moffat had arrived in Africa before Philip. He had seen enough during his first few months at the Cape to lead him to distrust any attempt to control too closely, from Cape Town, distant mission work. There is ample documentary evidence to show that, in these early years, Philip considered Moffat somewhat headstrong and opinionated, and not too ready to allow others either their full share in the tasks attempted, or in the credit for the work done. Local jealousies further embittered the position. Waterboer, the chief of Griqua Town, looked with an envious eye upon the growing prosperity of Kuruman, and developed towards that settlement a very ungenerous spirit. Wright and Hughes, the missionaries at Griqua Town, took the side of their own chief; and when scandalous charges were circulated about Moffat, did not show the readiness to discredit them which they might have done. The Bechwana refused

to accept the chieftainship of Waterboer, and the Kuruman missionaries steadily refused to allow Griqua Town influence to gain any power over their people. The details of the dispute are now of no importance whatever, save as an illustration of one great difficulty experienced by the missionaries all over central South Africa. Compelled to recognize the local chieftainships, and often very largely dependent upon the chief's favour for power to prosecute their work, the personal quality of the man became a matter of prime importance. Strong men, like Vanderkemp, Brownlee, Moffat, and Livingstone, conciliated and skilfully used the natives with whom they had to do. Less able, less devoted, less spiritual men not unfrequently found themselves unequal to the task, and sadly hindered mission-work by folly which was sometimes devoid even of the excuse that it was conscientious folly.

In 1839 Moffat visited England for the first time since his departure in 1817. He came chiefly to see his translation of the New Testament into Sechwana through the press. He had not been long at home before he found himself famous. The wonderful story which he had to tell, the simplicity and noble transparency of the speaker, the flame of his devotion to the down-trodden natives, kindled immense enthusiasm wherever he went. His literary task, under these conditions, proved more serious than he had anticipated, and, at the request of the Bible Society, he added a translation of the Psalms into Sechwana. It was January, 1843, before he and his wife sailed on their return journey.

Meanwhile another great African worker had begun his career. In July, 1841, David Livingstone[1] reached Kuruman. Born at Blantyre in 1813, he had become a church member of the Congregational Church at Hamilton in 1835, and, after a course of classics and medicine at Glasgow University, became a Licentiate of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. He was accepted by the Society, and appointed to Bechwanaland, and ordained in London,

[1] For some years after his arrival in Africa he spelt his name Livingston.

November 20, 1840. In a subsequent chapter his work, while connected with the Society, has been traced. Livingstone was accompanied by William Ross, a fellow Scotchman, who commenced work at Taung in 1844. They had been preceded, in 1839, by Holloway Helmore, who was stationed, in June, 1840, at Likhatlong, a station on the Vaal River to the south-east of Kuruman. Helmore at first agreed to work in connection with Griqua Town, but seems soon to have found this impossible, and in 1842 removed to Borigelong, an out-station of Kuruman, a place situated to the north of Likhatlong, and between that station and Taung. There Mothibi still resided.

In 1843 the Directors decided that mission affairs in this part of Africa should in future be managed by a District Committee, composed of the Griqua Town and Bechwanaland missionaries, and the first meeting was held at Kuruman on January 6, 1844. This District Committee, owing to dissensions among its members, seems to have never reached a vigorous and useful life, and there is no trace of any meetings between 1849 and 1866. At the first meeting, Hamilton, Moffat, Edwards, Livingstone, Ross, and Ashton were present. Inglis declined to attend; Helmore was unable to be present. Wright had removed from Griqua Town to Philippolis in 1842, and Hughes was just making arrangements to remove to Backhouse. The chief resolutions adopted were: (1) Helmore and Inglis to labour at Likhatlong, Ross at Taung, and Ashton at Kuruman; (2) a grant of £50 to be made to Edwards and Livingstone for the purpose of beginning work among the Bakhatla tribe. Mr. Walter Inglis and Mr. W. Ashton were new missionaries who had accompanied the Moffats on their return in 1843.

For the next few years Hamilton, Moffat, and Ashton shared the work at Kuruman. The excitement of the return was soon over. In December, 1845, the old chief Mothibi died. Between 1846 and 1850 friction resulted from the action of Edwards and Inglis. Livingstone found it impossible to work with the former at Mabotsa; and both Edwards and Inglis adversely criticized Moffat's

Bechwana version of the New Testament. Both were artisan missionaries of the type so common in the first fifty years of the Society's history. Some men of this class became splendid missionaries, like Hamilton; others, like Inglis and Edwards, after an unsatisfactory history, soon ceased to have official connection with the work.

In 1849 Ashton made an effort to begin the training of native teachers. This has always been a difficult matter in Bechwanaland, partly because of the indolence and indifference of the native character, and partly because the Directors have never sufficiently concentrated their efforts upon any one scheme, like that which has proved so successful at Lovedale.

'We are aware,' wrote Moffat in 1851, 'that we need not expect that this generation, nor perhaps the three or four to come, will come up to that standard of pious zeal which we find among educated people. Seven native teachers have gone from this mission—I may say, from this station—and they have done well, considering that they did not commence their labours or their studies in their youth. But the hue and cry is raised, "We won't have a black teacher like ourselves; we will have a white teacher who can guide and protect us." Of course there is a worldly motive in this. The native teachers are much disheartened. They can do little or nothing in the absence of the missionary. Bechwanas, reduced to vassalage by the Boers, point the finger of scorn to the British and to the colonist, and say, "Go and convert your own countrymen, and then try your hand on us."'

Another local difficulty at Kuruman has been the fact that no strong tribe has ever occupied it. The inhabitants have always consisted of members of various tribes, and have dwindled rather than grown in numbers during the century.

On July 11, 1851, Hamilton died. He was known to few outside the Kuruman circle during his life, and is not even a name to this generation of the Society's supporters. He never revisited England, and he spent the last thirty

years of his life in quiet, steady mission work. It is upon shoulders like his that a large part of the burden of missionary work rests, and from the rank in which he holds a place, honoured by those who know anything about him, will come many of those 'last' who shall be 'first' in the great and final award.

Moffat, meanwhile, both at the request of the Directors and in accordance with his own desire, was giving much of his energy to the translation of the Old Testament. In this work he was greatly assisted by W. Ashton, not only in the printing the various portions, but in the thorough and careful revision of the manuscript, and in consultation upon the matters of difficulty which so constantly crop up in Bible translation. As early as 1848 Isaiah had been printed. Also the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which Moffat had translated, and *Line upon Line*, which Ashton had prepared. In March, 1851, Moffat writes:—

'We are getting on here as fast as we can in what we firmly believe is the work of God. We are instant in season and out of season in our public duties and in the work of translation, but the progress is slow, very slow. Could I obtain a competent amanuensis it would greatly facilitate my progress in translation. The printing goes on at snail's pace, from the want of a sufficient quantity of type, and the want also of compositors on whom we can depend. One is taught, and perhaps he leaves to live with friends at a distance; another does not like the confinement; and as printing is only one section of the round of pressing duties which devolve on the missionary, it must frequently wait his time. Lately a new edition of Isaiah, Proverbs, and Preacher was turned off, but will not be bound up till the smaller Prophets are also printed. We have commenced the Pentateuch: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy are ready. Numbers will be comparatively light work. Translation I feel to be hard work, and I have my fears that my head will not stand till the whole is completed; but it is comforting to know that God will carry on His work as well without as with me.'

In 1852 troubles caused by the Boers of the Transvaal reached an acute stage at Kuruman. Moffat, writing on Nov. 22, 1852, gives a gloomy picture of the outlook:—

'The mission station at Kolobeng, commenced and carried on by Dr. Livingstone, is now a solitude, brooding over ashes and dead men's bones, while Sechele and his followers, who escaped the balls of the Boers, are in the fastnesses of a neighbouring mountain. The Bakhatla of Mabotsa have been plundered and slain. The Bahurutse of Matebe, a third missionary station, are now prostrate, because on the side of their oppressors there is power. Their chief lets me know that he is now reduced to be "a dog of the Boers." The Bangwaketse, among whom we had two native teachers, have been driven from their towns. The Boers can give no reason for the work of extermination which they are carrying on, except their own determination, that all the aborigines must become their vassals. They conceive that they have an especial right to engage in wars, and dispossess chiefs of the lands of their forefathers, by virtue of their treaty with the British Government, in which the independence of the Boers north of the Vaal River is acknowledged and proclaimed. This in their judgment includes all the country north of the Vaal River, from its source to the point where it enters the Western Ocean. Every act of rapine and bloodshed is now carried on under pretext that the country is theirs by the authority of the Queen of England[1].'

Of the work at Kuruman during this anxious epoch, Moffat gives a good account:—

'The present state of our Church and branch Churches, as compared with late years, is more encouraging, and is calling for increased effort on our part. The people are more settled in their habits, while their minds are becoming better informed on subjects calculated to advance their temporal as well as their spiritual interests. The views of the natives have undergone a material change on many points of importance, and among others as to the culti-

[1] *Chronicle*, 1853, p. 63.

vation of fields and gardens. When they first saw us employing people to convey the contents of cattle-folds to our gardens, the act being in their judgment too ludicrous to admit reflection, they laughed boisterously, supposing it to be one of our foolish customs, to charm the ground, as they were wont to do to their own gardens, by chewing a certain root, and spitting on the leaves to make the whole more fruitful. Thus from time immemorial millions of heaps of manure were turned to no useful account. It was very long before they were convinced, but at last they discovered that manured gardens did not "get old," but could be made "very young again," and, therefore, the veriest heathen may now be seen carrying manure on their backs, and on the backs of oxen, to garden grounds. Lately, an individual remarked to me on this subject, "I cannot persuade myself that we were once so stupid as not to believe what we saw with our eyes[1]."'

On January 13, 1853, Andries Waterboer, the famous chief of Griqua Town, died. He, for the earlier part of the century, as Khame for the latter part, stands out as an African chief of the highest type. The following sketch of him appeared at the time:—

'At an early age he professed Christianity, and joined the Church at Griqua Town. Upwards of forty-five years he maintained that profession without wavering. He was a man of great vigour and energy, and his powers as an orator were of no mean order. He was chosen Chief of Griqua Town at a critical time, and succeeded in reducing things to order, and in putting an effectual check upon the marauding expeditions of the Bergenaars. His address was pleasing, and, though firm and decided, his manners were conciliatory. Europeans and natives united to speak well of him. The most bitter enemies of the coloured race were compelled to except Waterboer from their sweeping censures. He was the first Chief in South Africa with whom a regular written treaty was made by the British Government; and to that treaty he ever adhered. No

[1] *Chronicle*, 1853, pp. 64, 65.

violation of that treaty was ever charged against him, and all the British officials who came in contact with him were loud in his praises[1].'

Early in 1854 a native teacher, Paulo by name, according to Moffat 'by far the best theologian in the country,' went to Matebe by special request of the chief Mailve. These extensions of work among the native tribes, and Livingstone's now well-known determination to open up the interior, aroused the bitter hostility of the Boers. The faster mission work was growing, the more difficult they felt it would become to maintain and extend their policy of absolute subjugation of the natives.

Ashton, on May 7, 1854, wrote: 'The country is not only given over to the Boers, but with it abundance of ammunition, and they are to have as much as they wish from time to time from the English, whilst the natives are most strictly prohibited from purchasing both powder and lead. They are thus delivered over (so far as our Government can do it), bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of these oppressors. The natives feel this keenly; they have lost all respect for the English; in fact, the respect which we formerly witnessed among them towards all white men is turned to hatred, and we missionaries partake largely in the general odium.'

Anxiety on account of Livingstone, and also a desire to encourage Sechele, led Moffat, in 1854, to pay a visit to Lithubaruba, the place where Sechele had taken refuge after the destruction of Kolobeng. He spent several days with the chief, and had long talks[2] with him about Scripture, and did all in his power to aid him in carrying out his resolve that his children should not conform to the usual immoral heathen customs.

On leaving Sechele, Moffat journeyed 120 miles northwards to Shoshong, and for the first time met Sekhome, the chief of the Bamangwato, 'whose appearance,' he wrote, 'was in keeping with his well-known character, made up

[1] *Chronicle*, 1853, p. 68.

[2] See ibid., 1854, pp. 256–263.

of cunning, treachery, cruelty, falsehood, and folly.' For various reasons, one of the chief being Sekhome's fear that Moffat might induce Mosilikatse to release Macheng, Sekhome would do nothing to aid his journey to Mosilikatse. But Moffat pushed on, reached the chief's kraal, and spent nearly three months with him. The chief was now an old man, and ill, and Moffat was able to be of real service to him. Eager for tidings of Livingstone, Moffat determined to push northwards. Mosilikatse at length accompanied him, but this so greatly hindered Moffat that he had to give up his project of reaching the Zambesi. Supplies and letters were sent on by a party of Matabele, placed on an island in the river, and found there months later by Livingstone on his return from the West Coast. Moffat returned to Kuruman.

By 1857 the great translation task, to which Moffat had devoted thirty and Ashton seven years of strenuous labour, was completed, and the Bechwanas possessed the whole Bible in their own tongue. That the version was imperfect none knew better than the two devoted men who made it. But the names of Moffat and Ashton are imperishably associated with one of the greatest missionary achievements of the century—the gift to a nation of the Word of God. Who can measure the influence of this Sechwana translation of the Scriptures?

During 1857 Ashton's letters from Kuruman deal with matters of considerable importance to the mission. On January 19, 1857, Ashton wrote home a letter setting forth the difficulty of his position, without in any way reflecting upon Moffat. He states his view that the time has come when he ought to leave Kuruman. For a long time he has not been able to agree with Moffat's mode of managing the mission, but he has not quarrelled with him, and would rather stand at a disadvantage before the Directors than do so. Being the junior, he has conceded a great deal to his senior; but there is a point where conscientious scruples forbid further concessions. He has been urged to go to Philippolis, and should he do so before receiving the

Directors' permission, he hopes they may not consider it 'a great crime.'

The views of the older and younger worker were not quite in accord at this time as to the state of affairs at Kuruman. On March 11, 1857, Ashton wrote complaining about the small contributions of church members amongst the Bechwanas. The average was only 3s. per head per annum; and they paid nothing for pew-rents, or for the schooling of themselves or their children, and also received much medicine and advice gratis. He questions whether the whole of the native subscriptions amount to as much as the Society pays to the native teachers. He asks, 'Where is the use of multiplying members who pay nothing at all?' In taking into consideration the fitness of candidates for membership, why not ask, 'Have they shown any desire, by contributions, either to maintain the Gospel among themselves, or to spread it around them?'

Moffat, under the same date, March 11, wrote home in regard to Ashton's wish to leave Kuruman as follows:— 'I do feel thankful for his assistance in the work of translation. I submitted every sheet, before the final revision, to his judgment, and, though yet a tyro in Biblical criticism, and not professing an extensive knowledge of the language, his suggestions and approval of renderings I valued much. Nor did he in general appear disappointed on finding frequently that many of his remarks were not correct, or superfluous. I now feel no little satisfaction that I have never once, during the whole period we have lived together, spoken a cross word to him. I have been now for many years as tame as any old wife's cat in my intercourse with men, and will lie down and let any one walk over me, rather than say a word, either directly or indirectly, calculated to give offence[1].'

In a letter dated Oct. 12, 1857, Ashton says, 'It is not a little odd that, though for the last seven years at least I have been busily engaged in assisting Mr. Moffat in

[1] And Ashton's attitude towards Moffat, as seen in the whole correspondence, was of a similar character.

revising his translations for the press, you have never once acknowledged, during that time, my services; and now in your Report, which has just reached me, you speak of the work as being completed, and as having been accomplished entirely by Mr. Moffat, without the least hint or mention of any assistance from myself. I wish you and the Directors to understand that, besides having printed the Old Testament (Psalms excepted), I have, at Mr. Moffat's request, examined every sheet of the MS. from Genesis to Malachi. I have also conferred with Moffat "for weeks and months" in settling queries, &c. Some of the magazines have stated that Moffat both translated and printed the whole Bible!'

Many years, however, were to pass before Ashton's connection with Kuruman was to be finally severed. At the request of the Directors Moffat visited the Matabele again, and Ashton's leaving while he was absent was out of the question. Meanwhile, in October, 1857, the first number of a periodical in Sechwana, entitled *The Instructor and News Letter of the Bechwanas*, had been issued from the press at Kuruman. From this date onwards periodical literature in Sechwana was steadily issued from that press.

Moffat visited Mosilikatse, spending some time with Sechele and Sekhome on the way; and on his return bringing home Macheng, the rightful chief of the Bamangwato. On his return, early in 1858, he visited Cape Town, and then found that very serious modifications had been made in the plans which his visit to Mosilikatse had been intended to further. Writing under date of April 19 he points out that he had come to Cape Town in 1858 for the purpose of meeting Livingstone, Helmore, J. S. Moffat, and other missionaries for the Matabele and Makololo missions; but on arriving there he learned (1) that Livingstone had dissolved his connection with the Society, (2) that his son, J. S. Moffat, had done the same, (3) that the brethren were not to leave England until the Directors had heard from him respecting his journey to Matabeleland, (4) that his son, although

his connection is dissolved, is to go to the Makololo, although Moffat had promised Mosilikatse that John should go to him. The puzzled veteran wrote: 'The general impression has been that Livingstone, descending the Zambesi, was to open a path to the interior, where missionaries can go with as much probability of escaping the fever as they will have of passing through the swampy country of Linyanti and the Chobe. Verily I need light.'

These changes of plan had been caused chiefly by the fact that Livingstone had relinquished his place on the Society's staff in order to devote himself more fully and more thoroughly to the task of opening up Africa and of suppressing the slave-trade. In December, 1858, there reached Kuruman, Messrs. J. Mackenzie, Roger Price, Wm. Sykes, T. M. Thomas, and J. S. Moffat. Mackenzie and Price, with Holloway Helmore as leader in the place of Livingstone, were to open up the Makololo Mission; the other three, with Robert Moffat as leader, were to begin work among the Matabele. The arrival of so large a number of new workers naturally aroused much interest in South Africa. In the Transvaal it requickened the old hostility to missionary enterprise. Moffat was forbidden to visit Mosilikatse; and the statement was widely spread that missionaries sold weapons and ammunition to the natives, and thus enabled them to attack the Boers. Remonstrances addressed by Sir George Grey to the Government at Potchefström put an end to any risk of attempts on the part of the Boers to hinder by force, as they had threatened, the two new missions. The details of the Makololo and Matabele missions are given in subsequent chapters.

In October, 1861, Roger Price married Elizabeth Moffat. The period from 1863 to 1866 were years of uneventful work at Kuruman, and in 1867 Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, and John Brownlee, of Kaffraria, completed their fiftieth year of missionary service. In 1870 Moffat left Kuruman for the last time. On Sunday, March 20, he preached his last sermon there, and on Friday, March 25, he left the

scene of so many toils and prayers, joys and sorrows, failures and successes.

'On Sunday, March 20, 1870, Robert Moffat preached for the last time in the Kuruman church. In all that great congregation there were few of his own contemporaries. The older people were for the most part children at the time when they had first seen the missionaries. With a pathetic grace peculiarly his own, he pleaded with those who still remained unbelieving amid the Gospel privileges they had now enjoyed so many years. With a fatherly benediction he commended to the grace of God those who had been to him a joy and crown. It was an impressive close to an impressive career.

'On Friday following the departure took place. For weeks before messages of farewell had been coming from the more distant towns and villages, from those who were unable to come themselves. But the final scene was such as could scarcely be described in words. As the old missionary and his wife came out of their door and walked to their waggon they were beset by the crowds, each longing for one more touch of the hand and one more word; and as the waggon drove away it was followed by all who could walk, and a long and pitiful wail rose, enough to melt the hardest heart[1].'

Moffat himself, when on August 1, 1870, he was formally welcomed home by the Board of Directors, thus spoke of this scene:—

'How it is to go with me I know not. I shall do all that in me lies for the advancement of the missionary cause. I shall not fail, wherever I am, to use all the means within my power, by presence and word, to advance that great cause to which I have devoted my life. It would have been pleasant just to have remained with the people among whom I have laboured so long, by whom I am beloved, and whom I love. Oh, that parting was a scene hard to witness without deep emotion! Not only from Christian converts but from heathen chiefs did I receive tokens of

[1] *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat*, pp. 363, 364.

good will. Their amanuenses brought letters deploring my departure, and presents to induce me not to quit the country, but to remain, promising to give me so much more if I would but remain. It was gratifying to see these tokens, especially from the heathen, and those able to appreciate one's labours among them. One sent an ox, another a kaross, and so on; a lady of quality sent me four feathers. Some of them asked how they were to live, how they were to exist, if I went out of the country; that is a form of expression among them. It is consolatory to think that the influence of the Gospel in that dark benighted country is spreading, and is going into the interior, covering hamlet after hamlet, until its advance, let us be assured, will cover the whole land. It is for us to pray and labour, and we have the assurance that Ethiopia shall yet stretch out her hands to God[1].'

At Port Elizabeth in May, and at Cape Town on June 3, large numbers of missionaries and Christian friends assembled to wish the veteran and his wife God-speed. At the former place Moffat gave, as he alone could, some conception of the changes in Africa during his half-century of toil:—

'Christianity has already accomplished much in this country. When I first went to the Kuruman scarcely an individual could go beyond. Now they travel in safety to the Zambesi. Then we were strangers, and they could not comprehend us. They treated us with great indignity, and considered us to be the outcasts of society, who, being driven from our own race, went to reside with them; but, bearing in remembrance what our Saviour had to undergo, we were encouraged to persevere, and much success has rewarded our efforts. Now it is safe to traverse any part of the country, and traders travel far beyond Kuruman without the slightest fear of molestation. Formerly, men of one tribe even could not travel through another's territory, and wars were fought. The influence of Christianity in that country is now very great, and constantly increas-

[1] *Chronicle*, 1870, pp. 189, 190.

ing. Where one station was scarcely tolerated, there are now several. Our advance station at the Matabele is in a very prosperous state, and I quite expect that the Matabele will become one day a great nation. They sternly obey their own laws; and I have noticed that when men of fixed principles become convinced of the great truths of Christianity, they hold firmly to the faith, and their fidelity is not lightly to be shaken.

'In former times the natives could not be prevailed upon to buy anything from traders in the shape of merchandise; not even so much as a pocket-handkerchief. They could not be disposed of, as the natives were not enlightened sufficiently to appreciate anything like that. If they did buy, it would only be a few trinkets or some beads; but nothing of a substantial character was ever bought. It is not so now, however, for no less a sum than sixty thousand pounds' worth of British manufactures pass yearly into the hands of the native tribes near and about Kuruman[1].'

In January, 1871, Mrs. Moffat died; and on August 9, 1883, the long and useful life of Robert Moffat came to a close. During the thirteen years he amply fulfilled his own promise to 'use all means, by presence and word, to advance that great cause to which he had devoted his life.' His noble form was an inspiration to multitudes at the various meetings he attended. Never sparing himself, he was ever stirring up others to renewed energy and consecration in the work of evangelizing the world. Behind the clasp of his hand, the flash of his eye, the sound of his voice, were those fifty-three years of steady, earnest labour, during which over a large area in Africa he had seen civilization replace barbarism, and, in many darkened hearts, the joy and peace and grace of the Gospel of Christ Jesus replace the bitterness and fear and despair of heathenism.

J. S. Moffat remained for a time in charge at Kuruman. All of the stations in South Africa which have involved

[1] *Chronicle*, 1870, p. 177.

the holding of land have experienced from time to time serious difficulties in administration. Kuruman was no exception, for in May, 1870, J. S. Moffat writes: 'It would be a blessing if the land incumbrances of this station could be got rid of. . . . The landlord relation to the people interferes with our spiritual power, apart from the distraction of thought, and waste of time.' For many years this question in various forms cropped up. In 1886 the matter was finally settled by a Land Commission, acting under the authority of the Cape Legislature, who confirmed the Society's title to all the lands occupied by them at Kuruman. These are now held by the Society at a quit rent of £1 per annum, and, in the event of their ceasing to be occupied for missionary purposes, they are to revert to the Crown. Lands at Taung and Motito were included in the same settlement. Some of the missionaries thought these conditions just, a view not shared by Roger Price, the superintendent at Kuruman.

Since 1870 the course of affairs at Kuruman has been somewhat troubled. It lies 100 miles away from the great trunk route of African traffic, and has, to a large extent, ceased to be a centre of influence. At no distant date it may revert to the Crown. Differences of view among the workers from time to time have adversely affected its prosperity. These have affected chiefly two important forms of work—the Moffat Institution and the printing press.

The Moffat Institution for the training of native evangelists was begun by Mr. Mackenzie at Shoshong in 1872. A large sum of money had been collected in England as a token of regard for Robert Moffat, and was applied to this purpose. In 1873 the decision was made to remove the institution to Kuruman. Although the institution has been carried on there ever since, it has never realized the hopes and expectations of its projectors. The reasons for this have been numerous. The remote situation and sparse population of Kuruman; the prosperity of Lovedale; the disputes between J. S. Moffat and his brethren; the

indolent character of the natives have all contributed to the disappointment of the promoters and supporters of the Moffat Institution.

Though the decision to remove the institution to Kuruman was made in 1873, it was 1876 before the permanent building was erected. The work was greatly delayed by the strong opposition of J. S. Moffat, and the differences between him and his senior colleague, Mr. Ashton. Ultimately Moffat removed from Kuruman to Molepolole, and in 1879 resigned finally his connection with the Society. Mackenzie removed to Kuruman in 1876, and superintended the institution there, combining with this work the charge of the native church and congregation. In 1885 he was succeeded by Roger Price, having himself, in 1884, accepted the Government appointment of Resident Commissioner in Bechwanaland. This appointment he resigned in a few months.

From the opening of the Institution the greatest hindrance to success has been the scarcity of suitable young natives sufficiently advanced to benefit by the teaching. 'This institution,' runs the Report for 1885[1], 'has laboured ever since its commencement under the difficulty of obtaining students who had already received an elementary school training of such a character as to fit them to enter at once with intelligence into the special studies required to fit them for their work. It has, however, already done good service. With an average of eight students it has for several years sent out evangelists to various parts of Bechwanaland.'

In the hope of aiding the work of the institution, in 1886 a Boys' Boarding School was established at Kuruman under the care of Mr. J. Tom Brown. The number at this school in 1890 was twenty-one. But in 1891 one of those checks so common in South African work came upon the school, and, during the absence of Mr. Brown on furlough in 1895, the school was closed. By the centenary year thirty-five evangelists who had been trained in the

[1] P. 129.

Moffat Institution were at work in different parts of Bechwanaland.

The changes in the mission staff at Kuruman during the twenty years from 1875 to 1895 were not very numerous. The Rev. Roger Price has been senior missionary since 1885. Mr. John Brown laboured there from 1877 to 1885; Mr. A. J. Wookey from 1882 to 1885. Mr. A. J. Gould has been in charge of the printing press since 1882, and Mr. J. Tom Brown of educational work since 1886.

Since Kuruman was the place where the Bible was translated into Sechwana, since from it, as a centre, the light of the Gospel has gone forth to Bechwanaland and Matabeleland, and even to Central Africa, it must ever hold a high place in the story of African evangelization. But as the century closes there are not a few indications that the strong currents of life and influence are passing away from it, and that Kuruman can hardly hope to maintain, during the second century of the Society's life, the place and power it has enjoyed during so large a portion of the first. In missionary work, no less than in other departments, the stream passes onwards. The one certainty is that, if His people are faithful, God will raise up worthy successors to Hamilton, Moffat, and Ashton, and ennoble other sites with a like glory to that which is Kuruman's imperishable possession.

CHAPTER XXIII

DAVID LIVINGSTONE AND HIS WORK

ON July 31, 1841, David Livingstone reached Kuruman. As early as September in the same year he came to the conclusion that, from its lack of population, Kuruman could never become what his fancy had pictured it, 'a sort of focus, from which might diverge in every direction the beams of divine truth.' In this month, in company with Rogers Edwards, he visited the Bakwaina, and, in writing to Mr. Arundel on December 22, characteristically notes that in his journey he has been about 250 miles to the north, further than any missionary has travelled before. He also expresses strongly his view that the chief requisite for the active prosecution and extension of the mission is competent native agency. Early in 1842 he made a second and still longer journey into the interior, accompanied by Edwards. In the course of this excursion he visited the Bakwaina, Bamangwato, Bakaa, and Makalaka, and discovered the existence of no less than twenty-eight tribes hitherto unknown to Europeans. Sekhome, the chief of the Bamangwato, received him gladly. 'You have come to us like the rain.' Livingstone's keen insight noted many of the native peculiarities. They were eager for a missionary, but chiefly from the belief that, if one resided in their midst, they would be quite safe from their enemies. They had a conception of God, but it was one that conveyed no more than the idea of superiority. In common use they

applied their name for God to their own chiefs. Sekhome, the chief, wanted his heart, which, from his own confession, was 'proud and angry alway,' changed; but he was under the impression this could be managed by taking some of Livingstone's medicine.

During the early part of 1843 Livingstone paid another visit to Sechele, who was curious about Christian teaching. About this time the news of the opening up of China to enlarged missionary effort reached him, and he records that 'he felt again the glowings of his heart towards that country.' Considering the comparatively small population of Africa, he was then of opinion that there were already too many missionaries in it. He had little faith in the efficacy of the district committee method of management, introduced at Kuruman in 1843. He based this view upon the fact that the 'salutary influence of enlightened public opinion is entirely wanting.'

In August, 1843, the preliminary steps were taken for the establishment of a mission by Livingstone and Edwards among the Bakhatla, at a place called Mabotsa. The natives welcomed them in the conviction that 'by their presence and prayers they would have plenty of rain, beads, and guns.' For a gun, value £4, a strip of land two miles long and a mile and a half broad was purchased, as a site. It was while at Mabotsa, early in 1844, that Livingstone had his famous encounter with the lion, which so nearly ended his life. Towards the close of the same year he married Mary Moffat. In the course of 1846 serious differences arose between Livingstone and his colleague. The latter was an artisan missionary, who seems to have been apt at taking offence, and prone to magnify trifles. Finally, Livingstone decided to leave Edwards to carry on work at Mabotsa alone, while he himself went to the Bakwaina, of whom Sechele was chief, and from whom he had received earnest invitations to come and be his missionary. He removed to Chonuane. Already troubles with the Boers of the Transvaal were beginning. They had seized all the fountains, and were

allowing the natives to live in the country only by sufferance. The first year's work among Sechele's people had led to no conversions, but progress had been made in the way of Sunday observance, and Sechele and some of the chiefs adopted European clothing. In 1846 Livingstone was again at Mabotsa, and in 1847, with Sechele and the Bakwaina tribe, he removed to a new station on the river Kolobeng, 200 miles north-east of Kuruman. Here Livingstone passed some useful and happy years. The chief event was the conversion of Sechele. 'The Bakwaina,' wrote Livingstone in 1848, 'generally resist an invitation, or, if they listen to our message, it is with the firm persuasion that they have been preserved to old age by some medicine or other, and it would be folly, at their time of life, to think of another Saviour. From the first day of our residence Sechele attended school and all our services with unwearying regularity. The first indication of deep feeling which I observed in him was when, sitting together under our wagon during the heat of the day, I endeavoured to describe to him "the great white throne," and "the judgment-seat." He said, "These words shake all my bones—my strength is gone."' Sechele was gradually led to a belief in revelation, and he showed his faith by his works; he put away his many wives. He was baptized by Livingstone.

In June, 1849, Livingstone began that series of marvellous journeys which were to make his name for ever famous in the story of African exploration, and at the same time do so much, first in making known the woes of Africa, and then in remedying them. But the entrance upon this work, though he neither foresaw nor desired it, was the beginning of the end of his work as a missionary of the Society. In company with Messrs. Oswell and Murray, leaving Kolobeng June 1, 1849, on August 1 he discovered Lake Ngami. He returned to Kolobeng October 10, 1849. In April, 1850, accompanied by Mrs. Livingstone and three children, he started on the still longer journey, intending to visit Linyanti and the

chief Sebituane. The party reached Lake Ngami, but then sickness compelled them to return.

In a letter from Kolobeng, dated August 24, 1850, and never before published, Livingstone gives at some length his views on missionary methods, after nine years' experience in South Africa. They were to the effect that a tribe should have a trial. The Gospel should be offered fully, energetically, and for some years; then, if they neglected the message, the missionary should move on to tribes to whom the Gospel had not yet been offered.

'The Bechwana Mission began at the Kuruman, and the attention of the missionaries was directed chiefly to the Batlapi. No visible success attended their labours, but the tribe got a fair *trial*; and, instead of the missionaries removing at the conclusion of the trial, the experiment was performed for our instruction in the opposite way. The Batlapi left the missionaries. The tribe divided into several fragments soon after leaving, and, without following their wanderings, we may just note their positions as—those under Motheebe at Lekatlong, Lingopeng, and Borigelong; those under Mahura, and Motlabani, and Flaganyane at Taung, Mamusa, and Lithako. You will remember that Mr. Moffat, in his work, mentions that the first success they subsequently had at Kuruman was among a small tribe of Balala called Bachaine (of which Paul and Mebalse here are members), and a lot of refugees from the interior. But the seed had been sown in the hearts of the Batlapi too. The *trial* had been made, and the results were as follows. When the party which settled down at Lekatlong had got a little time for reflection, they actually sent a deputation of their number to the nearest mission-station, Griqua Town, to beg instruction; and the brethren there being unable to supply them with a missionary, the people sent individuals statedly to Griqua Town, to receive a little instruction, and, while they returned to Lekatlong to impart that little, others were sent to receive a fresh supply. This system went on till many were fit for fellowship, and, when the missionaries went for the first time,

they were surprised and delighted with the progress they had made. The visits of the brethren ever afterwards were for the purpose of examining candidates and receiving them into fellowship. Before a European missionary came to settle among them, there were upwards of one hundred in the church; and when I visited Lekatlong a short time after Mr. Helmore's settlement there, religious profession was rather too fashionable. He found it necessary rather to restrain than urge to a confession of Christ. As we are reviewing the subject privately, no one's feelings will be hurt by supposing we think little of his labours. But I think you will agree with me in thinking that *up to the period* of Mr. Helmore's settlement, the fruits were those of the *trial* made at Kuruman. Mr. Wright did not, so far as I recollect, look upon the work in any other light.

'The distance has always prevented the Kuruman brethren from visiting, with any regularity, the next division of Motheebe's people, settled at Borigelong: but the seed was sown before they left that station. The native teacher was sent after a wish had been expressed by the people, and, when he went, his position was totally different from that to Sebube among the Wanketse. The Gospel having been deposited, the influences of the Holy Spirit soon caused the fruits to appear; and the result of the trial has been especially satisfactory; for we have had a church planted in the midst of a mass of heathenism, and every year there has been what Dr. Chalmers called "an excavation" going on. This experiment clearly proves that a respectable church may result from such a trial as I advocate, and that church be anything but a feeble standstill one, though it does not receive a European missionary as its pastor. Lingopeng is a twin experiment, and equally satisfactory. The future will determine which will furnish the healthiest children, those who have received little or much nursing.

'The division under Mahura, including the Bamaeries and Flaganyane, exhibits another important feature in the Bechwana Mission. Let the chief of any locality exhibit

determined opposition to the Gospel, few or none of his people ever profess their faith in Christ till he alters his conduct or is removed by death. Mahura altered his conduct in order to increase his town by drawing a number of believers from other parts. Had he not done so, it would have been a mere waste of life for a European to have lived with him. Flaganyane never altered his conduct, and he had no believers under him. Mochuara, who, with his Barolongs, enjoyed the ministrations of Lemue and Langa for a great many years, acted on the principle of getting all the temporal good out of the missionaries he could, while fully determined never to believe the Gospel; and not a single individual under him ever attempted to profess Christ. Mochuara even sent an advice to the above effect to Mosielele at Mabotsa, when we removed thither. In the cases of Mahura, Flaganyane, and the Bamaeries, we have no fruits from the trial apparent *up to the period* of Mr. Ross's settlement. But no one will deny the existence of a preparedness, and not even that appeared in the Barolongs of Mochuara, although Mr. Lemue and Langa spent half a lifetime upon them. As it is with the Bechwana Mission in its private development I am most familiar, I can only point you to its history, and request you to say whether it warrants the inference that the removal of a mission would cause an ultimate loss of success. To me those who never heard the Gospel are greater objects of compassion than those who have heard it for seven years and rejected it. The plan of trial would perhaps tend to the more rapid extension of the knowledge of Christ in the world.'

In April, 1851, Livingstone, accompanied by his family and Mr. Oswell, started again to reach the Zambesi. This time, after a long and trying journey, he succeeded. He met Sebituane, the renowned Makololo chief, of whom even Mosilikatse stood in awe, and of whom Livingstone says, 'He was decidedly the best specimen of a native chief I ever met.' But very shortly after their meeting Sebituane died. He was succeeded by his daughter Mamochisane, who confirmed the permission already granted that the

party might visit any portion they wished of the Makololo country. Availing themselves gladly of this permit, Livingstone and Oswell travelled 130 miles to the north-east of Shesheke, and 'in the end of June, 1851, we were rewarded by the discovery of the Zambesi, in the centre of the continent. This was a most important point, for that river was not known to exist there at all.' As Kolobeng was, in Livingstone's judgment, rendered useless as a missionary centre by the hostility of the Boers, he resolved to do what he could for the Makololo district. Two great difficulties were in the way. For purposes of safety and protection, the natives lived in low and reedy districts, which were so deadly that none but acclimatized natives could live there. Then the slave-trade was just springing into active life, and Livingstone saw that the only way efficiently to destroy it would be to open up trade from the east coast. Livingstone therefore resolved to send his family to England, explore the country thoroughly, and when a suitable place for work was established, bring back Mrs. Livingstone. 'This resolution brought me down to the Cape in April, 1852, being the first time during eleven years that I had visited the scenes of civilization.' The Directors had left Livingstone to his own discretion, and he parted with his family for two years as he thought, but, as it turned out, for five long years of travel and discovery.

Livingstone did not reach this momentous decision without mental conflict. In a letter to the Directors dated October 17, 1851, he writes: 'Personally I would prefer a quiet life among the Bakwaina. Some of the brethren do not hesitate to tell the natives that my object is to obtain the applause of men. Severe expressions have been used even by those whom I esteem.' After describing the needs of the Makololo, and the opportunities of the region as a station, and requesting their permission, he characteristically adds: 'But stay—so powerfully convinced am I that it is the will of our Lord I should, I will go, no matter who opposes. But from you I expect nothing but encouragement. I know you wish as ardently as

I can that the world may be filled with the glory of God.'

Letters like this could hardly prove acceptable to the whole Board of Directors. Strong influences, both at the Cape and in London, were in favour of methods in South Africa quite contrary to those commended by Livingstone. Some advocated the strengthening of work already begun, rather than the opening up of new centres far away from any base. Others failed to see that Livingstone might be doing more for the Gospel in Africa in five years of exploration than could be achieved by fifty years of quiet work in a fixed station. Thus, in writing to Dr. Tidman from the Cape, on March 17, 1852, Livingstone says: 'A mission in the paltry village of Colesberg, already supplied with a Wesleyan and an S.P.G. missionary, and a Dutch Reformed minister, is allowed to draw, on an average, more than twice as much as a mission 500 miles beyond the same market. Moffat, "the apostle of the Bechwanas," is allowed to draw only a little over £100, while the man at Colesberg draws £211.'

Yet the Directors agreed to Livingstone's request for two years' freedom in order to inspect the country, and suggested he should take a companion. But he could find no suitable companion, and so finally decided to go alone. He left the Cape in June, 1852, journeyed to Kuruman, and, while he was there, Moffat received a letter from Sechele, describing the ferocious attack upon Kolobeng by the Boers. 'They killed sixty of my people, and captured women, and children, and men. They took all the cattle and all the goods of the Bakwaina; and the house of Livingstone they plundered, taking away all his goods.' The only result in Livingstone's case was to enable him to feel still freer than ever to undertake the work of exploration. Sechele started on a visit to Queen Victoria, to protest against the action of the Boers, and actually reached Cape Town. There his funds became exhausted, and he had to return to his people. Livingstone, after a brief visit to Kolobeng, journeyed on to the Makololo, of

which Sekeletu was now chief. He found this chief at Linyanti, which he reached in May, 1853. With Sekeletu he went to Shesheke, and then up the Zambesi to Nariele, in an unsuccessful search for a mission-site, returning again to Linyanti. Leaving that place November 11, 1853, with a courage, skill, and perseverance that are unsurpassed in the annals of missionary exploration, he made his way first to St. Paul de Loanda, the capital of Angola, on the west coast, arriving on May 31, 1854. After staying there four months, on September 20, 1854, he recrossed the entire continent of Africa, a second time visiting Sekeletu, and travelling by the way of Zambesi, visiting the now famous Victoria Falls, to Quilimane, on the east coast, which he reached on May 20, 1856. All the details of this memorable achievement have long been before the world in his book, *Missionary Travels in South Africa* (1857), a work calculated to delight many classes of readers. but especially worthy of the study, even in these days, of all who have the evangelization of Africa at heart.

Livingstone reached England on December 12, 1856. He found himself famous. In December, 1854, the University of Glasgow had conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him; and in May, 1855, the Queen's Gold Medal was awarded to him by the Royal Geographical Society. Shortly after reaching England, his official connection with the Society ceased. His after career can be traced in his books, *The Zambesi and its Tributaries* (1865), *Last Journals of David Livingstone* (1874), and in *The Personal Life of David Livingstone*, by Dr. Blaikie (1880). Mrs. Livingstone died at Shupanga, on the Zambesi, April 27, 1862; and Livingstone himself, a martyr in the cause of the religious emancipation of Africa, at Ilala, in Central Africa, on May 1, 1873. The body, which had been safely carried to the coast by his faithful natives, found a fitting resting-place in Westminster Abbey, on April 18, 1874.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MISSION TO THE MAKOLOLO

THE imagination of the British Christian public had been kindled by the achievements of Livingstone, and renewed enthusiasm in the evangelization of heathen Africa aroused. They endorsed, and began to put into practice, the explorer's own maxim: 'The end of the geographical fact is but the beginning of the missionary enterprise.' On February 10, 1857, the Directors, at a special meeting, adopted a far-reaching resolution. It ran: 'That two new mission-stations should be opened—the one among the Makololo, north of the Zambesi, under the charge of Dr. Livingstone, assisted by another missionary; and the other among the Matabele, to the south of that river, under the superintendence, in the first instance, of Mr. Moffat, should the state of his health allow of his undertaking it, aided by at least two additional missionaries; and that, for the accomplishment of this enterprise, a special appeal be made to the Society's friends and constituents for the necessary funds.' The severance of official connection between Dr. Livingstone and the Society prevented him from undertaking this work as a missionary; but it did not preclude him from giving counsel and assistance in many ways. He himself left England on March 10, 1858, for Quilimane, as he was anxious to lead back to their homes, as soon as possible, the men who had accompanied him to the west coast in 1856. Other direct

results of Livingstone's work were that members of Oxford and Cambridge organized the Universities' Mission, and sent out a mission under the leadership of Bishop Mackenzie; and that the Free Church of Scotland sent out the Rev. James Stewart (afterwards Dr. Stewart, of Lovedale) to arrange for another mission in the newly explored territory.

Livingstone's loss to the Makololo Mission was irreparable. The men who entered upon the work in his stead were capable, self-denying, and enthusiastic; but they possessed neither his knowledge of the country nor his unapproachable skill in dealing with natives. In this respect Livingstone was unique. The Directors made the best arrangements they could. The Rev. Holloway Helmore, who had already spent seventeen years among the Bechwanas, was appointed chief of the Makololo Mission, with John Mackenzie and Roger Price as colleagues. Robert Moffat was to inaugurate the Matabele Mission; and Messrs. William Sykes, T. M. Thomas, and John Moffat, a son of the veteran, were dispatched as his colleagues. This company of workers left England in June, 1858, and reached Kuruman December 31, 1858.

