

THE
LAST DAYS
OF
BISHOP HEBER.

BY
THOMAS ROBINSON, A. M.

ARCHDEACON OF MADRAS, AND LATE DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN
TO HIS LORDSHIP.

—“ Dear Friend! so pleasant didst thou make those days.
That in my heart—long as my heart shall beat—
Minutest recollections still will live,
Still be the source of joy.”

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TO MRS. HEBER.

MY DEAR MADAM,

I HAVE yielded to the earnest solicitations of many friends, both in India and England, to give publicity to the notices contained in my private journals of those last days of your beloved and lamented husband, in which I consider it the highest honour of my life to have been his companion and friend. I did not anticipate, when I first arranged these papers for the press, that they would exceed a few pages; but, while my first object was only to assist and perpetuate the recollections of those who knew and loved him here, I was unwilling to omit any particular, of which I could speak from personal knowledge, that might present this model of a Christian Bishop to the admiration of those to whom, in the exercise of his high and holy office, he was known only from the voice of general fame.

Permit me to indulge my feelings of personal regard and esteem by prefixing your name to the English edition, and to express my hope that these pages may be found to supply some materials for a Memoir of his Life and Character, which the world will anxiously expect from your pen. I cannot neglect this opportunity of publicly expressing the grateful sense I shall ever retain of the distinguished friendship and kindness I experienced during my residence in your family, and my sincere hope that, whether in this theatre of his latest labours, or in

our native land, I may be still honoured with a friendship inseparably associated in my heart with the name I can never cease to love.

I remain, my dear Madam,

With sincere respect and esteem,

Your obliged friend and servant,

THOMAS ROBINSON.

Madras, July 11th, 1829.

TO
THE BRITISH INHABITANTS
OF
MADRAS AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

THREE years have now elapsed since you became personally acquainted with the subject of these pages, and in that brief interval through how many scenes of personal and private sorrow have we not all passed ! But one sad event of deep and overwhelming interest, in which we were all mourners, is still fresh in our recollection, and even private and individual feeling seems to have yielded to the universal grief for our common loss, and the sudden termination of his labours amongst us. Wherever he was known, in the wide sphere of his influence and duty, he was followed by the admiration and love of all ; but I have a melancholy satisfaction, and, from my present connexion with you, an honest pride in recollecting, that no where was the noble simplicity of his mind, and the purity of his Christian virtues, more highly and justly appreciated than by yourselves. That spontaneous and universal impression, which the intercourse of a few weeks had excited, has deepened

into a holier and more permanent feeling, by the shock of his sudden removal—an event in which all have mourned, not so much for a public loss, as for an individual bereavement. All feel the same anxiety, so natural to the surviving admirers of departed excellence, to possess some record of his short and splendid career—a relic rather of his mind than of his person—and especially some notice of his **LAST DAYS**, made illustrious by his more abundant labours amongst you, and crowded with subjects of such immediate interest to yourselves.

In the following pages I have not aimed at presenting you with a picture of his accomplished mind, or sought to interest you in the numberless and varied acquirements of his extensive genius; it would indeed have been a needless task, since it has been already faithfully portrayed by an abler and a dearer hand: but I have been deeply solicitous to commend to your imitation and regard this beloved Apostle of the East, in his self-denying exertions,—his humble labours,—his devoted spirit,—his heavenly mind. Still less have I attempted to draw his character; for there were some features so fine and delicate, and of such changing beauty, that it would require his own exquisite pencil and his own beautiful imagination to portray them accurately. The simple extracts from my private journals addressed to a part of my family then distant, and connected as they are with this object of your love and reverence, will, I trust, be

acceptable, as affording a fuller description of his own apostolical labours, and somewhat of greater minuteness in the record of his religious feelings and reflections. The delineation of both these by his own pen was rendered impossible; the first, by his great natural modesty in whatever concerned his own exertions; and the last, by that sensibility of mind which shrunk from any thing like an exhibition of spiritual anatomy, even in private and confidential letters.

I feel, also, that I owe much of the distinguished attention and personal kindness with which you honoured me on my arrival, to the memory of him under whose auspices I was first introduced to your regard; and, while endeavouring to carry into effect the plans originating with his pious and benevolent mind, I cannot forbear this public expression of my gratitude, both for the liberal support of government, and for your own personal encouragement and assistance. This, indeed, has been my chief inducement in acceding to the wish expressed by many, of extending, beyond the limits of my own private circle, the detail of those last memorable scenes in which I bore so deep and mournful a share; nor can I better express my sense of what is my duty towards you, than by labouring in every way for the furtherance of your religious interests.