The Makololo Mission had a tragic career, little anticipated by Livingstone, its projector, by Helmore, Price, and Mackenzie, who attempted to establish it, and by the Makololo themselves, for whose benefit it was undertaken. Helmore and his family had returned to England for health reasons in 1856, and in July, 1858, he returned with his wife and four children, joining his colleagues later on at Kuruman. An arrangement had been made to meet Livingstone at Linyanti, and Helmore felt it to be of such vital importance not to lose the benefit of Livingstone's counsel and support on the spot, and in the presence of Sekeletu and his people, that he pushed forward preparations for the new mission with the greatest energy. Mrs. Mackenzie's health necessitated a visit, with her husband, to Fauresmith. The Boers, in the hope of frustrating the enterprise, had sent a demand that the mission

should not proceed to the interior without the sanction of the President of the Transvaal Republic. Supplies had been stored at Hope Town, on the Orange River, but not brought to Kuruman for fear of the Boers. Mrs. Ashton and Mrs. Sykes died before the mission started. In the light of these events the missionaries reported home that it was improbable that either mission could begin in 1859. Helmore reached Kuruman a few days after Mackenzie's departure, and called in the supplies from Hope Town. Sir George Gray had so effectually remonstrated with the Boers that all risk from them was averted. Helmore, eager not to miss Livingstone, finally arranged that Mackenzie should follow with additional supplies in 1860, and on July 8, 1859, started for Linyanti. The party consisted of himself, his wife, and four children, with Mr. and Mrs. Price, and one child.

Mackenzie, in the absence of Moffat and Ashton, carried on the work of Kuruman station, and on May 25, 1860, as arranged, started for Linyanti. He travelled nearly due north by way of Kanye and Shoshong, and, after crossing the Zouga River, found, as Livingstone before him, and as his immediate predecessors, Helmore and Price, that it was 'a dry and thirsty land.'

Mackenzie had reached Maila, a Makalaka village, some distance north of the Zouga, when a Bushman brought its chief to him, who delivered these sinister tidings: 'The Makololo at Linyanti had killed the headman of the missionary party and his wife, with a headman of the Batlaping, who accompanied the white man; that several little children had died; that the surviving white man and his wife had left Sekeletu, and were on their way south.' The Bushman also said Sekeletu had poisoned the missionaries, and kept their property. This tale seemed to Mackenzie unbelievable. Nevertheless, he determined to push on as soon as there was any hope of being able to cross the waterless district to the north, and started, under the guidance of Bushmen, on August 20, 1860. On August 27, after a week of great suffering, they reached the Zouga to

the west of Maila. Here some natives met him, who confirmed the Bushman's story, and said: 'We left the surviving teacher at Lechulatebe's town' (Lake Ngami). Again Mackenzie was sceptical, and thought this only a ruse on their part to lure him to visit the chief. The state of his oxen compelled him to rest a few days by the Zouga, and, on September 9, while travelling along the bank of the river, a party of Batowana met him, whose headman said: 'You refuse to believe what everybody tells you. In that boat,' pointing to the river, 'sits a white man who says you are his dear friend.' The river was some distance, but thither Mackenzie journeyed, and in the evening met the white man, who proved to be Price himself, and who confirmed the worst tidings that had reached Mackenzie.

Helmore and Price had reached Linyanti on Feb. 14, 1860, after one of the most terrible journeys in the missionary annals of Africa. It may have been an error in judgment to take women and children on such a journey, but there is nothing more heroic and pathetic in missionary story than the way in which these bore their share of toil and distress. Aware of the dangerous character of the place, Helmore, immediately after his arrival at Linyanti, urged Sekeletu to allow them to go to Shesheke. But he would not, and daily expecting Livingstone's arrival, and at the same time not wishing to offend the chief, Helmore reluctantly acquiesced in this decision. He constantly preached to the people, and he and Price endeavoured to teach some of the headmen who had begun to learn to read during Livingstone's last visit. Within a fortnight the whole party, except Mr. and Mrs. Price and one servant, were down with fever.

'The scene at the camp was now heart-rending. Four sick children, guarded by a sick and enfeebled mother, lay in one place, their sick father at a little distance. "The Bechuana men were lying about," as one of them afterwards said in describing the scene to me, "like logs of wood"—one here and another there, rolled in their blanket or kaross, utterly prostrated by fever, unable to help them-

selves, and some of them in a deep stupor. The only ray of hope in the picture was that Mr. and Mrs. Price, although suffering severely, were never both ill at once. Either the one or the other was able to wait upon the sick and the helpless. Mr. Price for some time cooked food for the whole party, servants included. On March 2, just seventeen days after their arrival, the first death took place. It was not a European who was first carried away by the deadly influences by which all were surrounded, not even one of the tender children, but Malatsi, the tallest and perhaps the strongest of the Bechuana servants, and who had been driver of Mr. Price's waggon. Five days after this, as Mr. Price was going his rounds among his helpless and often unconscious companions, he found, on touching a little face among the four children, beside whom Mrs. Helmore lay, that the cold hand of death had been there before him. It was the face of little Henry Helmore—the first of the children who died. Mr. Price removed the dead from among the living, and placed the little body in the adjoining tent. Mr. Price's infant daughter, Eliza, died on the 9th in the arms of her mother, while Mr. Price lay in a wet sheet, endeavouring to get rid of an attack of fever. On the 11th, Selina Helmore followed her brother; and next day the guardian mother, wasted by disease and privation, unable any longer to smooth the pillow or cool the parched lips of her children, was released from her long watching; and heaven, sweet to all who enter it, was surely heaven twice told to Anne Helmore. She had striven long and hard; she could strive no more[1].'

Tabe, a Bechwana teacher, died on March 11; Setloke, another Christian Bechwana, on March 19; Helmore on April 21. Mr. and Mrs. Price, childless and weakened by repeated attacks of fever, prepared to return, but when ready to start were deprived of nearly all the mission property by Sekeletu. On the return, prior to the meeting with Mackenzie, Mrs. Price died. Lechulatebe, the chief of Lake Ngami, showed great kindness to

[1] *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, pp. 188, 189.

Mr. Price and the two orphan children of Mr. and Mrs. Helmore. Price's oxen had been bitten by the tsetse fly, and were all doomed. He had nothing wherewith to buy more, and so was compelled to wait at the lake until relief came. Upon Mackenzie's arrival discussion of plans resulted in what was probably the wisest action—return to Kuruman. This haven of rest was reached on February 14, 1861, one year after the arrival at Linyanti.

The tragic fate of the Makololo put an end to all need for mission-work among them. In 1863 Sekeletu died. Struggles for the chieftainship followed, in which the Makololo became weakened. The Barotse and other tribes whom they had subjugated rose against them, and practically annihilated their despotic masters.

'Thus,' writes Mackenzie, 'perished the Makololo from among the number of South African tribes. No one can put his finger on the map of Africa and say, Here dwell the Makololo. And yet this is the mighty people who more than forty years ago spread dismay in the neighbourhood of Kuruman—who in their northward journey conquered the Bangwaketse, the Bakwena, and other tribes in that region—who drove the Bamangwato before them like antelopes before the lion—whose track can be marked by the usual signs of savage conquest: the wasted towns, the devastated country, the silent grief of the widowed and orphaned captives. By the measure which they had meted out to others, was it now measured to them again. They had taken the sword and lived by it; by the sword they now perished. As long as the genius and resources of Sebetuane presided over their councils, prosperity attended their footsteps. This chief knew how to secure the affections of his vassals in peace, as well as to overcome his enemies in war. But Sebetuane had no successor. Sekeletu was a weakling; and pride, presumption, and effeminacy characterized the children of Sebetuane's warriors[1].'

[1] *Ten Years North of the Orange River*, p. 247.

CHAPTER XXV

THE MATABELE MISSION

THE Matabele were originally a Zulu tribe which fled from Zululand, under the leadership of Mosilikatse, who had enraged his chieftain Tshaka, and had by him been condemned to death. They first settled on the banks of the Marico River, and here, in 1836, Moffat paid them his first visit. Hence they were driven northwards by the Transvaal Boers, and finally settled in their present home. They retained to the full all the Zulu fierceness of disposition and love of war, bloodshed, and plunder. The chief and most of the headmen remained Zulus in blood, but the tribe gradually incorporated remnants of others by impressing youths into its military service. Moffat visited Mosilikatse in 1855 and in 1857.

On August 1, 1859, Robert Moffat, with Mr. Sykes, left Kuruman on a journey to Mosilikatse with the purpose of founding a Christian mission in Matabeleland. At Litcyana, then Sechele's head quarters, he added Mr. and Mrs. Thomas to his company, and proceeded to Mosilikatse's town. They arrived on October 28, and although Moffat was welcomed by his old friend, the king did not seem so eager for the mission as he had appeared in former years.

After considerable hesitancy and negotiation on the part of Mosilikatse, on December 23 the mission party proceeded to the valley of Inyati, which the chief had assigned to them, and there the first mission centre among the cruel

and warlike Matabele was established. Moffat remained with the young missionaries until June, and returned to Kuruman on August 21, 1860. The missionaries found the work very difficult, and the prospect uninspiring. The iron military discipline enforced, and the sanguinary and warlike character of the Matabele, were persistent and powerful foes both to Christian teaching and to civilization. The missionaries were allowed to preach by means of interpreters supplied by the chief in the villages; but not to do much in the way of teaching. In five years little had been accomplished that could be measured by evident results. Congregations in 1864 numbered only from ten to thirty. The Gospel inculcated peace, and enjoined monogamy; both were abhorrent to the Matabele chiefs.

Although mission stations have been steadily occupied in Matabeleland, and both evangelistic and educational work attempted by devoted men and women since 1859, very little outward and tangible success has yet been achieved. Those who gauge missionary success by the number of tribes converted, of converts enrolled, of schools opened, of Bibles sold, will find this field a very barren spot. But those who believe in the universal applicability of the Gospel to the needs of men, that the most forbidding fields, no less than the more attractive, need to be cultivated, and above all that the Gospel must be taken to '*every* creature,' will study the Matabele Mission with interest and profit. The savage nature of the Matabele, their tribal system, superstitions, military code, polygamy, and haughty arrogance, the result of long years of most successful warfare and bloodshed, rendered them in all South Africa least likely to accept readily the Gospel.

Here is an account from the pen of Mr. Thomas of the missionaries' early experiences at Inyati. It was written five years after the work began.

'For some months after we arrived we were unable to do anything more than look about and endeavour to catch some words of, as we thought, the most difficult and strange language. After a good deal of entreaty,

however, the king sent for two interpreters through whom we were able to address the natives every Sabbath; but being convinced that what we said did not improve by passing through a filter, we set to work to acquire the Setabele, beginning as early as possible to talk with them in their own tongue. Ever since that time two services, one in Setabele and another in Sechuana, have been held at Inyati on the Lord's Day, and during the week other villages have been and still are visited. But ere we can reasonably expect any success a change must take place in the country; a change which would replace the restlessness, want of confidence in one another, and that love of war which prevail throughout the land. To bring about such a change at an early date many more missionaries should be sent, and many more stations established. Looking back upon our arrival at Inyati, and comparing our position then and now, we cannot but thank God and take courage. At first we could not move from our station without the king's permission, now we can go wherever we like. Then, we could not tell the people about the Saviour, unless the king called them together at his own kraal. Now, we can preach where, when, and to whom we will. Then, if any one put on a shirt he was laughed to scorn, but now hundreds have clothes, and wear them even in the presence of the king. Then, we were annoyed and insulted many times daily; we were suspected as enemies. Now, we are treated with respect and confidence by all; while we have many faithful friends. Then, the doctrines taught being so new, and the want of means whereby to convey thoughts to the native mind so great, it was impossible to do much. Now, hundreds having so often heard the Gospel preached in their own language, and two small books having been printed in the same language, we may expect much more to be done.'

Mr. Wm. Sykes and Mr. T. M. Thomas carried on the mission work begun at Inyati in 1859. The former, with the exception of occasional absence due either to ill-health or furlough, spent the whole of his missionary life there,

dying at Inyati on July 22, 1887. Mr. Thomas laboured there until 1870, in which year he visited England, his connection with the Society ceasing in 1872.

Mosilikatse died on September 6, 1868, as he had lived, a savage Zulu chief. Mr. Sykes visited him the preceding June, found him very changed and ill, and stated: 'The only words which seemed to create any interest in his mind was a message from Robert Moffat that he was still praying for him and his people.' The old chieftain twenty years before had appointed a successor, one of his sons, named Kulumane, who, in accordance with Zulu custom, had then been sent away and since lost sight of. The search for the lawful successor proved unsuccessful, and Lobengula, another son of the dead warrior, succeeded to his authority. But not without a struggle with an important chief named Umbego, who was finally slain in battle with 250 of his followers. This happened in 1869, the year in which, in anticipation of Mr. Thomas' visit to England, Mr. J. B. Thomson was sent out to reinforce the mission. He reached Lobengula's kraal on April 23, 1869. 'The king,' he wrote, 'is a man about thirty years old, very stout, and about five feet nine. He has a very good-natured face, and is very affable, and fond of a joke. He likes Europeans, and has betaken himself very much to their customs. He certainly promises to be a good king.' Mr. Thomson's medical knowledge enabled him to be of much service to the wounded in the battle referred to above, which was fought very soon after he reached Inyati. Towards the close of 1870, after considerable hesitancy, due to his inability to settle in his own mind whether the residence of missionaries in his country was an advantage or a disadvantage, Lobengula granted to Mr. Thomson the valley, forty or fifty miles south of Inyati, known since as Hope Fountain. 'I give your Society leave,' said Lobengula, 'to occupy that valley as a mission station as long as they like under me as chief, and that no trader is to build on it.'

On March 25, 1873, Mr. Thomson, in referring to the progress made, stated:—

'The greatest hindrance of all to our work here is to be found in the *constitution* and *polity* of the tribe. The Gospel goes dead against everything which distinguishes them as the Amantabele Tribe—(1) It destroys all despotic power, makes men intelligent, thinking, and responsible beings, who seek for judgment and justice. It takes from the king all Divine power attributed to him, and attributes it to God alone. (2) It destroys entirely their military standing, whose sole object is bloodshed and death, to devour and live on other tribes. Every year they send marauding parties to the weaker tribes, to kill the aged and very little children, and to take captive all the young and middle-aged as well as all their cattle and property. (3) It destroys all polygamy, and also that honoured and much to be dreaded enemy of all life and liberty—I mean witchcraft. These are the monuments of this nation, in which they glory. These are not matters of faith, but of sight and touch, and dearer to them than their life's blood. To receive the Gospel is to give them all up. This the people know, and especially the king. And I assure you they are not anxious for the spread of the Gospel to the entire destruction of all they hold so dear and profitable to them. Nor yet are they willing to give up the Word of God, and drive its teachers from among them, but put them off from time to time with fair promises, which to a great extent are meaningless.'

During the earlier years, though in a somewhat anomalous position, Mr. J. S. Moffat co-operated in the work at Inyati. He left in 1865. In 1863 John Mackenzie visited Inyati, but finally decided not to take up work in Matabeleland. In December, 1875, Mr. C. D. Helm reached Hope Fountain, at which station, with an absence on furlough (1886 to 1888), he was still labouring in 1895. In 1877 Mr. Thomson was summoned home by the Directors to take part in the new Central African Mission. In the same year Mr. W. A. Elliott reached Inyati, and carried on mission work there until 1886, and again from 1888 to 1892. In 1894 he resigned his connection with the Society. David

Carnegie joined the Hope Fountain Mission in 1882, and was there when the war with Lobengula broke out, in which Buluwayo was captured and Hope Fountain destroyed. Mr. Bowen Rees was appointed to Inyati in 1887.

During all these years, with the changes in the staff which they brought, Lobengula remained friendly towards the missionaries. But he never for a moment exhibited any tendency towards the acceptance of Christian truth himself, or towards the relaxation of his iron hold upon his warriors. The political horizon became clouded. It became known that gold was plentiful in his territory. The British South African Company was formed, an organization whose warmest friends have never credited it with any desire to encourage native rights or to further native welfare. In their decennial review of work in 1891, the workers in this hard field had still but little to encourage them. The Report for that year runs:—

'The great migration into Mashonaland of European miners and others, under the auspices of the Chartered Company of British South Africa, was successfully accomplished without opposition from the Matabele, and therefore without bloodshed. So critical, however, did the situation appear at one time, that the missionaries, acting on the advice of Major Maxwell, and with the concurrence of the chief, Lobengula, retired for several weeks to Palapye with their families. The danger appears to have entirely passed away, and the routine of work has been resumed. Mr. Carnegie notes that the customs and the characters of the people are unchanged, notwithstanding the political changes. Accusations of witchcraft, and cruel murders of men, women, and children in connection with these accusations, have been very frequent, and the people are kept in constant fear, not knowing who may be the next victim.

'"One thing, however, comforts me," writes Mr. Carnegie, "and that is the firm stand which our two converts have maintained during the year. The truth is silently working, and the utter foolishness of heathenism is being more

exposed to all who have eyes to see. While, on the one hand, there is much to shock and disgust you in getting to know more of the hidden cruelties of Matabele heathenism, on the other, I feel that I have a greater hold on the people to influence them for good. The great onward tide of Christianity and civilization is moving into the very heart of the country, which, let us pray, may soon break up for ever the evil customs and cruel beliefs of this dark deluded tribe."

'The Rev. W. A. Elliott wrote: "What can I report of mission-work from 1881 to 1890? We have preached and taught, pleaded, denounced, attended the sick, helped the troubled, prayed, rejoiced, mourned, and waited. We struggled on with the daily school; we tried it in the early morning, and at midday, till it finally died of starvation. We have had short services with those who came for medicine or to sell. We have had straight, earnest talks with passers-by. We have preached to them on Sundays, here and at Umsindo's, and we have gone to the latter station during the week. At one time our services have been attended to overflowing, at another time hardly a single outsider has been present. I cannot say (Umfogazana, perhaps, excepted) that the Word of God has ever been more attractive to our people than a feast of beef and beer. At times men have seemed impressed, anxious, but the seed has fallen on the path, or among stones, and has perished. Do not think that any of them 'pant after the water-brooks.' That is an almost unknown experience with us."'

In 1894 the inevitable conflict between the British South African Company and Lobengula broke out. It ended in the death of the chief, the capture of Buluwayo, and the destruction of the old Matabele despotism. The stations at both Inyati and Hope Fountain were destroyed; but on the termination of the struggle the missionaries, who had been compelled to leave the country, at once returned. It was both discouraging and trying to faith that just when the country in which the Society had been sowing the seed

for more than thirty years was opened freely to Christian effort, lack of funds prevented a Matabele forward movement. The Report for 1895 sets clearly forth the new order of affairs in the land of Mosilikatse and Lobengula :—

'Much criticism has been passed on the Chartered Company for their seizure of Matabeleland, but apparently their treatment of the people is not open to complaint. For the first time the natives are having a taste of real freedom. They are free to wear European clothing instead of skins, free to work and to hold the proceeds of their labour, free to attend Christian worship and to send their children to school. Moreover, as there has been distress in consequence of the people being unable to sow corn during the war, arrangements have been made by which they can purchase seed, corn, and food at reasonable rates through the magistrate. There are, of course, not a few causes of friction and trouble. Many of the white men are adventurers without any moral principle, and set a very bad example by their behaviour. The natives are not accustomed to steady work, and are not in haste to respond to appeals for labourers. At first they seemed to think the white men were not going to remain, and were afraid that the old rule might be resumed. As soon as they discovered there was no chance of this, they began to adapt themselves to new conditions, and many of them bought ploughs and some bought waggons. At both the stations they now come freely to the services.'

In 1895 a new church was built at Inyati, and a remarkable occurrence was the gift by natives to the value of £11 11*s*., 'the first collection ever made in our native church in Matabeleland.' Writing at the same period, the missionaries at Hope Fountain say : 'Although we cannot as yet speak of any new converts, we have every reason to hope that the day is not far distant when we shall begin to see the fruit of the many years' labour in this land.'

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BECHWANA MISSION: 1860–1895

THE most successful development of Christian influence during the century, from Kuruman as a centre, has been the mission to the numerous and powerful Bechwana tribes, whose towns and villages stretch from Taung to Phalapye. The opportunities and the difficulties of this region during the last forty years are admirably sketched in the Report for 1885:—

'Bechwanaland is a tract of country of enormous area, and with a very sparse population. Village life, or any real and permanent occupation of the country as a whole by its inhabitants, is unknown. The people are gathered in towns of 5,000 to 12,000 inhabitants, each tribe being thus gathered in a centre in that portion of the land which is regarded as belonging to it; and for protection from enemies these towns are usually either at the base of one of the great flat-topped hills which are a conspicuous feature in the country, or they are built on the top of the hill. In the immediate neighbourhood of the town are the gardens and fields which provide the people with the necessary supplies of native corn and pumpkins; and around each town is a district more or less extended, in which the people have their cattle posts, some of those in the larger tribes being many miles from the centre.

'The eastern boundary of Bechwanaland is defined by the limits of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal

Republic. On the west, the country is of undefined extent, stretching into the great Kalahari desert. The natural supplies of water seem chiefly to be found in the south and east of Bechwanaland. The rainfall is never very abundant; it is always fitful and sometimes it is very long delayed.

'The mission stations of the Society are at great distances from each other. Barkly, the southernmost, is on the Vaal River, 130 miles south-east of Kuruman; Taung is 100 miles due east of Kuruman; Kanye is 204 miles north and a little to the east of Kuruman; Molepolole is 60 miles north of Kanye; and Shoshong is 130 miles north of Molepolole. Great as these distances are, it has not been advisable to establish European missionaries at any point in the intervening space, as the present stations represent the successive tribal centres. Such being the distances by which the missionaries are separated from each other, intercourse between them becomes very infrequent, and from the physical conditions of the country, and the habits of the people, itineration in the sense known in India is scarcely possible.

'There are no self-interests at work in Bechwanaland—such as have influenced Cape Colony, and much more India—to make education valued by the people. To the Christian education is associated with means of grace; to others it is only an accomplishment, regarded by most heathen as useless, or perhaps prejudicial. The consequence is that education in Bechwanaland is very partial and very elementary. If a man or woman can read the Bible, their aspirations in this direction are satisfied.

'The tribal relations of the people have been a serious hindrance to their material and spiritual advancement. The chiefs are autocrats, who regard the people and the country as belonging to them, and who are exceedingly jealous of any manifestation of exceptional powers, or of the acquisition of exceptional wealth, by any of their subjects. With the marked exception of Khame, they retain their hold upon their people by encouraging in secret—

even when they do not outwardly permit them—every old corrupt custom, and every heathen superstition.'

The first stations in Bechwanaland were established at Likhatlong and Borigelong, the districts around being evangelized from these centres. Kolobeng has been referred to in Chapter XXIII. The stations which have been permanently occupied, taking them in chronological order, are: Shoshong (1862), abandoned in 1889 for Phalapye; Molepolole (1866); Taung (1868); Kanye (1871), and Barkly (1876). Here, as elsewhere, if it were possible to tell the story of each station fully, much could be said of each group of teachers and taught that would deepen faith, increase zeal, and stir the heart.

Shoshong, 400 miles north of Kuruman, the centre of the Bamangwato tribe, was the scene for a time of Livingstone's labours, and was repeatedly visited by Moffat. Sechele, the chief, failing in his efforts to get missionaries from the Society, had invited to reside with him some missionaries of the Hermannsburg Society. But in May, 1862, under the impression that these Lutheran missionaries had abandoned the station, the Rev. J. Mackenzie was appointed to take charge of the work. He reached Shoshong in June. Mr. Roger Price was there at the time. The project of a mission to the Makololo had not yet been shattered by the tidings of the destruction of that tribe. The chief of the Bamangwato in 1862 was Sekhome. The tribe were great hunters. They were exposed on the north-east to attacks from the Matabele. They in their turn exercised control over several subject tribes of Makalaka. As the German missionaries still contemplated work in that region, for a time Mackenzie had two colleagues, Mr. Price, and Mr. Shulenbourg, one of the Lutheran missionaries who had returned. But in 1863 both of these left. A raid upon the town and the tribe about this time was made by a strong party of the Matabele, during which many of the people, together with Mr. Mackenzie and his family, endured serious hardships. The Matabele were repulsed by the Bamangwato, chiefly

owing to the skill, courage, and generalship of the since famous chief Khame, Sekhome's son. Soon after Mackenzie's settlement at Shoshong trouble began because Sekhome's sons embraced Christianity, while the chief himself adhered to heathen practices and polity. This led in 1866 to civil war. Khame and his brother Khamane left Shoshong rather than renounce Christianity. The bulk of the people sympathized with them. Ultimately Sekhome recalled Macheng, his own brother, a step which led to his own expulsion, and for a time Macheng was head chief. But Khame's influence with the people steadily grew, and at this time his brother Khamane heartily supported him. In 1868 a new chapel was opened at Shoshong. Macheng, like Sekhome, favoured heathenism, and his intrigues led finally to the proposal that he should be banished, and Sekhome recalled. Sekhome refused to return, and Khame, by the aid of Sebele, Sechele's eldest son, drove away Macheng, and in 1872 became chief of the tribe by the election of the headmen. His Christian faith was soon put to the test. It was September, the season when the people began to dig their gardens. This was always preceded by heathen ceremonies. He consulted Mr. Mackenzie and his colleague, Mr. J. D. Hepburn, who had reached Shoshong in 1871. Mr. Mackenzie thus describes Khame's action on this crucial occasion :—

'Khame assembled the Bamangwato in the public courtyard on Sunday morning. The proceedings were commenced by the young chief in a short speech, in which he emphatically announced his unwavering determination to adhere to Christianity. He did not prohibit heathen ceremonies; but they must not be performed in the kotla; and, as chief, he would contribute nothing towards them. The service in which the missionary was about to engage was his "letsemma"; after it, they might all dig when they pleased. Whoever wished to have his seed charmed, or his garden charmed, could do so at his own expense; but he himself had no such custom now, any more than in former years. Khame's speech, which was a very clear

one, was well received by the people; and I felt, when he sat down, that he was farther from heathenism in his own estimation, and in the minds of the people, than before he made it[1].'

Notwithstanding this good beginning, affairs did not go smoothly with Khame. He refused to 'make rain' with heathen ceremonies, and his brother Khamane, having partly relapsed into heathenism, became hostile to him. Early in 1873 Khame recalled his father to Shoshong, probably from kindly filial feelings. But the inveterate old heathen at once sided with Khamane and stirred up strife. Khame, with great prudence, withdrew from Shoshong to Serue, a cattle post not far away. So great was his personal influence that the bulk of the young men of the tribe followed him. Though invited to return to Shoshong, Khame refused, and went for a time to live on the river Zouga. Hostilities broke out because both Sekhome and Khamane stole Khame's cattle and people, and finally, early in 1875, Khame drove them both out of Shoshong, and firmly re-established his power there, and thus 'ushered in the dawn of a brighter day, not only for his own people, but also for the missionaries and their work.'

In 1877 Mr. Hepburn, with his wife and three children, and two native teachers, Khukwe and Diphukwe, visited Lake Ngami. He remained there several months, the young chief Moremi expressing a desire for teachers. The next year he sent the two native teachers to begin evangelistic work there.

For the next ten years Khame's work was very uphill and difficult, but slowly and steadily he accomplished his beneficent will in Shoshong. 'When I was still a lad,' said Khame one day to Mr. Hepburn, 'I used to think how I would govern my town, and what kind of a kingdom it should be.' And under the power of that Gospel, brought to his family by the workers of the Society, he made it one of the model towns of South Africa. Mr. Hepburn thus describes his work and influence as chief:—

[1] *Chronicle*, 1873, p. 81.

'For a long time Khame's position was one of conflict. He had the old heathen element against him again. He had to fight against a class of traders who, as he said, "trod his laws under their feet because he was a black man." Finally, he had to hold his own against the trek-Boers who came up out of the Transvaal, and at one time threatened to take possession of his country. Then there have been the Matabele—who were a standing menace—and a most severe famine, to increase the burden of his government of the tribe. I know no other Interior chief who has even *attempted* the half that Khame has *accomplished* in the advancing of his people towards the goal of civilization. He has not only stopped the introduction of brandy into his country, but he has stopped his people from making their own native beer. He has not only put an end to rain-making, and introduced Christian services in its place, but he has put his foot down firmly upon their time-honoured ceremony of circumcision. He has not only made a law against the purchase of slaves (Masarwa or Bushmen), and declared himself the Bushman's friend, but he has abolished *bogadi* or the purchase of wives by cattle, and introduced the law of marriage from free choice, at an age when young men and young women are capable of forming such an attachment intelligently. Out of the ruins of anarchy, lawlessness, and general disorder, he has been building up law, order, and stability. His people are living in peace, his fields are laden with corn, the white man's home is as sacred as in his own country, and a purer morality is growing up from day to day[1].'

From 1876 to 1885 Mr. Hepburn laboured single-handed at Shoshong, Mr. Mackenzie having removed to the Moffat Institution at Kuruman. Early in 1880 Joseph Cockin, who had just been appointed to Matabeleland, and who was passing through Shoshong, died there very suddenly. He was a fine man physically, most devoted and earnest in his missionary enthusiasm, descended from a good stock, his grandfather having been a founder of the Society. But he

[1] *Twenty Years in Khama's Country*, pp. 121, 122.

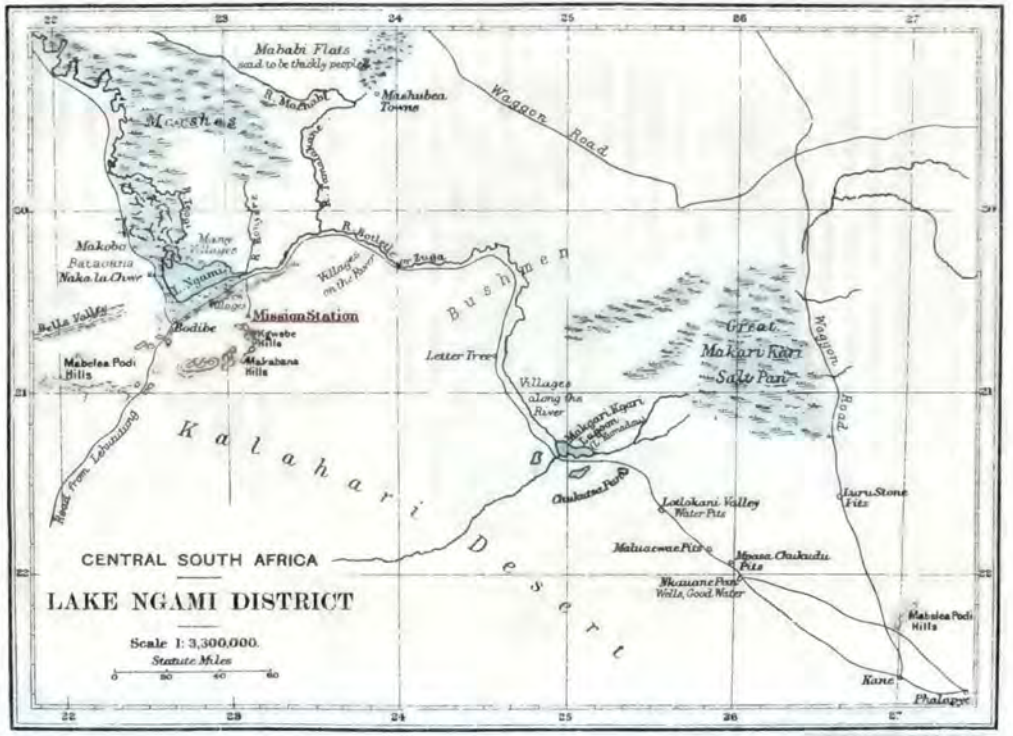
caught the African fever, probably from inexperience of the deadly nature of the climate, and died under it in three or four days.

At the same time it became evident that lack of funds would prevent the Society from then undertaking the Lake Ngami Mission, so strongly urged by Mr. Hepburn. Whereupon he induced the Bamangwato to make the mission their own, and in 1881 four native teachers from that church were taken to the lake by Mr. Hepburn. Khukwe was still working there, and was greatly encouraged by this visit.

A colleague to work at Shoshong, Mr. E. Lloyd, was appointed in 1884, and he reached Shoshong in February, 1885. The Ngami mission was sorely hindered. Moremi, the chief, had given way to drink; the Matabele had invaded the lake, and though at last they were driven off, they had committed many cruelties. In 1886 Mr. Hepburn paid the natives of the lake his last visit; but in spite of all he could do, Moremi refused to allow his people to accept Christianity, and for a season the mission had to be abandoned, to be resumed under Mr. Wookey and Mr. Reid in 1892.

Meanwhile great changes were at hand for Khame and his people. Shoshong had been chosen as the tribe's residence, not because it was the best obtainable site, but because it was the only safe place with such neighbours as the Matabele. Khame was wise enough to see the benefit of association with England, and in 1885 a British Protectorate was proclaimed over Bechwanaland. This set Khame free from any fear of Matabele invasion, and enabled him to fix his capital in the best and most suitable part of his country. Removal of this kind is very easy for an African tribe, and is a common experience. For the missionaries it was different, since churches, schools, and houses cannot be rebuilt as rapidly as native huts. Phalapye[1], about 100 miles north-east of Shoshong, was the site chosen. Thither in 1889 the entire tribe migrated.

[1] Pronounced *Pa-lap-tchee*.


Mababi Flats
said to be thickly peopled
Mashubea Towns
Waggon Road
Mashoke
Makoba
Batawana
Naka la Chief
Mission Station
Bodibe
Bella Vallis
Mabolea Podi Hills
Mabahana Hills
Letter Tree
Bushmen
Great Makari Kari Salt Pan
Villages along the River
Kalahari Desert
Chukuma Pond
Lolokani Valley Water Pits
Maluaewae Pits
Mpaa Chakadu Pits
Mkauane Pool Wells, Good Water
Luru Stone Pits
Kane
Phalapye
CENTRAL SOUTH AFRICA
LAKE NGAMI DISTRICT
Scale 1: 3,300,000.
Statute Miles
0 20 40 60

Mr. Hepburn, a man of highly nervous temperament, weakened also by successive and severe attacks of African fever, left alone soon after the migration by the ill-health of his wife, which necessitated her departure for a season to recruit, found the strain of the new environment too severe. He also undertook the erection of an enormous new church. For this he sacrificed his personal convenience, his health, and his means. Friction, due almost entirely to his state of health, developed between him and Khame. He paid a flying visit to England towards the end of 1891 to confer with the Directors, returning to Phalapye in a few weeks. On his return Khame refused to see him, though he still cherished kindly feelings towards his old friend. The missionary had in some way offended the dignity of the old chief, and so, after a brief stay, early in 1892, Hepburn left for ever the work which he had carried on for over twenty years with so much enthusiasm, energy, and devotion. He died at Gateshead on December 31, 1893.

In consequence of the rupture between the church at Phalapye and their missionary, Mr. Wardlaw Thompson, accompanied by Mr. Roger Price, visited Khame in 1892 to take the steps needful to put matters straight. The narrative of proceedings is deeply interesting as an example of the progress made in self-government by the best Bechwana churches:—

'I looked forward to the meeting with the church on Saturday, August 27, with no little anxiety. I did not at all know in what temper I should find the people—whether they would insist upon having a missionary of their own choice or none at all; or whether they might take up such a position on the relation of the missionary to the chief, and of the Church to the State, as might make it impracticable to carry on work at the station. The chief also, when he came to see us on the Friday morning, was evidently worried and somewhat constrained. The morning came and a considerable number of the members of the church assembled early to meet us. Among them were two of the chief's brothers and other leading men, and it was

explained that others were away from home at their cattle posts, or they would also have been present. We commenced our meeting at 9 a.m., and continued in earnest and sometimes animated discussion until 1 p.m. It speedily became apparent, however, that my anxieties as to any unfriendly or unreasonable attitude on the part of the people had been groundless. There was a spirit of conciliation and moderation in all. I could not but feel that the many earnest prayers which had been offered that my mission might be guided to a successful issue were being answered.

'The statements made by the people gave me the opportunity, first, of expressing my belief that the words and acts of Mr. Hepburn which had caused such offence were those of a man who was weak and ill and much troubled in mind, and that they had altogether misunderstood his meaning. Then I dealt with the more serious question of principle, expressing as emphatically and distinctly as I could the opinion that the Christians were subjects of the State, bound like others by its laws, and called to prove their Christian character by being the most loyal and obedient of all the people. At the same time I pointed out that there was another voice, the voice of conscience, which chief and people alike must listen to, and another law, the law of God, which must be supreme. I dwelt upon the spiritual independence of the church in its worship and work, and pointed out that if a Christian chief was allowed, as chief, to interfere with the liberty of the church a bad chief might claim the right to do so also. I told them that we in England had in past times suffered much from the attempts of our rulers to interfere with our freedom, and that it was only after a long and severe struggle that we obtained the recognition of our liberty. And I reminded them that times might come in the life of a man, or in the experience of the Christian community in Bechwanaland, when the law of God must be obeyed even though it might involve the penalty of disobedience to the law of the State.

'At once Raditladi, the chief's brother and a deacon of

the church, responded to this that they were well aware that the church was not to be under the control of the State, and that if the chief, as chief, attempted to interfere with them in their Christian life and duty they would speedily let him know that he was interfering in matters beyond his province. Khame also spoke, and after recounting some further details of the dispute between Mr. Hepburn and himself which had not yet been alluded to, made a pathetic appeal to Mr. Price, reminding him that he had received him into the church as a youth, when his father, Sekhome, being a heathen chief, had forbidden it and had disinherited him from the chieftainship for being a Christian. He then declared that it had been his wish ever since he came to the chieftainship to give all his people freedom in their religious life.

'Probably, if I had been disposed to be very critical, I should have found that the ideas of the Bamangwato on voluntaryism and spiritual independence were not fully up to those which had been evolved amongst ourselves by the slow pressure of much experience—e.g. Khame, as an absolute ruler, having a right to claim the personal service of any of his people, evidently saw no incongruity in ordering a regiment of his people to cut poles or to make bricks for church building, regardless of their personal preferences in the matter. He simply looked upon this as one way in which he himself could contribute to the church. But the Directors will agree with me that the intelligent application of the principles of Christian freedom to all details must be the growth of time and experience, and that with such a recognition and expression of the principle as was given at this meeting, the Society may freely and confidently carry on its work among this people, thankful that they have already learned so much, rather than troubled because they have not advanced further.'

The missionary chosen to succeed Mr. Hepburn was the Rev. W. C. Willoughby, who accompanied Khame, Sebele, and Bathoen during the visit they paid to England in 1895 to protest against their land being handed over to the

British East African Company, and particularly to resist the introduction of the drink traffic into Bechwanaland. This visit was one of the most striking incidents of the centenary year. Men of many different types came into contact with Khame during this visit. All were alike impressed by his genial nature, his fine bearing, his intellectual ability, and his Christian character. But for Christian missions he would have remained a savage. Under the power of the Gospel he has become the most conspicuous example in South Africa of the level to which Christianity is seeking to lift the natives. At the same time he is an object lesson in the capability of his race to rise under the influence of the truth.

Through all the negotiations Khame was the ruling spirit. Here is part of the appeal he drew up, taken from the Blue Book. It is a remarkable document to have come from the son of a wild and heathen Bechwana chief. And it may be fairly claimed as a remarkable testimony to missionary success.

'We came to England to ask the Government of the Great Queen to continue her protection over us. We have seen the justice and kindness with which the Great Queen seeks to govern us. We know that her officers sometimes make mistakes, because they are not of our race, and cannot think our thoughts or understand our customs. But there is no Government that we can trust as we trust that of the Great Queen. We pray you therefore not to throw us away as if we were troublesome children who would not listen to their mother's words. Our people have been alarmed at the words which say that we are to be given to the Company, and we are anxious that you should tell us plainly that you will not give us away against our wishes.

'We fear the Company because we think they will take our land and sell it to others. We fear that they will fill our country with liquor shops, as they have Buluwayo and some parts of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. We see that they are not content with the concessions that we have

given them, and that they want us also; we do not know what they wish to do with us. We fear also because we see that they are people without gratitude; if Khame had not helped them they could not have established themselves in Mashonaland, and again in Matabeleland, and yet they try to take Khame's country secretly, and we fear, also, because we hear the words of the Makalaka and Matabele, who live under the Company, and we say that these people do not like their rulers. We ask, therefore, that we may continue under the rule of the Great Queen, and lest there should be any new troubles, we ask that boundaries should be made around each of our countries, so that all may know what is ours, and know also that we live in it under the Government of the Great Queen.

'But we have heard words from the Government which frighten us. It is said that the Government has promised to give us away, though they have not said when they will do so. We heard these words before, but we did not believe them. We said, "No! It cannot be. The Government is great and good; it will not give us away without asking what we think about it. Shall a mother promise to give away the child that has lived in her house for years, and that without speaking to the child?" Now we are dumb! There are no words! But if you cannot go back on the words which you have spoken, we pray you to help us in two ways. Let us continue to live under the Government for ten years, till we can get to know the Company better. If they are good in their government of the Makalaka and Matabele we shall get to know it, and our people will trust them, and when you agree that we shall pass under the rule of the Chartered Company, we pray that you will put strong words in the agreement to help us and protect us. Do not let them take away the land, which is the life of your children. Do not let them bring liquor into our country to kill our people speedily. Do not let them deprive us of our right to hunt the game that is in our country, and do not let them deprive us of our right to do justice among our own people. We know them better than

you do, and can act more justly towards them than you can, though we know that you wish to be just.

'We pray that you will hear our words and help us. We are, the chiefs of some of your people, Khame (Chief of the Bamangwato); Sebele (Chief of the Bechwana); Bathoen (Chief of the Bangwaketse).'

During the last twenty-five years of the century, mission-work was carried on steadily at most of the centres in Bechwanaland. In 1876 the veteran, Mr. W. Ashton, for years past the senior South African missionary of the Society, was stationed at Barkly West, a growingly important centre.

'Barkly is not strictly a station, though it is the centre of much earnest and important work. It is a town of about 5,000 inhabitants on the northern bank of the Vaal River in the colonial district of Griqualand West, and about twenty-five miles from Kimberley. Here Mr. Ashton, who was the Society's treasurer and secretary for the Bechwana and Matabele Mission, superintended the work of native evangelists at Likhatlong, Griqua Town, and other out-stations on the Vaal River, besides carrying on work among the native population at Barkly, Gong-gong, and other centres in the immediate neighbourhood to which men have gathered for the work of washing diamonds.

'Much of the work in connection with this station is of a peculiar kind, but very important. Since the country came under colonial rule, the native population has moved away from a considerable part of the district. Some have gone across the border into native territories; some have become absorbed into the towns. In their place have come others, mostly attracted to the centres of diamond digging or washing by the good wages given for such labour; they come from all parts of South Africa, from the far interior of Bechwanaland, and even Matebeleland, from Basutoland, Kafraria, and the Cape Colony. Most of them remain only for a few months at a time, returning to their homes with their savings to enjoy themselves among their friends. Mr. Ashton had to conduct

a composite service at Barkly and Gong-gong, two, and sometimes even more, languages being used at each time of worship. The people under his care have shown their appreciation of the benefits of Christianity in many ways. There is no part of our South African mission-field in which so large a number of Bibles and hymn-books are sold, nor are there any who contribute so liberally to the funds of the Society. The influence of the mission in such a centre as this is twofold. It is a means of protection and help to many members of mission churches in other parts who come seeking for employment, and it is the means of conveying a knowledge of the Gospel to heathens from various parts of South Africa [1].'

Mr. Ashton passed to his rest on March 29, 1897. He had given fifty-four years of earnest labour to Bechwanaland. Preceding pages have done justice to his many-sided work. He never filled the public eye like his more famous colleague, Robert Moffat. He is rather the type of quiet, steady, undemonstrative missionary upon whose shoulders so much of the responsibility of the work rests, and upon whose faithfulness so much of the success achieved depends. He lived in close touch with the Bechwana for more than half a century, he remained in harness until almost the last day of his life, and he now sleeps among the people to whose elevation he had consecrated his life.

Mission work at Taung was begun in 1868 by Mr. John Brown, who is still (1899) the head of the station. In his report for the decade ending 1890 Mr. Brown gives the following account of the work:

'In 1880 I was away doing special work at Kuruman; and the Taung Church and district was in charge of a native teacher, named Matsani. His position was no doubt a difficult one; and he doubtless thought that the easiest way to avoid difficulty was to support the chief in his plans and purposes, though they were inimical to the well-being of some of the people in other parts of the district, who

[1] Report for 1885, p. 127.

were also under his pastoral care. The mistake thus made by Matsani led him into other mistakes as time went on, and he gradually came to occupy the dangerous position of a Christian teacher trying to do all he could to please and gratify a heathen chief. When I returned in 1885, difficulties natural to such a position had become developed; and when, shortly afterwards, Matsani lost the confidence of the district committee, and was removed not only from his position as a teacher, but also as a church member, the chief was not prepared to agree to the decision, and some of Matsani's more intimate friends in the church and congregation were disposed to side with him. Then came our lamentable experience in the Land Courts, when the chief repudiated the grant of land given to the London Missionary Society at Kuruman, and was supported in that repudiation by Matsani and two church members, whose names were on the deed of gift as witnesses. Church discipline had to be exercised upon those who were on good grounds believed to be guilty of bearing false witness; and this was followed by a division in the church—some of Matsani's friends separating themselves in obedience to the command of the chief—and separate services were begun in the chief's kgotla, in which Matsani officiated as the chief's teacher.