It has pleased God, whose ways are unsearchable, to remove from among you, him whom we yet mourn, and

thus to deprive you of the bright pattern his conduct afforded. But, though he is no longer permitted to preside over the ministration of your public services, I would fain introduce him to your domestic circles as a silent monitor, where he, being dead, may yet speak to you ; and, in this hope, I shall feel that the hours devoted to these interesting recollections will not have been spent in vain.

T. R.

JOURNAL,

&c.

August 15th, 1825. Monday, Bombay harbour—on board the Cruizer Discovery.

Once more I find myself on the bosom of the broad deep. This morning all the heads of departments met the Bishop at breakfast, at government-house, in the fort, and then attended him to the dock, where we embarked at ten. For three hours (from the total failure of wind) there was great danger of our running aground: had we drawn three feet more, we must have struck. But the great exertions of our captain got us clear off, and we are now only just within sight of the light-house.—Farewell then, Bombay—probably for ever.

August 23d, Lat. 7° 37'. We are in the gulf of Minar, where you remember rolling about on our return from Calcutta; the weather fine, and every prospect of reaching Point de Galle on Thursday. It is not safe to run into Columbo, so that we must have a double journey by land. The government there are expecting us, and have probably sent carriages and elephants for us.

August 25th, Point de Galle, Thursday. At day-break we found ourselves close to the roads; but it was very rainy and inclined to blow hard, and, without a pilot, it would not have been safe to enter the inner harbour. We fired

guns several times for a pilot, and about eight we had one on board, but the ship had run so near the flag-staff, that it was necessary to anchor before he reached us; the captain anchored therefore in the spot laid down in the printed directions. Owing to some neglect in the editor of the book, this was just the point of greatest danger. There was a rock to our head, and a rock on each side. We lay there till three o'clock in great jeopardy, when, after the greatest efforts in *warping* the ship upon another anchor, we got her under way, and, thus escaping the rocks, reached the inner harbour in safety. At breakfast-time the acting archdeacon (Mr. Glenie,) the Rev. Mr. Mayor (a Church missionary,) and two other gentlemen, came on board, and, though the day was most uncomfortable, we had some very pleasant talk. Mr. Mayor is a brother of an old college friend, a very excellent and valuable man. Every body, however, was too sick, and in too much suspense, to enjoy each other's society much. Most thankful are we to have escaped the peril in which we were, and to be thus mercifully preserved in the midst of dangers which we can neither control nor foresee. We landed under a double salute from the fort and our own ship, and were received in the house of the collector, Mr. Sansoni, an Italian gentleman in the Ceylon service. The principal families assembled at dinner to meet the Bishop, and I never saw greater or more cordial hospitality. We cannot move to-morrow (Friday,) and therefore the Bishop thinks of spending Sunday at *Baddigam* (Mr. Mayor's station, twelve miles off, a little out of our way to *Columbo*,) and thence proceeding on our journey on Monday. The visitation is fixed for Thursday, the 1st of September. You remember we lay one day within sight of *Galle*. It is a neat small

port, very clean, and the houses much resemble the Dutch houses at *Cochin*. The coast is most beautiful, the harbour small and exposed, and the surf, which comes up close to our house, exceedingly grand. The waves are at this moment deafening. I am thus thrown upon a new coast at the extremity of India, among strangers, but surrounded by mercies, and in a scene full of interest.

August 26th. The archdeacon came to breakfast, and we had a long and interesting consultation with the Bishop on several points of great importance. I say *we*, because the Bishop kindly admits me into his counsels on such occasions, and in Mr. Glenie I find one with whom I can think and act with perfect union. He is a sound Churchman, and with an honest and well-directed zeal in the great cause of Christianity. It seems that the king's government give the Bishop of Calcutta £300 at his visitation, to dispose of as he pleases in any of the numerous claims upon his Christian benevolence. It is therefore a point of importance to him how to dispose of this to the best advantage, and no less so to think of it *early*, lest the right time for its application should go by. The archdeacon has been a very industrious superintendent of the government schools among the natives, and active in the promotion of education generally. The great want is a set of native teachers, properly qualified both in Cingalese and English; and he is anxious for this end to establish *boarding schools* (what we should call grammar schools,) to raise up a regular supply of such men, some of whom might eventually be employed as missionaries. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have written out to him, to say that they are desirous of leaving the supply of missionaries to the other Society (P. G.) and that they are ready to