'These matters—easy as it is to write about them—caused no little trouble to us all. The members of the church who refused to follow Matsani's lead and submit to the chief's authority in spiritual things were much tried, and their experience proved that their professions of religion were no empty pretence, but a thing with a backbone in it. They were again publicly and formally accused of disloyalty to their chief, and they were threatened with banishment unless they forsook the white man's teaching and united with Matsani's party. The Master, however, gave them grace to confess Him before men; and they did not fear to tell the chief that while in temporal matters they would willingly obey, in matters affecting their life and profession as Christians they must obey God rather than man.

'This state of things went on for more than two years, and during that time there seemed to be no hope of reunion and peace, but in God's own time and way the breach was healed; and we begin the new year as a united church and congregation in the large new church.

'The people of the Taung district have during the last ten years seen that the chief cannot occupy the same position in relation to the Gospel as that which he occupies in relation to rain-makers and heathen doctors. They have seen that those who trust in God and give themselves to be guided by Him have nothing to fear even from the wrath of man and the powers of evil. They have seen that strife springing from selfishness and self-interest does not pay. And during the ten years the Gospel has been preached continually in nearly every town and large village in the district, and God's Spirit has continually been calling one and another from heathenism and from sinful indifference to seek salvation in the atoning blood of Jesus and peace in the fullness of God's love.'

Kanye, another important centre of work, became a mission station in 1871. It is the capital of the Bangwaketsi tribe. The Rev. James Good has had charge of the station since 1871. Connected with the mission are three out-stations. Mr. Edwin Lloyd removed from Phalapye to act as Mr. Good's colleague in 1892.

'The tribe of the Bangwaketse is one of the strongest and oldest in Bechwanaland, and possesses considerable wealth in cattle. The people also grow a large amount of tobacco and grain. The country around Kanye is very hilly. The hills are not lofty; they have the appearance of being what was left after some great denudation of a former extensive table-land. They are almost all flat-topped, with very extensive surface on the summit. Kanye is situated chiefly on the top of one of those hills. There are no means of obtaining an accurate estimate of the population, but, judging from the number of huts, it probably amounts to about 10,000.

'Several places of worship have been erected in different

parts of the town on the hill. The church and other buildings for school and worship have been erected by the people themselves. They are very plain but substantial, and well suited for the purposes for which they are intended. There is a small day school at the station, under the charge of a native teacher. The mission has evidently obtained a firm hold on the confidence and affection of many of the people, though by far the larger proportion of the tribe are still in a degraded heathenism. The services on the Sabbath and on week-days are attended by a large number, including many of the chief's family. Mission work at the out-stations is carried on by evangelists trained at the Kuruman Institute and supported from the Native Preachers' Fund [1].'

At Molepolole the first missionary, in 1867, was Roger Price, who was succeeded in 1885 by A. J. Wookey, he in 1889 giving place to Mr. Howard Williams.

'The position of Molepolole is in many respects similar to that of Kanye, though more picturesque. The town is the centre of the Bechwana people. Sechele, the chief, has been familiar to many English readers for many years, from his connection with Dr. Livingstone, who commenced work at Kolobeng, the former capital of the tribe. The principal chapel is at the head of the ravine which leads up to the native town at the top of the hill. It is a large building, capable of seating 400 or 500 persons. Two congregations meet in the station every Sunday, and the missionary is assisted in carrying on services on Sunday and week-days by nine members of the church, who conduct meetings in the schoolroom and in other places. The day school here is the best in Bechwanaland. The only permanent out-station connected with this mission is Kolobeng [2].'

[1] Report for 1885, p. 130. [2] Ibid. p. 131.


BRITISH EAST AFRICA
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA
PORTUGUESE WESTERN
CONGO FREE STATE
INDIAN OCEAN
Mozambique Channel
Victoria Nyanza
Tanganyika
Nyasa
Zambesi
Kilimanjaro
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
Comoro Is
Mozambique
Madagascar
LAKE REGION OF
EAST AFRICA
Scale 1:20000000
Statute Miles

CHAPTER XXVII

THE MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA

THE last great enterprise undertaken by the Society in Africa was the Central African Mission. This movement originated in a noble ambition, and has represented a great extension of work. The outcome of a lofty hope, floated upon the tide of a great enthusiasm, it has, nevertheless, been one long tragedy in the sacrifice of life on the part of those who have attempted to work it, and in the disappointment of the fondest anticipations of those who projected it.

The opening up of Central Africa by Livingstone, Stanley, and others led to combined action on the part of several of the great missionary societies for the evangelization of that part of the globe. The Church Missionary Society undertook Uganda, lying on the shores of the great lake, Victoria Nyanza; the Free Church of Scotland selected the district around Lake Nyassa; and the London Missionary Society, the lake lying between these two—the great inland sea called Lake Tanganyika. For the last named Zanzibar on the east coast was selected as the starting-point, and Ujiji, on the most eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, was to be the first station. The enterprise was the subject of much deliberation, of fervent prayer, of frequent consultation with the men who were supposed to know both the country and the best way to reach it, and there form a permanent settlement; yet it stands on the page of history rather as a striking and instructive example of how great missionary enterprises

ought not to be attempted. It is, perhaps, too much to say that the worst hindrances and trials ought to have been easily foreseen ; but the painfully fascinating story seems to emphasize the lesson that experience has to be dearly purchased. and that these pioneer missions, so necessary before the Gospel can be preached to every creature, involve very heavy sacrifices of time and energy, and money, and life.

During 1875 and 1876 the project gradually took shape in the plans and decisions of the Directors. Mr. Roger Price and Mr. J. B. Thomson were summoned home, the one from Molepolole, the other from Matabeleland, to aid the Directors with their counsel, and to assume the leadership of the new enterprise. The expedition, placed under their guidance, left Zanzibar on July 21, 1877. It consisted of Messrs. Roger Price, E. S. Clarke, J. B. Thomson, E. C. Hore, A. W. Dodgshun, and Walter Hutley. Of these all were ordained missionaries except Hore, who went as 'the scientific member' of the party, and Hutley, who was an artisan. For economical reasons, bullock wagons and carts were used for the transport of the baggage and stores. Mackay, afterwards so famous in Uganda, had during an advance, and in connection with the C. M. S. Mission, made a rough road for about 150 miles. This road the expedition followed. In a short time the difficulties of wagon conveyance became painfully apparent. The rate of progress was only six or seven miles a day ; the wagons stuck in the uneven roads and swamps, and before the end of October seventy out of the ninety oxen employed had died, owing to the tsetse fly, the climate, and the rank grass which they ate. Frequent attacks of fever, to which all the members of the expedition were subject, added to the depression produced by the difficulties of the journey, and at length some of the party, Price in particular, came to the conclusion that the constitution of the expedition was a mistake. It aimed at too much. It was overloaded with baggage, and it seemed to him not unlikely to resemble the ill-fated Makololo expedition of eighteen years before. So

large was the impedimenta that the time spent on the journey up country was greatly prolonged, because some of the party had to return again and again to the coast for stores for which no wagons could be found at the start.

At length anxious deliberations were held by the brethren as to the best method of surmounting their difficulties. To attempt the journey to Ujiji with oxen, after the experience they had passed through, 'seemed madness.' To employ *pagazi* or carriers would involve so great an expense that they felt it needful first to consult the Directors. They had also reached the conclusion that to attempt a continuous journey to Lake Tanganyika was a task beyond their powers, and that the establishment of intermediate stations was the only practicable method of continuing the journey. This state of affairs seemed so serious that finally Price was deputed by the other brethren to proceed at once to London, and consult the Directors. About a fortnight after Price had started on his homeward journey, the remaining brethren changed their opinion, and sent a messenger post-haste to recall him; but the messenger was too late, and Price had already sailed from Zanzibar. It is to be regretted that this scheme of intermediate stations was not more seriously entertained and strenuously advocated on the Board. For experience had rendered it practically certain that had this course been adopted, many lives and much expenditure might have been saved. By this means the work also would in all probability have been placed much earlier upon a sound basis.

One member of the party, the Rev. E. S. Clarke, formerly pastor of a native church in Natal, decided even at this early stage to withdraw from the expedition. He had joined it without a full knowledge of the Directors' plans. He had been under the impression that his wife and six children would soon be able to join him at Ujiji; but he now saw that such an arrangement could not be carried out for 'many years,' if at all, and hence in January, 1878, he returned to Natal.

In March, 1878, Thomson received instructions from

home that Price would not return, and that he was to take the lead of the expedition, and to proceed to Ujiji from Kirasa, where the expedition had been encamped for some time. He was to take with him as much of the baggage as possible. On arriving at Mpwapwa, about 150 miles from the coast, Thomson was in a very low state of health, and had to be carried into that village. On subsequent portions of the journey also he was too ill to walk. In the meantime statements had appeared in the London press to the effect that the mission had proved a disastrous failure. This report served only to nerve the expedition with fresh energy, and to make its members resolve anew upon the completion of their task. Thomson's portion of the caravan reached Urambo at the end of July, and here the leader made 'blood brotherhood' with the famous chief Mirambo, the all-powerful ruler of this part of Central Africa. Steadily prosecuting the journey, Thomson arrived at Ujiji on August 23, 1878, having been just thirteen months coming thither from Zanzibar, a distance of about 800 miles.

In the following month Thomson was seized with apoplexy, and died suddenly on September 22. For the next few months Hore was busily engaged in erecting mission premises; in securing the friendship of the Arabs, in whose hands all Ujiji affairs were centred; in making short journeys on Lake Tanganyika in a boat called the Calabash, which he had hired; and in attempting to set up a medical mission. The slave-trading Arabs, although they gave the missionaries a cordial reception, saw clearly that the coming of the white men meant restraint and loss to their most iniquitous slave-trade. Hence they were not averse to throwing obstacles in the way of the mission, whilst the natives held aloof from the missionaries through fear of the Arabs.

Dodgshun, assisted by a French trader named Broyon, had for many months been superintending the journey of the remaining portion of the caravan. He had surmounted very great difficulties, dangers, and hardships. The sultan's pass with which he had been provided 'seemed worse than useless'; he was often threatened by armed natives whom

he terms 'human wolves'; and his journey was 'a daily dodging of fate.' His carriers ran away; Mirambo seized his goods; and he at length arrived at Ujiji in woful condition on March 27, 1879, but died only seven days after he had reached his long anticipated goal, utterly worn out by the fatigues, hardships, and anxieties which he had encountered. He was buried by the side of Thomson. He had been travelling just two years, having arrived at Zanzibar in April, 1877. It was a marvel that he had been able to resist so long the combined onslaught of privation, fever, exposure, and worry.

Thus in the course of two years only four of the six workers had been able to reach Ujiji, and of these, two had died almost as soon as they looked on the waters of the lake. Mr. Thomson, as we have seen in Chapter XXV had done good service in Matabeleland. He was a man of energy and faith, and he had had sufficient experience of African life and of intercourse with natives to create the expectation that he would prove of the greatest service to the new mission. But he was stricken down after only eight years' service in the hard African field. Mr. Dodgshun was a man of unusual promise. In the opinion alike of friends who knew him well, and of many who on even slight acquaintance were strongly attracted to him, he was highly qualified for the service laid upon him. There is peculiar pathos in his successful struggle to reach Ujiji, in the gleam of hope for a day or two that he would regain strength, and then in the sudden sinking to rest of his worn-out frame. But though so soon removed, the faithfulness to death of Thomson and Dodgshun acted as a powerful stimulus to other hearts, and came to them as a call not to be resisted.

The tidings of the difficulties and sufferings of the whole party, and of the deaths of two who could so ill be spared, caused grief and consternation at home. But though even at that early date there were those who counselled the abandonment of the enterprise, this course found no favour with either the Directors or the great body of their supporters. The death of the pioneer is the summons that compels the

consecration of new lives to the same great enterprise. So was it now. The Directors gave themselves with renewed zeal to the work of succouring the two lonely workers at Ujiji; others came forward to take the place of the dead.

A second expedition was at once organized, and so important did he consider it that Dr. Mullens resolved to go himself to Zanzibar. He was accompanied by Dr. E. J. Southon, a medical missionary, and Mr. W. Griffith. They reached Zanzibar in May, 1879. It was expected that Mr. Pickersgill of Mojanga, in Madagascar, would join the expedition and lead it; and it was, apparently, not the intention of Dr. Mullens, when he left London, to proceed into the interior. Finding that Pickersgill had declined the Directors' proposal, Dr. Mullens decided to accompany the party. In a letter from Zanzibar, dated May 30, 1879, he wrote: 'Dr. Kirk thinks that with care, carried into the interior, and not compelled to walk, I may be able to bear the strain of the journey. . . . I shall formally join our new expedition, and endeavour as speedily and comfortably as possible to reach Ujiji and the brethren there. I do this diffidently, calmly, with a deep sense of my own lack of youth and vigour, and of the grave external perils around us. But I do so, believing that the call has come direct from God, that He has given me the grace to hear and accept it; and I do it in firm reliance upon His promised presence and help in service asked for by Himself. . . . Let me add that I am anxious to complete my present duties as soon as circumstances allow; and, if spared, to resume my place amongst you, and render to the Society a better service than ever hitherto.'

The expedition left Zanzibar June 13, 1879; but in a month Dr. Mullens' health became so seriously affected that he decided not to go further than Mpwapwa. Griffith, in his journal under date of July 9, wrote: 'Dr. Mullens has had the fever'; and on July 10: 'I got up very early, and found the doctor nothing better. Mr. Southon had frequently visited him during the night. I sat with him in the tent for about an hour and a half. Mr. Southon and

Dr. Baxter[1] offered prayer ; but unexpectedly and suddenly his spirit escaped its mortal frame.' Dr. Southon in his journal notes : 'Great difficulty in getting the men to carry Dr. Mullens.' After speaking of the doctor's indisposition with its signs of fever, he writes : '*Monday, July 7.*—Dear Dr. Mullens is not going on further than Mpwapwa. I had never for a moment thought that he would turn short of Ujiji. He has struggled bravely on. True, his health has been exceptionally good, but I hardly expected him to succumb to the first touch of fever. Dr. Mullens has been as a father to me, a genial companion, a true friend—ready with sympathy, with counsel, with help if he could. He is very different from the official Dr. Mullens of London. He is full of jokes and geniality. With the men he is a great favourite. When "Bwana kubwa" comes among them there is sure to be great laughter. At our table he is ready with sallies of wit and humour, and really we prolong the meals for the pleasure of conversation. And now all this is to be cut short, and Mr. Griffith and I are to face Ugogo alone.'

'*Thursday, July 10.*—About twelve last night I awoke, and heard shortly after Dr. Mullens in a raving delirium. I hastened to him and called Dr. Baxter, who assisted me the remaining part of that dark and dismal night. We did everything that our knowledge and resources permitted, but he sank under our hands and finally expired at 5.20 a.m. When we saw that it was useless to do more, and that a few minutes must terminate his life, we knelt to One who pitied our distress and helped us to bear our trial. With streaming eyes we commended him who was departing to Him who was about to receive him for ever. . . . Quickly and promptly we packed up everything, and having swathed the body of our late friend in white cloth it was fastened in blankets, put into a hammock, and at 6.30 a.m. all had left the camp, where lately so sorrowful a scene had been enacted.'

Dr. Mullens was buried at Mpwapwa on July 12, a mile

[1] A C.M.S. missionary stationed at Mpwapwa.

away from the new C.M.S. missionary buildings. In this way, far from home and friends, but in the discharge of what he felt to be a high and sacred duty, passed away the man who for thirty-six years, first as missionary in India, and then as Foreign Secretary, had given the best of his heart and hand and brain to the service of the Society.

Continuing their journey, Southon and Griffith reached Ujiji on September 23. In a short time Griffith crossed the lake and founded a mission on the western shore, at Mtowa, Uguha; and Southon went back to Urambo, having been invited to settle there by its chief, Mirambo, who had now given up the property taken from Dodgshun. The chief soon showed signs of improvement in matters of civilization, and he was eager for his people to be taught medicine; but no deep impression could be made upon him, and at this time Southon even deemed it prudent not to denounce his traffic in slaves, in which he was largely engaged.

Hore in the meantime had attempted to extend the mission by journeys on the lake in the Calabash to various tribes, and, although usually meeting with a friendly reception, his efforts resulted in little or nothing in the way of permanent benefit. The missionaries' great difficulty, apart from climatic dangers, was their position with regard to the Arabs. They were at the mercy of these men, and, for the sake of self-preservation, had to court their friendliness and, at the same time, avoid any hostile demonstration against the slave-trade. Many of the native chiefs benefited largely by the traffic, selling their people to the Arabs. School children, too, as soon as they had learned a little, were seized and sold, fetching a higher price than the untaught native. It soon became evident, in spite of the sanguine expectations of some of the brethren, that until the slave-trade was considerably checked or abolished there would be little hope of successful mission-work.

While the events just described were happening, the Directors had sent out a third expedition, consisting of Mr. A. J. Wookey as superintendent, with Dr. Palmer and David Williams. They left Zanzibar in June, 1880, and,

after the usual experiences of fever, difficulties with carriers, and hardships by the way, reached Ujiji on October 3. It was there decided that Williams should settle at Urambo with Southon, Palmer at Uguha with Griffith, and Wookey at Ujiji; whilst Hore arranged to visit England, partly with the object of getting a steamer for the lake. Wookey had not been long at Ujiji before his health broke down, and under Dr. Palmer's recommendation he decided to return to England. Wookey strongly advised that Ujiji, on account of its unhealthiness, should be abandoned as a mission station. Hutley, also, had been 'at death's door,' and was recommended by the doctor to go home. Wookey left Ujiji about March, 1881, and Hutley in July. Dr. Southon exerted his influence against the return to England of these two brethren, and urged that they would recover their health by removing to a more elevated region. Wookey adhered to his resolution; but Hutley stayed on at Urambo for a time, and partly regained his health. In June, 1881, Palmer himself, having suffered a severe illness, came to the conclusion that 'his sphere of duty did not lie in a malarious country,' and that he ought to return to England, although of opinion that 'on a well-chosen elevated site Europeans might have fair health.' Hutley, during his stay at Urambo, built a house for Williams, but scarcely had the house been finished when Williams died suddenly from sunstroke in September, 1881. A few weeks later Hutley set off for England, thus leaving only Southon and Griffith as representatives of the Society in Central Africa, and these two separated by 200 miles, or more. Yet, in spite of repeated defections and disasters, Southon was 'not one whit dismayed or downhearted,' and believed the work would still go on. He opened a school for boys, tried to teach Christian truth, gave constant medical and surgical assistance to the people, attempted to teach the arts of civilization, and spent several hours with Mirambo every day. Griffith, also, was hopeful of his work in Uguha, but had vast difficulties to encounter from the slave-trade fostered by the Arabs, and from the superstition and witch-

craft of the natives. Writing of these rapid changes Mr. Hore said: 'In connection with the failure of so many men, it should be remembered that all those who thus returned are, so far as is known, still living (1892), and engaged in various spheres of the work in parts of the world for which their constitutions are more suitable. The death of Mr. Williams at Urambo was the only one that could in any way be ascribed to the climate of South Africa[1].'

The disappointments and trials just described stimulated rather than discouraged the faith and zeal of the Directors and their supporters, and in 1882 a fourth expedition was equipped. It consisted of Captain Hore as leader, he now returning to Central Africa, W. C. Willoughby, T. F. Shaw, A. J. Swann, J. H. Dineen, D. P. Jones, A. Brooks, J. Dunn, and J. Penry. Mrs. Hore and her little boy were also members of the party. It was the largest and best equipped expedition that had been sent out, and Sir John Kirk expressed his opinion that its mission was 'of national importance.' The caravan left Zanzibar in detachments between June 29 and July 10, 1882. Hore and Swann, having accompanied the expedition as far as Mamboia, returned to Zanzibar to meet the sections of a boat for Tanganyika, afterwards called the Morning Star. They were kept waiting at Zanzibar nearly two months. The boat upon arrival proved a disappointment. The builders had failed to keep to their time, and the vessel itself was pronounced by experts to be unsatisfactory in its workmanship. Hore and Swann, with a large number of carriers, superintended the long up-country journey. Nearly all the members of the expedition, and Penry in particular, suffered from fever, but the various destinations were reached without fatalities, Hore arriving at Ujiji with the boat on February 23, 1883.

Whilst the different members of the new expedition were thus making the long and toilsome journeys to their respective scenes of work, a fresh touch of tragedy was added to the already too sombre story of the mission. On

[1] *Tanganyika: Eleven Years in Central Africa*, p. 177.

June 24, 1882, Dr. Southon was accidentally shot in the arm by one of his native attendants. He had not been feeling well, and had resolved to take a walk to the river, stay a night there, and return, he hoped, refreshed for work. While walking by the river in the evening Uledi's gun exploded, and the bullet passed through Dr. Southon's arm near the elbow. He managed with the help of Uledi to extemporize a tourniquet, and to reach his tent. The next day he was carried back to Urambo. Fortunately, Mr. Copplestone of the C.M.S. was at that very time on his way to Urambo, to aid Dr. Southon in some building work. Messengers were sent to hasten his arrival. About seventy-two hours after the accident he arrived, and what followed can best be told by extracts from letters written at the time. They are inserted to illustrate the risks run and the pains endured by some of our missionaries in Central Africa; and also to exhibit the noble spirit of this valiant worker, taken all too soon from the field he loved and from the work which he believed God was going to prosper.

The first extracts are from a letter to his brother, dated Urambo, July 3, 1882:—

'Mr. Copplestone came in about 7 p.m., having met Mirambo's men in the morning, and had travelled all day so as to be with me that day. We had much to talk of, and I assured him that the arm must be amputated in the early morning. He said he was willing to do his best, and leave the rest in God's hands. I took a considerable quantity of morphia during the night, as the agony was intense. Friday morning early Copplestone and I had a quiet consultation as to operating immediately. I felt that every moment was hastening on the gangrene, and the fact that I was even then getting more and more "dazed" and unable to think correctly was proof that something should be done at once. Copplestone, with praiseworthy devotion, was ready to do his best, and so we immediately went into the details of the work to be done. Hames could give chloroform on the screen we always used, so I had every

confidence in that department, relying on God that no accident should occur. I then gave Copplestone all the details I could think of, but, in my half-unconscious state, I missed many items of value, but we hoped a reading of Erichsen's *Surgery* would help him materially. We then went into the other room, where I got upon the table and Hames commenced giving the chloroform. It took a long time to chloroform me, though I was insensible very soon. Copplestone says it was two hours before he could begin. However, thank God, at last he got through, and, considering he never did anything of the kind before, he made an excellent job of it. Well, every day after Saturday and until now the swelling grew less, but, owing to the very exposed state of the bone and the nerves, there is a great deal of pain, and I am constantly under the influence of morphia. My men are most kind and tender, and Mr. Copplestone is assiduous in attending to my wants.

'I am writing this in fits and starts on a board held against my knees, but it is hard work, as the morphia prevents anything like thought, and my hand, eyes, and head are heavy; therefore, pardon all my irregularities.

'I bless God; my trust in Him is as strong, or stronger, than ever; and, if He allows me to live, I will do Him good service yet—if not here, in some other part of His vineyard. But, oh! if He calls me to help Mullens and Thomson and others gone on before, how gladly will I respond, and joyfully "knock off work" here.'

Unhappily, no helper skilled in surgery could be obtained, and after enduring the most terrible tortures from physical pain, Dr. Southon induced Mr. Copplestone to try and obtain him relief by a second operation. In a letter dated August 4, the latter describes his brave but unsuccessful attempt to secure this end, though at the very time he was himself suffering severely from fever:—

'On the 24th I went in early, and he at once reminded me of the "terrible task" I had before me, and he begged me to commence as soon as I had had my cocoa. He gave me

what instructions he could, marked out how he wished me to cut the flaps, and about 8.30 he was removed to the table. Before we began to administer chloroform he engaged in prayer, so full of hope and trust, not fearing what the issues might be. Dr. Bohn was of great help in seeing that the chloroform was administered regularly, which left me free to my work. I had great difficulty in securing one artery, which difficult part of the work the first time gave me no trouble. By 12.30 p.m. the arm was bandaged, but I saw that he did not come round so quickly, and when he became conscious he wished for chloroform again, but I had him removed to his bed first. He remained under the effects of chloroform during the day, but towards evening, in my absence from the room, he took off the bandages to look at it, and found all right, except the drainage tube, which was a little long. I considered then it would be a miracle if he pulled through, but I knew that nothing was too hard for the Lord, and He was over-ruling all.'

But all was in vain. He gradually sank, and on July 26, 1882, his brave spirit took its flight. With our limited faculties it seems hard to understand how the one who had so far most energetically and most hopefully begun the good work, and who, believing a rich harvest was in store, thought he even saw its first promising signs, should have been called away just when apprenticeship was over, and the full power of work had been acquired.

The cordial reception afforded to the new workers by Mirambo and other chiefs seemed to brighten the prospects of the mission. Mirambo said he had a good many hills round Urambo, and he wanted an Englishman on every one of them. He also wanted to live in peace with native tribes, but feared he might have to go to war. But just when the reinforcements were settling down to their new and untried duties, the now only too familiar sequence of disasters again began, and once more the prospects of the mission became enshrouded in gloom. Penry, with health broken down, left Urambo, on his way back to England, but died on the journey on April 21, 1883, and was buried by the

side of Dr. Mullens at Mpwapwa. Willoughby, after frequent attacks of fever, left Urambo May 15, 1883, and returned to England; and Dineen, after four months' illness, died at Uguha, July 25, 1883. In February, 1884, the mission house at Urambo and most of its contents were destroyed by lightning. On March 6, 1884, Dunn died at Uguha.

A fifth expedition, consisting of John Harris, Bowen Rees, and Dr. Laird, started from Quillimane in July, 1884, intending to travel by the route *via* Nyassa. They had not proceeded far up the river when news came that it was dangerous to go further, owing to a rebellion of the natives against the Portuguese. Harris determined to go on to Maruru, and help the Blantyre Mission and other Europeans in their defence of the place against an expected siege; but the rest of the party returned to Quillimane. Nearly all their goods had been spoiled by water from leaky boats, and otherwise they were in a desperate plight. They then made their way to Natal, and Laird, in ill health, returned to England. Finally, Hore, with his wife and child, and Rees met at Zanzibar, whence they travelled to the interior. Ujiji was reached on January 11, 1885, and Harris, after many adventures, arrived at Niamkolo in December, 1884.

Ujiji was now abandoned as a mission station, and Kavala Island selected in its stead. After great delay in transit, all the sections of the steamer Good News arrived at the lake, and she was launched on March 3, 1885. The engineer, named Roxburgh, who had been employed to build her, died shortly afterwards—May 18. In view of the numerous losses by death and retirement, Jones of Uguha advocated the withdrawal of the Society from Central Africa, a proposal not endorsed by his brethren. Harris died at Niamkolo, May 29, 1885, and Jones and Rees, about two months later, returned to England in bad health. Hore, after nine years' active service, began to hint at an early retirement. He and his wife, however, opened a school and carried on services at Kavala. In July, 1886,

the mission was strengthened by the arrival of Mr. Alexander Carson, an engineer, at Kavala, and of Mr. G. H. Lea in September. The latter complained that the Directors' instructions were not sufficiently explicit. This may have been partly due to the difficulty experienced by the home officials in grasping the conditions of life and work in Central Africa, but it was also not unfrequently due to idiosyncrasies on the part of the missionaries themselves. The next arrival was Dr. Tomory, who reached Kavala June 6, 1887, but who, after remaining two months, reported his 'utter failure of health,' and in September left for England. Lea also returned home in June of the same year.

The Annual Report for 1891 contains a ten years' summary of Central African work from the pen of Mr. D. P. Jones. Some passages from this set forth very clearly what had been attempted and accomplished during the years 1887 to 1891 :—

'In May, 1887, Mr. and Mrs. Jones and Mr. Wright left England for Fwambo—an upland district on the plateau between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, situated about sixty miles from the latter—having been instructed to establish a new station at that place. They arrived about the end of October. A difficulty having been hitherto experienced in finding a healthy spot in the immediate vicinity of the lake, and the past experience of the mission having been such that in deaths and retirements from the field they lost yearly an average of three men, it was decided to try an elevated region, hence the establishing a station at Fwambo.

'Towards the end of October, 1888, the mission was reinforced by the arrival of Mr. and Mrs. Swann, Dr. Mather, and Mr. and Mrs. Hemans at the lake, and Mr. and Mrs. Shaw and Mr. Draper at Urambo. Mr. Swann having been appointed superintendent of the marine department in place of Captain Hore, he, with his wife, proceeded to Kavala. Dr. Mather and Mr. and Mrs. Hemans settled at Fwambo. Immediately after the arrival of Messrs. Shaw and Draper

at Urambo, Mr. Brooks left for England to avail himself of a well-earned rest. Nearing the coast, probably not suspecting danger, although aware of hostilities between the coast Arabs and the Germans (for the English were even then regarded as friendly, and the natives had always distinguished them from the former), he was fired at by a band of Arab followers and killed.

'In 1889 the committee, in accordance with instructions from home, directed Messrs. Swann and Carson to look for a suitable harbour at the south end of the lake, with a view to removing thither the head-quarters of the marine department, it having been thought advisable to take this step in order that the brethren whose occupation forced them to fix their residence in near proximity to the lake might avail themselves of short sojourns at Fwambo, the healthiness of which station had now been proved beyond doubt. The brethren finding that Niamkolo would in every way prove suitable for a marine department station, building was commenced there by Mr. Carson about the middle of the year, and shortly after Mr. Swann removed south with the Society's property, leaving Kavala in charge of a competent Swahili man.

'The year 1889 and part of 1890 will be long remembered by the members of this mission as a time when they were shut off completely from the civilized world. For over a year they were without European provisions (excepting a small consignment obtained from the African Lakes Company, divided between them), and for the same period were without any communication from home. We have reason to be thankful, however, that in all this time our spirits kept up, our energies did not flag, nor was our work on that account in any way interfered with. Suffering from the consequences of small-pox, and having been advised by Dr. Mather to return to England, Mr. Wright left Fwambo in June, 1890. About the end of October Dr. Mather again left Fwambo for Niamkolo, and Mr. Carson leaving for home about the same time after five years' service, Dr. Mather took his place for the time being.

'At the three stations of the Tanganyika Mission—viz. Urambo, Niamkolo, and Fwambo—work is not carried on upon an extensive scale as yet, nor can it be said to have assumed altogether a systematic form; but it is carried on nevertheless, and with reasonable results. At Niamkolo a school has been held regularly and with a fair attendance from the day of their settling there. The result is entirely satisfactory, although the scholars are not yet very advanced. Some, however, have learnt to read and write as well as work out sums in simple addition and subtraction. Gospel work is in its infancy; but their having a good-sized village under their protection secures them a large attendance in their Sunday services, although nothing approaching compulsion is used, not even the observance of the Sabbath being forced upon them.

'At Fwambo, also, school-work has been carried on for over two years, but not regularly. Moreover, a good deal of the teaching here can be said to have, in some respects, been wasted—for only those who were working at the station could be taught—the villagers having not yet learnt to appreciate the school for its own sake, and those who came to work did not usually remain over a fortnight, this time sufficing to earn sufficient calico (four yards) to last them a long while. By the time they returned, therefore, the previous lessons had been entirely forgotten, and a fresh start had to be made with a similar result.

'Sunday services have never been largely attended, unless a caravan or a number of men seeking work happened to be on the station, the audience usually consisting of personal servants. The teaching is done here in the native language; and although the brethren have not yet attained proficiency, the natives can better appreciate the not very idiomatic and ill-pronounced language than a translation. On the whole, considering that every missionary in this country has to attend to many kinds of work other than that for which he is specially sent out, becoming teacher, carpenter, labourer, and even cook and housekeeper by turns, and also the fact of the mission

having had to pass through fiery ordeals, not to mention the indifference and apathy of natives to any kind of improvement, there can be no question as to the progress of the mission having been entirely satisfactory.

'I think I may venture to say we are now permanently settled, although one cannot but be wary of making a statement of that kind when he looks back upon the continuous wanderings and ever-changing circumstances so characteristic of the past history of this mission. It is a significant fact, however, that whereas in former years deaths and retirements owing to ill-health were of constant occurrence, during the last three years there has not been one death due to the unhealthiness of the climate; and the only retirement (that of Mr. Wright) was due rather to an exceptional cause than the effects of fever consequent upon malarious surroundings.'

Captain Hore, with the Directors' permission, had left the mission in June, 1888, and after a deputation tour in Australasia in 1890 severed his connection with the Society, with good wishes on both sides. He, of all who had been connected with the mission, best endured the stress and strain of the climate and life in Central Africa. But in 1893 he resumed work in the Society's service, and was appointed first officer of the new mission steamer John Williams. In September, 1894, he succeeded Captain Turpie as chief in command.

The narrative contained in the preceding pages, without going into great detail, has, it is hoped, given on the one hand a true conception of what has been accomplished in Central Africa, and, on the other, a just appreciation of the mistakes so frequently made and so severely punished. Perhaps the best picture of the state of affairs which now obtains is given in the *Chronicle* for October, 1892. An article in that number gives a cheering account of the state of the work sixteen years after its commencement:—

'Names that were once prominent in our reports from the Lake Tanganyika Mission—such as Ujiji, Mtowa, and Kavala Island—no longer appear. Owing to changes,

shifting population, and the conveniences found down at the south end of the lake, these more northern and central stations have been given up. Niamkolo now fills the place formerly taken by Ujiji, and subsequently by Kavala Island. Mr. Swann reported in 1891 :

'"Our village has nearly doubled in number and size, and the experiment of making villages of our own has more than fulfilled my expectations. I believe that the great fault on most mission stations has been the neglect of work amongst women. Mrs. Swann has conducted a girls' school regularly, and I can truly say the progress they make is very cheering in reading, writing, and sewing ; also, there is a growing desire to be better clothed. The boys can now understand what they read in the New Testament —i. e. they know how to connect the words, and can answer questions fairly satisfactorily. Kalulu, our first convert, has, up to the present, shown a decided attachment to his religion, and has, by repeated acts, shown to his friends that more than mere desire to please man actuates him. He is a bright example, and a source of joy to us all. We were rejoiced to add two others to the young church during the year. Rev. D. P. Jones found them far behind Kalulu in knowledge, but hesitated to quench the smoking flax, and so baptized them. One is a sincere lad, and is doing well ; the other fell amongst bad natives, was tempted, and fell grievously. Besides the schools and Sunday service, we get many visitors from long distances who listen to all we can tell them. In this manner seed is being sown."

'At Fwambo, or, since the permanent site of the mission has been selected, Kawimbi, as it is called, in consequence of the shifting of the station a few miles to a more commodious site, the work has been to some extent checked, and building necessities have overriden everything else. But the missionaries have secured what bids fair to become a strong centre. The Rev. D. P. Jones reported in 1891 :

'"Towards the beginning of July I resumed school-work, school having been suspended from the time we

settled here until then, owing to the want of a schoolroom. Sunday services had been held hitherto in the verandah of our dwelling-house, but from that time our spacious schoolroom served us for both purposes. About this period also natives began to build here, having decided to settle around us. These became the nucleus of a mission village, and have now increased (including women and children) to the number of 120. Having many buildings to erect, we continued to engage people from neighbouring villages until the end of the dry season; but from that time we have only employed such as are living beside us, and as they continue to increase we shall not henceforth require any other. These have now, therefore, become the objects of our attention—our temporal charge as well as our spiritual flock. They all attend our Sunday services without exception, and thus hear the Gospel continually, but none of them have as yet been visibly impressed, although I have reason to believe that a gradual change is stealing over them, and that their old spiritual and moral ideas are slowly giving way to the new and better ones held up to them both in our preaching and in our lives.

'The outcome of my language work can be stated briefly to be the production of a small Kimambwe grammar, and English-Kimambwe and Kimambwe-English vocabularies, together with the translation of a few chapters from the Gospel of Mark. The grammar and vocabularies, having been approved of by the committee, will shortly be printed.

'To sum up, we cannot, as yet, point to large congregations or established Christian communities; still, our Central African missionaries seem now to be working on permanent lines. The health of the stations is much improved, and we must patiently continue the work of preparing the ground and casting in the seed, and wait for the promised harvest, which will surely come.'

The large amount of money spent on the Good News seemed almost thrown away. It is true, she made several voyages up and down the lake, thus bringing Mr. Swann

and other missionaries into friendly relations with native tribes and with the Arabs, and she was also useful in the conveyance of mails. But experience proving that she was too costly, she was sold for £1,750 to the African Lakes Company in 1894. This was an unsatisfactory close to a scheme which appeared admirably conceived, but which, like so many African enterprises, on experience proved unworkable.

The baptism of the first Central African convert, Kalulu by name, took place at Fwambo in January, 1891. Two others, from Niamkolo, were received towards the end of the year; two more in April, 1892; eight in August of the same year; twelve in 1893; and, reckoning some who had been suspended or dismissed for bad conduct, there were in all, at the end of 1893, about twenty.

Mr. Swann, who had acquired considerable influence over Arabs and natives, undertook political work for the British commissioner in 1890, and again transacted political business in 1892. On his way home on furlough in 1893 he wrote to the Directors, hinting at his approaching resignation, and in 1894 he accepted a Government appointment.

The tangible results of the mission, so far as statistics go, are not very encouraging. Between the years 1877 and 1893 thirty-six missionaries—clerical, medical, and artisan—were appointed. Of these, eleven died and fourteen retired, in most cases after a very brief spell of service. The total cost of the work during this period was at the lowest calculation £40,000. The number of converts, by the most liberal calculation, was only twenty. That is, upon the financial method of reckoning, each convert has cost £2,000. But every intelligent student of missions knows that this method of measuring results is absurd. Not so the man in the street. And not so even warm-hearted friends, who are sometimes as impatient of results in the way of conversion as they are ignorant of local conditions.

There is no doubt the Directors sanctioned the mission without any true conception of the magnitude of the task

they were undertaking They were, almost necessarily, ignorant of the climate, of the peculiarities of the country, of the nature of the work. Offers of vessels and steamers, if they would meet the expense of conveying them to the lake and maintaining them there, were tempting, and difficult to resist. Experience shows they ought to have been resisted; but it is only in the hard school of experience that these lessons can be learned. There is something in the Central African climate which renders it a deadly foe, first to the physical constitution of many men, and through the physical to the moral and spiritual nature of others. About thirty per cent. of the workers died; about forty per cent. proved unequal to the strain. In some of these cases the breakdown in health was complete, leaving no alternative but retreat. In some the fever, and strain, and discomfort broke down the moral fibre; and men who had done, and who have continued to do, good work elsewhere were complete failures here. In other cases—few and far between, it may be—a short stay in Central Africa was sufficient to prove that they were unfit for mission work there or anywhere else.

The Central African Mission is one out of many proofs that only by a self-sacrifice like the Master's will the Church ever fulfil His great command, 'Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel.' A beginning in this very hard and very dark field has been made. Only a beginning. Three stations; a handful of schools; a few books and tracts. Yet a true Christian instinct has rooted Central Africa deeply in the affection, faith, and prayer of the Church, and there, as elsewhere, in time the little one shall become a thousand.

[Authorities.—Letters, Official Reports, and Annual Reports; *Tanganyika: Eleven Years in Central Africa*, by E. C. Hore.]

MADAGASCAR

'And when they had preached the gospel to that city, and had taught many, they returned again to Lystra, and to Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that we must through much tribulation enter into the kingdom of God.'—ACTS xiv. 21, 22.

'Although she had returned her Bible and other books which she had had in her possession at the time, she retained a few tracts, and among them, one on the Holy Spirit; and as she had now but little hope of her life being spared, she was very diligently employed in examining her state before God, that death might not come upon her by surprise. She derived much consolation from the tract named, and especially from the expressions uttered by some humble and devout Christian, "I will cast myself at the feet of Jesus, and if I perish, I will perish there"; to which some one had replied, "And if you perish there, you will be the first that ever did; for sooner shall the heavens and the earth pass away than the Saviour reject any one coming to Him."' —*Rafaravavy's Experience in* 1835.

'Gradually the Christians sought out their fellow believers, using the utmost caution before disclosing their own feelings to others. Sometimes a recognition was secured by reference to Jer. xxxviii. 15,—"If I declare it unto thee, wilt thou not surely put me to death?" To which the answer would be a naming of the following verse: "As the Lord liveth, that made us this soul, I will not put thee to death, neither will I give thee into the hand of these men that seek thy life." The Christians ventured afterwards to meet secretly in their own houses or in those of the missionaries, but more frequently they met on the summits of solitary mountains, whence they could survey the rocky hills, and brown or grassy plains, and observe the movements of men at a great distance.' —*The Martyr Church in Madagascar*, p. 107.

'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of Life.'—REV. ii. 10.



DAVID GRIFFITHS
(Madagascar)



DAVID JONES
(Madagascar)



ANDRIAMBELO
(Madagascar)





CHAPTER XXVIII

MADAGASCAR: 1818–1835

THE Great African Island, as Madagascar is frequently called, lies off the south-eastern coast of Africa, and may in very remote ages have even been a part of it. But the people are not wholly an African people, and the fauna and flora are so different as to indicate a long separation. The name Madagascar is of unknown foreign origin, and is due probably to Marco Polo. The native names are 'The Universe' or 'What is in the Midst of the Floods.' Between island and continent flows the Mozambique Channel, 240 miles wide at its narrowest point. The island is nearly 1,000 miles long, extending from 12° 2′ to 25° 18′ south latitude, and has an average breadth east and west of 250 miles, in some parts reaching a width of 350 miles. It is supposed to contain about 230,000 square miles. The interior consists of an elevated plateau, 3,000 to 5,000 feet above the sea, extending from 13° to 24° south latitude. This region is about 700 miles from north to south, and 150 miles east to west, and contains an area of about 100,000 miles. In this district Antanànarìvo, the capital, is situated.

The people are a mixed race, Malayo-Polynesians, with a considerable African strain. How, while the island lies so near the continent, the predominant element in the people came to be Malayan is one of the many ethnographical puzzles of the world. The chief tribes are the Hova, Betsilèo, Bara, Sihànaka, Betsimisàraka and Sakalàva. The Hova is the most important tribe, inhabiting Imèrina, the central province. They are purer Malays than any of the other tribes. South of the Hova, occupying

another part of the central uplands, are the Betsilèo. Until the Hova under Radàma I established a partial headship the island was the scene of constant inter-tribal warfare.

Madagascar, almost from the foundation of the Society, occupied the attention of the Directors. At the annual meeting for 1797, 'Several memoirs were presented, proposing missions to Surat, Madagascar . . . which were received with approbation, and referred to the consideration of the Directors.' Vanderkemp kept ever before his mind a mission to Madagascar, and plans for its execution occupied the closing months of his life. Mr. John Le Brun, a native of Jersey, who had been educated at Gosport, was sent out to begin work either in Mauritius or Madagascar, as God might lead him. He decided to remain in Mauritius, and begin missionary work there in 1814. During the first years of Mr. Le Brun's missionary labour Port Louis served as the base from which Madagascar was approached.

The missionaries who first landed on the island in connection with the Society—names ever memorable in Malagasy history—were David Jones and Thomas Bevan. They were young Welshmen who had been educated at Neuaddlwyd, in Cardiganshire, in a seminary then under the charge of Dr. Phillips, a man of high reputation both as preacher and scholar, and earnestly concerned about Christian missions. Dr. Phillips had been greatly moved by the needs of Madagascar, and one day, after describing to the students a dream which he had had on the subject, he said: 'Now, who will go as a missionary to Madagascar?' Jones and Bevan at once responded, each for himself: 'I will go.' They were accepted by the Society, sent for a time to Gosport, and ordained at Neuaddlwyd on August 21, 1817. They sailed on February 9, 1818, and reached Mauritius on July 3. They left Port Louis on August 8, to judge, after inspection of the island, what prospect there was of being able to begin missionary work there. They reached Tamatave on August 18, and after a short stay they returned to Port Louis, greatly encouraged,

on October 9. On November 16 Mr. Jones and his family sailed for Tamatave, arriving on November 20. Mr. Bevan did not reach Tamatave till January 6, 1819. Then, instead of finding, as he had hoped, that Mr. Jones had made a good beginning and was able to extend a helpful welcome to him and his wife, he discovered that Mrs. Jones and her child had died, and that Mr. Jones himself was most dangerously ill with fever. At this disastrous intelligence Mr. Bevan seemed to lose all heart. His child died on January 20, he himself on January 31, and his wife on February 3. So that in less than three months, of a missionary party consisting of six souls, only one was left alive, and he at death's door. Once again needful experience was dearly bought. The missionaries had landed at the wrong season, and were but very imperfectly equipped for a struggle with so dire a foe as Malagasy fever. Mr. Jones slowly fought his way back to a measure of strength, bravely struggled for a time to continue his work, experienced hostility and hindrance from some residents in Tamatave who ought to have aided him, and finally in July, 1819, returned to Mauritius. At Belle Ombre he slowly recruited his strength, and on September 4, 1820, he was able to return to Madagascar.

The ruling chief in Madagascar at this time was Radàma I, with whom in 1817 the British Government, through Sir Robert Farquhar, Governor of Mauritius, had entered into a treaty of friendship and commerce, with the object also of putting an end to the export of slaves from Madagascar. This treaty lapsed soon after its execution, but Sir Robert Farquhar was very anxious to renew it. He was a friend of missions, and encouraged Mr. Jones to accompany his agent, Mr. Hastie, who was appointed to Antanànarivo for the purpose of re-establishing, if possible, the treaty, and to act there as British resident. In the light of sad experience it was believed that the plateau on which the capital stood would be a much healthier residence for Europeans than the malarious coast lands.

Mr. Hastie and his party, accompanied by Mr. Jones,

reached Tamatave September 4, 1820, and arrived at Antanànarìvo on October 3. Radàma received them graciously, re-enacted the treaty, and then, upon learning the true object of Mr. Jones' visit, sent a letter to the Directors, in which he said, 'I request you to send me, if convenient, as many missionaries as you may deem proper, together with their families, if they desire it; provided you send skilful artisans to make my people workmen as well as good Christians.' This letter, which is still in the Society's museum, is dated October 29, 1820. At this time Radàma was about thirty years old. He had acquired some knowledge of the French language, and had also a rudimentary acquaintance with English. He was a man of power, with sufficient intelligence to perceive the benefits which education and contact with civilized peoples would confer upon his own people. He was also very eager for their instruction in the most useful forms of manual labour. Like Pomare of Tahiti, although he had little or no sympathy with the distinctive work of the Christian missionaries, he formed a shrewd estimate of the value to himself and to his people of closer intercourse with the nation they represented. One clause of the treaty ran that ten Malagasy boys should be sent to Mauritius, and another ten to England, 'to be instructed in useful arts.' The latter were educated by the Society at the expense of the Government. Prince Rataffe, the brother-in-law of Radàma, also at this time visited England as a special ambassador.

The tidings of these favourable events in Madagascar deeply moved the Directors and friends of the Society, and active steps were at once taken to strengthen the infant mission. Prior to the arrival of reinforcements, David Griffiths, a student at Gosport, had been appointed to the Madagascar Mission, and had sailed, reaching Mauritius January 23, 1821. He arrived at Antanànarìvo on May 30. In 1821 Mr. John Jeffreys, who had been educated at the Blackburn Academy, was appointed to the mission, and sailed August 6, 1821, in the vessel which carried back Prince Rataffe and his suite. With Mr. Jeffreys were sent

four artisans: Thomas Brooks (carpenter), John Canham (currier and shoemaker), George Chick (blacksmith), and Thomas Rowlands (weaver). From the first the mission took vigorous root under the guidance of Jones and Griffiths. But it also early tasted the bitters of disappointment. On June 24, 1824, less than a year after his arrival, Brooks died of fever. Jeffreys seemed unable either to settle down to work or to agree with his brethren. On June 21, 1825, he sailed for Mauritius, and on July 4, while at sea, died. About a year before his death he had begun work at Ambàtomànga. The occasion, though not the cause, of the rupture between Jeffreys and his colleagues was a difference as to how the language should be vocalized. This matter, curiously enough, was not unfrequently a source of fierce controversy in the early missions. In this case Mr. Jeffreys, with far less knowledge of the language than Jones and Griffiths possessed, tried to induce Radàma, and not wholly without success, to override the conclusions of his senior colleagues.

By the middle of 1823 these thorny matters were so far settled that the great task of translating the Bible into Malagasy was actually begun. In a letter dated Nov. 20, 1823, Jones and Griffiths announce that in the course of 1824 they hope to complete Genesis, Exodus, Matthew, and Luke. Education, which constituted the chief missionary work with the natives themselves, had also made such rapid progress that the same letter states, 'every child in the schools knows how to read his own language,' and 'many of the scholars are now able to instruct the natives in the first principles of the Christian religion.' The Sunday and preaching services at this time were also well attended, the attendance averaging 300 or 400, and occasionally rising as high as 3,000. It was not until Feb. 20, 1824, that Radàma gave the missionaries permission to preach in Malagasy, and on February 22 Mr. Jones preached the first sermon, the natives being 'not a little amazed to hear a white man declaring to them with fluency the wonderful works of God in their own language.' The chapel in which services were held was annexed to

Mr. Griffiths' house, and could hold 1,000 people. Good and commodious houses for both Mr. Jones and Mr. Griffiths had been built, largely through Radàma's influence. On May 23 the communion service was administered for the first time in Malagasy, Radàma attending, and the chapel being crowded, though of course no natives participated.

A letter to Mr. Le Brun from Mr. Griffiths, dated September 3, 1824, gives a pleasing picture of the mission four years from its commencement :—

'I have the pleasure to inform you that this mission has never worn a more promising aspect than it has since last May. The king continues his protection to us, and gives us encouragement to labour with assiduity. We have twenty-two schools established since last April, under his Majesty's patronage, wherein more than 2,000 children are instructed. Our first scholars, who teach at the different villages, are much more capable of teaching than I expected; their ardent pursuit after knowledge, and their unceasing assiduity in communicating instruction to others, afford us great satisfaction and encouragement. The progress of our pupils is very encouraging in the knowledge of the word of salvation.

'I have a chapel built annexed to my house, with a gallery, which will contain more than 1,000 hearers. Mr. Jones and myself preach by turns when we are in town, one in English and the other in Malagash. About two months ago Mr. Jones and I commenced visiting the villages where schools are established, to preach and catechise; we go by turns every Sunday. We have thronged congregations on the Sabbath; our chapel in town is crowded, and the doors and windows lined. We have three or four, and sometimes five thousand hearers in town, and often two or three thousand in the country.

'As to the translation of the Scriptures, I have translated the Book of Exodus, and the Gospels by Mark and Luke, and also of the Psalms as far as the fiftieth, and the first three chapters of the Epistle to the Romans. Mr. Jones has translated Genesis and the Gospel by Matthew, and is far

advanced with the Gospel by John, and the Acts, and with the First Book of Samuel. He has prepared a series of discourses on the work of Creation, and is also preparing discourses on the Divine Attributes. You see by all this that we stand in the greatest need of a printer and a printing press. Mr. Chick is busily employed every Sunday in catechizing the children, and every day busily engaged in his trade. Everything is going on at present in union and peace. Notwithstanding, however, the pleasing aspect the mission wears, we have great prejudices and superstitions to encounter. The tenacity of the natives to rank and caste, and the manners and customs of their forefathers; their numerous idols, which we did not know much of till lately, when we began to preach against them; their mode of sacrificing to obtain good and take away evil;—all these prejudices and superstitions (though the youths who are instructed laugh at them) present formidable obstacles to our efforts. We are convinced more and more of the necessity there is of Divine influence to bring sinners to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. May the breath come, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.'

It was providential for the founding of the mission that Radàma was a man of intelligence. He took the keenest interest in all educational and technical work. Mr. Hastie, the British resident, wrote at this time: 'Radàma is truly anxious that his people should be instructed, yet he is desirous that they should voluntarily seek instruction from a conviction of the advantages to be derived therefrom.' When in the villages round Antanànarìvo some of the chief people refused to send their children, Radàma sent for them, and said: 'If you wish to become wise and happy, and to please me, send your children to the schools; for the good, the industrious, and the wise shall be honoured by me.' He also said to his secretary, 'I would rather die than be the king of savages any longer.'

After a year at such high pressure as 1824 it was only to be expected that signs of reaction would appear. Probably no people were ever further removed from chastity

and the purity of Christian life than the Malagasy. The ideas and conceptions involved in these words, as we use them, had to be created in the minds of the natives. In addition, as the missionaries came to know the people better they found that ancient superstitions had a much firmer hold upon the natives than they had at first believed. Radàma too, though alive to all the material benefits of Christianity, never evinced any disposition to submit to its moral and spiritual claims. In 1825 Radàma had only recently acquired his headship over the central tribes, and urged Jones and Griffiths to proceed cautiously, lest under the influence of old custom the natives should weaken their attachment to him as a ruler, because he was friendly with the foreigners. He expressed no willingness to be instructed himself in religious matters, but he questioned some of his chief people very closely as to what they were taught. There were signs also of the old heathen practice of attributing calamities to foreign influence. Still, adverse as these and other influences were, the work went steadily forward. On August 24, 1825, that is, barely five years after their establishment in the capital, the missionaries announced the completion of the translation of the New Testament—this in itself no mean achievement; and they again renewed their request for a printing press. Education continued to prosper even in face of the fact that the parents often bid their children disobey the precepts of the missionaries. The three artisan missionaries, however, found it difficult to employ their time usefully; and Canham and Rowlands were instructed by Jones and Griffiths with a view to missionary service.

On October 18, 1826, Mr. Hastie died. His name deserves honoured remembrance in the story of Madagascar. He used his position of power and influence always for what he believed to be the highest interests of the natives. Far from allowing his official position to lead him to look askance at Christian work, he had from the first exerted himself in every possible way to encourage and assist and to sustain the work of the

missionaries. In losing him they parted with a true friend and a sound adviser—one of the many helpers whom Christian missionaries in different parts of the world during the century have found among British officials. His death was a great loss to the mission in many ways, and it was also a blow to British influence, since Radàma's secretary was a Frenchman, M. Robin, and from the time of Mr. Hastie's death the missionaries thought they could trace a strengthening of French influence on the mind and actions of Radàma.

On September 11, 1826, a new worker who was destined to do good service to Madagascar reached the capital. This was David *Jones*, another Welshman, who had been educated at Newtown Academy, North Wales, and at Gosport. As the senior member of the mission was also named David Jones, and as the disadvantages which would arise from this fact were obvious, the new comer by a slight alteration changed his name from Jones to *Johns*, and by this name he has been known ever since. David Johns was accompanied by two artisans. One, a cotton spinner, named John Cummins, soon finding that there was no scope on the island for his abilities, retired from both it and the mission in 1828. The other, James Cameron, a carpenter, was destined to pass many years of a long life in the service of Madagascar. He aided Cummins in setting up at Ampàribè the machinery which they had brought out for cotton spinning, and also in erecting the printing press, which to the joy of Jones and Griffiths had been sent to them under the care of Mr. Johns. To work the press Charles Hovenden had been appointed. He reached Antanànarivo November 21, 1826, but died there almost immediately, on December 15. The importance of the mission, and the phenomenal success which had so far attended the work, stimulated the Directors to most earnest efforts in its support. The Rev. J. J. Freeman, who had been educated at Hoxton Academy, and was afterwards pastor of Kidderminster, had been appointed for a term of several years to the Madagascar Mission. He

arrived at the capital September 24, 1827; and Mr. Baker, the printer appointed to succeed Mr. Hovenden, arrived towards the end of 1828.

The cotton manufacturing experiment was no more satisfactory than that on Tahiti[1]. The machinery cost £600, a sum which the king had been expected to pay. He demurred to this, and finally Jones arranged with him to co-operate in trying to make the machinery pay, an experiment which met with no success. From time to time also there was friction with the artisan missionaries, Jones going so far in 1827 as to say he wished that he had nothing to do with them. While some of them developed into splendid missionaries, others, probably from defective education or imperfect spiritual development, were sources of great trouble. Rowlands, with whom relations had been for some time very strained, died of fever in April, 1829. Another source of trouble was the failure which had attended the experiment of sending the ten Malagasy youths to England to be trained. Several of them died abroad, and those who returned were neither serviceable nor creditable to the mission.

In his closing days Radàma passed under the influence of sycophants and others who were only too eager to prejudice him against British missionaries.

The work which had meanwhile made the best progress, and which formed the stable foundation for the mission in the dark days which were rapidly approaching, was the education of the young. 'The Second Report of the Madagascar Missionary School Society, 1828; under the patronage of His Majesty Radàma,' is a document of great interest. It consists of four large folio pages, 'printed at the Missionary Press, Tananarivo.' It throws a strong light upon this most valuable department of service, and it abounds in quaint and curious comment. In the opening paragraph the missionaries say: 'The experience of years in communicating instruction to a people ignorant of the advantages of education, and to

[1] See pp. 218, 219.

whom the salutary influence of Divine Truth affords a novel exhibition, has powerfully demonstrated the importance of cultivating the decision of a Ruth, the patience of a Job, the perseverance of a Paul, and the wisdom of a Solomon; while to strengthen and adorn every other virtue, the affection of a John should be superadded.' The report notes that in a recent address to his people Radàma said: 'The king urges you to send your children to school in order that they may learn good principles, and be enabled by the art of writing to commit to paper family concerns, so that disputes and contentions, deceits and wars may cease'; that the press set up towards the close of 1827 has already done good service, 'some reading lessons, a spelling book, a catechism, a hymn-book, and some portions of the Holy Scriptures are already printed.' Although the schools were begun only in 1820 and 1821 by the conjoint aid of the Society and the Mauritius Government, this report notes that in 1828 there were in the capital and surrounding country thirty-seven schools with forty-four teachers and 2,309 scholars.

The Rev. D. Tyerman and Mr. George Bennet, the Deputation appointed in 1820 to visit all the Society's stations, reached Tamatave on July 3, 1828, and were there met by Mr. Jones, and by him escorted to the capital. They arrived amid the confusion caused by the death of Radàma on July 27, 1828, and on July 30 Mr. Tyerman died suddenly from apoplexy at the house of Mr. Jones. The death of the king led to a reactionary revolution, paralyzed education, and at once began to seriously affect all distinctive mission-work. Mr. Jones visited the king at his own request on July 25, and was the last European who saw him. The successor designated by Radàma himself was Rakòtobè, his nephew, the eldest son of his eldest sister, an intelligent young man who had been trained in the mission schools. But Ràvavàlona, one of Radàma's wives, was placed upon the throne by the aid of a number of officials who were opposed to Christianity, and to the changes introduced by Radàma. An attempt to conceal

the king's death until steps could be taken to proclaim Rakòtobè failed. Two military officials were won over to Ràvàlona, who acted secretly and swiftly, and by informing large portions of the army that the idols named her as successor, won their adherence. The chief of the army was summoned to the courtyard of the palace, and then and there compelled to make his choice. He chose life and subservience to the usurping queen. Four other high officials, less pliable, were instantly speared. A few days later Rakòtobè was put to death; and a few weeks later his father Ratèfy, and his mother, Radàma's sister. Many others powerful enough to become objects of suspicion to Ràvàlona were also put to death. Nor did the violence affect opponents only. Andriàmihàja, a young officer who had been mainly instrumental in placing the queen upon the throne, soon fell under her displeasure and was murdered. This man, however, in the providence of God, was the means of great good in the work of the mission. The original plan was to banish all Europeans at once; but on the ground that they were useful in education and civilization, he secured their continuance for a time in the island, and he also aided and encouraged the work of the artisan missionaries. He was himself attracted towards Christianity, and at the time when his executioners reached his house he was reading the New Testament. He was succeeded in power and place by Ràinihàro, commander-in-chief, and Rainìmahàro, head of the queen's household. To these men were mainly due the reaction in favour of idolatry, and the ultimate persecution of Christianity.

In the prospect of events like these, well might Mr. Jones write as he did on September 10, 1828:—

'The idol Kèlimalàza and the divination Sikìdy, which Radàma had chased away for some years past, have entered into court, and they now direct and govern all things as they did twenty years ago. Every superstition is renewed, the schools and divine service on the Sabbath in the native language are stopped, and I do not know when things will wear a more pleasing aspect. . . . What

trials, sorrows, and troubles I have experienced; and what changes and events I have seen in Madagascar since September, 1818! May all things be directed by infinite wisdom to advance and extend Immanuel's kingdom in this land of darkness and superstition!'

Before sketching the events of Ràvanàlona's reign it may be well to review what had been achieved in Madagascar in the brief space of ten years. The enormous amount of educational work accomplished has already been indicated. Then, as now, there were supporters of the Society who held that education is not of prime missionary importance. Then, as now, it was necessary to insist that educational work might not only be necessary, but it might even be the *only* way by which the missionaries could get a base from which to carry on more directly spiritual work. Until they themselves had learned the language, and had established some common ground between themselves and the people directly, spiritual work was impossible. 'We are either efficient or not,' write the missionaries (March 3, 1828), 'as the schools are encouraged and supported. Even the translation and printing of the Scriptures would be in vain unless there are readers; and readers can only be obtained in the schools. To which we may add that without the schools we have not even hearers. In brief, without schools, we labour, translate, print, and preach in vain. With them we are indulging the pleasing hope that extensive good is springing up.'

In the ten years, moreover, the missionaries had translated a considerable portion of the Bible, and they had for years conducted religious services in the vernacular. Writing home on March 3, 1828, they report the really wonderful progress in translation:—

'With the exception of some of the more abstruse and difficult parts of the Old Testament, the whole of the Scriptures are prepared for final revision. . . . There is now in the press a first catechism, of which there will be 1,500 copies; also the Gospel by Luke, which is printed as far as the eighth chapter. January 1, 1828, we employed in

finally revising and putting to press the sheet containing Luke i, wishing thus to hallow the new year in opening the fountain of living waters in the midst of this parched ground. . . . As we have entered on the task of finally revising for the press, and issuing a portion of the sacred volume, it may be satisfactory to state the plan we pursue. We meet twice a week to prepare the sheets for the composers. The missionary to whom the share has fallen, either Mr. Jones or Mr. Griffiths, of translating the portion under revision brings his copy, previously corrected with the utmost care by himself. In the present instance it is a *fourth* correction. This is read, verse by verse, or sentence by sentence, and weighed maturely with all the aids of which we can avail ourselves.'

This Malagasy version of the Bible was a marvellous achievement on the part of these two men, and had they been able to foresee the events of the next seven years, they could have done nothing more serviceable to the cause of Christ in Madagascar.

We now resume the thread of events. Even before Mr. Bennet left Antanànarìvo the queen had sent a message to the missionaries assuring them of protection, and promising to act towards them as Radàma had done. But it was not until December 25 that the schools were allowed to reopen. At the same time the queen prohibited public worship and singing. Copies of Luke's Gospel which had been given to officers were returned by order of the queen, on the ground that her officers had no time to attend to such things, but the scholars in the schools were allowed to retain the copies given to them. Although the schools and public worship were prohibited, translation work was not placed under a ban. Aided by twelve of the most intelligent Malagasy scholars, revising and printing went rapidly forward. But difficulties and anxieties were ever around the workers. Mr. Lyall, the new British resident, a man in temper and ability very different from Mr. Hastie, became involved with the Government over a so-called 'insult' to one of the great

idols. He had, either through ignorance or carelessness, taken a horse into a village sacred to the idol, where no such creatures were allowed. This gave the palace an opportunity for which they were looking, and led to his departure from the island in 1829. Some time previously Mr. Lyall had become very hostile to Messrs. Jones and Griffiths, and in the ensuing differences Mr. Freeman appears to have sympathized to some extent with Lyall. Freeman, who was a man of some culture and standing, did not relish being in subordination to his senior colleagues in the mission, and both he and Lyall failed to make allowance for the influence of ten years' residence in Madagascar. This, and their relatively inferior training, led Jones and Griffiths both to do and say things which, though harmless in themselves, were not palatable to the new-comers. The older men, on the other hand, clearly thought Lyall incapable of dealing wisely with the natives, and probably also, though of this there is no proof, resented Freeman's real or assumed superiority. Freeman's correspondence at this time is full of alarmist statements and appeals, and at a very early date he forsook the mission, being the first member of the staff to leave the island. An important influence in his decision was his apparent fear that the French were about to march on the capital. With his family he left Antanànarivo September 30, 1829, and retired, first to Mauritius, and then to Cape Town, where he remained until July, 1831.

The year 1830 was remarkable, first, for the completion in February of the printing of the New Testament, and, in the next place, for the very marked improvement in the attendance at public worship, and in the demeanour of those who came. A letter from Mr. Baker, dated July 1, 1830, refers to the spiritual awakening which was so marked at that time:—

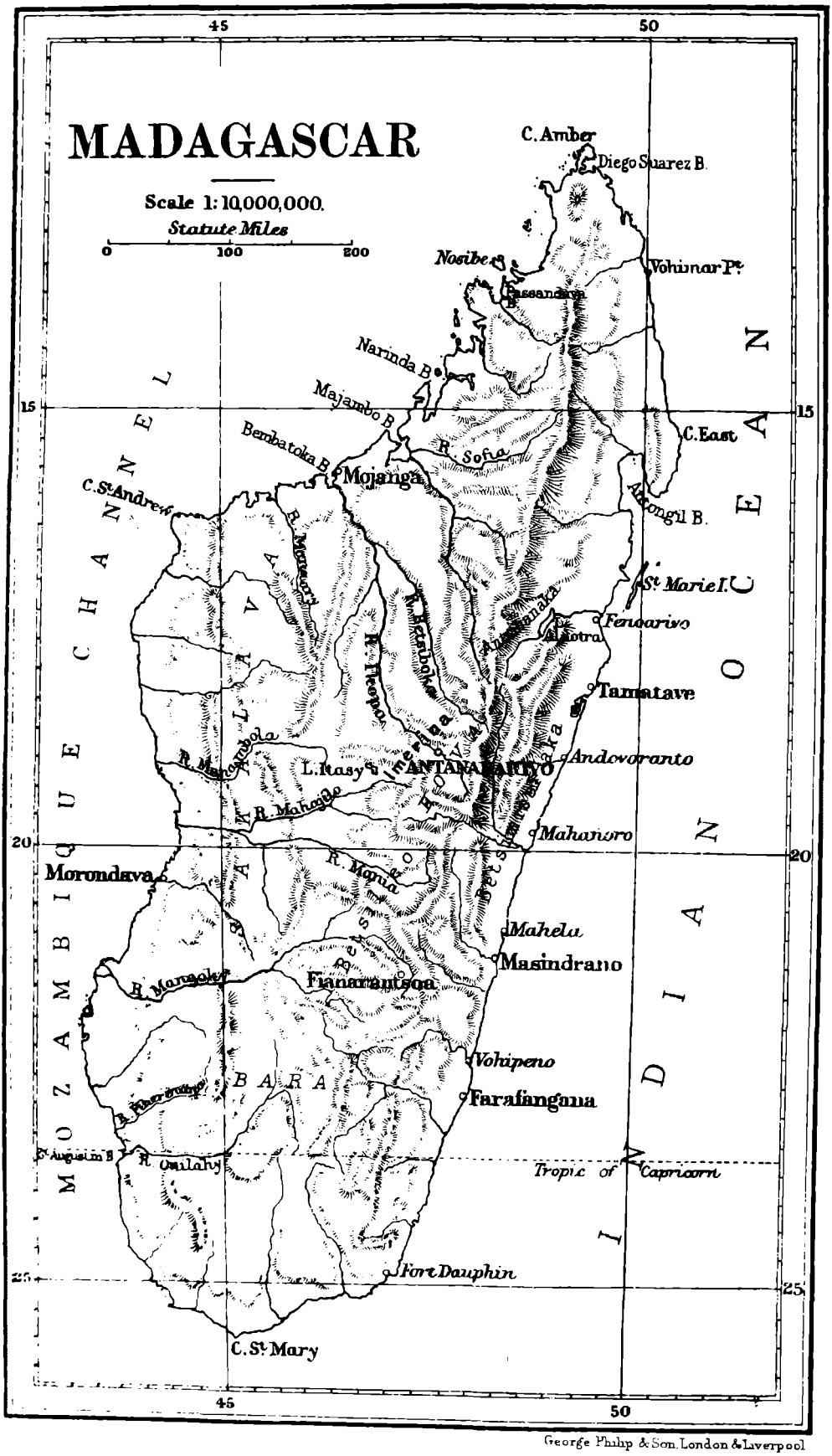
'Never have I observed so much appearance of emotion produced and a spirit of inquiry excited as at the present time. Conversation among the natives on religion is frequent, and the preaching seems to reach with impressive

force the consciences of some. There is no room for us to slacken our hands or suffer supineness or indifference to overtake us. I cannot think that the Word of God will ever be destroyed from this land, or the name of Jesus Christ ever forgotten before the dawning of a brighter day perpetuate the one and exalt the other.'

In a letter dated September 1, 1830, he dwells on the same theme: 'It is truly delightful to see the present attendance at chapel. The hour of the solemn assembly never arrives without exhibiting the pleasing spectacle of many already met together, and awaiting, with apparent desire, the commencement of the service. The number of adults is very considerable, and consists principally of regular attendants who have first come forward to know what is the meaning of our instructions, and have finally evinced and professed a desire to become followers of Jesus.'

Towards the close of the year a second chapel, capable of seating 500 persons, was begun at Ambàtonakànga by Mr. Johns, and opened for worship on June 5, 1831. But the external aspect of affairs was unpromising. The queen was hostile to anything but artisan and educational work, and not at all cordial to either of these. She stopped the sale of Testaments in the market, remarking, 'That it was the same as to sell her kingdom.' When the contract with Canham, the tanner, expired, she refused to renew it, and his work as an artisan came to an end, though for some years he engaged in educational and religious work. Cameron had some 500 or 600 youths to instruct in the manufacture of soap and sulphur, and to these he was able to impart much educational and religious knowledge.

Evidence of anxious religious inquiry and of spiritual awakening abounded and increased throughout the year 1831. In September Mr. Freeman, accompanied by the Rev. Theophilus Atkinson and his wife, who had been for some years missionaries in South Africa, returned to Antanànarivo from the Cape. A few months earlier a great step forward had been taken in the development of



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a Christian church in Madagascar. The queen, strange as the fact appears in the light of later history, had, in November, 1830, allowed two houses to be opened for teaching and preaching, and on Sunday, May 21, 1831, had issued her royal permission that any natives who so desired might be baptized, might unite with the missionaries in the Lord's Supper, and might be married in accordance with Christian custom. In consequence of this, Mr. Griffiths baptized twenty, and eight were admitted to the Lord's table. Some were also baptized and admitted to the communion by Mr. Johns. Two native Christian churches were formed. One was at Ambòdin' Andohàlo, under the care of Mr. Griffiths, and there on August 6, 1831, thirty-seven natives, who had been previously baptized, were constituted the first Christian church of Madagascar. By November 4 the membership had increased to sixty-seven. The other was Ambàtonakànga, and there on June 12, 1831, eight natives were constituted a Christian church. Mr. Freeman, after his two years' absence, wrote that he could scarcely believe his eyes, so many new native houses had been built; there were such large congregations; the schools were not so flourishing, but the natives were holding prayer-meetings in each other's houses.

Notwithstanding all this progress, and partly because of it, the anti-missionary feeling of the Government became more marked. Mr. Griffiths was ordered to leave the island, as his ten years' residence was now completed. He requested that he might be allowed either another ten years' residence, or to become one of the queen's subjects. The native Christians, too, were the objects of much scorn and ridicule from their heathen neighbours and friends, but they continued to live the Gospel, and to make it known to others, and their numbers steadily increased.

It is a painful fact that at the period of this great awakening among the natives, the missionaries were not at peace among themselves. The correspondence of the time reveals a very strong animosity against Griffiths on the part of all, except Jones who was in England, and Baker

the printer. Fortunately this does not appear to have been permitted to injure spiritual work. The difference seemed to have reached an acute stage in the course of winding up the affairs of the School Society, which organization came to an end in 1831. Finally, the dispute reached such a pass that Freeman, Johns, Chick, Cameron, and Canham told the queen that if she desired Griffiths to remain, they would all return to England.

The Directors also had on August 29, 1831, passed a resolution that Griffiths should go to the Cape and work under Dr. Philip, or, if he preferred it, return to England. But Griffiths, probably in response to his appeal referred to above, received the queen's permission to extend his stay in the island until January, 1833. He refused to leave Madagascar, and matters continued to drift. Very early in 1832, the natives were interdicted from baptism and the Lord's Supper. Johns, in a letter dated April 15, 1832, attributes this to the action of Griffiths, who, by baptizing a large number of natives, probably through fear of coming interdiction, led the officials to say, 'This baptism is like an oath of allegiance, and when the whites get a sufficient number they will rise against the Government, and take the country.' Mr. Griffiths' action in forming the newly baptized into a *church* deepened the distrust of the queen's high officers.

While these events were taking place, Baker had returned to England to get married, and Atkinson, to whom the queen had granted only one year's residence, and whose health had been very bad, was compelled to leave. The reason assigned for not extending his time was that he could teach nothing but *taratasy*, that is, things connected with books. A letter signed by Johns, Freeman, and Canham, and dated May 28, 1833, gives a very clear statement of the condition of the mission at this period. After noting that the mission has ceased to be exclusively educational, and now has much more to do with adults, the letter continues:—

'Our time, instead of being wholly occupied with schools, is now therefore considerably occupied with adult natives;

whose visits are frequent, and whose conversational inquiries into the meaning of those portions of Scripture which they possess, would require nearly the whole of our time to resolve. Our public services, and preparation for them, make also demands on our time, more extensively than formerly. By all these means we are, however, brought far more into contact with the mind of the natives than we could be by, perhaps, any other system, and thus a wider door is thrown open for opportunities of usefulness, and we ourselves stand in a new light before the eyes of these natives, of whom there are now multitudes, no longer regarding us as the mere teachers of their children, but as their personal friends, and as seeking the general good of their country.

'Perhaps in no division of the great missionary field is the injunction of the Saviour more strikingly applicable than in Madagascar: "Work while it is called to-day." We are happy to say, that since the period of Mr. Baker's leaving for England, we have finished the last sheets of the Psalms, and bound up for distribution, with stiff paper covers, about 2,200; all these are in circulation. We have printed also an edition of the Malagasy Spelling Book, consisting of 4,500; *all* these are distributed, and we have not a copy left, and propose printing another edition almost immediately. In some cases we have distributed only one copy between three or four scholars, not having a sufficient number to supply one to each scholar, and the numerous applications of voluntary learners. We have printed also three new tracts: On the Sabbath, 2,000 by Mr. Canham; Life of Oberlin, 2,000 by Mr. Freeman; The True Riches, 2,000 by Mr. Johns; and an edition of 1,000 Catechisms. We have printed the Book of Proverbs, and are adding to it Ecclesiastes, which we expect will be completed in a few days.

'The congregations continue steady and attentive, and we hope there is an evident increase of knowledge. The heart is known to God alone, but the appearance and conduct of most of those who were baptized, encourage hope

respecting them. A native youth usually engages in prayer at the opening of morning worship, and gives also an address in the afternoon. Two natives also engage in prayer at the Thursday afternoon service; and sometimes with a fervour that would refresh the heart of the friends of heathen, in any part of the world. The Sabbath evenings we occupy in our respective houses with natives who assemble for the perusal and examination of some portion of Scripture in order. Prayer-meetings also continue to be held among the natives in their own houses. The Lord's Supper we continue to administer to the members of the mission, publicly, and in the native language, as an exhibition of the "Lord's death," though no native can partake of it. They are spectators, and we trust the commemoration of it in their presence may have a beneficial effect on their hearts, though the law still forbids their participation.'

During 1833 to 1835 matters remained in much the same state. The controversy between Griffiths and his colleagues continued. The spiritual work among the natives deepened and widened. At the same time, signs of religious excitement due to partial and imperfectly apprehended teaching appeared. In 1834 the action of a religious fanatic greatly increased the queen's resentment against Christianity. Mr. Cameron has given us a striking sketch of this man:—

'There was at that time another remarkable man, Rainitsiandàvaka, middle-aged, and of extra sanguine temperament, who had got a superficial acquaintance with some of the truths of the Bible. He did not exactly belong to Ambàtonakànga, and had not been baptized by any one, but he had conversed a good deal with some church members, and occasionally with the missionaries. In and around his own village in the north he began to make a great stir in teaching the people such things as the following: That Christ was to return to the world, when all men should be blessed and perhaps never die; that there would be no more slavery, for all men would

be equally free; that cannons and guns and spears might be buried in the ground, for there would be no more war: even the spade, he said, might be buried in the ground for the earth would bring forth its fruits without labour; and that the idols were not divinities, but guardians. He and his followers formed a procession, and, bringing with them an idol of which he was the keeper, came up to Antanànarìvo to tell the queen the glorious news. The queen appointed some officers to hear his story, who soon returned and reported it to her. She sent back to ask him if the Queen of Madagascar and the Mozambique slaves would be equal in those days. He said "yes." When they told the queen this, she sent men who prepared a large quantity of boiling water, when the poor man, with two others, and their idol, were thrust into a rice-pit, and boiling water was poured over them, and the pit covered up. Many of his party suffered death by tangena at the same time.'

The multiplying signs of hostility to Christianity on the part of the queen and court culminated on Sunday, March 1, 1835, at a great kabary or public assembly, specially summoned for the purpose, in the edict suppressing Christianity which was then formally promulgated. Although events had long been tending in the direction of decisive action, the occasion of this step was an accusation against the whole body of Christians brought before the queen by an officer named Razàkandrianàina. He accused them of changing the customs, despising the idols and sikidy, and of entering into a league with the English. Ràtsimanìsa encouraged this man and laid his accusation before the queen.

The rapid sequence of events has been vividly sketched by Messrs. Johns and Freeman [1], and the reader is referred to their volume for many details of thrilling interest. The final scene and prohibition of Christianity is thus described:—

'At four o'clock that afternoon [2] the usual public service

[1] *A Narrative of the Persecutions of the Christians in Madagascar*, 1840.

[2] Thursday, February 26th.

was held at the chapel at Ambàtonakànga, and one of the natives was requested to conduct the meeting, and to deliver an address. The chapel was quite full, and the address was excellent, founded on the very appropriate text, "Save, Lord, we perish." It was the last public address ever delivered there. The officers then came to the residence of Mr. Griffiths, where the Europeans had met by appointment, to receive the queen's message. Ràtsimanìsa, the most inveterate enemy to Christianity, was at their head. His appearance indicated great excitement and determined enmity, as if actuated by some malignant power. There being no room for the whole party in the house, they entered the chapel; and after the usual forms of salutation, Ràtsimanìsa said there was a letter from the queen to the Europeans, adding, "Most of you understand the Malagasy language; if there are any here who do not, the others can translate it for them." The following letter was then read:—

'"TO ALL THE EUROPEANS, ENGLISH AND FRENCH.

'"Antanànarìvo, February 26, 1835.

'"I inform you, my friends and relations, with regard to the disposition you have manifested towards my country, in teaching the good disposition and knowledge, I thank you for that; it is highly acceptable to me, for I have observed the disposition manifested by you to Radàma, and also to me, that you have not changed.

'"And I also inform all you Europeans, that whilst you reside here in my country, you may, among yourselves, observe all the customs (religious observances), of your ancestors, and your own customs; and do not entertain any fears, for I do not change the customs of your ancestors, or your customs, for the disposition that you have manifested to my country is good: however, though I state that, if the law of my country be violated, the party is guilty, whoever he may be; nor is that done in this country only, but throughout the world, wherever the law of the country is violated, the party is guilty.

"And further, I tell you explicitly, that if these people of mine should change the customs of the ancestors, and that which has been transmitted from the ancient line of my predecessors, and from Andrianìmpoinimèrina and Radàma, if they should change that, I utterly detest it, for that which has been established by my ancestors, I cannot permit to be changed: I am neither ashamed nor afraid to maintain the customs of my ancestors; but if there be good disposition and knowledge that may be beneficial to my country, *that* I assent to, but still the customs of my ancestors I cannot allow to be relinquished.

'"And hence, then, with regard to religious worship, whether on the Sunday or not, and the practice of baptism, and the existence of a society (or societies), those things cannot be done by my subjects, in my country; but with regard to yourselves, as Europeans, do that which accords with the customs of your ancestors and your own customs. But if there be knowledge of the arts and sciences, that will be beneficial to my subjects in the country, teach that, for it is good; therefore I tell you of this, my friends and relations, that you may hear of it.

'"Saith Ranavàlomanjàka."

'After receiving the message of the queen contained in her letter, the Europeans retired from the chapel to their houses, followed by many of the native Christians overwhelmed with grief and terror[1].'

To all representations and pleadings by the missionaries and Europeans the queen turned a deaf ear. A kabary was held on March 1, 1835, and a royal proclamation was read which enjoined all who had 'observed baptism, entered into society, formed separate houses for prayer (or worship)' to confess. A month was allowed, and the penalty for disobedience was death. Few were found strong enough to make even the pretence of a protest against this despotic action. The vast majority hastened to accuse themselves,

[1] *A Narrative of the Persecution of the Christians in Madagascar*, by J. J. Freeman and D. Johns, pp. 111–113.

and were most concerned to find such excuses for their action as might gain them favour in the eyes of the queen and her officers. A few were faithful, affirming that in their action and prayer and worship as Christians they did no evil, and intended none to the queen and her kingdom. One gave examples of his prayers to the judges, and even they admitted that the prayers were good; but they affirmed that as the queen did not approve of them they ought not to be offered. All officers who had followed Christian customs were degraded, and in the course of the second week in March all Christian books were called in on pain of death. 'It would be impossible to describe the sorrow and grief of some of the people when delivering up their books. Few, perhaps, actually did deliver all they had; most kept either a psalter, a gospel, a hymn-book, a tract, or a catechism[1].'

'The members of the mission who remained continued to impart instruction and comfort to the native Christians, so far as opportunities could be found, up to the period of their departure in the year 1836. The number of converts had gradually increased, notwithstanding the difficulties they laboured under, and the imminent danger to which they were exposed. The forbidden ordinance of the Lord's Supper was occasionally administered to them in private; and several received baptism. Their expectation of being shortly left without a teacher urged many of them to diligence in reading the Scriptures; and it may be affirmed that they increased in spiritual knowledge under their painful and disadvantageous circumstances, even more than they had done before the publication of the edict suppressing Christianity. A bond of union was also formed among the Christians themselves during this time of trial. They were supplied with a copy of the whole Bible. Some walked upwards of 100 miles to obtain it[2].'

'Before the final departure of the missionaries from the capital, the *Pilgrim's Progress* was translated into the Malagasy language, by Mr. Johns, and eight copies were

[1] *Narrative*, p. 143. [2] Ibid., pp. 145, 146.

written out by some of the Christian natives at full length, and left in their hands, each copy being made the joint property of several individuals. They read it over frequently, and prized it next to the Bible. A copy of it was sent forward to Mr. Freeman, then in England, where a subscription was made by various friends in different parts of the country in order to have it printed. The Religious Tract Society liberally promoted the object, and 1,000 copies were struck off, many of which were in the hands of suffering Malagasy throughout the persecution[1].'

After the edict and the kabary which suppressed Christianity a large part of the missionaries' occupation was gone. 'The only thing left for them to do was to complete the translation and printing of the Scriptures. A part of the Old Testament was as yet unfinished, namely, from Ezekiel to Malachi, and a portion of Job. To this object they successfully and unremittingly devoted their energies, resolved, if it were possible, not to quit the country till the whole of the Scriptures were complete in the Malagasy language; and, happily, they saw their determination effected. Mr. Baker, the printer, as the sheets of the translation were put into his hand, composed the whole himself at the press, as the natives who had been taught the art of printing were no longer permitted to assist in furtherance of any such design[2].' 'Mr. Kitching worked off the sheets at the press. With trembling haste did the missionaries proceed with their task; and by the end of June they had the joy of seeing the first bound copies of the complete Bible. Most of these Bibles were secretly distributed among the converts; and seventy remaining copies were buried for greater safety in the earth; precious seed over which God watched, and which in due time produced a glorious harvest. The translators were driven away; but the book they had translated remained. Studied in secret and at the risk of life, this first translation served during more than a quarter of a century of persecution to keep alive faith in the newly

[1] *Narrative*, p. 148. [2] Ibid., p. 151.

received religion. In the thrilling story of the Martyr Church one fact stands out with great clearness, viz. that as intense hatred of the Bible was shown by the persecuting queen and her counsellors, so was intense love of the Bible one of the most marked characteristics of the persecuted [1].'

Unable except after the lapse of many months to consult the Directors, in these trying circumstances the missionaries had to act according to their own best judgment. It was evident that while the queen and her advisers adhered to the policy of reaction and idolatry, little Christian work could be accomplished. The best and most intelligent of the native converts advised retirement to Mauritius, at any rate for a time. Freeman, Cameron, Chick, and Kitching left in June, 1835; Baker and Johns remained until July, 1836. Mr. Baker described the gloomy close of the first period of missionary labour in the island in a letter to the Directors: 'That year was a year of suspense, agony, and pain to the missionary families that remained, not often paralleled even in the vicissitudes of the history of missions. The servants of the missionaries who had left were subjected to the murderous ordeal of tangena, and two of them died. An infant of another was suffocated the day after its birth by the queen's express orders, on account of the "fatal day" of its birth. The oppressions of the Government became more and more cruel. Sunday was especially and purposely desecrated by public works and amusements. Vice, disease, and poverty increased fearfully.

'In the mean time, those who had preserved their faith in the word of God became gradually known to us and to each other. Slowly and cautiously did they open their hearts even to their most intimate friends. Sometimes a recognition took place by a reference being made to the words in Jeremiah xxxviii. 15: "If I declare it unto thee, wilt thou not surely put me to death?" To which the answer would be from the following verse: "So Zedekiah

[1] *Madagascar of To-day*, by W. E. Cousins, p. 119.

sware secretly unto Jeremiah, saying, As the Lord liveth, that made us this soul, I will not put thee to death, neither will I give thee into the hand of these men that seek thy life."

'After a time the natives began to hold secret meetings at our houses and their own, and on the summits of solitary mountains, whence, amidst the treeless hills and vales of Imèrina, they could observe the approach of strangers at a very remote distance. These latter were their favourite places of assembly, since they could there freely sing to the praise of their God and Saviour without fear of being overheard, and none so well as afflicted Christians know how soothing oftentimes to the afflicted heart is the language and music of a hymn.

'At length July, 1836, arrived, when the Government expected that we should leave of our own accord. We had received no advice from the Society, and it seemed to us a solemn duty to bear, by our voluntary withdrawal, a public testimony to the simplicity and integrity of our object as Christian missionaries, since we could no longer remain in our missionary capacity. Accordingly, after several unsuccessful efforts to obtain from the Government even the most restricted permission to teach and print, we decided, for a period at least, to relinquish the mission. After leaving there about seventy complete Bibles, and several boxes of Psalters, Testaments, Spelling and Hymn Books, Catechisms, and Tracts, among the native Christians, chiefly buried underground for greater security, we sorrowfully, and in great depression of mind, left, and reached Mauritius in September, 1836[1].'

Thus ended in cloud and storm—almost all the fair promise of the first great awakening blighted, almost all the fruit of ten years' hard toil snatched away—the first period of Christian toil in Madagascar.

[1] *Narrative*, pp. 153, 154.

CHAPTER XXIX

WHILE 'THE LAND WAS DARK': 1836–1861

THE story of the persecutions and triumphs of the Madagascar Church whilst, in the expressive native phrase, 'the land was dark,' has often been told, and the main incidents are familiar to all who have paid any attention to the progress of Madagascar. Those readers who desire to refresh their memories can easily do so by re-reading Freeman and Johns' *Narrative*, and Ellis' *Martyr Church of Madagascar*.

The European missionaries were exercised in the first instance about the causes of the persecution, and in the second place at the passivity of the people in the face of such despotic Government action. Mr. Baker, in a 'Brief Account of the Suppression of Christianity in Madagascar,' which he drew up in November, 1835, dwells on both of these points. Return to absolute heathenism was, of course, the settled policy of the queen and her advisers. But the occasions for the persecuting outburst in March, 1835, were, according to this document—(1) complaints to the queen by a brutal and licentious officer of high rank, that Christianity induced women to become chaste; (2) refusal on the part of a young man, even though compelled to drink the tangena, to observe a heathen sacred day; (3) two female relations of the highest officer of state told him that a charm which he was carrying to the queen was 'nothing.' 'This led to an investigation as to the bearing of Christian doctrine on their stupid customs, which soon demonstrated facts of which the Government had been previously but imperfectly aware, and led to

the repressive measures.' Mr. Baker notes that whilst the edict revealed a very much wider spread of Christian influence than any of the missionaries had suspected, no thought of resistance entered into the minds of the large numbers affected by the queen's proclamation. Four hundred officers of rank were degraded, and yet 'not an effort was made to avert the persecution or to oppose the queen's word.' 'Loyalty is displayed by vociferous and profane and impure oaths, with scoffing at all truth, purity, and piety.' 'The servile submission of the natives is almost incredible to us, nurtured under the British flag. I asked an old man, a well-known orator, what he thought of the new law. He appeared amazed and said, "I, a Malagash, have no thought (or opinion). What the sovereign does causes her to be thanked."'