answer any demands he may make on them for *the support of schools*. Schools do already exist in great numbers throughout the island, but without more efficient teachers they will be comparatively of little use. Besides, government will support the present schools; and, the machinery being in existence, it is most desirable to use it, with such aids and appliances as will make it efficient. Here is, therefore, a double want of masters for inferior schools, and of a place of education for native teachers of religion, called here *proponents*. The archdeacon's plan of a central grammar school will supply the first; and why should not *Bishop's College*, receiving into its walls the most promising youths from that school, supply the other? I took the liberty of proposing, therefore, that all the funds of the Christian Knowledge Society should be applied to the support of the grammar school, and that the Bishop should give the *whole* of his £300 to the promotion of the same object within the college, either in founding a Cingalese scholarship, or a Cingalese readership (native of course), for ever. Not that £300 would be sufficient, but there seems no doubt that the Ceylon government would meet the Bishop half way, and, if he give £300, they will add £300 more—so well disposed are they to this good work. The good of this alone would be great, with God's blessing; but what a noble example will this be to quote to the government of India! I think this will be done.

The archdeacon tells us there are eight or nine American missionaries in the island, who are diligently employed, with prospects of great usefulness, and having already a church of about one hundred converts from heathenism, many of them giving every evidence of real religion. His Majesty's Government has ordered that no further mission-

aries shall come from America, and the missionaries now here intend, as their present members disappear, to resign their field to the Church Missionary Society. This will be a noble accession of strength to our Church; and this, by-the-by, makes the proposed system of education more necessary for us. The number of *nominal* Christians in the island is represented as very large, chiefly from the wretched system pursued by the Dutch. They employed no man in any office who did not profess Christianity. The consequence was such as might be expected; the provinces on the coast are all over-run with vagabonds, who are married and baptized, and beyond this know nothing of our religion, and at the same time attend the Boodh temples. Under our government many of these are lately throwing off the mask and declaring themselves heathens: this is a better state. With regard to the state of the native mind, it is a mistake to imagine that they are not less attached to *caste* than the natives of India. They have fewer prejudices from a false theology and philosophy, nor is there any where a more promising field for Christian exertion: but, then, the measures taken *now* will decide much of the character of those labours, and the hope of their permanent effects.

Mr. Stoop, a Wesleyan missionary, a very pleasing, interesting young man, called on the Bishop this morning. I was called off and had time only for a few words. My duties as chaplain are now beginning, and I have any thing but an idle life; every thing is referred to me for the Bishop's consideration, and, while this takes up a good deal of time, it puts me in possession of all points of interest, such as I most wish to be informed of. This evening the archdeacon and I walked up to Mrs. Gibson's schools.

She is the wife of a respectable merchant here, who has founded a noble school for sixty natives, boys and girls, where they are taught, and boarded, and employed. It stands on a hill, overlooking the country to a great extent, and commanding the harbour and the fort. It is a lovely spot, and the establishment is very noble. The children appear neat, cheerful, and industrious; the boys are taught several trades, such as carpenters, taylors, and shoemakers; and the girls are employed in embroidery, &c. The beauties of the place, both natural and moral, make it a very delightful scene.

August 27th. A letter from Mr. Mayor last night, describing the bad state of the roads to Baddigam, has determined the Bishop to relinquish his former plan; to spend Sunday here, and proceed on Monday at once to Columbo; and to visit *Baddigam*, and consecrate the church there, on his return to this place. There is a very good Dutch church here, which is used also by the English, and the Bishop will confirm, preach, and administer the Lord's supper there on Sunday morning. This morning we have had an interesting meeting of the Bible Society for this district, at which the Bishop presided, and which was very numerously attended both by Europeans and native Christians. The Bishop spoke at great length in opening the meeting, telling them of the number of Protestant churches which he himself had seen, and encouraging them to meet the call for Christian exertion so largely made on them in this island. His speech was impressive and good. At the close of the meeting the Bishop called to him a Cingalese interpreter, and through him addressed the natives present, on the nature and value of the institution, on the excellence of the Bible, and their duty in receiving it and giving it to

others. It has been a very gratifying, and, I trust, not an unprofitable morning.

August 28th, Sunday. The congregation at church was large, and very much resembling (only larger) the one you remember at *Cochin*. The Bishop's sermon was on the gospel of the day, the good Samaritan. He preached from his own seat, after confirming about forty persons, twelve of whom were natives. About half of the sermon was extempore, adapted to the occasion and very admirable, full of life and energy. It was an affectionate appeal to those just confirmed, especially with regard to their attendance at the sacrament. His extempore speaking is equal to his written discourses, and hardly to be distinguished from them. I preached in the evening to nearly an equal congregation. I leave this place with real regret, especially the family of the Layards and our hospitable host.