A letter from the pen of Mr. Johns, dated June 19, 1835, indicates how matters stood after the first shock of surprise and terror had passed:—

'Though many have turned back, yet we have from forty to fifty who walk still with Jesus, and I am persuaded that neither tribulation nor distress, persecutions nor dangers, shall be able to separate them from the love of Christ.

'We may class Paul and his wife among the first of these —they both continue to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless. All the young disciples look at this pious couple as their parents—they frequently resort to their house to converse privately on religious subjects, to read a portion of the Scriptures and to pray; they have a little prayer-meeting once a week held about the middle of the night at their house. I never attended any of these private meetings, but from what I have repeatedly heard from those present, I can say that He who entered the house when the doors were shut and stood in the midst of His disciples and said "Peace be unto you" does visit His poor afflicted people in these private meetings in this land.

'In the Vònizòngo district are several faithful followers of Jesus Christ, and as they are at some distance from the

capital they are more bold and open than those in and about Tananarivo. A great many from that district did not return their books, and I may say that all of them kept some portion of the Scripture. The persons that gave up the idol I sent you did not give up a single book of theirs. Every Sabbath day our Christian friends there meet together on the top of a high mountain to read the Bible, to pray, and to converse on religious subjects. On the top of one hill there are ten every Sabbath, and on the top of another there are seven. The former party have arranged a cave on the mountain where they keep a great part of their tracts and of other religious books, and as this cave is on a mountain where many graves are, and somewhat resembling a grave, no one suspects that it is a place arranged to keep *fianarana*. One of the party was at my house yesterday and saw a complete copy of the Scripture bound lying on the table; he took it up in his hand and pressed it again and again to his bosom, and said, with tears in his eyes, "You must give me this sweet book; Deny me not such treasure. I will take it, and read it, and keep it, whatever may be the consequence." He put it under his lamba and went away rejoicing.'

Mr. Chick, in a letter from Cape Town dated Oct. 14, 1837, quotes several letters received from Malagasy friends. Their tenor may be judged from one extract:—

'My father is dead and my wife's father, and my mother's brother also: this, I think, is comparatively easy to forget; but there is a certain leading thing which causes me too much grief. When I pass by Ambàtonakànga (where the chapel stands) and when Saturday arrives, and business to be done on the Sabbath, which cannot now be refused, this, this is indeed heavy to bear! All the missionaries are gone, for their work is ended! Oh, when shall we again behold a new day? Make haste the promise which says, "The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea"; that the broken heart, which is now too heavy, may be bound up; and may the power of Jehovah quickly appear, that all may see it

and be astonished thereat! Do not forget to pray for us, saith your friend Ratsilaingia.'

At the time when Johns and Baker left the capital severe persecution was directed against Rafàravàvy, a woman of rank who had become a convert prior to the proscription of Christianity. Her family, and she among them, had been devoted in an exceptional degree to the service of the national idols. She had been accused, and upon the day when Mr. and Mrs. Johns left Antanànarìvo she was pardoned but fined. and warned that if again found guilty her life would be forfeited. About a year later, she, with ten others, was again accused of praying and of allowing others to pray at her house. Arrested, she refused to betray those who had been associated with her. The officers managed to entrap into revealing these names a young woman named Rasalàma, who had been included in the same impeachment, who revealed the names of seven Christians hitherto unknown to the officials. Among these was a former diviner, Raintsihèva by name, memorable in Madagascar annals by his Christian name of Paul. Rafàravàvy would have been executed, and thus have become the first Christian martyr in Madagascar, but for the accident of a great fire during the night preceding the time fixed for her execution. In the confusion caused by the fire the execution of her sentence was deferred. Rasalàma, while in prison, greatly grieved by the weakness which had led her to betray others, uttered words which, on being reported to the commander-in-chief, determined him to put her to death at once.

'She was ordered for execution the next morning, and on the previous afternoon was put in irons, which, being fastened to the feet, hands, knees, and neck, confined the whole body in a position of excruciating pain. In the early morning she sang hymns as she was borne along to the place of execution, expressing her joy in the knowledge of the Gospel; and, on passing the chapel in which she had been baptized. she exclaimed, "There I heard the words of the Saviour." After being borne more than a mile

farther, she reached the fatal spot, a broad, dry, shallow fosse or ditch, strewn with the bones of previous criminals, outside what was formerly a fortification, at the southern extremity of the mountain on which the city stands. Here, permission being granted her to pray, Rasalàma calmly knelt on the earth, committed her spirit into the hands of her Redeemer, and fell with the executioners' spears buried in her body. Her intimate companions were in prison or concealment, but one faithful and loving friend who witnessed her calm and peaceful death, when he returned, exclaimed, "If I might die so tranquil and happy a death, I would willingly die for the Saviour too." So suffered, on August 14, 1837, Rasalàma, the first who died for Christ of the Martyr Church of Madagascar, which, in its early infancy, thus received its baptism of blood[1].'

After the death of Rasalàma 200 Christians were sold into slavery. Rafàravàvy was also sold, but her owner, so long as she did her allotted task, allowed her much personal liberty. Among those who had witnessed Rasalàma's martyrdom, and probably the only Christian who had the courage to be present, was the young man referred to above, named Rafàralàhy, who had been in the habit of receiving Christians for worship at his house near the capital. This man was betrayed by a former friend, an apostate who owed him money, and who took this means of cancelling his debt.

'After being confined in heavy irons for three days he was taken out for execution. On the way he spoke to the officers of the love and mercy of Christ, and of his own happiness in the prospect of so soon seeing that divine Redeemer who had loved him and died to save his soul. Having reached the place of execution, the same spot on which Rasalàma, nearly twelve months before, had suffered, he spent the last moments of his life in supplication for his country and his persecuted brethren, and in commending his soul to his Saviour. As he rose from his knees the

[1] *The Martyr Church*, by W. Ellis, pp. 121, 122.

executioners were preparing, as was customary, to throw him on the ground, when he said that was needless, he was prepared to die; and quietly laying himself down he was instantly put to death, his friends being afterwards allowed to inter his body in the ancestral grave[1].'

Rafàralàhy's wife was seized, cruelly beaten, and compelled to name those who had frequented his house. Rafàravàvy, one of these, fled, and by the aid of native friends finally reached Tamatave. There, by the aid of sympathetic friends among the Europeans, with six other Christians, she escaped to Mauritius in safety. Five of these, including Rafàravàvy, visited England, and were present at a great meeting at Exeter Hall on June 4, 1839. Their presence centred extraordinary interest upon Madagascar, and indirectly upon the general work of the Society. The refugees were accompanied by Mr. Johns. They returned to Mauritius in 1842, and undertook work there among the many Malagasy slaves in that island.

The next series of martyrdoms occurred in 1840. David Griffiths had been allowed to return to Antanànarivo as a trader, and he, in connection with Dr. Powell, whom business brought to Madagascar, did all in their power to aid those whose Christian faith brought their lives into jeopardy. In May, 1840, sixteen of the proscribed made an attempt to reach the coast. Unhappily they were betrayed, captured, and, five weeks after their flight, they were brought back. Two managed to escape. Of the rest, on July 9, 1840, nine were executed. David Jones, the veteran missionary, was then in the capital, and a letter from his pen dated July 10, describes the painful yet glorious event:—

'After my arrival in the capital on the 3rd, I was told that there were, on the eastern side of the town near Ifàliarivo, sixteen of the Christians in bonds waiting their trial. They had been hiding themselves from their persecutors for nearly two years, but some months ago made up their minds to try and escape, if possible, and flee to

[1] *The Martyr Church*, p. 124.

Mauritius; but, alas! after they had proceeded safely within three or four days' journey to Tamatave, they were caught, bound, and brought back to the capital to be tried. Two of them, a man and a woman, made their escape in the night while the guard was sound asleep, and their enemies have not been able yet to find them out anywhere. The others were tried and examined one after another apart, but they all stood firm like a rock. At length, nine of them were condemned to die. On the morning of the 9th July, there was a tremendous roar of cannon, and thousands of soldiers began to march towards the parade ground; about noon, the first officers went forth to deliver the kabary respecting the sixteen Christians who had attempted to flee to the Mauritius, and to proclaim that the queen had ordered nine of them to be put to death publicly this afternoon. There was much firing of cannon all the day at intervals, the meaning of which was not generally understood. Between three and four o'clock, as Messrs. Griffiths and Campbell were standing together on the balcony of Mr. G.'s house, they saw a number of people coming along the road; the nine Christians were borne by men quite naked, each being tied under a pole, and the bearers stood for a little time opposite Mr. Griffiths' house. Mr. G., being unable to bear the sight, withdrew into the house, together with his son, shedding tears with a heavy heart, and they were carried then opposite the house of Mr. Johns. Mr. Griffiths came up to my house (about forty yards behind his own) to tell me the distressing news; and while we were lamenting and mingling our tears together, they returned back, and stood for some time again opposite Mr. G.'s house; then carried them along the west side of the town to Ambòhipòtsy, the place of execution; and, after a short interval, a cannon was fired for a signal, the executioner approached, the nine were instantly speared to death, and their spirits fled to eternal glory. Paul and his wife, Joshua and his wife, and Flora or Raminàhy were of the number of these martyrs. The names of the others I have not been able yet to ascertain. The head of Paul and that of

another man were cut off and fixed on poles. The cannon that was fired for the signal to spear them burst into pieces, and the man that fired it was seriously burnt, which was considered by many as a bad omen, especially those who tremble with terror. Our friends, being so terrified and watched by spies, dare not come near me in the house, and my guard of honour will not allow any native to enter the house, except those who serve me and work for me. I have not known yet, correctly, what is become of the other five; it has been said that they are in slavery, but it is not certain.'

Mr. Griffiths was ordered to leave the island in September, and Mr. Jones left Madagascar shortly after these tragic scenes. He died at Mauritius on May 1, 1841. It must have tried his faith and have torn his heart to see the island, where he had spent so many years of toil, endured such heavy sorrows, and had sown the seeds of so promising a harvest, groaning under such a merciless despotism. He had laboured, and in God's time other men were to reap plentifully the harvest of which he himself saw only a promise, and even that appearing to vanish away.

Shortly after David Jones died, his old friend and colleague, David Johns, also passed away. He had returned from England to Mauritius in 1840, and he spent the next two years in fruitless endeavours to establish a settlement on that part of the coast of Madagascar then under French influence. In this he was unsuccessful, and he died on the island of Nosibè, off the north-west coast, on August 6, 1843. Before Mr. Johns died, he asked to be buried at Tafòndro, a place from which Madagascar could be seen to great advantage. Dying, he expressed his faith that the island so well seen from his grave was the inheritance of Christ, and that there His name would yet be revered by multitudes.

With the departure of Mr. Griffiths, and the deaths of his former colleagues, the Christians were almost wholly cut off from intercourse with the Christian world. But they were ever in the hearts and the prayers of myriads of

fellow believers all over the globe. One most hopeful sign was that during the apparent triumph of the powers of darkness the Church grew steadily. Even the heir to the throne himself came under the influence of Christian truth, as did also his relative Prince Ramònja. 'Not a few,' writes Mr. Ellis, 'residing in country places repaired to the mountains, amongst which the Christians were in concealment, to ask instruction, and to unite in their worship. The believers who had been put in chains were kept in their own houses, under guards of soldiers; but their friends and others had free access to them. With these the prisoners conversed, and prayed, and praised the Lord. They read the Holy Scriptures, explaining and enforcing their saving truths. The Christians declared that sweet were their bonds when so employed; and God blessed these sermons delivered by preachers in chains. Numbers received the word in love and faith; and some, even among the soldiers appointed to guard the prisoners, were also converted to Christ[1].'

All through this period accused Christians were often compelled to drink the tangena, and many of them died. But it was not until 1849 that another fierce wave of persecution rolled over the infant Church. On February 19, 1849, two houses belonging to Prince Ramònja which had been used for Christian worship were destroyed, and eleven Christians cast into prison. A kabary was held at Andohàlo, and once again Christians were ordered to accuse themselves. In Vònizòngo, a noble named Rainitràho and others refused to worship the idols, and eighteen were condemned to death at Anàlakèly. It is encouraging to note that the judge who condemned them, and whom Mr. Ellis met during his visit in 1856, had by 1869 become a Christian and a catechumen in the church at Ampàribè, under the charge of Mr. W. E. Cousins.

The four nobles, two of whom were husband and wife, were sentenced to be burned alive at Fàravòhitra, the last village on the northern end of the mountain on which the

[1] *The Martyr Church*, pp. 160, 161.

city is built. The fourteen others of inferior rank were sentenced to be hurled from the edge of Ampàmarìnana, a rock to the west of the palace, and their wives and children to be sold into irredeemable slavery. The remaining sentences included labour in chains for life, inflicted on 117 persons, with public flogging on 105 of their number. Fines, equivalent to one-half of their value if sold into slavery, were imposed on sixty-four. A fine of three oxen and three dollars was inflicted on 1,643 persons for attending Christian worship. Prince Ramònja, holding high rank in the army, was, for the same offence, fined 100 dollars, and reduced to the rank of a common soldier. One of the officers of the palace was deprived of his rank and fined fifty dollars; as were all other officers in the army or the civil service of Government, and reduced to the lowest grade. The total number of those on whom one or other of the sentences was pronounced on this occasion amounted, at the least computation, to 1,903, but by some accounts it is nearer 3,000[1].'

In 1853 Mr. Ellis and Mr. Cameron visited Tamatave, but were not allowed to journey to the capital. In June, 1854, Mr. Ellis again went to Tamatave, and during a stay there of some weeks saw many Christian refugees, and was enabled to do something to sustain the courage and the hope of the persecuted natives.

In July, 1856, Mr. Ellis visited the island again, was allowed to visit the capital, which he reached on August 25, and where he stayed until September 26. He saw much to confirm the reports of the constancy of the disciples, which had reached England from time to time. While fully aware of the dangers to which the Christian natives were exposed, he and other friends of Madagascar were hopeful that matters would now improve, especially as the prince royal was known to be so favourably disposed towards Christianity. But these hopes were speedily overclouded. In July, 1857, a renewed and even firmer outbreak of persecution occurred.

[1] *The Martyr Church*, pp. 168, 169.

'More than 200 suffered different kinds of punishment, most of them severe. The greater number of those who suffered death were men of mark, distinguished among the Christians for their position, piety, devotedness, ability, and usefulness. Fourteen were stoned to death at Fiadànana, more than a mile distant from Ambòhipòtsy, as were also others afterwards. Fifty-seven, if not a larger number, were chained together by the neck with heavy iron fetters, and banished to distant parts, where more than half of them died a lingering, agonizing death in their chains[1].'

But the dawn was at hand. On July 16, 1861, Ràvanà-lona died, and one of the first acts of Radàma II after his accession was to proclaim religious liberty to all his subjects. Heathenism and superstition had done their worst, but once again Christianity had triumphed. Force had utterly failed to stamp out the faith and loyalty and love to Jesus Christ, which His own Word and the faithful ministrations of His servants had planted in many hearts. Steadily through the long years of trial the Malagasy Church grew, both in the number and in the quality of its adherents.

[1] *The Martyr Church*, p. 220.

[AUTHORITIES:—Letters, Official Reports, Annual Reports; *A Narrative of the Persecutions of the Christians in Madagascar*, by J. J. Freeman; *The Martyr Church of Madagascar*, by W. Ellis.]

CHAPTER XXX

MADAGASCAR REOPENED TO THE GOSPEL

THE tidings of Ràvavàlona's death, the accession of Radàma, and the consequent reopening of the island to missionary enterprise, reached Mr. Ellis in his quiet and peaceful home at Rose Hill, Hoddesdon, on October 8, 1861. They also aroused intense interest and expectancy both in the Board of Directors and among all the friends of the Society. At the earliest possible moment the Directors were called together, and the record of a memorable meeting runs:—

'The Board having been specially summoned on Monday, October 14, 1861, to consider the present circumstances of Madagascar, and the course which it behoves the Directors to take, the important letters lately received from Mauritius and Madagascar were read. After lengthened consideration it was resolved—

'That this Board cannot receive the important communications now made to them without recording their devout gratitude to the God of Providence and Grace for sustaining His faithful servants in Madagascar during the protracted period of severe suffering and danger through which they have been spared, for preserving the life of the prince and permitting him to ascend the throne, and for the answers now vouchsafed to their prayers in reopening that country to the labours of Christian men.

'That, impressed with the solemn obligation resting upon them to employ the most prompt and vigorous measures for securing, at the earliest practical period, the resumption of the Society's mission in that island,

the Directors appoint a sub-committee to confer with Mr. Ellis upon the whole case, and as the Mauritius mail will sail before the next Board meeting, they be authorized and instructed to address in their name a letter to the King of Madagascar, conveying to him their sentiments upon his accession to the throne, and their desire, as soon as his permission is obtained, to send missionaries to Tanànarivo and other parts of his dominions, and further that the sub-committee use their best endeavours to ensure the safe conveyance of this communication to the capital.

'That communication be opened with the Right Hon. Earl Russell, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, acquainting him with the favourable sentiments with which the Directors have reason to believe the King of Madagascar regards this country, and expressing the hope that Her Majesty's Government will use their utmost influence to prevent the establishment of a French Protectorate in that island, should such a project be entertained.

'At the next regular Board meeting, on Tuesday, October 22, 1861, the following recommendation was read from the sub-committee with other members of the Board whom they had invited to join them, and who met on the 21st inst.:—

'That in the judgment of this committee it is of great moment that the Society should at the present time be well represented at the Mauritius. They therefore recommend the Board to present their most urgent request to the Rev. William Ellis to proceed to that island by the November mail, with a view in every practicable way to open communications with Madagascar.'

Mr. Ellis saw in these resolutions a call not to be resisted, and began to prepare at once for a prolonged visit to Antanànarivo. At his advanced age, with illness in his family, the mission involving, as it did, a long separation from his wife and home, the sacrifice and devotion of this prompt action on the part of the veteran were very great. Radàma had begun his reign in a way that held out at first most hopeful prospects for the future. He had invited

foreigners to return, and had issued a proclamation giving full religious liberty to all his subjects. Further news from the island stimulated the Directors' zeal. On September 20, 1861, the Governor of Mauritius informed his council that Radàma II had sent him a letter expressing his desire for 'a freer intercourse with the colony' and intimating that 'any congratulatory message would be favourably received.' In consequence of this a deputation was sent conveying assurances of Queen Victoria's good will, and bearing appropriate presents. The king and his prime minister, Rahanìraka, wrote in English to Mr. Le Brun, stating that steps had already been taken to re-establish schools. The aged missionary's son, Rev. John J. Le Brun, accompanied by two Malagasy evangelists, at once proceeded to Antanànarìvo.

In 1853, when it had appeared possible that the queen might relent towards Christianity, a sum of £7,000 had been raised. This fund had been kept intact, and was ready for immediate use. The Directors decided that Mr. Ellis should go to Antanànarìvo at once, and pledged themselves to reopen the mission with a strong and capable band of Christian workers as soon as possible. Mr. Ellis left London on November 20, 1861, and the Directors appealed for not less than six workers ready to start in the spring of 1862. These were to include a doctor, an educational superintendent, and a printer.

Mr. Ellis was detained some time at Mauritius by the fact that had he gone straight to Tamatave, he would have landed in the height of the fever season. He reached Antanànarìvo in June, 1862.

A large missionary party was sent to the aid of Mr. Ellis in 1862, viz. Mr. and Mrs. Toy, Dr. Andrew Davidson and Mrs. Davidson, the Rev. John Duffus, the Rev. W. E. Cousins, Mr. John Parrett, and Mr. C. H. Stagg. Dr. Davidson was a medical missionary, and began work in what had been Mr. Cameron's house. Mr. Parrett was a printer, and Mr. Stagg a schoolmaster. With the arrival of these friends, the reorganization of the mission proceeded

rapidly. All of these, except two, rendered long and useful service. Mr. Cousins is still (1898) the senior member of the mission. One, Mr. Duffus, early proved unequal to the strain of life among the Malagasy, and his connection with the Society was severed November 26, 1863. Mr. Stagg, after a little more than a year of useful educational work, died on February 5, 1864.

The reopening of Madagascar to the Gospel stirred up in other churches a strong desire to share in Christian work. Even before the arrival of Mr. Ellis, Roman Catholic priests and workers had reached the capital. From the first, these agents pursued the invariable policy of Rome. They denounced Protestantism, they attempted to secure the direction of affairs, and they showed no scruples in the means they adopted to secure their ends.

French political agents were also already on the spot, and active in their efforts, only too successful, to gain an influence over the king, and to aggrandize France. The French consul was M. Laborde, and in close association with him was a M. Lambert, who, in 1857, had been banished by Ràvavàlona because detected in a plot to dethrone her. Mr. Pakenham, the English consul, contrary to all reasonable expectation, took the side of the French as against Mr. Ellis, and did all in his power to lower the missionary's influence and to weaken his authority.

The coronation of Radàma took place in September, 1862, and was attended by special embassies from the British and French Governments. The Bishop of Mauritius was a member of the former, and was charged with the duty of presenting to Radàma from Queen Victoria, a handsomely bound copy of the Bible, inscribed with her autograph.

In a letter dated August 23, 1862, Mr. Ellis depicts the religious condition of the island, and the action which he so earnestly desired to take in relation to it. He, not unnaturally, took a somewhat sanguine view of the future, and in this letter he refers to the matter of the memorial churches. 'I sent to the king,' he writes, 'in January last,

to ask him to reserve the places on which, during the last twenty-six years, the martyrs had suffered, as sites for memorial churches which should not only be consecrated to the worship and service of the blessed God and Saviour, for love of whom they died, but should serve also to perpetuate the memory of their constancy and love.' Mr. Ellis in this letter, which has been printed [1], as might have been expected under the circumstances, gave a somewhat highly coloured picture of a Madagascar inflamed with desire for the Gospel. It may be well, as an aid to the better understanding of the later history of Malagasy Christianity, to place on record the accounts given at the same period by two competent observers.

Mr. W. E. Cousins, in a letter from Ampàribè, dated March 23, 1863, stated that his first impressions of the religious character of the people were favourable: the chapels were crowded with attentive and earnest hearers; in his own chapel at Ampàribè, there was an average attendance of 1,200. But after impressions were not so favourable. A large number only saw that Christianity was superior to their own system of sikidy and charms, and were not Christians at all, except in the most vague and general sense. Out of his 300 church members, about 150 had joined, to whom the 'light of liberty' came with Radàma. The other 150, who had dared to confess Christ when it was dangerous, though more mature Christians, were only just 'coming into the light. Even those who endured persecution are weak, and easily turned aside. Prosperity tries them in a new way, and they are easily stumbled. Although Christianity is working powerfully, there is still persecution of a private nature—fathers persecuting their children for attending the chapel.'

Mr. Toy, in a letter dated March 28, 1863, says: 'To what extent corruption existed was for a long time utterly unknown to us, and perhaps is far from being wholly known to us at present. There was scarcely an attempt at discipline, and the entire management devolved chiefly

[1] See *Chronicle*, 1862 p. 328.

upon the wealthier natives, who constituted themselves as leaders and rulers. They evidently regarded the Church as they regarded a party in the State, of which they were the heads; and had Radàma II been like Henry VIII or Elizabeth of England, the Church would have become unresistingly, if not gladly, a part of the State. Happily for the spiritual welfare of the Church, the present ruler had too much discretion, and entirely discouraged any attempt to establish a hierarchy with himself at the head.'

While matters were in this condition, and almost before the new workers had begun to feel at home in their work, events rapidly led up to political revolution. The keepers of idols, exasperated at the progress of Christianity, developed a cunning device for working upon the superstitious fears of both king and people. They employed a considerable number of persons, whose adherence they had secured by bribes, to simulate a 'new disease,' of epidemic character, which had all the appearance of madness, combined with powers of prophecy and of communicating with the spirits of the dead. They told the king that his ancestors had appeared to them to warn him, by their agency, that unless Christianity was stamped out ruin would overwhelm him and the nation. They ran, half-clothed, about the streets, brandishing weapons of various kinds to the danger of all whom they met. The king, instigated probably by the idol-keepers and the anti-Christian party, and with his credulity and superstitious fears fully aroused, ordained that these 'infected' persons should be allowed to carry their weapons without interference, and that if they injured or killed any one, they were not to be arrested or punished.

The king's character was the main factor in the position of affairs. From his record during Ràvavàlona's reign there was a reasonable expectation that he might himself experience the regenerating power of Divine grace. But this was not to be. Prosperity and absolute power proved fatal to any seeds of goodness which had seemed to take root in his heart. Radàma invariably exhibited the greatest cordiality to Mr. Ellis. The veteran missionary's influence

over him was very great with regard to the external affairs of the mission. Christianity was allowed full toleration. Mr. Ellis enjoyed the fullest and freest access to the king. But on the other hand those of his nobles who were rather hostile than friendly towards Christianity, and some of the French residents who gained influence with him, pandered to his weakness—fleshly indulgence. Radàma gave himself up to drunkenness and to a sensual excess possible, perhaps, only to a Malagasy, and the inevitable result followed—his kingship hastened to ruin. His intellect appeared enlightened enough to understand and approve Christianity; but his heart was so weakened by self-indulgence, and so enslaved by vile passions, that he grew worse day by day. The most charitable view is that his mind had begun to give way. The attempted revival of heathenism in the form of a dancing mania brought matters to a crisis. Radàma's justification of the dancers, and his refusal to punish them, so alarmed his nobles, that in May, 1863, they assassinated the king, and placed upon the throne his queen, Rasohèrina. She had little or no sympathy with Christianity, but on political grounds she confirmed and even enlarged the religious freedom which had been enjoyed during Radàma's brief and tragic reign. Prior to her proclamation as queen she was required to sign a document which affirmed in the most explicit language that Christianity should never again be forbidden or hindered by the Government. To this she faithfully adhered. Another stipulation was that she should abstain from intoxicants.

The position occupied by Mr. Ellis in the mission at this time was altogether exceptional. He had been a missionary in Polynesia before most of his colleagues were born. He had for many years filled the office of Foreign Secretary to the Society. He had also been in close touch with Malagasy affairs during the last ten years of the persecution period. Hence it is not surprising that he, with no desire to assume the position of an autocrat, and with no consciousness of the probable effect of his action upon his colleagues, often settled affairs without consulting them.

He was also disposed to think the best of Radàma II, even until the time of his assassination. The fact that Mr. Ellis's stay on the island was to be so limited also added somewhat to the difficulty of the situation. At the same time his experience, his practical wisdom, his quiet firmness in the management of affairs were of the highest value.

Even before he reached Madagascar in 1862, Mr. Ellis had formed the plan of building memorial churches on the sites where the martyrs had perished during Ràvavàlona's reign, and Radàma had promised to reserve land for this purpose. The sites were four in number. Mr. Ellis had been deeply impressed by his visits to some of these in 1856, and how the scheme touched the hearts of friends at home is shown by the fact that £8,000 were speedily subscribed for this object. The carrying out of the plan proved very difficult, and in the end it became so costly that ultimately half the sum which Mr. Ellis had considered sufficient for the four churches was expended in building the first. It thus becomes an example of what meets us again and again in the study of a century's missionary work, viz. the difficulty of judging new departures from the standpoint of the people who have to execute them, and the country in which they are to be carried out. While all are agreed that enterprises of this kind should be most carefully weighed and considered, experience proves that with the best possible intentions this is very rarely accomplished. It is both easy and attractive to outline most promising schemes, and it is often very easy to begin them. This Mr. Ellis did, and did well in the case of the memorial churches. But he had left Madagascar long before the first church was built, and he himself had passed away, and more than twice his original estimate had been expended, before the complete scheme was accomplished. Yet it is only fair to note that experience has justified the project. The memorial churches have proved a stronghold to the mission, and well worth the time and money expended upon them.

The enterprise also illustrates the great difficulty which

missionary societies, whose centre of government is necessarily far away from the scene of labour, experience in satisfactorily controlling the details of work or the amount of expenditure.

Soon after his arrival in Madagascar Mr. Ellis suggested the employment of the veteran artisan missionary, Mr. Cameron, as superintendent of the building operations for the new memorial churches. By a minute dated April 2, 1863, the Southern Committee agreed to this, appointing Mr. Cameron 'for a period of, say, three or four years.' At their next meeting on June 18, 1863, the committee appointed Mr. James Sibree to go out to Madagascar for a term of three years as the architect to superintend the erection of these churches. He reached Antanànarìvo on October 16. Mr. Cameron had previously reached Antanànarìvo, and was under the impression that the Directors had intended him to both plan and build the churches. The result was a little embarrassing both to Mr. Ellis and Mr. Sibree. As builder in co-operation with Mr. Sibree, the Directors, in February, 1865, sent out Mr. William Pool.

In addition to the drawbacks caused by the distance of London from Antanànarìvo, and lack of harmony between the agents entrusted with the work, the difficulties due to Malagasy conditions were very numerous and hard to overcome. The Malagasy Government refused point-blank to give an absolute title to the land ; buildings of the size intended had never before been attempted in the island ; owing to the Malagasy character and conditions of life, it was only by great pressure, endless patience, and skilful dealing with constant opposition that the requisite labour could be obtained. This portion of the enterprise is ably set forth in chapter xviii of Mr. Sibree's *Madagascar and its People*. Readers who wish to understand how hard it is to get intelligent and persistent effort out of a heathen people should read that chapter carefully.

The sites selected, and at Mr. Ellis's request set apart by Radàma II, were Ambàtonakànga, Ambòhipòtsy, Ampàmarìnana, and Fàravòhitra. To these was added later

Fiadànana. It was not until 1865 that these sites were finally transferred to the Society 'by the Sovereign of Madagascar for the teaching and worship of the missionaries of the London Missionary Society and the Malagasy who unite with them in the same worship, and to their successors for ever.' But the last clause of the agreement runs: 'Nevertheless, it shall be agreed that those churches belong to the Sovereign of Madagascar but for that worship; and the London Missionary Society shall have no claim for the repayment of the money spent, little or much, in the building of those churches, for they are the sovereign's in the manner stated above[1].' This agreement was not free from serious objection, but Mr. Ellis, in a letter dated July 2, 1865, wrote to the Directors, 'It is better than we ever expected to obtain.' The Malagasy Government always manifested an invincible repugnance to an absolute transfer of land to foreigners.

The appeal of Mr. Ellis, which the Directors circulated, and to which a ready and generous response was given, estimated the cost of four churches at £10,000. They were to be of stone—this, of itself, a novelty in the island—plain, solid fabrics, each capable of accommodating 800 to 1,000 persons. On Mr. Sibree's arrival it was decided to begin at Ambàtonakànga, the spot where Mr. Johns' church stood in the early days, and where, in the old native chapel during the persecution, large numbers of Christians were imprisoned, and whence many were dragged to martyrdom. 'The site is very fine. The church stands on a large piece of ground, a fine level platform with massive retaining walls of blue rock on the eastern and southern sides; for the ground falls away so rapidly to the north and west that at one point the wall is nearly forty feet above the roadway[2].'

The foundation-stone was laid by the prime minister on January 19, 1864, but the church was not opened for

[1] The French since their conquest of the island have made astute use of this clause in various agreements and deeds.

[2] *Madagascar and its People*, p. 137.

worship until January 22, 1867[1]. The second church begun was at Ambòhipòtsy, the place where Rasalàma was executed. Like the first it was designed by Mr. Sibree, and executed under the direction of Mr. Pool. It was begun in October, 1865, and opened November 17, 1868.

In 1867 Mr. Sibree's term expired. The Directors, alarmed at the cost of these churches—the two already undertaken having cost £8,000—recalled Mr. Sibree, stopped for the time the execution of the plan, and embarked upon the unwise method of trying to superintend details from London. They put aside the plan for the Fàravòhitra church which had been prepared by Mr. Sibree, and finally contracted with Mr. Cameron to carry through its construction. They employed a London architect to prepare a new plan, which Mr. Cameron was to execute for a fixed sum, the Society paying for all the material. The net result of this action was the completion of the church, but at a much greater cost, in all probability, than if they had adhered to Mr. Sibree's plan and Mr. Pool's superintendence.

The church at Fàravòhitra stands on the site where the four nobles were burnt in 1849. The money for the building was collected by the children of Great Britain, who raised for this purpose £2,850. The church was begun in 1867, and completed and opened in September, 1870. The fourth memorial church was situated at Ampàmarìnana, near the precipice over which so many Christians were hurled. It was begun in 1869 and opened in 1874. Before its commencement, the fund, which amounted to about £14,000, was exhausted, and this church cost the funds of the Society about £2,500. The total expenditure on these four churches amounted to about £18,000.

In addition to these a memorial church on a smaller scale was also erected at Fiadànana, the place where the stoning of Christians took place in the persecution of 1857.

From 1863 to 1868 the growth of the mission was rapid

[1] For most interesting details connected with this church and its progress, see *Madagascar and its People*, chapter xviii.

and continuous. On June 11, 1863, four new workers sailed for Madagascar: Mr. Briggs, who took charge of the work at Ampàmarìnana; Mr. Hartley, who settled at Andohàlo; Mr. Pearse, who became pastor at Anàlakèly; and Mr. Kessler. The latter's connection with the Society ceased in 1865. In September, 1864, Mr. George Cousins reached Antanànarìvo, and became associated with Mr. Ellis in work at Ambàtonakànga. In 1866 the mission was further strengthened by the arrival of Mr. Charles Jukes, and in 1868 by Mr. James Barker. Mr. Hartley was a man of altogether exceptional merit. He had been classical tutor at Airedale College, and upon his settlement in Antanànarìvo threw himself heartily into the work at Andohàlo. He had been sent to Madagascar in the hope that he might be able to organize the work of training native preachers, and also take part in the much-needed revision of the Bible translation. The time had hardly come for the first of these tasks, but he was diligent in preparation for the second. He devoted much time to the language and to the preparation of Christian literature. But in 1867 his own health and that of his wife failed, and in 1868 they were compelled to return to England. Soon after reaching England he saw through the press a new edition of the Malagasy New Testament, and also one of the Malagasy Hymn-book. He died at Bournemouth February 13, 1870. His enforced retirement was felt to be a great loss to the mission, and his death was mourned by his colleagues and by a wide circle of friends.

Before passing to the great awakening due to the destruction of the national idols, we must briefly refer to the new home policy which in 1868 was extended to Madagascar in common with all the other great fields of work. The origin of this development is traced in Volume II of this history. Dr. Mullens on March 5, 1868, addressed to the Madagascar missionaries what is known as Budget Dispatch No. 4. It sketches in detail the history and progress of the mission, and then indicates what from the home point of view were the pressing needs

and difficulties, and also the chief encouragements. The missionaries were urged to use the new and deepened interest in Christianity to render the native churches as far as possible self-supporting, to avoid isolation in work, and to bring to bear upon all difficult matters the collective wisdom and insight of the mission. The unwisdom of missionaries assuming the pastorate of native churches was next dwelt upon, the need for itinerating and village work in extending the power of the Gospel, and the imperative necessity for developing native evangelistic agency. The financial arrangements of the mission were also placed on a settled basis. With regard to the Government, after sketching the relationship of the mission as it was then understood in England, and expressing the opinion, which events were so soon to falsify, that 'the old system must still possess great strength, and will retain the deference and respect of the multitude for many years to come,' the Directors give this clear exposition of their views on a difficult point:—

'It is well that Christianity should not move on too quickly. It is well that, for a while, the pressure of opinion should rather be against it. Far better is it that Christ's kingdom should grow from conviction, and that the conviction should be tested, than that multitudes should accept the Gospel only because others do. We deprecate, therefore, all interference on the part of the Government in the management of the churches. We wish no help, no endowment, no advice, no rule; and we trust all our native brethren will wish the same. In Europe, the older nations are fighting their way back from establishments of religion to the Free Church in a Free State. In England the contest has begun in earnest; and we trust that not only yourselves, but your people also, will view with jealousy every attempt on the part of the State in any way to touch the work, the worship, or the position of Christianity. We trust they will heartily agree with you, not only "to render faithfully unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, but also unto God the things that are God's."'

Much of what was enjoined in this dispatch was either in existence, or coming into being in the conduct of the mission. It undoubtedly did good service in bringing to a close the system of individualism which had been followed too long. It also shaped the lines which subsequent development has for the most part followed. But it was largely overshadowed by the extraordinary events which took place at the time it reached the island, and which were soon to bring the author of the dispatch to Madagascar, to see for himself the wonderful things which God had wrought and to co-operate with the missionaries in adapting the machine to the tremendous strain placed upon its several parts. To these events we now turn.

[AUTHORITIES.—Letters, Official Reports, Annual Reports. There is a very extensive general literature on Madagascar. The most accessible books of reference are—*The History of Madagascar*, 2 vols., *Three Visits to Madagascar* (1858), *Madagascar Revisited* (1867), *The Martyr Church of Madagascar*, all by William Ellis; *Madagascar and its People*, and *Madagascar since the Conquest*, both by James Sibree; *Madagascar of To-day*, by W. E. Cousins. *The Antanànarìvo Annual*, begun in 1875, and continued in annual volumes since, is a mine of most interesting and valuable information, connected with all aspects of Malagasy history, life, and thought.]

CHAPTER XXXI

THE GREAT CONVERSION: 1868–1870

In January, 1868, Rasohèrina became very ill. A conspiracy was organized to place a relative of Radàma II, Rasàta by name, upon the throne, and to restore the late prime minister. On April 1 the queen died, and was succeeded by her cousin Ramòma, who took the name of Ranavàlomanjàka. One sign of the altered state of affairs was the leniency with which the conspirators were treated. Kèlimalàza and the sikidy were not consulted, and another sign of progress was the intimation that brick and stone might in future be used within the city whenever the builders desired. In heathen days the use of wood only had been allowed. It became known at once, through these and other indications, that the Government attitude towards Christianity was favourable. Government work on Sunday was stopped, and the queen refused to see the United States consul when he presented himself on that day. The attendance at the public services, especially on the part of high officials, greatly increased. Sunday markets also were prohibited.

This encouraging news developed home interest in Madagascar. Still further, on September 17, 1868, the Southern Committee passed a resolution 'that this Committee desire to record their earnest and humble thanksgiving to God for the great blessings which He has recently vouchsafed to the Madagascar Mission. In the public putting away of idolatry, in the removal of social hindrances to the acknowledgement of the truth, and in the great increase of attendants upon public worship, they

gratefully recognize an answer to the many prayers which for forty years have been offered on behalf of the native Church. They pray that these churches may by increase of grace be made fruitful unto all good works; and that as they were preserved in the dark days of persecution, so now they may be kept from the special dangers to which prosperity exposes them.' A special meeting of ministers was held at the mission house, and a great public thanksgiving meeting at Claremont Chapel; and a special appeal issued for £3,000 to complete the memorial churches, and to send out, if possible, two experienced pastors and a medical missionary.

On September 3, 1868, the coronation ceremonies took place. They were remarkable for the omission of the distinctive idolatrous ceremonies. They excited enormous interest, and 400,000 people are said to have been present. Around the frieze of the canopy beneath which the queen sat were the words, 'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men. God be with us.' Upon a table in front of her was the copy of the Bible which had been presented to her predecessor by the Bible Society. The queen's speech, the first in the annals of Madagascar which was printed, and in that form circulated among the people, was emphatic in its proclamation of religious toleration. 'This also is my word to you, ye under heaven, in regard to the praying: it is not enforced; it is not restrained; for God made you.' The tone of the prime minister's speech also was most friendly in regard to Christian progress. Very shortly afterwards Christian services were commenced within the palace itself, and these culminated in the baptism of the queen and prime minister on February 21, 1869.

The chief agent in this work was a native pastor named Andriambèlo, a man of devoted Christian character and of great spiritual power. He was born in 1829, and while yet a child lost his father by the tangena. His brother, a scholar in the early mission school, was a Christian, and is said to have died in the first persecution. Andriambèlo

became a Christian through hearing a Christian hymn, and became himself a Christian teacher and preacher. After the 1849 persecution he was baptized, and in 1857 he was condemned, and fled for his life. He escaped, and in 1861 was among the first to welcome the missionaries to the capital. He was long associated with the Rev. W. E. Cousins in the pastorate of the large church at Ampàribè.

A letter from Mr. Cousins states that the prime minister, who, in marrying the queen, was only observing the invariable custom, departed from it by divorcing his former wife in consequence, and by the expression on the part of the queen and himself of a purpose to be faithful to one another as man and wife.

The tidings of these events reawakened in England profound interest in the affairs of Madagascar. The Directors sent congratulatory addresses to both the queen and prime minister. It was also obvious that important accessions to the missionary staff were imperative, and an urgent appeal was issued for men and for means to sustain them. In both respects the response was prompt and generous. This newly aroused zeal was deepened and sustained by the tidings which reached England in the middle of 1869 of the destruction of the national idols. From the date of the queen's baptism the progress of Christianity had been very rapid. Messrs. Briggs and W. E. Cousins in a letter dated April 29, 1869, state that between May, 1867, and December, 1868, 30,000 had been added to the regular hearers of the Gospel, and the separate congregations had increased from 92 to 148. Twenty to thirty new congregations had been formed since the year began. This letter also clearly indicates some of those features of the work which ought to have kept some of the Directors and the Christian public from the misconceptions under which many of them laboured for years. There had been so much of thrilling incident in Madagascar's story, the victory of Christianity seemed so complete, that it was very easy to misunderstand the exact meaning of what had occurred, to fail altogether to keep in view the many weaknesses of

the Malagasy character, and to transfer to them qualities and powers unattainable by a people just emerging from a heathenism of a peculiarly degraded moral type. It was afterwards freely stated that the missionaries on the spot did not fully and frankly depict the real state of affairs. No one who reads the letters in the Society's archives can for a moment maintain this. The missionaries wrote home fully and frankly. But both Directors and supporters failed to gather the true meaning and force of their descriptions, because readers at home persistently read into these letters what they fancied they saw there. It was often a puzzle to the workers in Madagascar that their letters home could be, as they undoubtedly often were, taken in so different a sense from that intended, and from what to the writers seemed the obvious and clear meaning.

The letter just referred to is a case in point. It states explicitly, 'You will readily understand how limited is the knowledge of most of the native pastors, and how little able they are to instruct and guide their congregations without frequent aid and supervision. For real instruction the people are almost entirely dependent upon us, for we have scarcely a native pastor who will conduct a Bible class.' 'The present seems just the turning-point in the history of this country, and so far as we can see Christianity will soon become, in name at least, the religion of the whole country. It rests with our Society to determine what amount of instruction shall be given to the large numbers who are now putting themselves under our care.'

A passage upon the relation of the Government to the Christian natives is also full of interest in the light of subsequent controversies:—

'There is still one other matter of importance upon which we wish to address you, viz. the relations existing between the Christians and the native Government, and the consequent difficulties we find in carrying out our principles as Nonconformists. From one or two private letters, you have seen that some of the missionaries have experienced occasional annoyance and some little difficulty

in this matter, and most of us have had our fears in respect to it. We wish you, however, clearly to understand that we have as yet experienced no *official* interference in our work by the Government as such. What interference any of us have experienced has been by certain high officers or members of the Government, and not by the Government officially. There is at present no probability whatever that the Government have any idea of setting up a state church, but there is a probability that the missionaries, or rather the native Christians connected with them, will experience occasional interference in the work of the churches, not by the Government as a body, but by individual members of it. The high officers do not feel at liberty to interfere directly with the work of the missionaries, but they have no scruples or difficulties in interfering with the native Christians. Were it not for the presence and influence of the missionaries, it is almost certain that the whole work of the churches would fall at once into the hands of the Government and high officers, and that without the least demur on the part of most of the natives. We make these remarks in order that you may clearly understand that in endeavouring to keep the Church in Madagascar from state patronage and control, the missionaries can look for no help from the native Christians. As you are well aware, we missionaries are all Nonconformists, and we are anxious that Nonconformity in respect to state-churchism shall be the principle of the Church in Madagascar. We have been from the first, and are now, striving to make it so, but we do not expect to be able to carry out our principles in all their purity, and you must not be surprised if in some points we fail. You must not forget that we are a handful of foreigners fighting against what may be regarded as the tendency of the whole nation. The Malagasy are not English, and know nothing of liberty political and religious as Englishmen understand it. The tendency in Madagascar is to conformity as a general principle. This tendency (at least in respect to state-churchism) we are trying to stop, and to turn it in the

opposite direction; a work which requires great caution and no lack of judgment. The only way in which we can hope to be successful is by quietly teaching our principles, instilling them into the minds of the people, and there leaving them to work their way. Were we to take up a position of antagonism to the Government we should defeat the very object we are seeking to gain, and adopt the readiest means of bringing about an established Church.