August 29th. We left Galle at four, and came twenty miles to breakfast; and after resting three hours, proceeded eighteen more to dinner. Our style of travelling is quite princely. Our own party consists of six palanquins, and four gentlemen accompany the Bishop. We are preceded by fifty Cingalese javelin-men, a flag, and a band of native music. The road for many miles (indeed the whole way, with very few interruptions) is hung on each side with wreaths of palm. Every eight or ten miles there are travellers' bungalows, called here *rest-houses*, on a large plan, and with excellent accommodations of every kind. We found coffee prepared at one of these, half way to breakfast; and they are all adorned, in honour of the Bishop, with leaves and branches of palm very tastefully arranged round the pillars, &c., and the roof adorned with flowers and a very exquisite kind of moss peculiar to this island.

Our breakfast was very splendid, and was given by the head *Moodeliar* of Galle—so the chief native civil servants are called here. We dined and are going to sleep at a place called *Ben-tott*, which terminates Mr. Sansoni's district; and he leaves us here and returns to Galle.

It would be quite in vain to attempt any description of the beauties of the road. We travel within one hundred yards of the sea all the way, sometimes retreating from it a little farther, and then it suddenly breaks upon us again. It is a made road through groves of palm of every description;—but do not figure to yourself any thing like the drive through the woods in Bombay. The cocoa, the palmyra, and the areca are so beautifully mixed with a thousand other trees, and shrubs, and creepers of every description, that nothing can exceed the beauty and richness of the foliage. Here and there the thick forest of trees is broken by a stretch of open ground in cultivation, or by a small fresh-water lake only just separated from the sea, or a beautiful river flowing into it. Our rest-house to-night stands on the bank of such a river, and nothing can be more sweetly beautiful. They tell us that the interior of the island is still more picturesque. It may be, from the addition of noble hills to wood and water; but it is difficult, while we are here, to conceive any thing more charming. Every eight or ten miles we meet with a school, either supported by government or established by the missionaries, and the school-rooms are used as preaching-houses by the native proponents. The government schools are a noble foundation, but almost useless for want of a regular system of subordinate inspection. Something must be done to remedy this deficiency.

August 30th, Columbo. The chief secretary, Mr. Rod-

uey, (son of the great Rodney,) met us at our first stage this morning, and entertained our party very hospitably at breakfast, in the little fort of Caltura—a pleasant and sequestered spot, on a gentle hill, in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, and on the southern bank of a noble river. The fort is now no longer a place of defence, being used only by Mr. Rodney as an occasional residence, but yet proudly asserted its former character by receiving the Bishop with a salute from its walls. His lordship was delighted with the repose and beauty of the scene; and after breakfast, having crossed the river in boats, Mr. Rodney drove us in his carriage ten miles, to the village where the governor's carriage and four were waiting for us. The road was adorned, as before, with wreaths of palm, and every here and there triumphal arches of the same light and fairy structure were thrown up by the natives with great taste. Sir Edward Barnes's English horses (magnificent creatures) brought us into Columbo, where we drove at once to the archdeaconry, which had been prepared for the Bishop's reception; an excellent house on the border of a beautiful lake, and commanding a fine view of the sea beyond. In the evening we went to a small party of heads of departments at the governor's, whose residence is called the King's House.

August 31st. The whole morning till three o'clock was occupied with receiving visitors and making arrangements for the visitation. The clergy paid their respects to his lordship, and among the rest Christian David, a native of Tanjore, who received orders from the Bishop in Calcutta. He is about fifty years old, shrewd, clever, and in his native language (Tamil,) in which he preaches constantly, he is said to be powerful and eloquent. The Bishop says

his English sermons are very good, and that his examination for orders was highly honourable to him. I have had some very interesting talk with him about his venerable master, the apostolic Swartz, who was his father's godfather, and on whom Christian David waited when a boy. He has many anecdotes of his journeys with him through the Tanjore country, when it was over-run by Hyder's troops, but when the general reverence for the character of *the good Father* (as he was emphatically called) enabled him to pursue his peaceful labours even in the midst of war. I will mention one of these, as characteristic of the simple manners and habitual piety of this great model for all Christian missionaries. They had been travelling all day on horseback, and, arriving at a small village at sunset, the good man sat down under a tree and conversed with the natives who came round him, while his horsekeeper was cooking their evening meal. When the rice and curry were spread on the plantain leaf, Swartz stood up to ask a blessing on the food they were going to share, and to thank God for watching over them through the dangers of the day, and providing so richly for their repose and comfort. His heart was full of gratitude, and expressed itself in the natural eloquence of prayer and praise. The poor boy for some time repressed his impatience, but his hunger at last overpowered his respect for his master, and he ventured to expostulate and to remind him that the curry would be cold. He describes very touchingly the earnestness and solemnity of the reproof he received. "What!" said he, "shall our gracious God watch over us through the heat and burden of the day, and shall we devour the food He provides for us at night with hands which we have never raised in prayer, and lips which have never praised him!"