'If you consider the state of society in Madagascar you will easily understand the difficulties with which we have to contend in endeavouring to carry out our Nonconformist principles. The state of Malagasy society is well known to Mr. Ellis, and by this time will be pretty well known to you and the Directors. Every one here is to a great extent the slave of the one above him, and all may be regarded as the slaves of the Government or the sovereign. There is consequently a fear of doing anything to displease, and a constant seeking after favour with those in authority. The principal motive with great numbers of the people who are now coming to our places of worship, and beginning to pray, is that they may please the queen and obtain the favour of the *lehibe* (the high officers). Principle is nothing to them if they are only in the safe path, and doing the will of those in authority. Of course some of the older Christians are men of better knowledge and sounder principle, but even they are completely carried away by the new state of things. They can see no harm if those who occupy positions of influence and authority in the nation exercise their influence and authority in the affairs of the Church; in fact, they are rather glad of it than otherwise. Hence it is a very easy thing for those occupying positions of authority to give instructions respecting the opening of chapels, the services to be held, the hymns to be sung, the sermons to be preached, the prayers to be offered, and even to interfere in the appointment of pastors, or about sermons that have been preached, and to threaten with punishment those who are unruly in the

Church. Such things have been done occasionally. In matters of importance affecting the churches, the natives will often go to the *lehibe* first, and after that to the missionary. Sometimes their business will be settled for them in high quarters, and sometimes they will be sent at once to the missionary to whose district they belong. You will see from these as well as from other things you have heard, that we have occasional difficulties in carrying out our Nonconformist principles. At the same time, we have no wish to exaggerate these difficulties. They are after all perhaps not so great as might have been expected considering the state of society and the great power which Christianity has so rapidly become in this country. We may safely say that our efforts during the last few months have been to some extent successful, and we have less ground for fear now than we had some six months ago. We have therefore hope that by constant teaching and unobtrusive efforts we shall succeed in keeping free from earthly and unholy influences, and in securing peace and prosperity to the Church of Christ in Madagascar.'

Before the state of matters so clearly and so ably depicted in this letter could be realized at home, public feeling on Madagascar matters was once again deeply stirred by the tidings that the queen had ordered and carried out the destruction of her ancestral idols. The story of this most important event is graphically told in a letter from the pen of the Rev. George Cousins, dated Ampàribè, September 24, 1869:—

'Startling intelligence from Madagascar has been so common of late years, and especially during the reign of the present sovereign, that possibly you are in a measure prepared for the important news that will reach you by this mail. "The idols," i. e. the material, visible idols, have in this part of the island been "utterly abolished," and in every large village and town a small heap of ashes may be seen, the only remaining token of the once famous *sampy*. There was nothing glorious in a Malagasy idol, nothing to awe a stranger, nothing beautiful; a few pieces of stick

wrapped up in a red lamba and decorated with beads and chains, a piece of chalk in a bag, a wooden representation of an insect—such wretched trifles as these were the objects of the people's reverence and regard. Still, wretched "gods" as they were, they have exerted a wide-spreading and most pernicious influence over these intensely superstitious people, and if the Gospel has not had to wrestle with the priests of a hoary-headed and elaborate system of idolatry, it has had to struggle with gross ignorance and darkness—"a darkness that might be felt." In the brighter days that have arisen we cannot forget the difficulties of the past.

'Kèlimalàza (little but famous) has always been reckoned the first in power and influence of all the idols in Madagascar, and even in his destruction he was honoured with the distinction of leading the way for his less favoured companions. He was burned first, and the rest followed as a matter of course. I was not aware of the extent of his power, but his name has been in every one's mouth lately, and I have heard more about him than ever before. The honour due to him was reckoned as being equal to that of the sovereign on the one hand, and to that of the common people on the other; by some imaginary arrangement "honour" was divided into three parts, a third belonging to the monarch, a third to the idol, and a third to the people. Kèlimalàza's keepers at Ambòhimànambòla had great privileges also. They had under their own control the life and death of their tribe, and could behead without consulting the Government. They had the privilege of what is called *tsy maty manota*, i. e. not dying when transgressing, and if detected stealing, or worse, could claim release at once. They were treated too as nobles, and received the salutation which always distinguishes the nobleman, however poor, from the Hova, however rich. They could carry a scarlet umbrella, which is the badge of honour, confined, with this one exception, to princes and princesses of the royal blood.

'When Ranavàlona II came to the throne as a queen

professing reliance upon God and not upon *sampy*, the numerous tribe of idol-keepers at Ambòhimànambòla were told to return to their former position, and the special privileges which had been theirs were taken from them. They have since found that they will be expected to do their share of government service and to serve in the army, from both of which they were formerly specially exempted, and have also been informed by the queen that as they were only nominally "nobles" they must cease claiming the distinction and sink into Hovas again. This has been a sore trial to their pride, and their obstinacy in refusing to accept this humiliation was the immediate cause of Kèlimalàza's destruction. From all one can gather from the natives, the Government had no intention of burning the idols until the royal chapel was completed, but it was suddenly resolved on the 8th inst. to burn them without delay. They say that unless they had been publicly destroyed the Malagasy would never have believed that the queen had really given them up. It seems that on Wednesday, the 8th of this month, the Ambòhimànambòla people were at the palace, urging the queen to return to the service of her ancestors' idol, and also asserting their rights to former privileges. The queen replied that they would soon hear her word about the idol. At this they became alarmed and hastened home. A number of the leading officers left for their village at the same time, followed by their *dekana* (aides-de-camp), and there was quite a race as to who should arrive first, the idol-keepers or the queen's messengers. The iconoclasts gained the race, however. The officer who arrived first was on horseback, and as horses have never been allowed to enter the sacred village, imagine the consternation of the superstitious villagers when they saw a horse close to Kèlimalàza's house. I am not quite clear as to the course of subsequent events. But for some time the people could not be persuaded to come near the officers. One man carried some charms into the idol-house which he said would effectually prevent their finding him. When they had

brought the idol and all the ornaments and trappings belonging to him out of the house, the officer highest in position among them, speaking in the name of the sovereign, said, "Whose is this idol? is it yours, or is it mine?" The keepers could not but reply that it was the sovereign's. "Then," said the officer, "if this is mine, says RANAVALO-MANJAKA, I shall burn my idol; for my kingdom rests upon God. My ancestors, through lack of knowledge, trusted in *sampy*, but my trust is in God." Without further ado they set fire to Kèlimalàza and burnt him and his umbrella and all his belongings. The idol was simply a small piece of wood resembling an insect, wrapped in scarlet cloth, and decorated with silver chains.

'Next day a general slaughter commenced. All the royal idols were committed to the flames, and officers were scattered all over Imèrina engaged in the work of destruction. The heads of the people told the queen that as she was burning her idols of course they should burn theirs, and some of them assured her that if any refused to give up their charms and *sampy*, they would burn them and the *sampy* together. Baskets full of rubbish have been destroyed, but although rubbish in our eyes, many of the people believed that it would be impossible to destroy some of their honoured Penates, and they trembled as they stood round the fire in which they were blazing away. Still the work has been done with a suddenness and universality truly wonderful. We hear that instructions have been forwarded to all the Government stations in the provinces to act in the same way.

'This important step has quite a Malagasy character about it, and although we may not altogether approve of some things in connection with it, we cannot but rejoice in the fresh proof afforded of the power of the Gospel in this island. You in England will join with us in praising the great Head of the Church who so signally manifests His grace and power amongst this people. "Not unto us, not unto us, but unto His name give glory."

'But there is a practical side of the question which we

on the spot here recognize, and which the Directors should keep constantly in mind. The congregations in the outlying villages are greatly increased, and new places are springing up at a distance from the capital and not within easy reach. We are constantly hearing of people meeting together and no one to preach to them, and we have numerous applications for teachers which we cannot meet. Every month shows one more clearly how utterly inadequate for the increasing demands of our work is the present small staff of missionaries. I cannot say that my conscience troubles me, but my heart does grieve most deeply, when I realize my inability to do what falls to my share. The native agency is strong in numbers, but deficient in knowledge and fitness to instruct people in God's word.

'The Christians have commenced, entirely of their own accord, what may, with careful watching and developing, resolve itself into a Home Missionary Society. They have collected money—$157, including $50 from the committee—and are sending four men of long standing as Christians, to evangelize the leading idol-villages. My co-pastor, Ratsilainga, is one of the four. They are to stay only for a few months. But as other places may need help at the end of that time, we may be able to make some permanent society for spreading the Gospel in the provinces.'

This act of the queen immediately and greatly increased the number in Madagascar of nominal adherents to Christianity, and placed greater burdens than ever upon the too few missionaries in the island. But it aroused the home authorities to more vigorous action than ever. On September 16, 1869, the Madagascar Committee had passed two important recommendations :—

'1. That the Directors, while relying on the brethren that they will, as far as they deem practicable and right, comply with the wishes, and aid in promoting the ends of the native Government, urge upon them a firm but courteous resistance to any interference on the part of the Government as such, in the internal management of the churches.

'2. That two ordained missionaries be added to the brethren already appointed, to proceed to Madagascar in the spring.'

The arrival of the news that the idols had been destroyed led the Directors to consider still more carefully the state of the Madagascar Mission, and the most efficient way of dealing with its primary requirements. An elaborate scheme was drawn up[1], of which the following were the chief points. Two of the seven missionaries then resident were to be set free to train native pastors; five new mission stations were to be opened; three missionaries were to go to Betsilèo, in addition to one already appointed; two medical missionaries, one for the capital and one for Betsilèo, and two schoolmasters were also to be sent out. This meant an addition to the staff of *sixteen* missionaries, at an estimated cost over and above passage and outfit of about £5,000 a year.

Almost the whole of this scheme was ultimately accomplished, although modifications in detail necessarily occurred. As always happens when a considerable number of men are sent to one field, especially under circumstances of pressure and excitement, there was a considerable percentage of failure. Affairs on the island were rendered somewhat more difficult by the efforts on the part of the Directors, natural enough, but based upon imperfect apprehension of the native character, to make the native schools and native churches largely self-supporting. The questions also of the intrusion of other missions into a field peculiarly the London Missionary Society's own, and the ever-recurring difficulty of Government influence upon the churches, exerted somewhat harmful effect, as we shall see later on.

[1] See *Chronicle*, 1870, p. 39.

CHAPTER XXXII

THE MALAGASY CHURCH: 1870–1895

DURING 1869 to 1873 inclusive, twenty-one missionaries were sent to Madagascar: in 1869, Mr. Richardson; in 1870 Messrs. Attwell, Forster, Matthews, Montgomery, Moss, Peake, Sibree (now a trained and ordained missionary), and Wills; in 1871, Brockway, Houlder, and Stribling; in 1872, Baron, Beveridge, Grainge, and Thorne; in 1873, Lord, Parker, Peill, Pickersgill, Riordan, and Rogers. Of these, all except Forster and Attwell rendered considerable service to the mission, and in 1895 there were still nine of them actively engaged in its service.

By these reinforcements the stations in and about the capital were strengthened, the work tentatively begun in Betsilèo was put upon a sounder footing, and the Vònizòngo district was firmly occupied. But the circumstances of the mission still exerted a very great strain upon the resources available—educational, pastoral, and evangelistic. Moreover, those in London upon whom God had placed the great responsibility of directing and sustaining this vast enterprise, found it increasingly difficult adequately to comprehend local conditions and native character, and the question of the relation to other Societies had also reached an acute stage. In these circumstances they appointed in 1873 a deputation, consisting of Dr. Mullens, the Foreign Secretary, and the Rev. J. Pillans, to visit the island, and in the light of their experience guide the Board to wise action.

The deputation reached Antanànarìvo on August 30, 1873, but the queen was absent on a royal progress. Consequently a visit was made to the important Betsilèo province, and arrangements made for the vigorous conduct and extension of the mission there. On the return of the queen the deputation had an interview with her, and presented to her an address from the Directors. Visits were then paid to all the stations in the country regions of Imèrina. In January, 1874, a very important conference was held, at which the London Missionary Society, Norwegian, and Friends' missionaries were present, and where all departments of missionary labour were carefully considered with a view to future work. After visits to Lake Itasy and to the Sihànaka province, the deputation had a farewell interview with the queen, and received from her a reply to the Directors' address. The return journey was made by traversing Madagascar in a north-westerly direction to Mojangà, whence they sailed to Mauritius, touching on the way at the island of Nosibè. They reached London on September 23, 1874.

A visit of this nature could not fail to exert great influence both in the mission itself and over the policy of the Board. The workers in the field came into direct contact for over a year with Dr. Mullens; and he in the ensuing Board discussions was enabled to deal with the questions which arose from the point of view of first-hand knowledge. The chief points considered in the conference were education, the concentration of work at suitable centres around the capital, discipline in the native churches, development of self-support in native churches, and the extension of work to tribes yet unevangelized. In detail some of these suggestions were modified, but in the main the development of work in Madagascar during the last twenty-five years of the century was along the lines settled at this conference.

Madagascar, during the last twenty-five years of the century, was in number of churches, converts, adherents, and proportion of Christians to the heathen population,

the most successful mission conducted by the Society. The inner history of the manifold Christian activities illustrates many important problems of missionary history. They deserve to be dealt with in full detail. But nothing more can be attempted than a rapid summary, with the choice of illustrative examples, which the reader must take as typical of scores of other similar missionary achievements carried on simultaneously. The policy of the Society from the first in Madagascar has been to capture as thoroughly as possible for the Master the capital of the island and the province of Imèrina, the heart and brain of the land. Ever since 1820 it has seemed the wise course to enlighten and consolidate at the centre, and from thence radiate to the more degraded outlying provinces and tribes. In reviewing the work which followed the impulse given by the visit of Dr. Mullens and Mr. Pillans, we begin with Imèrina.

The most important of the suggestions contained in Budget Dispatch No. 4, already described, had been acted upon prior to the arrival of the deputation. Committees had been constituted, and had already done much to restrain the vagaries and the cost of individual action. A union of the churches had been established in 1868, and regular meetings of delegates instituted. But personal intercourse with Dr. Mullens and Mr. Pillans did much to smooth the working of the new machinery, and to remove difficulties due to the personal faction in the workers.

By the year 1870 the Palace Church, native city churches, suburban churches, and country churches were in full activity.

1. Of these the Palace Church constituted a class by itself. It grew exactly like the other churches, but exerted a unique influence because situated within the palace, and attended by the queen, prime minister, and many high officials. Yet 'it never gained precedence, or exercised undue authority over the rest; but in a Christian and unassuming manner always showed itself ready to assist the poorer and weaker churches, and co-operated heartily

with the native missionary society in its efforts to send the Gospel to the heathen[1].'

The building was opened April 8, 1880, the occasion being one of the highest national importance. The missionaries of the London, Friends', and Norwegian Societies attended; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Roman Catholic representatives, though invited, declined to come. The prime minister gave on this occasion a deeply interesting sketch of the origin and history of the Church, from which we cull a few extracts:—

'My heart inclines me, in accordance with your request, to put in order a few words, showing the history of the origin of the "praying" here in the palace, and the way in which God has inclined the heart of the queen to build this house here in the midst of her palaces for the worship of God. If we consider what led the queen to pray, it can be truly said she was not influenced by man, but that it was God alone who disposed her heart towards the "praying." There is one thing, however, which I think it well you should be made acquainted with.

'During the reign of Queen Rasohèrina, there was a Bible (this which I now show to you) which I placed in the house where she dwelt, and which was regarded as common property, for it was freely handled by every one who was able to read; and this Bible was always lying about as a thing of no importance. On April 3, 1868, when Queen Ranavàlona came to the throne, this Bible was still there, and was still freely handled by the people as before. During the days of mourning for Rasohèrina, the queen often read in this Bible to pass away the time, and even the officers about the court and the "twelve youths" (under-secretaries in the palace) took it up when they were at leisure. And I believe that the reading of this Bible by the queen was the means by which God disposed her heart to pray to Him, and that it did not come from man. On Sunday morning, October 25, 1868, the queen, myself, and a few of the queen's personal attendants, met

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870–1880, p. 116.

for prayer in the centre room of the palace called Mahatsàra; and when the service was ended and we came away the queen sent for Rainingòry, sixteen honours, and Rainibèsa, fifteen honours, and Rainilàmbo, fifteen honours (senior officers in constant attendance on the queen), and said to them: "I inform you, my fathers and mothers, that I shall pray to God; and my reason for doing so is this: I look to the heavens, and they did not come of themselves, for some one made them; and I consider the earth, and it did not come of itself, for some one made it. It is God who made these things, and therefore I shall pray to God; and I inform you because you are as my fathers and mothers." And when they heard that, they said: "That is good, your Majesty, and we thank you." But although they said this, their countenances seemed to show that they were sorry. And in the evening we met again for worship, as we had done in the morning. And on the following Sunday, November 1, 1868, Rainingòry, Rainibèsa, and Rainilàmbo met together with us for worship; and from that time the Sunday markets were gradually put a stop to.

'On the day previous to the coronation, the queen said to me: "I will rest my kingdom upon God; send therefore for Andriambèlo and Ratsilàinga and Andrianàivoravèlona and Rainimànga and Rainitàvy (pastors of the city churches), that they may ask God's blessing on me and my subjects, for God only has made me what I am." These five men were accordingly sent for at once, and they read portions of Scripture and offered prayers that night, and at cock-crowing next morning they prayed and read the Scriptures again. After we had held service in the palace for a short time, the queen and myself asked to be baptized; and after having been taught three months by Andriambèlo and Rainimànga, according to the previous custom of the churches, we were baptized by Andriambèlo in the room where we had been accustomed to meet for worship, and after four months' further instruction we were received as communicants at the Lord's Supper. On December 25, ten months after the baptism of the queen,

Rainingòry and Rainibèsa and Rainilàmbo were also baptized.

'The number of those who were united with us in Christian fellowship, from October 25, 1868, to October 1, 1870, was twenty-seven, of whom nine were adults, the remaining eighteen being young people and their attendants. But though the communicants were at that time so few, yet we expected that, by God's blessing, the number would increase, and the queen took into consideration the erection of a stone house of prayer within the palace enclosure. She then communicated her intention to the people, and God fulfilled to her her desire, in that on July 20, 1869, she was enabled to commence the erection of this house. The chief motive, however, which led to the building of this house was the queen's desire that her subjects should know the true God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and that the "praying" should never depart from her kingdom.

'A little less than two months after this house of prayer had been commenced, an event took place which could scarcely have been expected by any one. On September 8, 1869, the keepers of the idol called Ikèlimalàza came up to the palace to inform the queen of their intention to change horns (an idolatrous ceremony formerly performed whenever a new sovereign came to the throne). When this message was given to the queen, she unexpectedly sent out word, saying: "I will burn all the idols belonging to my ancestors; but as to yours, that is your business[1]." And according to these words the queen sent immediately to all the towns where the idols of her ancestors were kept, and had all the idols burned.

'These two events took place here at that time, viz. the com-

[1] A mistake has often been made with regard to the idols which on this occasion were ordered to be destroyed, in speaking of them as *national idols*. They were not such, but were simply the idols of the queen's ancestors, of whom Her Majesty is the living representative. They were, therefore, the queen's personal property, and she had a perfect right to order their destruction. Each tribe or family had its own idols. With the people's idols the queen did not interfere.

mencement of this house within the palace enclosure for the worship of God, and the burning of the idols of the queen's ancestors. And my reason for calling these *great* events is that one, viz. the erection of a house of prayer within the courtyard of the palace, was an event which it was intended should never take place, and the other was the bringing to naught of the idols which had been trusted in and served, and which it was believed could never be taken away. And it can be truly said that no one led the queen to do these things except the Spirit of God alone. Thanks be to God for the gift of His Holy Spirit, and for thus disposing the heart of the queen, who has given us liberty to pray in peace and in joy as we do at present.

'According to the custom of the ancestors, every sovereign in Madagascar has, at the beginning of his or her reign, either built a new house within the palace enclosure, or altered and improved one already in existence; but when Queen Ranavàlona came to the throne, the words of Christ in Matt. vi. 33 entered into her heart: "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." And this stone house of prayer to God is the first building the queen has erected within the precincts of the palace[1].'

The opening services lasted for a fortnight, all business being suspended. Most of the missionaries were from time to time afterwards asked to preach and to conduct the service there.

2. City or Town Churches. There were, by 1880, fifteen of great importance: nine in Antanànarivo, three in Fianàrantsòa, and three in Ambohimànga. Each of these was superintended by a missionary, and became the centre of a large district, in which it supervised and extended all kinds of Christian work. These have been the wealthiest churches, and the most advanced in Christian knowledge and experience. The religious life of the members, especially of the young, has been more vigorous, and more fruitful in the various forms of Christian activity.

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870-1880, pp. 120-122.

3. There were also five important Suburban Churches around Antanànarìvo.

'These churches were large, some of them containing five or six hundred communicants, and the usual Sunday congregations were equal to those in some of the larger city churches. The character of these congregations, however, was very different from that of those in the city. They consisted chiefly of poor people and slaves, who mostly inhabited the suburbs, and preferred to have a place of worship of their own rather than join with their masters or more wealthy neighbours in the city churches. Very little help can be expected from these suburban churches towards evangelistic work in the country, or for any other purpose. It is as much as the people are able to do to support their own place of worship, and give a little help towards the salary of their school-teacher. They are, as a rule, most hearty in their worship, and very willing to work, but they have very little money to give. All these churches built new places of worship between 1870 and 1882[1].'

4. The Country Churches. The spread of Christianity was rapid from 1870 to 1880, but this fact, so welcome in itself, became the cause of many difficulties in the work. In 1870 there were 261 country churches, 20,951 church members, and 131,759 adherents; in 1880, 1,024 churches, 68,227 church members, and 225,460 adherents. In 1890 the figures were: 1,223 churches, 59,615 church members, and 248,108 adherents. The total sum raised by the native adherents for church purposes was, in 1880, £2,916; in 1890, £5,490. These statistics tell their own tale. During the first of these decades the most rapid growth took place; during the second, a winnowing process had to take effect. The 59,000 church members of 1890 represent a higher and purer type of Christian character than the 68,000 of 1880. The £5,490 of 1890 represents more intelligent and self-sacrificing consecration than the £2,916 of 1880. With these facts in mind, let us look a little more closely at the

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870–1880, p. 128.

quality and conditions of church life in Madagascar developed by the stirring events of 1868, 1869, and 1870.

After 1870, and largely under the guidance of Mr. Pool, great progress was made in chapel building. The small and inconvenient early buildings gradually gave way to larger and neater and cleaner buildings. Between 1870 and 1880 not less than 700 of these churches were constructed, many of them of sun-dried brick, the rest of mud.

No thoughtful and well-informed man would expect other than slow progress from native churches under the conditions which obtained in Madagascar in 1870. The extraordinary events, the wondrous triumphs of the Gospel, the glowing accounts circulated at home, led many there to form most erroneous conceptions both of the extent and of the quality of the results achieved. The writer has not unfrequently met Christian people who have had the impression that the *whole* of the island has been evangelized, and that the ideas which attach to a Christian church in England apply to these native Malagasy churches. To such it has sometimes been a shock to learn that not more than *one-fourth* (probably) of the inhabitants of Madagascar have ever heard the Gospel, and that Malagasy churches have sometimes refused to discipline their pastors even when guilty of open and notorious sin. Had the full and accurate accounts sent home by our missionaries been more carefully studied, misconceptions of the kind referred to above would not have been so common.

Here, for example, is a sketch of the country churches of the Ankàdibevàva district of Imèrina, from the pen of Mr. Jukes, in 1880. It may fairly be taken as true in the main of all the country churches in the island.

'Of the general character of the churches it is impossible not to speak with some amount of pleasure, not unmixed, however, with feelings of grief and disappointment. I can remember when most of my churches were formed, ten or eleven years ago, and often recall the great masses of untaught and unwashed heathen that crowded into the hastily erected rush chapels, just as they would assemble

to listen to a royal kabary in the market-place, and probably from the same motive, and contrast them with the *comparatively* clean and orderly congregations of to-day. This remark applies chiefly to the congregations near the capital, and not to the distant ones, whose growth has been slow, since necessity has left them very much to themselves. Amidst much that is deplorable, undoubted progress has been made. Only a short time back, there were numbers of congregations containing not a single person who could read; now there are some in every congregation who can read, and in many would be found a pretty good number who have a fair acquaintance with the Word of God.

'A marked change has also taken place in the *morality* of the people. Eleven years ago there were polygamists in, perhaps, every congregation; and men notorious for their immorality would unblushingly stand up in the pulpit to parade their new profession and display their volubility by publicly offering prayer. This would scarcely be tolerated now, and few would have the boldness to attempt it. Ideas of moral purity are growing, and are increasingly appreciated. Social and moral questions are beginning to call into existence that powerful and useful potentate *public opinion*. Parents, who formerly would encourage their children in sin and uncleanness, are learning to realize their duty to shield their offspring all they can from evil influence and temptation. I fear that even amongst numbers who bear the Christian name there is still much wickedness, and that many an edifice we fondly imagine is substantial and lasting rests upon a foundation of rottenness; but not a few of those sins which were openly gloried in are now concealed or disguised, and bring shame and confusion of face when discovered.

'Of the *spiritual* and *religious* condition of the churches it behoves one to speak with caution. That our churches contain real disciples of the Lord Jesus I cannot for one moment doubt; but that the majority of the members have a very low conception of the Christian life is equally certain. The moral sense, long hid and wellnigh choked by idolatry and

its concomitant evils, is, as yet, only in its germinal state; but with the grace of God in the heart it must develop, and is now, we know, doing so. Although their notions are somewhat confused and indistinct, the native Christians hold firmly to the doctrine of justification by faith in Jesus; but they fail to rise to the ideal of self-abnegation, and personal holiness, by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost and vital union with the living Saviour. What has painfully struck me for years past in the Malagasy converts, is the absence of a deep sense of the "exceeding sinfulness" of all sin, and an earnest desire to live above the world. They speak about sin against the Almighty with apparently far less concern than when referring to grievous offences against the sovereign [1].'

5. The Native Pastors, Preachers, and Evangelists. The 1,200 Malagasy native churches have had to rely upon native pastors, aided by the superintendence, sometimes close, but in the vast majority of cases necessarily slight, of a European missionary. Pastors had to be found. Large numbers of these were the best that could be obtained—not by any means the best that could be desired. Those presiding over churches in the towns have usually been of good social position, of some thorough training, and of considerable experience in public affairs. Consequently they have been for the most part men of influence, and their influence has been for good. With the country pastors it is very different.

'The majority of these have had no special training for their work. With few exceptions they are men of very limited knowledge. Some of them never preach, and a few are even unable to read. Why, then, it may reasonably be asked, have these men been made pastors? It was simply because they were the best men that could be found for the position. In some instances men have been chosen for pastors because they have been persons of influence and authority in the village, and the pastorate has been offered them as a position of honour. In most cases, however,

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870–1880, p. 128.

they have been selected for the very good reason that they were the best men in the place with regard to Christian character, prudence, and ability to preserve order.

'About 1876, a number of the country pastors, who had previously served in the army, were freed from Government service, and left at liberty to give the whole of their time to the work of the churches. Many of the pastors, however (and amongst these most of the pastors of the town churches), still retain their position in the army, or in the Government, in addition to their pastorates. Some of these are men of ten, twelve, or fourteen honours, which gives them a position of influence among the people, and a corresponding responsibility in Government business. This may appear to some people a strange and anomalous state of things, and no doubt it is so, looked at from an English standpoint; but what would be anomalous in England may be perfectly consistent and reasonable in Madagascar. The missionaries might perhaps prefer that all the native pastors were free from Government service, but the country is scarcely ripe for this as yet. It should also be understood that the political position of these men does not in the least interfere with their duties as pastors of the churches, beyond the occupation of a small portion of their time which is necessarily taken up in attending to their special Government business[1].'

In addition to the native *pastors*, there were, in 1880, nearly 4,000 native *preachers*. Here again the influence of European ideas gave rise to very false impressions in the minds of many in Great Britain.

'A large number of these preachers are scarcely worthy of being recognized as preachers at all, and much of their preaching is of a most profitless character. Young men who are barely able to read, but who can stand up and address the people for five or ten minutes on any subject whatever, are sometimes appointed as preachers, and reported as such in the annual returns of the churches. The Malagasy are fluent speakers, and are exceedingly fond of

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870-1880, p. 135.

public speaking; and as preaching gives them frequent opportunity of exercising their favourite gift, it happens that many are put on the preaching roll whose knowledge of the Scriptures and Christian experience are exceedingly limited.

'We must say, however, that this is not the character of all our native preachers. There are some among them of whom we have just reason to be proud, and who are of great service to the Church. We are also pleased to notice that there has been a great improvement in the style of native preaching during the last few years. The churches are beginning to appreciate a higher and more edifying kind of preaching, and the young men are growing rapidly in intelligence and Scripture knowledge. Many who were preachers a few years ago have now retired, being conscious of their unfitness for the work; and there are some who, though well able to preach with profit to their hearers, are yet reluctant to officiate too frequently, being anxious to make more thorough preparation and to discharge their duty more worthily[1].'

The mission employed also Native Evangelists. At first the great majority of these were untrained, and yet possessed of much Scripture knowledge; they were also for the most part faithful and zealous. Since the establishment of the Theological College, and the sending out in 1873 of the first company of students who had completed their course, trained evangelists were more and more sought after.

'Many of the most important towns in the two central provinces, several stations in Antsihànaka, and a number of places on the east coast, are occupied by these trained evangelists, who have done excellent work in the churches and schools under their care. The salaries of these teachers are higher than the salaries of the untrained agents, and vary according to family and other circumstances. They are maintained partly by the London Missionary Society, partly by the native churches, and partly also by the private

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870-1880, p. 137.

friends of the missionaries. Some of them have been sent out by the native missionary society, and several others are supported by the palace church[1].'

6. On the Government of the numerous Native Churches, Malagasy ideas have exerted considerable influence. The pastor is almost always chosen from among themselves by the members. Local conditions have also powerfully influenced the constitution of the churches. Mr. J. S. Sewell, of the Society of Friends, speaking at the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society in 1872, said:—

'In the central part of the island, during the days of the persecution, there arose a church that is not exactly in accordance either with the Independent Church, or the Episcopalian, or the Methodist, or the Society of Friends. The nation has a church of its own. In many respects it is formed after the model of the Independent Church. Its pastors and officers are chosen by the people, and the ordinances are regarded in the light in which they are regarded amongst the Independents. But in the metropolitan character of the churches at the capital, and in the episcopal character of the pastors who preside in them, and still more of the missionaries who influence them, there is not a little of the episcopal form of government. In some instances thirty or forty preachers belonging to one church take their turn in the services, and go out to visit in the district belonging to the church—an arrangement similar to that which is made among the Methodists. In that way there has been a great success[2].'

Upon this the missionaries, in their *Ten Years' Review* for 1870 to 1880, thus comment:

'Of late years there has been a gradual approach to the Presbyterian form of church government, and the form which prevails at the present time is a sort of compromise between Presbyterianism and Independency, with a little mixture of Episcopalianism. The Presbyterian element is seen in the influence which district and representative

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870-1880, p. 141.
[2] Quoted in ibid. p. 143.

meetings have on the churches generally. There are very few country churches which stand absolutely alone. In addition to the influence of the missionaries and of the town pastors and churches, the churches in the country are more or less united to each other. In some cases united church meetings are held for the admission of members and the transaction of other business. In Imèrina and Betsilèo united monthly prayer-meetings are held, at which five or six or more churches come together for prayer and mutual exhortation. At some of these meetings, after the ordinary service has been brought to a close, matters affecting the interests of the churches represented are discussed, and uniformity of action is thus promoted. In addition to these monthly gatherings, there are "four-monthly" or "six-monthly" meetings held in each district in Imèrina, and attended by representatives from all the churches in the district. These representative meetings are of great importance, and have been productive of much good to many of the churches. Difficult cases of church discipline, the conduct of public worship, and many other questions affecting the life and government of the churches, are discussed at these meetings, and any conclusion arrived at is usually received as morally binding on the churches represented. Over and above all these smaller and local associations are the Congregational Unions of Imèrina and Betsilèo, which have grown to be institutions of considerable power and importance, and have great influence on the outward life of the churches [1].'

7. The Madagascar Congregational Union came into existence in December, 1868. It is known to the natives as 'The Six-monthly Meeting,' because it is held twice a year. The first gathering took place in the Memorial Church at Ambàtonakànga. Twelve delegates came from each city, and six from each country church; but in consequence of the rapid growth of churches the numbers soon had to be six and three respectively. The objects were:—

(1) To meet together for united prayer to God, and for

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870-1880, p. 144.

mutual counsel according to the Word of God. (2) To promote mutual love among all the churches, and to show forth their unity in the faith of Jesus Christ. (3) To consider what is right to be done to improve the practice of the churches, especially in those matters which are great and essential; nevertheless, not to lay down laws, but to give counsel. (4) To consider what is right to be done to promote the kingdom of Christ.

Originally the days of meeting were Tuesday and Wednesday; of late years they have been Wednesday and Thursday. On the first day, in the afternoon, a preparatory meeting of praise and prayer was held, and on the second day the session proper, beginning at 8 a.m. and lasting about five hours.

The largest churches in the capital, in which the meetings are held, are always thronged, and often numbers crowd round the doors and windows, unable to obtain even standing-room within the building. A collection of twelve hundred or more professedly Christian men, to consider matters relating to the prosperity of the Kingdom of Christ in their land, is a sight to make one's heart glad. Missionaries and natives have read papers, followed by free discussion, on: "The Obligation of Christians to spread the Gospel;" "Sunday and Day Schools;" "Preaching;" "Christian Union;" "Duties of Pastors and Preachers;" "What constitutes a Christian Church;" "Hindrances to the Spread of the Gospel," and other subjects bearing upon the religious, social, and educational welfare of the people.

The discussions are generally animated and interesting, and give the missionaries a valuable opportunity of seeing the native mode of looking at things. There is rarely any lack of speakers, for most Malagasy have the gift of public speech, and nervousness or timidity in addressing an audience is seldom known. Half a dozen men will rise together to give utterance to their thoughts—sometimes not very lucid, and far from relevant—and the chairman has no little difficulty in deciding who shall have the precedence, or in persuading the others to resume their seats until their turn

shall arrive. A novel remark or proposal of special interest is followed by a hubbub of loud talk all over the church. so that it is necessary to allow a few minutes for general conversation, "to let off the steam," and then a dog whistle is called into requisition in order to restore silence and give the next speaker an opportunity of being heard[1].'

In later years it cannot be the custom for the chair to be occupied alternately by a missionary and a native, and a missionary and a native acted conjointly as secretaries. The review of the mission in 1890 emphasized the great importance of these gatherings:—

'We cannot well over-estimate the utility and importance of our *Isan-Enim-Bolana*. It not only affords a periodical religious stimulus, the influence of which extends all over Imèrina and beyond, but it is the means of supplying information and guidance in matters connected with church and school that are greatly needed, and brings the hundreds of churches scattered throughout the central province into such sympathetic unison with each other that. in all great and important affairs, they may act on common lines. Although the *Isan-Enim-Bolana* is not a legislative assembly, and its resolutions are not intended to have the force of legal enactments, yet the associated churches, as a rule, recognize the moral obligation to observe them.

'Simultaneously with the holding of the great assembly of representatives of the churches every half-year, a meeting for women only is held in the Memorial Church at Ambàtonakànga. This is not a gathering for the transaction of business, or discussion, but for devotion and counsel relative to the social and domestic, as well as the religious, life of the people. The arrangements are entirely in the hands of the ladies of the mission, who, with the assistance of some of the native women, read suitable papers, deliver addresses, and conduct the whole proceedings. The church is nearly always filled with women and girls; and the results of such meetings cannot but show themselves beneficially in the home life of the Malagasy[2].'

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1880-1890, p. 35.

[2] Ibid. p. 36.

In 1875, a native missionary society was formed.

'This Society is supported by the Christians of Imèrina, most of the churches contributing, those in the country in sums from twopence to a dollar, and those in town about five dollars each every half-year; the contributions are brought up to the capital when the pastors and delegates assemble for the sixth monthly meeting. During the years 1880–90 a total of more than £3,000—a large sum for this country—has been subscribed for the Missionary Society. A missionary acts as treasurer, but the selection of candidates for evangelistic work and all the details of business are managed by the *Isan-Enim-Bolana* Committee.

'Between 1880 and 1890 twenty-three young men, evangelists and school teachers, were appointed to labour amongst the Bara in the south, the Tanòsy in the south-east, and the Sakalàva in the west, north, and north-west—all heathen tribes amongst whom little or no Christian effort had hitherto been attempted. The Hova have rendered themselves so obnoxious to the surrounding tribes by past years of cruelty and oppression that these tribes are by no means eager to have anything to do with the "praying," which is regarded as the Hova religion; and teachers from Imèrina are looked upon with suspicion and distrust. It betokens a great change, which only the grace of God could effect, that Christian Hova are willing to go forth with no weapon but the Gospel in their hands, and their fellow Christians in Imèrina are ready to support them with their offerings and their prayers, while they endeavour to lift up to the knowledge of God's love those sunken in ignorance and degradation, whom their fathers treated with nothing but contempt and brutality[1].'

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1880–1890, pp. 37, 38.

AUTHORITIES.—Letters and Reports; but all readers desirous of studying the important details of Malagasy church life should consult the *Ten Years' Review*, printed at Antanànarivo for 1870–1880, and 1880–1890, and also the numerous printed reports of the work at the different stations. These abound in information of great value and interest.]


MADAGASCAR
IMERINA, SIHANAKA &
BETSIMISARAKA MISSIONS.
Scale 1: 2,700,000.
Statute Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
INDIAN OCEAN
Maroway
Mevatananaro
Antongobrahoja
Ambohimanga
Ambohimanga
Ambohimanga

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY BEYOND IMÈRINA

A GREAT part of the strength and working power of the mission has centred ever since 1862 in Imèrina, the dominant province of the country, with an estimated population of 1,100,000 evangelized, of whom about 190,000 have become adherents[1].

'The province of Imèrina is divided, so far as the work of the London Missionary Society is concerned, into thirteen districts, each (when we have a full staff, which is seldom, if ever, the case) superintended by a European missionary, and containing native churches varying from 103 to 22 in number. The head quarters of eight of these districts is in Antanànarìvo. It is there that the missionaries in charge of them live. Those of five are in the country, at a distance of from twelve to thirty miles from the capital. Plurality of benefices is a common evil here—needless to say, without plurality of income, though with great increase of labour and responsibility. The tutors at the college, the head masters of the normal and palace schools, the superintendents of education and of the printing office, while carrying on their own special work, also do what they can in the superintendence of small districts, while there are few missionaries in charge of districts who have not, from time to time, had to take over the charge of other districts in addition, during the absence on furlough of fellow missionaries. The work carried on in these thirteen districts,

[1] For full details of this work, with maps of the districts, see the *Ten Years Review* for 1870–1880 and for 1880–1890. Readers who wish to look closely into the details of missionary work of the exceptional kind possible in Madagascar will find these volumes most instructive.

while each has its peculiar features, is in the main on common lines.'

The good work done in all of these districts, and the details of it which in many cases are full of encouragement and instruction, can be studied in the various local reports, of which a large number has been issued—usually at least one a year from each of the thirteen districts. The work at these stations illustrates many important features in native character, in church growth and discipline, and in the problems certain to arise when large numbers of heathen become suddenly Christian by profession rather than by intelligent apprehension of the Gospel.

The mapping out of Imèrina into missionary districts began in 1863. These are Ambàtonakànga, Ampàribè, under the charge of W. E. Cousins since 1862, Anàlakèly, Ambòhipòtsy, Tsiafàhy, Ankàdibevàva, Ambòhitantèly, Ampàmarìnana, Ambòhibelòma, Andohàlo, Isoàvina, Fàravòhitra, Ambòhimànga, the ancient capital of Imèrina, and Vònizòngo. In 1895 the list of districts was the same, except that Ambòhitantèly had been handed over to the Friends, Andohàlo and Isoàvina are combined into one, and there is a new district, Isòtry—thirteen in all. The same plan has been followed in the Betsilèo Mission, and to some extent in Antsihànaka country. Greatly to the author's regret, the exigencies of space will not permit detailed reference to the manifold and highly important Christian work diligently carried on in these districts.

From the foundation of the mission concentration of effort upon the capital and the province of Imèrina has been a settled policy. But from the same period also plans for the evangelizing of other great districts have been kept steadily in view, and some of them at any rate partially accomplished.

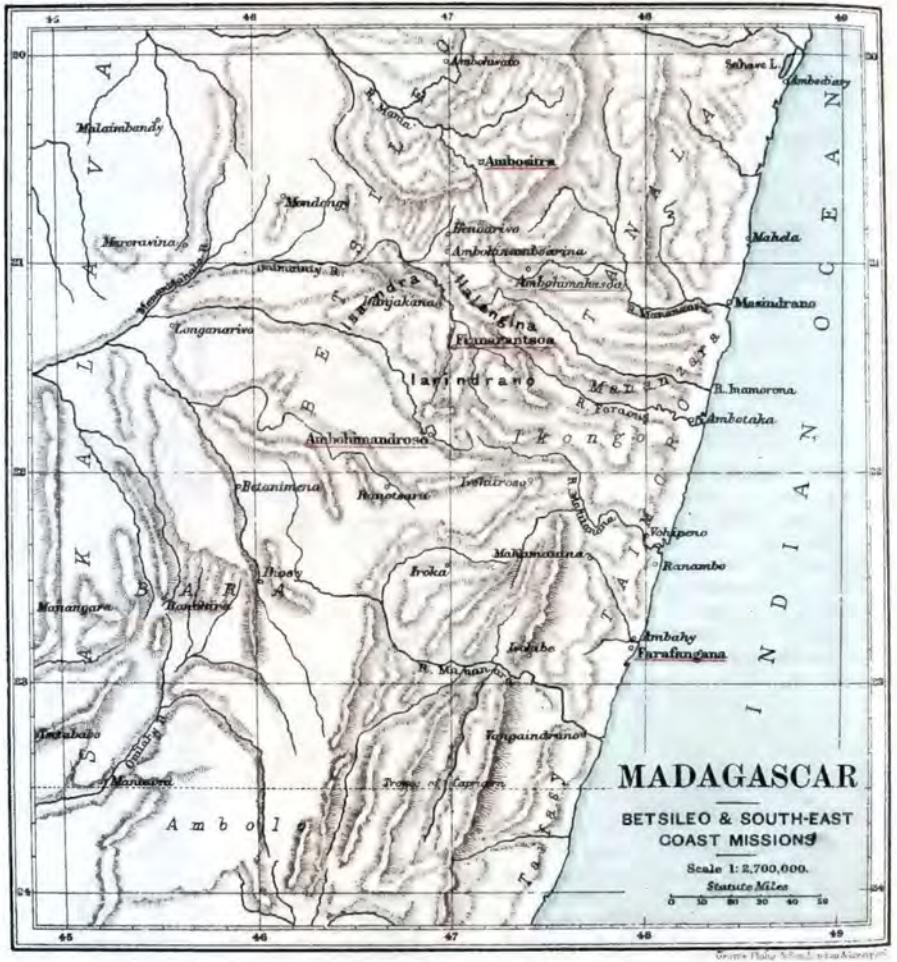
1. BETSILÈO. From 1861 onwards the eyes of the missionaries were upon the great province of Betsilèo, but little or nothing had been done for the Betsilèo province prior to 1870. This large district, lying to the south of Imèrina

and contiguous with it, had long been before the minds of both Directors and missionaries as a promising field for the extension of work. Mr. Toy and Mr. Jukes visited the district in 1868, and Mr. Jukes alone in 1869. In August, 1870, the Rev. J. Richardson established himself at Fianàrantsòa, the chief town of the province, and assumed charge of the three native churches there. With Mr. Street of the Friends' Mission, who was at Fianàrantsòa on a visit, he made a journey through the district, travelling as far as the Tanàla. The mission was further strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. W. Attwell and Mr. G. A. Shaw from Samoa. In 1872 the Rev. T. Brockway joined the mission, and the Rev. J. Richardson went to Antanànarivo to take charge of the normal school there. The mission was now divided into three districts; the north-west and the southern corresponding to the tribes Isàndra and Iarindràno, being Mr. Brockway's sphere, while Mr. Attwell took the eastern, the Ilalangìna. Mr. Shaw, who was a schoolmaster, and had been sent out for educational work, made that duty his special province, conducting two elementary schools and a normal school for teachers. The three missionaries constituted the Betsilèo District Committee. In 1873 the queen visited the province, and in the autumn of the same year the deputation, together with Messrs. W. E. Cousins and Cameron, travelled through it. This year also Dr. Parker came to take up medical mission-work, and Messrs. T. Rogers and J. Riordan also arrived on the field. Consequently Mr. Brockway went to Ambòsitra, Mr. Riordan to Ambòhimandròso. Changes soon took place in the staff. Mr. Attwell's health was unsatisfactory, and he found it very difficult to gain any control over the language. He returned to England, and Mr. Rogers, after a brief stay, first at Fianàrantsòa and then at Ambòsitra, returned to Antanànarivo. In December, 1874, Mr. W. D. Cowan went to Fianàrantsòa, but in 1875 Mrs. Riordan's health gave way; in 1878 she and her husband, accompanied by Mr. Shaw, returned to England. Dr. Parker accepted a post under the Government, resigned, and was succeeded

in 1875 by Mr. Cowan. In the same year the Rev. C. T. Price arrived, and in 1877 took up work at Ifanjakàna. Notwithstanding these rapid changes work in the province went steadily forward and the mission was placed upon a solid foundation. In proof of this we instance a passage from the *Ten Years' Review* issued in 1880:—

'In 1870 there were twenty-nine churches south of the Matsiatra, including the three town churches (Antrànobrika, Ivòhidàhy, and Ambàlavao), the members of which were, almost without exception, Hova soldiers or traders resident in the province. Many of the members, and even pastors, were at that time ignorant of the main truths of the Gospel, and their characters were far from being above reproach. The pastors were in several instances self-elected, and had no proper qualifications for the office they had assumed. Of those who attended church, the majority were influenced more by the example of the queen than by any religious views they held. From the time of the arrival of the missionaries, the churches made a steady advance both in town and country. Towards the end of 1872, when rumours of the queen's intended visit began to be circulated, there was a large influx both of Hova and Betsilèo into the churches. The visit of the queen did much to strengthen the hands of the missionaries, and gave a certain stability to the churches under their charge. From 1873 to the present time, the progress of the churches has been steady. Many of those who attached themselves to the churches, just before the visit of the queen, have fallen away, but many others have joined them from far higher motives than those did who have left. The churches of to-day stand on a far higher and nobler platform than did those of ten years ago. There has been improvement and advance in every respect. Pastors, preachers, deacons, and members are like a new generation.

'During the past six years large numbers of Betsilèo have been admitted to the churches, and now they form about one-third of the whole. In 1870 there were in connection with the mission thirteen preachers, all of them


MADAGASCAR
BETSILEO & SOUTH-EAST COAST MISSIONS
Scale 1: 2,700,000.
Statute Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
Ambohimandroso
Betanimena
Ambositra
Mandanga
Ambohimahasoa
Fianarantsoa
Ivohibe
Ambahy
Farafangana
Vohipeno
Ranambe
Iroka
Mahamadina
Ikongo
Tanala
Betsileo
Antaisaka
Antaifasy
Antaimoro
Antaivondro
Ambolo
Tanosy
Tropic of Capricorn
INDIAN OCEAN
Sahave L.
Ambodiaty
Mahela
Masindrano
R. Inamorona
Ambotaka
R. Matitanana
R. Manampanihy
R. Mananjara
R. Mananara
R. Matsiatra
R. Ivoamo
R. Mania
R. Onilahy
Ihosy
Ivohibe
Tongaindrano
Manangara
Manandaza
Ambolo
Malaimbandy
Mevarano
Longanano
Ambohimandroso
Betanimena
Ikongo
Ihosy
Iroka
Ivohibe
Tongaindrano
Ambahy
Farafangana
Vohipeno
Ranambe
Mahela
Masindrano
Ambotaka
Inamorona
Ambositra
Fianarantsoa
Mandanga
Malaimbandy
Manandaza
Manangara
Ambolo
Tanosy
Antaifasy
Antaisaka
Antaimoro
Antaivondro
Ikongo
Tanala
Betsileo
INDIAN OCEAN

Hova, and even in 1873 there was only one Betsilèo preacher. The number of preachers has steadily increased as the mission has been extended. There are now in connection with the town churches seventy-six preachers, about thirty of whom are Betsilèo, so that the Church is daily becoming more and more the Church of the people and the province.

The Rev. T. Brockway, who has charge of the Ambòsitra district in the Betsilèo province, writes :—

'"If one word only were to be used to express the condition of things in the Betsilèo, with which the missionaries are concerned, as compared with that which existed ten years since, that word must be *contrast*. Those who knew the Betsilèo in 1870, their lack of books, their ignorance in regard to everything out of and beyond the circumstances in which they were living, and the general dirty and unpleasant appearance of not only the Betsilèo but of the Hova resident amongst them, must feel that a work has been done for which we can only give God thanks. The absence of books and teaching then, as well as the indifferent character of many who came from the north to settle amongst the Betsilèo, or trade with them, some of whom were (or represented themselves to be) preachers and teachers, could only be represented as darkness. Now, although there is much lacking, and much present to retard progress and cause sorrow, the day has dawned, and is progressing towards a full light which may precede the perfect day."'

The *Ten Years' Review* issued in 1890 gives particulars of great encouragement in a work exposed to very many and very great drawbacks :—

'There are at present connected with the four mission stations—Fianàrantsòa, Ambòsitra, Ambòhimandròso, and Ambòhinamboàrina—286 preaching stations, as against 156 in 1880, besides those in the outlying provinces, to which special reference will be made. In each of these stations, in addition to the teaching of Scripture to the children during the week, religious services are regularly

conducted on the Lord's Day, mostly by the school teachers, pastors, or local preachers, and sometimes by the missionary or trained native evangelist. Preachers from the larger centres are also "planned" to preach in the villages around, some even travelling very long distances; so that altogether the Gospel is now brought within the hearing of a large proportion of the Betsilèo.

'There is a dark side. We cannot escape the fact that, during the ten years under review, and especially in recent years, evil in many ugly forms has been apparently on the increase:—rum-drinking, social impurity, robber-raids, which have depopulated whole districts, crushing *fanompoana* (forced Government labour), as well as social and political corruption generally, which have necessarily interfered with the evangelization of the people, and are the cause of grave anxiety for the future.

'And yet, notwithstanding all this, we are able to report a substantial advance, both as regards the numerical increase of Christian converts and the deepening of spiritual life generally, besides a great deal of indirect influence, manifest enough to eye-witnesses, but difficult to tabulate. In the last *Review* the number of communicants reported was 3,119; now there are 4,009 on the roll, being a nett increase of 890. This, however, does not represent the real increase. Ten years ago the existing churches in Betsilèo were in a most unsatisfactory state, the majority of the members being people who had nominally accepted Christianity after the burning of the national idols, but who were (with a few exceptions) still heathen in heart and life, and should never have joined the Church at all. When the excitement had worn away and the Gospel fan had begun to work, many relapsed into heathenism, and large numbers were expelled for unsatisfactory conduct; especially for their connection with the liquor traffic. In one year nearly 200 were expelled for this reason alone, so that, roughly speaking, *over one-half* (*in one district about two-thirds*) of the present number of communicants are those received during the decade, with a few from Imèrina and elsewhere.

Still more gratifying is the manifest increase in knowledge and spiritual life, and the striving after a higher Christian ideal on the part of the present members. Not that all is satisfactory; on the contrary, there is still much to be desired. Heathen propensities die hard, and time and again our most hopeful converts are caught in the meshes of temptation; the spiritual life of many is still little more than "smoking flax;" and yet, as compared to the nominal Christians of ten years ago, they present a pleasing contrast; the majority being able *at least* to read their Bibles, while a small proportion have attained a comparatively high Christian experience, and are really efficient workers.'

2. ANTSIHÀNAKA is a province lying six days' journey to the north of Antanànarìvo. Mission-work was begun there by the Rev. J. Pearse in 1875. By 1880, as a result of the labours of Mr. Pearse and six trained native evangelists who had been sent to his aid, there were fifteen congregations with 2,000 adherents, of whom about ten per cent. could read. There were also eighteen schools with about 1,200 scholars. Up to 1880 only twenty-four adults had been baptized, though Mr. Pearse remarks 'it would not perhaps have been difficult to increase the number tenfold,' and he bears willing testimony to the great services rendered by young men trained in the college at Antanànarìvo in 'this comparatively uneducated and unchristianized province.' On Mr. Pearse's removal in 1881, work to a large extent ceased in the province until in 1887 Mr. Stribling, with Mr. Mackay as medical missionary, resumed the superintendence of the mission. These outlying missions are organized as far as possible upon the model of those in Imèrina. Good work has been done and progress attained. Still the difficulties and hindrances are greater than in more favoured regions. The Report for 1890 draws a somewhat dark picture:—

'In relation to religion, the people may be divided into three general classes, viz: the majority who are practically heathen; the few professing Christians or church members; and those who are indifferent, but who attend the Sunday

morning services occasionally. As their rulers profess Christianity, an idea prevails among some, especially those from Imèrina, that it is proper to go to church once a day on Sunday; and some again would advance further and persuade us to receive them into church fellowship, although altogether unworthy. But the fearful prevalence of strong drink, with its accompanying evils, lead us to exercise a vigorous opposition to the advance of such professors.

'That some of these church members are real Christians there is no doubt; but of the 270 reported, how many may be called, in the words of the Apostle, "our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men," it would be hard to say. It will probably be noticed that the somewhat sad strain in which our predecessor wrote his review in 1880 pervades ours also at this time. We know, however, that there are some at least, if but few, who are valuable witnesses for the Lord our Master. Surrounded by the most deadening influences to spiritual life, they are yet striving to live as becometh the saints. Men and women of heathen parentage, still seriously handicapped by evil customs, such as slavery, and yet endeavouring to live the Gospel of Christ in holiness of life, and by helping to ameliorate the condition of their poor slaves, these are they from whom we may take courage.'

3. The IBÒINA MISSION, on the north-west coast, in and around Mojangà, was taken in hand by Mr. Pickersgill in 1877, who laboured there until 1882.

4. WORK IN THE BÈTSIMISÀRAKA DISTRICT. Two native churches had been formed in Tamatave soon after the mission was reopened, one dating from 1861. In accordance with an agreement between Mr. Ellis and the Bishop of Mauritius (Ryan) the Society handed over Christian work in that town to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and urged its own church members to join that mission. Though these natives, not unnaturally, refused to separate from the London Missionary Society, yet for

years they received no support from the Society. In 1874 the intrusion of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel missionaries into Antanànarìvo brought this working agreement to an end. From 1875 to 1881 the two churches were actively aided by the London Missionary Society, and in the latter year Mr. G. A. Shaw took up his residence there as missionary in charge.

Mission-work in Tamatave itself has suffered greatly, first because it is the great port of the east coast and suffers from all the special hindrances to Christian work which seem inseparable from ports in heathen lands; and in the second place from the repeated acts of French aggression during the last fifteen years. For all the details of the bombardment and high-handed imprisonment of Mr. Shaw, we must refer the reader to his book, *Madagascar and France* (1885). The difficulties may also be estimated by the fact that the tract of country of which Tamatave is the centre is about 400 miles long and 20 to 50 broad. There are seventy or eighty native churches scattered through it. Under all the inevitable difficulties, mission-work was carried on in Tamatave by Mr. and Mrs. Houlder until November, 1894, when 'the British Consulate, the London Missionary Society's Mission House, Chapels, and other suitable buildings were all requisitioned by the French commander[1].'

Little progress has been made in the Bètsimisàraka district for reasons which the missionaries give:—

'The comparatively few pastors, preachers, and communicants afford some idea of the state of the congregations on the coast. In fully one-half there are no persons capable of administering the ordinances of the Gospel and conducting the affairs of a church. The places in which they meet are but preaching stations. What teaching the people receive is usually given by Hova soldiers and traders from the interior, who are not always the most consistent of characters. Hence the Gospel they proclaim does not invariably commend itself to the hearts of the

[1] *Report*, 1895, p. 154.

hearers, and has little chance of effecting a change in their lives. The vast majority of Bètsimisàraka will have nothing to do with Christianity. They regard it as a matter that entirely concerns their oppressors, the Hova, and their foreign friends. They go to service occasionally, but, as a rule, only when they cannot avoid going, or are not able to send their children in their place. The marked scarcity of adults in some of the small congregations to which we minister is quite a feature of church life in the lowlands, and is to be explained partly by the dense ignorance and superstition in which they are embruted, and the gross immorality in which they are sunk; but principally, we suspect, by the unspeakable political and social system under which they live. Under the superintendence of the evangelists at Vàtomàndry, Mahanòro, Tamatave, Mahavèlona, Fènoarìvo, and Anònibè, the schools have made some advance during the last ten years, although we are unable to gauge it accurately. There are about forty-three schools, of which, however, it has been found impossible to examine more than twenty-three.'

Mission-work was begun at Fàrafangàna, on the south-east coast, in 1887, and has been continued to the present (1896), though hardly more than a base from which to carry on future operations has yet been secured. The Revs. G. A. Shaw, C. Collins, and E. Pryce Jones have laboured here.

CHAPTER XXXIV

EDUCATION AND MEDICAL MISSIONS

WE must now pass in review the other important departments of the mission.

I. EDUCATION. Amid all the developments of the mission, education has ever been kept in the forefront. But it was not until the accession of Ranavàlona II that it was possible to begin the important educational institutions which have since been maintained. The most influential are carried on in Antanànarìvo.

1. Of these the chief is *The College*. This institution was begun by Mr. Toy and Mr. G. Cousins in 1870, and in 1874, as a result of the visit of Dr. Mullens, the scope was enlarged, so that in addition to training evangelists and pastors, it was also fitted to train young men of the upper class who had passed through the elementary schools, and who were destined for important Government posts. The permanent building on the site finally chosen at Fàravòhitra was opened in 1881.

'The College building consists, in its main features, of entrance-hall, lecture-hall, and class-rooms in the centre, and of two houses for the English tutors, forming the wings, at the northern and southern extremities respectively, one at either end. It is very substantially built of red brick and stone, and the whole block forms a very prominent object in every view of the city from the east and north-east. The building has formed a centre also for much of the religious work of the native churches: for meetings of various kinds, for the committees of the Con-

gregational Union, of the Bible Revision, and for kindred work. The total cost was about £4,000[1].'

The object has been to impart not only Biblical and theological knowledge, but also to give such a course as would train the minds of the students and teach them to think. Mr. Toy and Mr. Cousins had to conduct the classes, and also for the most part prepare the textbooks used. The course at first for ministerial students was four years, but in 1884 it was made five. In the lengthened course, attention during the last year is devoted to hospital work and also to school management. For non-ministerial students the course is three years. Students of special ability are allowed a fourth year, devoted usually to mathematics and physical science.

The good work done by this institution may be gauged from the following facts:—

'The total number of ministerial students received since the commencement of the College up to 1890 (excluding those who proved incompetent or untrustworthy) is 196. Of these about ninety are now evangelists (some few, pastors), stationed chiefly in the central provinces of Imèrina and Betsilèo, but including several in the more distant and still heathen parts of the island. Of the rest, many of them have done good service, but have retired from the position of evangelists, some from failure of their own health, and others from family circumstances, and many have died. The ministerial students now under instruction number thirty-three. The number of secular students received since the year 1880 up to the present is sixty-four, of whom sixteen are still in the College. Besides these, for two years (1884 and 1885), the junior medical students from the mission hospital were received for a year's teaching together with the secular students. For some years past the total number of students under instruction has averaged from forty to fifty, two-thirds being trained for the ministry, and one-third for secular positions.'

[1] Soon after the conquest of the island this building was requisitioned by the French with only moderate compensation.

Mr. Toy was succeeded by the Rev. J. Peill, who resigned in 1881. He in turn was followed by the Rev. T. Capsey, whose wife died in 1883, and who in 1885 returned to England. Mr. Cousins returned to England in 1883, after nineteen years' work in Madagascar, and fourteen of service to the college. He was succeeded by the Rev. James Sibree, with whom was associated the Rev. A. Wilson, B.A. During 1884 there were forty students attending the classes.

2. *The Normal School.* The origin of this institution, in 1862, under Mr. Stagg, has been noted above. For some years after his death, in 1864, it was carried on by native teachers. During 1867 and 1868 Mr. Sewell, of the Friends' Mission, directed the work. From 1869 to 1872 Mr. Barker was at its head, and in the latter year, upon Mr. Barker's retirement, it passed into the capable hands of the Rev. J. Richardson, by whom it was most ably superintended until 1897.

The school was designed for youths, above fifteen years of age, who came with recommendations from their church and pastor, and also the approval of the missionary in charge of the district. If able to pass a somewhat searching entrance examination they were received on six months' probation, and afterwards for a three years' course in reading, writing, composition, arithmetic, scripture, grammar, geography, school management, and an honours course in English drawing, first book of Euclid, and elementary Algebra. The numbers in recent years have varied from 100 to 304, the smaller numbers falling in the years troubled with war disturbances.

The building in which the school was carried on is of two stories, with five rooms on the first floor, and one large room on the second, and was erected in 1878 at a cost of £1,000. The grant from the Society for the work of the school has been £100 per annum, and in some years it has been worked for a smaller sum. This economy in working has been possible because in their last year many of the students become teachers of the junior classes. In the ten

years, 1880–1890, 201 youths passed through the school, and there is abundant testimony that many of them become the hopeful and useful workers as teachers in the day schools and Sunday schools, and also as native preachers.

In 1888 a very active and useful infant department was initiated with great success to carry on teaching in English, but the conquest of the island has practically put an end to this work[1].

3. *The Palace School.* This institution, so called because carried on in one of the rooms of the palace, was begun in 1870 by the prime minister, for the education of his own sons and of the sons of chief Government officials. Mr. Barker was the first superintendent, and since his time Messrs. Houlder, Wills, Grainge, Lord, and Thorne have carried it on. They have been responsible for the teaching only, the admission of pupils and all other details having been kept entirely in the prime minister's hands. 'There has, however, never been any difficulty in the management of the school arising from this arrangement, as the prime minister has always supported the authority of the missionary in charge, and appears to have done his best to help him in his work[2].'

The number of scholars has been nearly uniform, about sixty, and many trained there have done, and are doing, valuable service as Government officers. A second school, entirely under native guidance, was opened and carried on for some years, but in 1889 the two were combined and reorganized, under the care of Mr. Thorne. During 1890 the average attendance was 176, and the number on the register 232.

4. *Girls' Central School.* This was begun in 1872 by Mrs. Richardson and Miss Cameron. It was first held in two rooms of a native house at Andohàlo, where so many as ninety girls were taught. In 1876 Miss Bliss was appointed to take charge of the school, and soon after her arrival in Antanànarivo a rush and timber building was put

[1] This building was also requisitioned by the French.

[2] *Ten Years' Review*, 1870–1880, p. 204.

up at Imarivolànitra, near the printing office. In October, 1878, the school migrated to rooms at Andohàlo, vacated by the Normal School, which had removed to Fàravòhitra. In 1876 there were 78 on the books, and an average attendance of 60; in 1880 the numbers were 152 and 130; and in 1894 the average was 216.

During 1884 to 1890 Miss Craven was associated with Miss Bliss in the work. They were aided by two Malagasy men and eight women teachers. Subsequently, on Miss Bliss's retirement, Miss Sibree and Miss Briggs have assisted Miss Craven. Many Malagasy girls marry at twelve or thirteen years of age, and very few continue at the school after their marriage. The great hindrances to this work have been early marriages, the indifference of parents to the moral and mental welfare of their children, to heathen customs leading to immorality, and the increase of drinking habits.

Institutions similar to those just described have also been instituted in Betsilèo at Fianàrantsòa.

5. *Elementary Education* in Madagascar has received much attention from the missionaries, and has made fairly satisfactory progress in Imèrina and Betsilèo, but very little has yet been accomplished elsewhere. Although the Lutherans, the Romanists, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel all have schools, the great bulk of what educational work has been done is the outcome of the London and of the Friends' Missions. From the first the missionaries have striven to secure the co-operation of the natives, and to lead them to support the schools. By 1872 there were 490 schools in Imèrina. As the result of a conference in 1874, the Directors placed larger funds for educational work at the disposal of the conference, and the schools were rearranged into four classes, to which varying grants were given according to the quality of the staff and of the instruction given.

'During the year 1884 a system of examination for teachers' certificates was introduced by the Committee. All teachers then in charge of schools connected with our

mission were required to present themselves for examination, and certificates were issued to the successful examinees according to the attainments they had shown. By this means a good idea was obtained of the qualifications and general character of the teachers; and as the Committee decided that no teacher who had failed to secure a certificate should receive help from the education grants, a number of incompetent teachers were got rid of. These examinations for teachers' certificates had been held yearly since they were first instituted, and there can be no doubt that they have proved very useful in various ways.

'During recent years there has been shown by the parents a greater willingness to send their children to school at an earlier age than formerly; at the same time, however, they are removed at an earlier age. Still it is a great advantage to get hold of the children while of tender years, as the labour expended upon them gives higher and more gratifying results than the same labour bestowed upon older children coming fresh to school would produce. The immense majority of the children in our schools now are bona fide scholars, and not, as was often formerly the case, big boys and girls whose attendance was very irregular and intermittent, and who were too old and too much occupied to receive much benefit from the school instruction.

'The experience of the past ten years has shown more clearly than ever that educational work could not be carried on apart from the Missionary Societies. Were the grants-in-aid for educational purposes made by the various societies, and the supervision of European missionaries withdrawn, it is not too much to say that the school system at present existing would entirely collapse. Neither the Government nor the churches have the requisite resources, material and moral, to enable them to maintain even the most elementary school system in operation. Hitherto the beneficial action of the Government in relation to the schools has been confined to the exertion of a modified and intermittent pressure on the parents to send their children to school, and to a general countenance and

encouragement of educational work. The Government has borne no part in supplying the necessary funds for meeting the expenses of teachers' salaries, apparatus, &c.; the money for these purposes has been supplied by the Missionary Societies conjointly with the churches in connection with them. Perhaps we may say that, considering the political institutions of the country and the methods of government in vogue, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for the State to have established and maintained a school system of its own with even fair efficiency and success. And certainly the churches by themselves would be unequal to the task of carrying on school work. The missionaries of the London Missionary Society firmly insist upon the churches bearing a share in the expenses of the schools; and it is encouraging to find that some of the churches manifest considerable readiness and willingness to contribute for this purpose. Still if the pressure brought to bear by the missionaries upon the churches were to cease, their contributions would soon fail[1].'

A system of annual examination of the schools has been in operation for many years, and in 1894, 712 schools were examined, and 27,003 scholars. Of these, 13,087 possessed slates, 14,348 had Bibles. In reading, 12,459 passed; in writing, 8,413; in arithmetic, 6,374.

II. MEDICAL MISSION WORK. The needs of this important field of service have been kept well in view in Madagascar. Medical mission-work was begun in Antanànarìvo by Dr. Davidson, when on the staff of the London Missionary Society. He opened a hospital at Anàlakèly, and for several years did most useful and successful work. In 1867 the superintendence of this department was handed over to Dr. Burns Thompson, of Edinburgh, who found a large part of the funds needful to carry it on. In 1876 Dr. Thompson withdrew his support, Dr. Davidson left the island, and for a time the hospital had to be closed. Contrary to all expectation at

[1] *Ten Years' Review*, 1880–1890, p. 64 et seq.

the time this interregnum in the end lasted four years, until 1880, when Dr. Tregelles Fox, who went out under the auspices of the Friends' Mission, reopened the hospital for out-patients. A joint committee, representing both the London and the Friends' Societies, undertook to manage its affairs. Dr. Davidson's work had done much to remove native prejudice, and he had also trained some fairly competent native assistants. In 1881 Miss Graham undertook the superintendence of the nurses, and the hospital was reopened for in-patients. Dr. Fox suffered much from ill health, and received valuable assistance from time to time from Mr. W. Wilson, of the Friends' Mission. In 1885 Dr. Allen arrived, and Dr. Fox gave himself to the preparation of medical textbooks, and to the establishment of medical and midwifery schools in connection with the hospital. The Medical Missionary Training Academy was the outcome of deliberations between Drs. Fox and Allen, with Drs. Borchgrevinck and Guldberg, of the Norwegian Society, and was sanctioned by the three Societies concerned and opened in 1886. In July, 1887, Drs. Fox and Allen left Madagascar, and for a year the hospital was under the care of a Malagasy, Dr. Ralaròsy. In January, 1889, Dr. Fenn took charge, finding the senior students competent to render him much assistance. In August, 1889, Dr. C. F. A. Moss arrived. In 1891 the large new hospital was opened by the queen. It cost £5,000, and a week after the opening there was a collection at the Palace Church first, to which the queen gave £200, the prime minister £60, and the congregation £80. From the time it was opened this hospital proved a blessing to a large and increasing number of patients. The Medical Mission is not a regular part of the Society's work. It belonged to the Friends' Mission, the London Missionary Society contributing annually a sum not exceeding £500 towards the expenses. During 1894, 6,373 out-patients and 904 in-patients were treated[1].

Medical mission-work has been carried on as effectively

[1] The hospital was also requisitioned by the French.

as the limited staffs would permit in both the Betsilèo and the Antsihànaka Missions, having been under the charge during recent years at Fianàrantsòa, first by the Rev. J. Pearse and then by Dr. Peake.

A special form of medical mission has been carried on in Isoàvina, since 1892, by the Rev. P. G. Peake. Leprosy is very common in Madagascar, and an appeal by Mr. Peake to friends in England has enabled him to open a leper settlement, which during 1894 gave a home to thirty outcast lepers.

CHAPTER XXXV

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE IN MADAGASCAR

CHRISTIAN literature is both the handmaid and the consequence of Christian missions. In Madagascar a body of publications, not unworthy of the name of a Christian literature, has been one of the chief results of mission toil there.

1. *The Translation and Revision of the Bible.* The history of the original translation of the Scriptures into Malagasy has already been traced[1]. The Rev. David Griffiths, assisted by the Rev. J. J. Freeman until the death of the latter, began in England about 1852 to revise the Malagasy Bible. There was at that period some expectation that the island might soon be open again to Christianity. Mr. Griffiths was assisted by the Rev. T. W. Meller, M.A., Editorial Superintendent of the Bible Society, and both gentlemen bestowed much labour upon the work. But although Mr. Griffiths knew the language well, and had resided in the island nineteen years, ten or twelve years had passed since he left it. This revision was completed (New Testament in 1855, Old Testament in 1865), and the result was, in the opinion of a most competent judge, the Rev. W. E. Cousins, 'it could never be considered a standard version. Its style is too often stiff and unidiomatic; some words appear to have been invented by the reviser; some of the smaller words were persistently mis-

[1] See Chapter XXVIII.

used throughout; and in many instances the order of the words is extremely ill chosen.' The New Testament of this revision, slightly revised (May, 1866—September, 1868), was printed as a stop-gap edition in 1870; and in 1872 a complete Bible of small size, consisting of the 1870 New Testament, with a reprint of the 1835 text of the Old Testament, 'with the orthography modernized by Mr. Toy.'

The revision of the Malagasy Bible was a matter of great literary moment, a work fraught with incalculable influence, and a tribute to high efficiency in a most important department of missionary labour. Hence it deserves more than a passing mention. The chief reviser and guiding spirit of the great enterprise, the Rev. W. E. Cousins, has enabled us to follow the twelve years' history of the great undertaking. In 1886 he wrote the following account of it:—

'In the early part of the year 1872 it happened that there were present in Antanànarivo representatives of all Protestant societies having agencies in Madagascar, and the need of some united action was felt. The Bible would be used in all these missions alike, and naturally all felt a desire to see the work of revision undertaken by a board that would fully and fairly represent the different interests involved. A conference was held on April 3, 1872, and, as a result of its deliberations, a formal application was made to the British and Foreign Bible Society to grant its sanction and help to the important work contemplated. The main features of the plan suggested to the Bible Society were: (1) the appointment of the present writer to the post of "Principal Reviser," to prepare a preliminary version, to preside at the meetings of the Board, and to superintend the printing of the committee's version; (2) the appointment of a representative committee composed of missionaries of all the Protestant societies in the following proportions: the London Missionary Society, three; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, one; the Church Missionary Society, one; the Norwegian Missionary Society, two; the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, one. The British and Foreign Bible Society promptly and generously

agreed to this joint proposal, and undertook the whole pecuniary responsibility involved—that is to say: (1) the payment of the salary of the principal reviser; (2) the travelling expenses of the delegates; (3) the cost of native assistance; (4) the purchase of critical books and stationery; and (5) the printing of the proofs.

'A preliminary meeting was held on July 24, 1873, at the house of Mr. W. Johnson, of the F. F. M. A., who had acted as secretary to the conference. At this meeting several preliminary questions were discussed, and it was resolved that, instead of entering at once upon the general work, a tentative revision of a few selected chapters (viz. Gen. i–iv; Ex. i, ii, xx; Psa. i–v; Matt. v–vii) should be made by the principal reviser, and that a session should be held for the purpose of discussing these portions and of ascertaining more in detail than could be done in general conversation how far the delegates were united in judgment as to the extent and character of the changes required. This first session was held in December, 1873. Daily sittings of five or six hours were held for about three weeks, and the following portions were revised: Gen. i–iii; Ex. xx. 1–17; Psa. i, iii; Matt. v. 1–22, vi. 9–13 (in all 142 verses, or on an average about twelve verses per day). At these sessions there were present: Dr. Mullens, Rev. J. Pillans, visitors; Rev. W. E. Cousins, Principal Reviser; Revs. R. Toy, G. Cousins, and J. Sibree; Revs. L. Dahle and M. Borgen; Mr. J. S. Sewell; Raìnimànga, Andrìanaìvoravèlona, Andrìambèlo, Native Helpers.

'This work of preliminary revision stretched over eleven years. It did not, however, take the whole of this time; but, deducting my absence on furlough, I think about eight years was the time actually spent on it. This tentative version was prepared in a series of "Principal Reviser's Proofs." These proofs were octavo in size, printed in clear type, with a wide margin for notes. Most of them contained eight pages, but a few extended to ten or twelve.

'My plan of working in preparing these proofs was to take a page of the Malagasy Bible, pasted on a sheet of

paper for notes, and compare this word for word with the original, using the best critical aids in my possession, and endeavouring, in the first instance, to make the translation as literal as possible. Every point that appeared doubtful I marked with a (?), and, at the end of the week, I went through these doubtful passages with my native helper, Ralaìarivòny. At the beginning, I had two natives to help me in this kind of work—viz. Ralaìarivòny and Andrìamamànga. Both of these belonged to the caste of *andriana* (or nobles). They had not enjoyed any special training, but were men of good general ability, and very correct taste in matters affecting their own language; and as I wanted help chiefly in questions of idiom and taste, I do not think I could have made a better choice. During my absence in England Andrìamamànga died, but Ralaìarivòny has continued to work with me week by week to the end, and great praise is due to him for his patient care and good taste.

'The work of the committee has been from these preliminary proofs to build up what we earnestly hope will become a "standard version," which shall be received with confidence by all Protestants in Madagascar, and round which, as the years pass, shall gather sacred associations and loving reverence. At first the committee held continuous sessions of several weeks each twice a year. At the close of the third session, instead of holding sessions of several weeks' duration, the committee agreed to sit one day per week, with an occasional session of a week or a fortnight, when arrears should render this necessary. Our plan was to meet at 8.30 a.m., and work three hours in the morning and three in the afternoon. The day's meeting was opened by a brief prayer, and we then proceeded to revise the portion for consideration verse by verse. We had with us usually three native helpers. The committee sat on 433 days, and held in all 771 sittings, chiefly of three hours each.

'The Rev. L. Dahle, of the Norwegian Mission, has been able to render the committee most valuable help,

especially from his full and exact knowledge of Hebrew and the cognate languages. But every member of the committee has in his own order contributed to the final result, and the actual language employed is not the choice of any individual, but is the result of combined thought and discussion. Many of the happiest and most apt phrases the version contains have sprung unexpectedly to light in the midst of our discussions, and have at once commended themselves to our judgment. As a rule, the wishes of the native helpers (within certain well-defined limits, which as faithful translators we felt bound to maintain) have been followed as to the actual form of the sentences, and even as to the choice of words; and hundreds of small changes have been made, which no foreigner would have thought necessary, and of which few would see the reason, purely out of deference to native opinion. We ourselves have learned much, especially as to the possibility of misunderstanding phrases that seemed to us quite clear, and as to undesirable associations lurking in unsuspected quarters. We have again and again been taught the danger of undue literalism, and have found what numberless pitfalls lie in the path of one who is dealing with a language not his own. Certainly a greater humility in estimating our own proficiency in the language should be one of the fruits of our long-continued work. No amount of familiarity with it seems to give us quite the instinct and taste of a native; and we have been saved from many an ambiguity and from not a few absurdities by the keener perceptions of our native co-workers.

On Wednesday, October 28, 1885, in the committee-room of the London Missionary Society, which forms part of the great block of college buildings that are now such a conspicuous object on the Fàravòhitra hill, in Antanànarìvo, there were seated round a long office table seven European missionaries and two native pastors. At the head of the table is seated the chairman, the Rev. W. E. Cousins; on his right are the Rev. L. Dahle, superintendent of the Norwegian Mission, Mr. H. E. Clark, of the Friends'

Mission, and the Rev. T. T. Matthews, of the London Mission; on his left are seated the Revs. W. Montgomery and R. Baron, F.L.S., of the London Mission, and Bishop Kestell-Cornish, of the Anglican Mission; opposite the chairman are seated Joseph Andrianaivoravelona and Andrianony, both of them college-trained men of good ability and large experience. On the table are scattered books and papers, such as Polyglot Bibles, concordances, dictionaries, commentaries, and printers' proofs. The committee met at half-past eight, and after a short prayer for help began its morning's work—viz. the Book of Malachi. The work has gone on steadily for nearly four hours, and now the solemn and awe-inspiring words that form the last paragraph of the Old Testament are reached, and the first revision of the Malagasy Bible is complete. Books are closed with a sigh of relief, and all faces are brightened by the consciousness that a great work has been accomplished.'

During 1886 the version was once again revised by Mr. Cousins and his two native helpers, in conjunction with the other revisers. Mr. Cousins spent the year 1887 in England, seeing the book through the press. In 1888 a small-sized New Testament was printed, the first consignment reaching Antananarivo in October. Early in 1889 the complete Bible was finished, and the first 500 copies reached the capital in August:—

'The new version is a thick volume of 1642 demy 8vo pages, and is therefore unavoidably a rather heavy and cumbrous book; but the printing in long primer type is beautifully clear, well-spaced, and pleasant to read; and a slight comparison of a few passages from this revision with the same verses from the earlier editions will show at once how very greatly superior it is to its predecessors in clear and idiomatic Malagasy. Hundreds of passages which were formerly obscure—now and then almost meaningless—have become full of life and interest; and what was intelligible before has, in very many instances, become vivid and graphic.'

'The editorial superintendent of the Bible Society, at the beginning of the work, expressed the wish: "That no difference of opinion or policy in other matters may hinder the harmonious proceeding of the present work. It is hard indeed for men to co-operate when they feel that there is a material difference between them; but this Bible revision is a blessed opportunity for exhibiting to the island the unity of faith in the Scriptures as the authoritative declaration of God's will." I may be allowed to quote here a few words from Bishop Kestell-Cornish's letter, in which he informed me that he was about to leave the island, and could no longer join with us in the work. He says: "I confess I entered upon the office of reviser with some slight apprehensions, but I leave it with great regret. I think it may be said without irreverence that our work together has illustrated the truth of the evangelical promise, that by *The Voice* the valleys shall be exalted, the hills brought low, the crooked made straight, and the rough places plain. And can we doubt that the result of our work, in which, however, I have borne the humblest share, will be a wider revelation of the glory of the Lord?" '

2. *Christian Literature generally.* The influence exerted by David Johns' translation of the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* during the persecution has already been described[1]. The printing press, which did such good service prior to 1837, was re-established in a more powerful form in 1862, and enlarged again in 1876. The activity in this department is measured by the fact that between 1870 and 1880 no less than 1,500,000 copies of various publications were issued. The Friends' Mission in 1872 also started a press, from which a very large number of educational and other books were issued. The Norwegian, Romanist, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Missions have also set up presses, but the work in each of these cases has been very limited compared with the other presses, and but few books of general interest have yet proceeded from them.

[1] See p. 696.

The mere enumeration of the publications actually issued or in progress at the London Mission Press during the decade 1870–1879 occupies nine closely-printed pages. The literature issued from this press includes—

(1) *Periodicals.* The best of these is *Teny Soa* (Good Words), a magazine begun in 1866, and issued every two months from 1866 to 1869, but since the beginning of 1870 as a monthly. A quarterly magazine, *Mpanolo-tsaina* (Counsellor, or Thought-giver), was commenced in May, 1877, discontinued in 1880, and recommenced in 1888. A quarterly 'Children's Portion' has also been issued in connection with the Madagascar branch of the Children's Scripture Union since 1883.

(2) *Books.* These include commentaries, specially suited to aid native pastors, preachers, and evangelists; courses of Theology and Church History; a Bible Dictionary of 900 pages, completed in 1888; several editions of the Malagasy hymn-book; an illustrated edition of the first part, and an entirely new translation of the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*; a new Malagasy English Dictionary, 832 and lix pages; and the *Antanànarìvo Annual*, begun in 1881 and issued every Christmas. This is in English, and deals with the topography, history, and natural products of the island, also with its customs, traditions, language, folk-lore, and religious beliefs. Large numbers of school-books have been printed and circulated, including hundreds of thousands of the *First Lesson-Book.*

Details of this most valuable part of mission-work are given in both volumes of the *Ten Years' Review.* Full acknowledgement is also made of the generous help of the Religious Tract Society, without whose assistance large portions of this work could not have been undertaken. No less than ninety-three of the long list of publications issued between 1870 and 1879 were printed on paper given by the Tract Society, and sent out free of charge to Madagascar. The last *Ten Years' Review* (1890) states: 'Our thanks are again due to the committee of the Religious Tract Society for repeated grants of paper, and also for casts for book

illustration; through the first of these about 130,000 tracts have been put into circulation, and to both gifts our periodicals are greatly indebted, enabling us to print them at a cheaper rate, besides making them much more interesting to our readers.'

A beginning has been made in providing the Malagasy with literature, and yet *only* a good beginning has been made. There is much yet to be done in the way of creating in the natives a taste for helpful literature, and in providing a Christian literature written in accordance with Malagasy modes of thought. In the last official review of the mission these statements are found:—

'A taste for reading and a willingness to spend money in the purchase of books is still confined to a small section of the population, even of the professedly Christian and more enlightened portion of it; and it is discouraging to find that numbers of pastors and preachers will never purchase one of the numerous commentaries or other helps to the understanding of the Scriptures which have been prepared specially for their instruction, and that many grudge even the outlay of a few pence for the periodicals which are issued monthly expressly for their benefit. Possibly we need greater variety and attractiveness, and a larger employment of illustrations, in our literature; and we certainly do need that a larger proportion of our number should make writing for the press a regular part of their work, instead of leaving it to a comparatively small section of their brethren, upon whom it often falls very heavily and somewhat unfairly.'

'It is true that occasionally we find a real love of books and an anxiety to obtain immediately the latest production of our mission presses; but we believe that all who know the Malagasy will endorse the statement that a love of reading and of books is still rare among them, and will agree that a great deal has yet to be done to awaken a more earnest desire for enlightenment and information on all subjects.'

CHAPTER XXXVI

RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

IN far too brief a manner for the magnitude and importance of the subject, we have attempted to deal with the history and development of Christianity in Madagascar. One or two questions remain which must at least be glanced at before this section comes to a close: such as the relation of the London Missionary Society to other Societies, and the growth of French aggression.

I. THE RELATIONS MAINTAINED WITH OTHER SOCIETIES. With the Roman Catholics it has been, of course, possible to have but little intercourse. This must be so as long as the Roman Catholic Church arrogantly considers all other churches heretical. They have had many devoted agents, and in 1895 they had 113 agents and about 100,000 adherents, and 15,000 children in their schools. At the same time there were 107 Protestant missionaries with 375,000 adherents, and about 120,000 children in their schools. It is the more to be regretted that Rome cuts herself off from all fellowship with other Christian bodies in the island, as her own record is honourable. It should never be forgotten that Rome was first in the field. In 1506 the Portuguese, and in 1648 two French priests began mission-work. Neither mission lasted long, it is true, but both have left slight traces upon the history and upon the literature of the island.

While intercourse with individual missionaries, belonging to the different Protestant societies, has almost always been pleasant and helpful, and relations with the governing

bodies generally cordial, from time to time relations with the governing bodies of one and another have become a little strained.

1. *The Church Missionary Society* have always maintained relations of a most cordial kind with the Directors of the London Missionary Society. Although strongly urged in 1862 by many of their supporters to send a well-equipped mission to Madagascar, the committee then fully recognized the fact that the capital and the surrounding provinces were in an especial sense a London Missionary Society field, and declined to go there in competition. An arrangement was made between the Bishop of Mauritius and Mr. Ellis by which the east coast was to be left as a sphere for the Church Missionary Society, and also for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, if that Society should wish to unite in the good work. A conference was held in London in 1863 at the house of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, attended by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Capetown, the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society and Dr. Tidman. Mainly in consequence of Dr. Tidman's exposition of his Directors' views the conference decided that the question of sending a resident bishop to Madagascar should be suspended, that no episcopal mission should be opened in Antanànarìvo, but that the sphere of work for the Church of England should be the east coast. In 1863 both the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent out missionaries to the east coast districts. At a later date Bishop Ryan of Mauritius again advocated the appointment of a bishop of Madagascar, and in this he was supported by the Church Missionary Society's missionaries. But on December 12, 1870, the Church Missionary Society issued an important minute on the whole question, in which they affirm that they still feel bound by the original agreement (of 1863), and in the following words admirably summarize the position of affairs and the ground they take. They deserve to be placed on record as an example of how one great Society

should deal with another in these delicate questions of interaction and definition of sphere.

'It cannot be necessary, at the present day, to argue in favour of the principle of non-interference between the missions of different societies, which this Society has always maintained in common with most other societies. Bishop Selwyn, while Bishop of New Zealand, thus expressed his sense of the importance of this principle: "We make a rule never to introduce controversy amongst the native people, or to impair the simplicity of the Faith. If the fairest openings for missionary effort lie before us, if the ground has been preoccupied by any other religious body, we forbear to enter. And I can speak with confidence on this point, from observations ranging over nearly one-half of the Pacific Ocean, that wherever this law of religious amity is adopted, there the Gospel has its full and unchecked and undivided power; wherever the servants of Christ endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, there the native converts are brought to the knowledge of one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of us all."

'The London Missionary Society, in 1863, exhibited a truly Christian candour in welcoming Episcopal missionaries to the districts in Madagascar traversed by their own missionaries, which, by the strict law of amity, might have been claimed as exclusively their field. By this arrangement the Malagasy converts have the opportunity of witnessing the form of worship and discipline in our Church without the appearance of rivalry, or the danger of collision which would inevitably attend operations in the capital, and might easily arise if a resident bishop were on the field. In a few years the Madagascar converts will be sufficiently advanced in the knowledge of Divine things to judge for themselves what form of Church worship, discipline, and government may be most suitable to the national character and habits; and so, as in the primitive Church, we may witness the natural and gradual development of the Christian Ministry, instead of ecclesiastical controversies which have been the bane of the mother Church being

propagated in the mission-field. The difficulties connected with the bishopric of Honolulu afford a caution against sending a bishop into the sphere of a native church organized upon another system.

'Her Majesty can confer no jurisdiction beyond her dominions, except by the voluntary submission of the clergy to the bishop so appointed. Hence the Society is expected *voluntarily* to place its missionaries under the new bishop, and thus to sanction a scheme which it regards as objectionable, and contrary to an implied pledge. To this the Society cannot consent: it would rather submit to be driven from the island in which it has laboured with much success and blessing from above.

'On these grounds the Church Missionary Society would venture to suggest, that if it be still thought expedient to send an Anglican bishop to Madagascar, it may be under an arrangement which will exclude those parts of the island which are the field of labour of the Church Missionary Society from the jurisdiction of the new bishop, thus leaving its missionaries, as heretofore, under the Bishop of Mauritius.'

Owing to action taken by others in the Church of England a bishop was finally consecrated, and a few months later the Church Missionary Society entirely withdrew from work in the island. Throughout the whole course of affairs the Church Missionary Society displayed a consideration for the just and reasonable claims of other Churches, and a recognition of their rights and responsibilities as welcome as it is rare. What a world of needless controversy, heartburning, and hindrances to progress would have been avoided during the last fifty years over the mission-fields of the world, had the action of the committee of the Church Missionary Society in this and in other cases been imitated by all other missionary governing bodies.

2. *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.* In 1863 this Society co-operated with the Church Missionary Society in the settlement then reached, and on September 1, 1864, it established two missionaries at Tamatave, Mr. Hey and Mr. Holding. But the governing body in England

never cordially accepted exclusion from the capital, and from time to time hankered after a bishop. Basing its action largely on letters written by Bishop Ryan early in 1866, letters which any one conversant with the facts finds it hard to describe as other than disingenuous, the committee announced on January 20, 1866, that it now felt 'perfectly at liberty to send a missionary to Antanànarivo.'

In a printed statement issued in 1871 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel thus explain their action:—

'The missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and Bishop Ryan became convinced by experience that it was absolutely necessary for the safety, support, and extension of their mission (1) that there should be some representative of the Church of England at Antanànarivo, which is the seat of the ruling tribe, from which Tamatave and the rest of the island is governed; and (2) that the mission should be under the direction of a bishop residing among the missionaries, not at the distance of several hundred miles across a difficult sea.

'Early in 1866 Bishop Ryan wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Church Missionary Society, and the London Missionary Society, informing them of his opinion that the time had arrived for sending missionaries of the Church of England to the capital. The London Missionary Society protested against the proposal on the grounds that it involved a breach of an agreement made between Bishop Ryan and Mr. Ellis in 1862; and (as they said) must lead to collisions disastrous to religion between the representatives of Protestant Christianity at the capital. Bishop Ryan, in a printed letter dated May 30, 1866, defended himself and his proposal against this objection, repudiating the meaning attached by the London Missionary Society to the oral communications which had passed between himself and Mr. Ellis; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel passed a resolution to the effect that it "felt now perfectly at liberty to send a missionary to the capital, and entertained a hope that where

the field is so large, and the labourers so few, no conflict or collision will take place between the missionaries of the two Societies."'

In 1869 the project of the bishopric was revived, a fund was raised, but although the movement had the powerful support of Archbishop Tait, it was successfully resisted by the London Missionary Society, and the royal licence was refused by Lord Granville in 1872, and again in 1873. With regard to this action the document already quoted thus explains the action of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel :—

'Reports—the accuracy of which has been attested by Mr. Venn's letter dated March 22, 1870—reached the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, to the effect that the Church Missionary Society was decidedly opposed to the appointment of a resident bishop in Madagascar. In consequence of this information the question of opening a correspondence with the Church Missionary Society was never brought before the Society. The great principle of placing a successful mission of the Church of England, at the earliest possible period, under the personal direction of a resident bishop, was sufficient to induce the Society to take steps for the appointment of a bishop in Madagascar, although, from the circumstances of his appointment, no legal jurisdiction could be given to him, while his authority would be binding only on the missionaries of the Society, and on other persons who might choose voluntarily to submit to it. The appointment of such a bishop by the Archbishop of Canterbury would not, it was thought, compromise the Church Missionary Society in respect of its relations with the London Missionary Society, and would leave the existing relations between the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary unaltered: at the same time, such a bishop would be practically available for any episcopal functions which might be required of him by any society or persons in connection with the Anglican Church.'

At length the difficulty was evaded, under the advice of

Archbishop Tait, by getting the Episcopal Church of Scotland to consecrate the Rev. R. K. Kestell-Cornish on February 2, 1874. He took up work at Antanànarivo in November, 1874. On August 10, 1889, the Cathedral of St. Lawrence at Antanànarivo was consecrated. The *Digest of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Records*[1] refers to the influence of the bishop in Antanànarivo in these words: 'The presence of the bishop at the capital did not lead to any unpleasant complications, either with the Madagascar Government or people, or with the agents of the various religious bodies at work there. From the Government the Church received a friendly recognition, and was thankfully accepted by not a few of the people; and both at Antanànarivo and in other parts of the island it found, and still finds, work to do beyond its strength without interfering with "other men's labours."'

This series of events unhappily gave rise to much fruitless and some envenomed controversy. That many persons in the Church of England judged the action of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to be needless and open to objection is shown by the action of the Church Missionary Society, and also by the following extract from an article in the *Record* for January 9, 1874:—

'We rather regret that a wise and large-minded prelate like the Archbishop of Canterbury, one who knows so much better than most of his brethren the signs of the times, should have judged it discreet to yield to pressure and encourage the Church over which he presides to undertake the unapostolic office of "building on another man's foundation." Bishop Selwyn, High Churchman as he is, had at all events the merit during his episcopate in New Zealand of loyally refusing to interfere with the Nonconformist missionaries. The same spirit was beautifully conspicuous in the much more self-denying and earnest Bishop Patteson. There are abundance of mission-fields still unoccupied which invite missionary zeal, both Episcopalian and Nonconformist. The heathen world is

[1] Page 378.

surely wide enough for all, and it would be well for all to avoid the danger of giving the enemy of souls the opportunity of marring the good work of proclaiming Christ's glad tidings of salvation by introducing strifes about apostolical succession, vestments, baldacchinos, incense, genuflexions, and prostrations.'

3. The only other society with which there was any difficulty in adjusting working relations was the Norwegian. This arose, in the first instance, from a misunderstanding about the Betsilèo province, which the first Norwegian missionaries to reach Madagascar apparently expected was to be left wholly to them. They in turn, against the wish of the London Missionary Society, persisted in establishing themselves in Antanànarìvo. But long years ago any little friction aroused by these events passed away, part of Betsilèo was handed over to the Norwegian Society, and the missionaries of the two societies have worked side by side for many years in brotherly fellowship.

With regard to the whole question of relation to other societies, in justice to the London Missionary Society Directors and missionaries alike this must be said. They have never had the slightest desire to check mission-work on the part of any. But being already firmly established in Imèrina, for the sake of the natives, they have felt it neither unbrotherly nor unreasonable to urge those who hold strong ecclesiastical views to choose new fields of labour, and not to thrust their distinctive ecclesiastical polity forward where the undue prominence given to it is likely to arouse controversy on matters of Church organization and polity which are far less important than the evangelization of the heathen.

II. FRENCH AGGRESSION. To trace in detail the story of French claims and of French aggression in Madagascar would be a wearying and barren digression from the main purpose of this volume. We cannot, however, close this sketch of the wonderful Madagascar Mission without a brief reference to an influence which has powerfully affected the

island during this century, and must still more powerfully affect it through the century to come.

As early as the seventeenth century France had occupied Fort Dauphine, at the south-east end of the island, Point Foule, and other places on the east coast. When Great Britain seized Mauritius and Bourbon she also acquired whatever rights and possessions France had obtained in Madagascar. After Waterloo Bourbon was restored to France; Mauritius, and with it all Madagascar rights, retained. In the time of Radàma I, by the treaty which Governor Farquhar signed in 1817, all these rights were renounced, and Radàma was acknowledged as King of Madagascar. But the French never relinquished the idea that in some sense the island still belonged to them. By treaty with local chiefs France acquired in 1821 the island of St. Mary, and in 1841 Nosibè. In 1845 Ràvavàlona's decree that foreign traders in Tamatave must submit to Malagasy law or leave the island led to an attack on the fort there by English and French ships, but the fort was not captured. The Lambert treaty was repudiated by Rasohèrina, and this led to much negotiation, and ultimately to an indemnity paid by Madagascar to France of £4,800. The treaty between France and Madagascar in 1868, by which Rasohèrina was recognized Queen of Madagascar, again seemed to renounce French claims. In 1883 war broke out, Mojangà was seized, Tamatave bombarded, and Mr. G. A. Shaw treated in a scandalously high-handed manner by Admiral Pierre[1]. In 1886 a treaty was concluded which reserved to the Hovas control of domestic affairs, gave the French a privileged position in regard to foreign affairs, and placed all Malagasy living abroad under the protection of France. In consequence of this a French resident was established at Antanànarivo with a staff and guard of honour of about fifty men. The Bay of Diego Suarez on the north-east coast was ceded to France. In this treaty were ambiguous phrases, and though the word 'protectorate' was not there, the establishment of the thing

[1] For details see *Madagascar and France* by G. A. Shaw.

was the end at which, in this instance, French diplomacy aimed. The prime minister signed this treaty finally only because it was accompanied by an annex, signed by the French commissioners, M. Patrimonio and Admiral Miot, which contained both explanations and limitations. 'This annex was suppressed when the treaty was brought before the French Chambers, and has always been treated by the French officials as so much waste paper[1].' Friction continued between the Malagasy and French officials from the date of the treaty. On August 5, 1890, Lord Salisbury, needlessly in the opinion of many, acknowledged the French Protectorate. In the agreement between the French and British Governments this clause was inserted: 'In Madagascar the missionaries of both countries shall enjoy complete protection. Religious toleration and liberty for all forms of worship and religions shall be guaranteed.' Had the Protectorate continued this might have been enforced. But in 1896 France conquered the island, dethroned and banished the queen, and by right of conquest claims absolute authority in the island; not even admitting herself to be bound by the toleration clause in the treaty of 1890. France has already astutely availed herself of those clauses which the Malagasy Government insisted upon inserting in all title-deeds, to claim many of the mission buildings for Government use, and to hinder much of the mission-work. Time only can show whether the action of France in Tahiti is to be repeated in Madagascar, or whether with a larger toleration, or in the blaze of a fiercer light, the Republic will be satisfied with the absolute power for which she has so long lusted, and allow the native church to develop as it will. Whatever the future has in store this generation of British Christians will both hope and believe that a church with so much that is inspiring and glorious in its past has yet, under the guidance of God, a great part to play in the development of Malagasy life, civilization, and spiritual enlightenment.

[1] *Madagascar of To-day*, by W. E. Cousins, p. 150.

APPENDIX I

A Complete List of the Missionaries who have laboured in Polynesia, Africa, and Madagascar.

The following lists are intended to show the year of arrival of missionaries at each mission-field or station, and the length of service. The *death* of a missionary at his station is indicated by italicized figures in the third column. Figures in parentheses after a name indicate other sections of the same main division, and Roman numerals other main divisions, in which the name will also be found.

I.

SOCIETY ISLANDS.

(1) Tahiti.

	Mission Arr.	*Field Left.*
Bicknell, Henry	1797	*1820*
Broomhall, Benjamin ...	1797	1801
Clode, Samuel	1797	1798
Cock, John	1797	1798
Cover, James Fleet... ...	1797	1798
Eyre, John	1797	1808
Gilham, John A. (surgeon)	1797	1797
Harris, John ... II	1797	1800
Hassell, Rowland	1797	1798
Henry, William (2), (3)	1797	1842
Hodges, Peter	1797	1798
Jefferson, John	1797	*1807*
Lewis, Thomas	1797	1798
Main, Edward	1797	1798
Nott, Henry... ...(2), (3)	1797	*1844*
Oakes, Francis	1797	1798
Puckey James	1797	1798
Puckey, William	1797	1798
Smith, William	1797	*1798*
[For list of thirty missionaries captured by the French in 1799 *see* footnote [1].]		
Davies, John ...(2), (3)	1801	*1855*
Elder, James ... (3)	1801	*1808*
Hayward, James ...(2), (3)	1801	*1822*
Mitchell [2], James		
Morrice [3], Stephen		
Read [4], William	1801	1801
Scott, William ...(2), (3)	1801	*1808*
Shepherd [5], James		
Tessier, Samuel ... (3)	1801	*1820*

[1] John Beattie, *Clark Bentom*, Spence Broughton, Joseph Cooper, Thomas Fitzgibbon, William Gregory, George Gregory, John Guard, Walter Hawkins, *James Hayward*, John Hill, William Howell, Robert Hughes, John Jerard, James Jones, John Levesque, Peter Levesque, John Macdonald, Daniel Miller, *John Mitchell*, Griffith Parry, *James Read*, James Smith, Joseph Smith, William Soldy, Samuel Turner (surgeon), Joshua Lambert Vardy, *William Waters*, *Charles Wilson*, *John Youl*. With the exception of names in italics, these missionaries retired from the service of the Society on their arrival in England (cf. pp. 60–64).

[2] On arriving at Port Jackson in 1800 his connection with the Society ceased.

[3] Died at Port Jackson, 1800, *en route* for Tahiti.

[4] Afterwards joined the Ceylon Mission.

[5] Sailed in 1800, but was left at the Isle of Wight owing to illness.

	Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Waters, William	1801	1804
Wilson, Charles ...(2), (3)	1801	1844
Youl, John	1801	1807
Shelly, William ... III	1802	1806
Warner, Gregory (surgeon) (3)	1807	1808
Bourne, Robert ...(2), (6)	1818	1822
Crook, William Pascoe (2), II	1818	1830
Gyles, John (agriculturalist)	1818	1819
Darling, David ...(2), II	1819	1859
Armitage, Elijah (artisan) (2), IV	1821	1835
Blossom, Thomas (artisan) (2)	1821	1844
Jones, Thomas	1821	1826
Pritchard, George	1824	1837
Pitman, Charles (4), (6), IV	1825	1826
Buzacott, Aaron ... IV	1827	1828
Simpson, Alexander (2)	1827	1850
Orsmond, John Muggridge (2), (3), (4), (5)	1831	1844
Rodgerson, John ... (5), II	1837	1839
Howe, William ...(2), IV	1839	1863
Johnston, Joseph (schoolmaster)	1839	1849
Joseph, Thomas	1839	1844
Stevens, Charles Green ...	1839	1840
Smee, Alfred (printer) ...	1841	1847
Stallworthy, George II, V	1841	1844
Thomson, Robert	1841	1850
Buchanan, Ebenezer (schoolmaster) ... V	1842	1844
Jesson, John Thomas ...	1842	1844
McKean, Thomas Smith ...	1842	*1844*
Moore, Joseph	1843	1844
Chisholm, Alexander (4), V	1846	1852
Barff, John (2), (3), (5), (6)	1847	1852
Lind, William Alexander ...	1852	1852
Spencer, George	1852	1853
Morris, George ... (4)	1863	1868
Green[1], James Lampard (3), (6)	1870	1886

(2) EIMEO (MOOREA).

Hayward, James ...(1), (3)	1808	1818
Nott, Henry ...(1), (3)	1808	1818
Scott, William ...(1), (3)	1808	*1815*
Wilson, Charles ...(1), (3)	1808	1817
Davies, John ...(1), (3)	1811	1818
Henry, William ...(1), (3)	1811	1832
Crook, William Pascoe (1), II	1816	1818
Barff, Charles ...(3), (6)	1817	1818
Bourne, Robert ...(1), (6)	1817	1818
Darling, David ... (1), II	1817	1819
Ellis[2], William (3), XII	1817	1818
Orsmond, John Muggridge (1), (3), (4), (5)	1817	1824
Platt, George ...(4), (5)	1817	1824
Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward (3), (4)	1817	1818
Williams, John (4), IV, V, VI	1817	1818
Armitage, Elijah (artisan) (1), IV	1823	1833
Blossom, Thomas (artisan) (1)	1823	1826
Simpson, Alexander (1)	1829	1850
Howe, William (1), IV	1839	1844
Barff, John (1), (3), (5), (6)	1844	1847

(3) HUAHINE.

Elder, James ... (1)	1808	1809
Henry, William ...(1), (2)	1808	1809
Tessier, Samuel ... (1)	1808	1809
Warner, Gregory (surgeon) (1)	1808	1809
Hayward, James ...(1), (2)	1809	1809?
Scott, William ...(1), (2)	1809	1809
Wilson, Charles ...(1), (2)	1809	1809
Barff, Charles ...(2), (6)	1818	1864
Davies, John ...(1), (2)	1818	1820
Ellis, William (2), XII	1818	1822
Nott, Henry ...(1), (2)	1818	1819
Orsmond, John Muggridge (1), (4), (5)	1818	1818
Smith, James	1831	1833
Barff, John (1), (2), (5), (6)	1839	1855
Vivian, James Clark (4), (6)	1865	1867
Green, James Lampard (1), (6)	1866	1867
Saville, Alfred Thomas ...	1867	1874
Cooper, Ebenezer Vicessimus V	1881	1890

(4) RAIATEA.

Orsmond, John Muggridge (1), (3), (5)	1818	1820
Threlkeld, Lancelot Edward (2)	1818	1824

[1] In 1889 Mr. Green became pastor of Ebenezer Chapel, Demerara, and represented the Society in British Guiana.

[2] In 1822 Mr. Ellis visited the Sandwich Islands, and accepted an invitation to join the mission there. He returned to Huahine for his family, and settled at Oahu in 1823, but left in 1824.

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Williams, John	(3), IV, V, VI	1818	1831
Pitman, Charles	(1), (6), IV	1826	1827
Smith, James	...(3), (6)	1831	1832?
Loxton, James	... ...	1834	*1834*
Platt, George	...(2), (5)	1836	*1865*
Charter, George	... ...	1839	1853
Chisholm, Alexander	(1), V	1852	1860
Morris, George	... (1)	1861	1863
Vivian, James Clark	(3), (6)	1863	*1874*
Pearse, Albert	...(5), IX	1874	1887
Richards[1], William Edward	(6)	1885	*1888*
(5) BORABORA.			
Orsmond, John Muggridge	(1), (3), (4)	1820	1824
Platt, George	...(2), (4)	1824	1835
Rodgerson, John	... II	1839	*1847*
Krause, Ernest Rudolph William	...(6), IV	1851	1855
Barff, John	(1), (2), (3), (6)	1852	1853
Pearse, Albert	...(4), IX	1870	1874
(6) TAHAA.			
Bourne, Robert	...(1), (2)	1822	1827
Pitman, Charles	(1), (4), IV	1827	1827
Smith, James	...(3), (4)	1833	1833
Krause, Ernest Rudolph William	...(5), IV	1843	1851
Barff, John	(1), (2), (3), (5)	1857	*1860*
Barff, Charles	...(2), (3)	1860	1860
Green, James Lampard	(1), (3)	1861	1867
Vivian, James Clark	(3), (4)	1863	*1874*
Richards, William Edward	(4)	1886	*1888*

II.

MARQUESAS.

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Harris, John	... I	1797	1797
Crook, William Pascoe	I	1797	1799
Darling, David	... I	1834	1835
Stallworthy, George	I, V	1834	1841
Rodgerson, John	I	1834	1837
Thomson, Robert	I	1839	1841

III.

TONGATABU (FRIENDLY ISLANDS).

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Bowell, Daniel	... ...	1797	*1799*
Buchanan, John	... ...	1797	1800
Cooper, James	... ...	1797	1800
Gaulton, Samuel	... ...	1797	*1799*
Harper, Samuel	... ...	1797	*1799*
Kelso, Seth	... ...	1797	1800
Nobbs, Isaac	... ...	1797	1797
Shelly, William	... I	1797	1800
Veeson, George	... ...	1797	1802
Wilkinson, James	... ...	1797	1800

IV.

HERVEY ISLANDS.

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
(1) RARATONGA.			
Pitman, Charles	... I	1827	1854
Williams, John	I, V, VI	1827	1839
Buzacott, Aaron	... I	1828	1857
Armitage, Elijah (artisan)	I	1833	1835
Macdonald, Alexander	V	1836	1837
Gill, William	... ...	1839	1852
Gill, George	... (4)	1857	1860
Krause, Ernest Rudolph William	... (3), I	1859	1867
Howe, William	... I	1863	*1883*
Chalmers, James	... IX	1867	1877
Gill, B.A., LL.D., William Wyatt	... ... (4)	1877	1883

[1] Mr. Richards was for a short time connected with the Madras Mission before proceeding to the Society Islands.

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Hutchin, John Joseph Knight		1882	
Lawrence, William Nicol (2), (4)		1891	1893
(2) AITUTAKI.			
Royle, Henry		1839	1876
Lawrence, William Nicol (1), (4)		1885	
(3) ATIU.			
Krause, Ernest Rudolph William	(1), I	1842	1843
(4) MANGAIA.			
Gill, George ...	(1)	1845	1857
Gill, B.A., LL.D., William Wyatt	(1)	1852	1872
Harris, George Alfred ...		1871	1893
Lawrence, Wm. Nicol (1), (2)		1884	1885
Cullen, James Harris	VIII	1894	

V.

SAMOA (SAVAII, UPOLU, TUTUILA, MANUA).

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Barnden, George		1836	*1838*
Murray, Archibald Wright	VII, IX	1836	1870
Heath, Thomas ...	VI	1836	*1848*
Mills, William		1836	1854
Hardie, Charles		1836	1854
Macdonald, Alexander	IV	1837	1850
Day, William		1838	1845
Stair, John Betteridge (printer, afterwards missionary)		1838	1845
Buchanan, Ebenezer	I	1838	1849
Pratt, George	VII, VIII, IX	1839	1879
Williams, John	I, IV, VI	1839	1839
Drummond, George ...		1841	1872
Slatyer, Thomas		1840	1845
Harbutt, William		1840	1858
Dickson [1], Henry			
Bullen, Thomas		1841	*1848*
Turner, LL.D., George	VI	1841	1882
Nisbet, LL.D., Henry	VI	1843	*1876*
Chisholm, Alexander	I	1843	1846
Stallworthy, George	I, II	1844	*1859*
Sunderland, James Povey	VII	1845	1854
Powell, Thomas		1845	1885
Ella, Samuel (printer, afterwards missionary)	VII	1848	1862
Schmidt, Carl William E.		1848	1857
Law, William ...		1852	1854
Creagh, Stephen Mark	VII	1857	1858
Gee, Henry		1860	1864
Bird, Peter Goold		1861	*1864*
Simmons [2], John Wilkes			
King, Joseph		1863	1872
Mills, John McGregor ...		1863	*1864*
Whitmee [3], Samuel James ...		1863	1876
Scott, B.A., George Frederick		1865	1873
Davies, L.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Samuel Hickman... ...		1867	1895
Michie [4], Alexander			
Watson, William Joseph ...		1867	1870
Turner, M.D., George Alexander (medical)		1868	1879
Shaw, George Andrew (schoolmaster)	XII	1869	1870
Phillips, Charles		1878	1886
Marriott, John		1879	
Newell, James Edward ...		1881	
Clarke, William Edward ...		1883	1895
Wilson, William Henry ...		1884	1887
Claxton [5], Arthur Edward...		1885	1891
Hills, John William ...		1887	
Goward, William Edward ...		1888	
Hunt, Archibald Ernest	IX	1890	1895
Cooper, Ebenezer Vicessimus I		1893	
Beveridge, Sidney Alexander		1895	

VI.

NEW HEBRIDES.

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Williams, John	I, IV, V	1839	*1839*
Heath, Thomas ...	V	1842	1842
Nisbet, LL.D., Henry	V	1842	1843
Turner, LL.D., George	V	1842	1843

[1] Died at Sydney, 1840, *en route* for Samoa.

[2] Appointed to Samoa in 1860, but on arriving at Sydney retired from the Society.

[3] In 1891 Mr. Whitmee was re-engaged by the Society for special service in Samoa for two years.

[4] Sailed from England in 1866, but, owing to an accident to Mrs. Michie, left the John Williams at Melbourne, and engaged in pastoral work in the colony.

[5] In 1894 Mr. Claxton was appointed to Chung King, West China.

VII.

LOYALTY ISLANDS.

		Mission Arr.	*Field Left.*
Creagh, Stephen Mark	V	1854	1886
Jones, John		1854	1887
Sunderland, James Povey	V	1854	1855
Baker, William		1859	1861
Macfarlane, LL.D., Samuel	IX	1859	1871
Sleigh, James ...		1862	1887
Irvine[1], Alexander			
Ella, Samuel ..	V	1864	1875
Murray, Archibald Wright	V, IX	1870	1874?
Pratt, George	V, VIII, IX	1872?	1873?
Hadfield, James		1878	

VIII.

NIUE (OR SAVAGE ISLAND).

		Mission Arr.	*Field Left.*
Lawes, D.D., William George	IX	1861	1872
Pratt, George	V, VII, IX	1861	1862
Lawes, Francis Edwin ...		1868	
Cullen, James Harris	IV	1891	1894

IX.

NEW GUINEA.

		Mission Arr.	*Field Left.*
Macfarlane, LL.D., Samuel	VII	1871	1885
Murray, Archibald Wright	V, VII	1872	1874
Lawes, D.D., William George	VIII	1874	
Turner, M.D., William Young (medical)		1876	1876
Chalmers, James ...	IV	1877	
Beswick, Thomas		1879	1881
Scott, James Tait		1880	1882
Ridgley, M.B., Thomas (medical)		1882	1882
Scott, Harry		1883	1886
Sharpe, Watson		1885	1886
Savage, Edwin Bentley ...		1885	1891
Hunt, Archibald Ernest	V	1887	
Pearse, Albert ...	I	1887	
Pratt, George	V, VII, VIII	1887	1887
Dauncey, Harry Moore ...		1888	
Walker, Frederick William		1888	1896
Abel, Charles William ...		1890	
Holmes, John Henry ...		1893	
Ingram, Thomas William		1894	1895
Schlencker, Henry Percy ...		1895	
Cribb, Charles James ...		1896	

X.

LADY MISSIONARIES IN POLYNESIA.

	Mission Arr.	*Field Left.*
Schultze, Wilhelmine Franzeska Louise Valesca (Samoa)	1890	
Moore, Elizabeth (Samoa)	1891	
Ardill, Emogene (Rarotonga)	1892	
Large, Agnes Eunice (Samoa)	1892	
Removed to Rarotonga ...	1895	

[1] Died at Sydney in 1863 on his way to Uvea.

XI.

AFRICA.

		Mission Arr.	Field Left.
(1) Sierra Leone.			
Cappe, George	... ...	1797	1798
Russell, Alexander	... ...	1797	*1798*
(2) Cape Colony.			
Edmonds, John	... ...	1799	1800
Edwards, William	... ...	1799	1800
Kicherer, John	... ...	1799	1805
Kramer, Cornelius Adrian	(3)	1799	1815
Vanderkemp, M.D., John Theodosius	... ...	1799	*1811*
Anderson, William	... (3)	1800	1848
Read (1), James	... (3), I	1800	*1852*
Tromp, Bastian	... (3)	1800	? *circ.*
Vanderlingen, Aart Anthony		1800	1805
Bakker, Mews Jans	... ...	1801	1821
Manenberg, —	... ...	1801	1801
Verster, Herman	... ...	1801	1801
Irwin, John	... ...	1802	*1803*
Ullbright, John Gottfried	...	1805	*1821*
Vos, Arie	... ...	1805	*1867*
Pacalt, Carl	... ...	1809	*1818 circ.*
Seidenfaden, John	... (3)	1809	1820
Smit, Erasmus	... ...	1809	1821
Wimmer, Michael	... ...	1809	*1840*
Bartlett, John	... (3)	1811	1825
Corner, William Forgler	...	1811	1821
Ebner, John Lion Hart	(3)	1811	1815
Helm, Henry	... (3)	1811	*1848*
Messer, John George	...	1811	1842
Sass, Christopher	... (3)	1811	*1849*
Schmelen, John Henry	(3)	1811	*1848*
Albrecht, Christian	... (3)	1812	*1815*
Thom, George	... ...	1812	1818
Barker, George	... ...	1815	1856
Evans, John	... ... (3)	1815	1816
Marquard, Leopold	... ...	1815	?
Williams, Joseph	... ...	1815	*1818*
Brownlee, John	)	1817	1818
	(	1825	1867
Evans, Evan	... ...	1817	1827
Hooper, Frederick G. W.	...	1817	1819
Kitchingman, James	...	1817	*1848*
Taylor, John	... ...	1817	1818
Philip, D.D., John	...	1820	1850
Monro, John	... ...	1821	1846
Wright, Peter (artisan, afterwards ordained)	... (3)	1821	1825
Edwards, Thomas (schoolmaster)	... ...	1822	1842
Edwards, Rogers (artisan)	(3)	1823	1874
Robson, Adam	... ...	1823	*1870*
Foster, William	... ...	1825	1830
Miles, Richard	... ...	1826	1829
Kayser, Frederick Gottlob	...	1827	1859
Clark, James (catechist, &c.)	(3)	1828	*circ. 1864*
Elliott[1], William	... ...	1828	1853
Atkinson, Theophilus	(3)	1829	1882
Baillie, John	... (3)	1829	1830
Kolbe, George Augustus	(3)	1829	1831
Van Lingen, Albert	...	1830	1846
Melvill, John	... (3)	1831	*1852*
Hood, Thomas Samuel (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	... ...	1833	*1863*
Canham, John (schoolmaster)	XII	1835	1837
Helm, Daniel J.	... ...	1835	1859
Locke, John	... ...	1837	*1848*
Merrington, Thomas Samuel (schoolmaster, afterwards) missionary)	... ...	1837	1879
Read (2), James	... ...	1837	1871
Williams, Edward	... ...	1837	1843
Birt, Richard	... ...	1838	*1892*
Calderwood, Henry	...	1838	1846
Passmore, William (schoolmaster)	... ...	1839	*1852*
Smit, Nicholas Henry (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	... ...	1839	1870
Solomon, Edward (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	... (3)	1839	1842
Vogelgezang, M.	... ...	1839	1847
Philip, William	... ...	1840	*1845*
Taylor[2], Robert Barry	...	1841	*1876*
Schreiner, Gottlob	... (3)	1842	1846
Gill, Joseph	... ...	1843	1853
Anderson, Bartholomew Ebenezer (schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	... ...	1844	
Brown[3], John Crombie	...	1844	1848
Paterson, Thomas Jones	...	1845	1882

[1] Attempted to commence a mission in the Comoro Islands in 1821.
[2] Formerly a missionary at Demerara.
[3] Formerly at St. Petersburg.

	Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Philip, B.A., Thomas Durant	1845	1876
De Kock, S. N.	1848	1855
Gregorowski, Reinhold Theodor	1848	1856
Kitchingman, Joseph ...	1848	*1875*
Kayser, Frederick G. G. schoolmaster, afterwards missionary)	1849	1884
Thomson, W. Y. ... (3)	1849	1851
Christie[1], George ... (3)	1850	1853
Thompson[2], William ...	1850	1888
Campbell, James Nicoll (schoolmaster)	1851	1873
Kolbe, Frederick William...	1853	1875
Read, John Vanderkemp ...	1855	*1859*
Kayser, Henry	1856	1868
Philip, B.A., Wilberforce Buxton	1856 / 1888	1857 / *1888*
Wimmer, Michael (schoolmaster)	1856	1872
Brockway, Thomas (schoolmaster, afterwards ordained)	1859	1868
Elliott, Samuel P.	1863	1864
Murray, William	1864	1868
McLeod, John	1865	*1866*
Owen, Hugh G. (schoolmaster)	1865	1866
Dower, William	1866	1878
Williams, Charles ... (3)	1866	1870
Williamson[3], Henry C. ...	1866	1867
Harper, John	1868	1886
Mackenzie, John ...(3), (4)	1891	*1899*
Wilson[4], Mark Henry ...	1893	

(3) NORTH OF THE ORANGE RIVER. GREAT NAMAQUALAND. GRIQUALAND WEST, AND BECHWANALAND.

Anderson, William (2)	1801	1820
Kramer, Cornelius Adrian (2)	1801	1815
Albrecht, Abraham... ...	1805	*1810*
Albrecht, Christian... (2)	1805	1812[5]
Seidenfaden, John ... (2)	1805	1808
Janz, Lambert	1806	*1815*
Tromp, Bastian ... (2)	1808	*1811*
Schmelen, John Henry (2)	1814	1822
Ebner, John Lion Hart (2)	1815	1819
Helm, Henry ... (2)	1815	1824
Evans, John ... (2)	1816	1816
Hamilton, Robert (missionary artisan)	1816	*1851*
Read (1), James ... (2), 1	1816	1820
Moffat, D.D., Robert (4)	1818	1870
Sass, Christopher ... (2)	1820	1827
Hughes, Isaac (artisan, afterwards missionary) ...	1824	*1870*
Bartlett, John ... (2)	1825	1833
Clark, James (catechist, &c.) (2)	1825	1828
Wright, Peter ... (2)	1825	*1843*
Melvill, John ... (2)	1827	1831
Baillie, John ... (2)	1830	1836
Edwards, Rogers ... (2)	1830	1856
Kolbe, George Augustus (2)	1831	1837
Atkinson, Theophilus (2)	1836	1847
Schreiner, Gottlob ... (2)	1838	1842
Helmore, Holloway ...	1839	*1860*
Livingston(e), L.L.D., David	1841	1853
Ross, William	1841	*1863*
Solomon, Edward ... (2)	1842	1855
Ashton, William	1843	
Inglis, Walter	1843	1853
Thomson, W. Y. ... (2)	1843	1849
Christie, George ... (2)	1849	1850
Vanderschalk, C. J. ...	1849	1851
Mackenzie, John ...(2), (4)	1858	1882
Price[5], Roger	1858	
Good, James	1865	
Moffat, John Smith... (4)	1865	1879
Brown, John	1866	
Hepburn, James Davidson...	1870	1893
Williams, Charles ... (2)	1870	1877
Wookey, Alfred John (5)	1870	
Gould, Alfred James ...	1882	
Lloyd, Edwin	1884	
Williams, Howard	1885	
Brown, John Tom	1886	
Reid, John Edwin (artisan assistant missionary) ...	1893	1896
Willoughby, William Charles 5	1893	

[1] Stationed at Calcutta, 1830–32.
[2] Stationed at Bellary, 1836–48.
[3] Stationed in Jamaica from 1863–5.
[4] Stationed at Canton, 1891–2.
[5] Appointed in 1875 to visit the east coast of Africa with the view of making preparations for the projected missionary expedition to Central Africa. In 1877 he conducted the expedition as far as Mpwapwa, and resumed work at Molepolole in 1879.

	Mission Arr.	Field Left.
(4) MATABELELAND.		
Moffat [1], D.D., Robert (3)		
Sykes, William	1859	*1887*
Thomas, Thomas Morgan ...	1859	1870
Mackenzie, John ...(2), (3)	1863	1864
Moffat, John Smith... (3)	1864	1865
Thomson, John Boden (5)	1870	8176
Helm, Charles Daniel ..	1875	
Elliott, William Allan ...	1877	1892
Cockin, Joseph	1878	*1880*
Carnegie, David	1882	
Rees, Bowen ... (5)	1888	
Reed, George Cullen Harvey	1895	
Wilkerson, George James (artisan assistant missionary)	1896	
(5) CENTRAL AFRICA.		
Clarke [2], Elbert Sills ...		
Hore [3], Edward Coode (engineer, &c.)	1878	1888
Hutley, Walter (artisan) ...	1878	1881
Thomson, John Boden (4)	1878	*1878*
Dodgshun [4], Arthur William	1879	*1879*
Griffith, William	1879	1881
Mullens [5], D.D., Joseph ...		
Southon, M.D., Ebenezer John (medical)	1879	*1882*
Palmer, L.R.C.S.I., &c., Walter Stephen (medical)	1880	1881
Williams, David	1880	*1881*
Wookey, Alfred John (3)	1880	1881
Dineen [6], Joseph Henry (medical		
Dunn, James (artisan) ...	1882	*1884*
Penry [7], John	1882	
Shaw, Thomas Francis ...	1882	
Willoughby, William Charles (3)	1882	1883
Brooks [8], Arthur (artisan) ...	1883	
Jones, David Picton ...	1883	
Swann, Alfred James (marine department)	1883	1893
Harris, John	1885	*1885*
Laird [9], L.R.C.P., &c., Frank (medical)		
Rees, Bowen ... (4)	1885	1885
Carson, B.Sc., Alexander (engineer)..	1886	*1896*
Lea, George Henry... ...	1886	1887
Tomory, M.B., C.M., John Kay (medical)	1887	1887
Wright, Robert Stewart ...	1887	1890
Draper, Walter (artisan) ..	1888	
Hemans, James Henry Emmanuel (schoolmaster) ...	1888	
Mather, L.R.C.S., &c., Charles Benjamin (medical)	1888	
Wolfendale, L.R.C.P. and S., George Ashton (medical)	1890	1892
Southwell [10], James Phillips		
Nutt, William Harwood (artisan assistant missionary)	1892	1896
Purves, Adam Darling (artisan assistant missionary)...	1892	
Thomas, William	1893	1896
(6) LADY MISSIONARIES.		
Sturrock, E. M. H. (Peelton, Kafirland)	1864	1884
Cockin, Sara Annie (Kuruman)	1881	1885
Ellis [11], Kate Edith (Molepolole)		

[1] After previous visits to Matabeleland, Dr. Moffat accompanied Messrs. Sykes and Thomas to their destination—Inyati—in 1859, and remained with them until June, 1860.

[2] Proceeded as far as Kirása (1877) and returned to Zanzibar, resigning his connection with the Society.

[3] Appointed captain of the John Williams in 1894.

[4] Started with the first expedition, but, volunteering to return from Kirása to Zanzibar for stores, did not reach Ujiji until March, 1879. He died a week after arrival.

[5] Volunteered to accompany the second expedition, but died on the way, about thirty miles from Mpwapwa.

[6] Died on his way to Ujiji, July 25, 1883.

[7] Died on his way back to the coast, April 21, 1883.

[8] Shot by natives near the coast, January 21, 1889, on his return journey to England.

[9] Proceeding *via* Quilimane and advancing inland, hostilities between the Portuguese and the natives compelled him to turn back. Arriving in England, ill health led him to sever his connection with the Society (1885).

[10] Left England, 1891. His health failing on the journey, he returned home, arriving the same year.

[11] Left England December, 1893, but returned, arriving February, 1893.

	Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Hargreave, Ellen Louisa (Phalapye)	1894	1895
Young, Alice (Phalapye) ...	1894	
Partridge, Mary (Molepolole)	1895	

XII.

MADAGASCAR.

(1)	Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Bevan, Thomas	1818	*1819*
Jones, David	1818	1838
Griffiths, David	1821	1834
Brooks, Thomas (artisan) ...	1822	*1822*
Canham, John (artisan, afterwards missionary) XI	1822	1834
Chick, George (artisan) ...	1822	1835
Jeffreys, John	1822	1825
Rowlands, Thomas (artisan and schoolmaster) ...	1822	*1828*
Cameron, James (artisan)	1826 1863	1835 *1875*
Cummins, John (artisan) ...	1826	1828
Hovenden, Charles (printer)	1826	*1826*
Johns[1], David	1826	*1843*
Freeman, Joseph John ...	1827	1835
Baker, Edward (printer) ...	1828	1836
Cousins, M.A., William Edward	1862	
Davidson, M.D., Andrew (medical)	1862	1868
Duffus, John	1862	1863
Ellis[2], William	1862	1865
Parrett, John (printer) ...	1862	1885
Stagg, Charles Thomas Henry (schoolmaster) ...	1862	*1864*
Toy[3], Robert	1862	1879
Kessler, Julius	1863	1865
Pearse, Joseph	1863	
Sibree[4], James (architect, afterwards ordained)	1863 1870 1883	1867 1877
Briggs, Benjamin	1864	
Cousins, George	1864	1883
Hartley, M.A., Richard Griffiths	1864	1868
Pool, William (builder) ...	1865	1880
Jukes, Charles	1866	
Barker, James (schoolmaster)	1868	1872
Richardson, James	1869	
Attwell, William	1870	1874
Forster[5], M.R.C.S., Edward Wood (medical)		
Matthews, Thomas Trotter	1870	
Montgomery, William ...	1870	1887
Moss, Charles Frederick ...	1870	1882
Peake, Philip George ...	1870	
Wills, James	1870	*1898*
Brockway, Thomas... XI	1871	1895
Houlder, John Alder ...	1871	
Shaw, George Andrew (schoolmaster) V	1871	1893
Stribling, Edwin Haylock	1871	
Baron, Richard	1872	
Beveridge[6], Thomas George	1872	1877
Grainge, Henry William ...	1872	1882
Thorne, James Cross (superintendent of schools) ...	1872	
Lord, Thomas (schoolmaster	1873	
Parker, M.R.C.S., George William (medical) ...	1873	1875
Peill, Jeremiah	1873	
Pickersgill, William Clayton	1873	1882
Riordan, John	1873	1878
Rogers[7], Thomas	1873	1877
Cowan, William Deans ...	1874	1881
Price, Charles Thomas ...	1875	1881
Wesley, John Thomas ...	1875	*1875*

[1] His name was Jones, but was changed to Johns, to distinguish him from the David Jones who arrived in the island in 1818. Although Mr. Johns had to leave the island in 1836 owing to the queen's edict against Christianity, the remainder of his life was devoted to the interests of Malagasy Christians and refugees. He revisited the island three times, and on the final visit died at Nosibé.

[2] Mr. Ellis had already visited the island in 1853, 1854, and 1856.

[3] Died on the voyage to England, 1880.

[4] Appointed to Vizagapatam in 1879; returned to England, 1880.

[5] Left England 1870, but was unable to proceed further than Mauritius owing to Mrs. Forster's illness.

[6] Wrecked on his voyage to England (1877), when he and Mrs. Beveridge, with two of their children, were drowned.

[7] Wrecked on his voyage to England (1877), when Mrs. Rogers and their only child were drowned.

	Mission Arr.	Field Left.
Rowlands, Thomas	1879	
Huckett, Arthur Samuel ...	1880	
Taylor, James	1880	1890
Capsey, B.A., Thomas ...	1881	1885
Collins, Charles ...	1881 / 1891	1886
Johnson, Henry Theophilus	1881	
Bennett, John Robert ...	1882	1883
Taylor, Edward	1882	1887
Flockhart, John	1886	1888
Haile, John Henry	1886	
Mackay, James George (medical)	1886	
Wilson, Alfred William ...	1886	
Ashwell, Stowell (printer) ...	1887	
Hitch, Robert	1889	1891
Huckett, Walter	1889	
Roberts, Robert	1890	*1893*
Brockway, Thomas Frederick Mitchell	1891	
Rees, David...	1891	
Edmonds, William John ...	1892	
Sharman, B.A., B.D., James	1892	
Jones, Edwin Pryce ...	1893	
Peake, L.R.C.P.,&c.,George Henry (medical)... ...	1893	
Green, David Davies ...	1894	
(2) LADY MISSIONARIES.		
Irvine[1], Margaret	1865	
Milne[2], Margaret	1865	
Ronald, Jane Emily ...	1869	1870
Bliss, Mary Theresa ...	1876	
Cockin, Mary Amelia ...	1879	1887
Craven, Edith	1883	
Fredoux, Agnes Martha ...	1886	
Brockway, Amy Easter ...	1892	
Foxall, Ellen Catherine ...	1892	
Coombs, Annie Elizabeth ...	1893	

[1] Widow of the Rev. A. Irvine (XI). Married, 1865, Rev. Joseph Pearse (XII).
[2] Married, 1865, Mr. J. Parrett (XII).

*** For native teachers see Index.

APPENDIX II

LETTER FROM W. H. WILLS, ESQ., ON THE ORIGINATION OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

EAST COURT, ST. LAURENCE-ON-SEA,
THANET, *Feb.* 12, 1895.

DEAR SIR,

I have no *papers* whatever relating to the meeting at Dr. Rylands', 'The Baptist Academy,' Bristol, in 1794. The *facts*, as I have often heard them from my father, Mr. William Day Wills, are these:—My grandfather, Mr. H. O. Wills, was asked by Dr. Rylands to come in 1794 to the College to meet some friends, and hear 'an interesting letter just received from Wm. Carey.' Agreeing to do so, my grandfather asked permission to bring his friend Dr. Bogue, who was then the 'supply' at the Tabernacle, of which my grandfather was the 'manager.' On their way home from Dr. Rylands' my grandfather said to Dr. Bogue, 'Why could not we have a society of the same kind?' Dr. Bogue assented, and at his friend's suggestion saw, on his return to London, Mr. Robert Steven and other friends, and from these conversations, I believe, grew the Castle and Falcon meeting and the L. M. S.

No account of the above facts exists in MS., or I would with pleasure lend them to you.

I am, Yours very faithfully,

The Rev. R. Lovett. W. H. WILLS.

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