Mr. De Saram, a native of this island, who was educated at Oxford, is another of the regular clergy here. Several Church missionaries, and three of the Wesleyan connexion, called this morning, and all seemed delighted with their reception. How indeed could they fail to be impressed by the amiable and delightful manners of the Bishop, who, while he distinguishes those of his own communion by more marked attention, extends the same affability and kindness to all !

This morning the visitation took place at St. Peter's Church in the fort, when the archdeacon preached a most excellent, plain, practical sermon, and the Bishop delivered his charge to the clergy, both chaplains and missionaries, twelve in number. We dined together in the evening, and the whole services of the day have been full of interest and delight. I have never seen so many together, so united in heart and object, since I left England. The good Bishop told us some most interesting missionary anecdotes of his Hindoostan journey, and the party left us after evening prayers.

It is impossible to tell you with what feelings of affection and obedience he is regarded by all: Mr. Lambrick, the eldest of the Church missionaries, and Mr. Ward, said to me as they went away—"This is the golden age of the Church restored: this is indeed the spirit of a primitive Bishop."

September 2d. The whole of this morning I have spent with Mr. Moyart, Mr. Layard's brother-in-law, to whom I drove by appointment, collecting very valuable information concerning different stations in the island. My object is to get all I can of this sort, and then digest it into a kind of ecclesiastical map for the Bishop. All I have heard and

seen induces me to believe that both the Church mission and the American are good and promising. Their missionaries are devoted, apostolic men, with nothing secular in their character and system, unwearied and unterrified, and keeping up over their converts (which are not few) a vigilant superintendence and the strictest discipline. Would to God our missions were all like these!

Before dinner I had a pleasant drive through the Cinnamon Gardens, as the plantations are called where the shrub is cultivated by government. The perfume from the tree is so slight that we have a great controversy whether we can smell it at all. The shrub is much like the common laurel. The government have a monopoly of it, but it yields only a trifling revenue.* The island is far from rich, and the population (nobody knows why) is decreasing. The air of Columbo is the finest I have known in India, though only seven degrees from the line. My Persian moonshee amused us with his amazement at the quantity of cinnamon, and the glee with which he wrote to his friends in *Sheeraz* that he had boiled a fowl with the wood, which is there esteemed so precious. The Bishop and I had a long walk in the verandah after tea, and much confidential talk on the state of things here.

September 3d. The Bishop has been with the governor this morning, and has laid before him his wishes with regard to schools. It is a subject of great difficulty, and has occupied many hours of consultation since we have been here. The governor is ready to do whatever his lordship suggests. He agrees to place whatever sum is now spent annually on this object, and something more, at the disposal

* See Bertolacci's *View of Ceylon*, p. 239—255.

of the archdeacon, *who is to have the control of the system.* To that sum the Bishop promises, in the name of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to add a further sum for the maintenance of good English masters in twenty of these schools. The whole number of government schools is one hundred. The native proponents will be placed under ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and two will be added to their number of a superior class, whom the Bishop will put into deacons' orders next year, as *Inspecting Proponents.* The governor enters into his view of founding a Cingalese teachership, and recommends referring it to his majesty's government to found it *entirely with their own money.* I have not time nor space to enter into a variety of details on these points, but this will be sufficient to give you a general idea of the Bishop's plans. There is only one thing more to mention before the week closes, and that a very important one, the subject of *general prayer-meetings.* It appears that a monthly meeting of this sort exists in the place, of all denominations, and both clerical and lay. The archdeacon has been requested to join it, but has withheld his name, and has been consulting the Bishop about it to-night. My feelings you know, and they were exactly those of his lordship; you will find them admirably expressed in a letter of Mr. Scott's. The good, however, of such meetings here is greater than in England, because they are very useful to the different missionaries for conference on the subject of their labours. The Bishop is anxious to propose to them something that may get rid of the evils very frequently resulting from the system, such as a conference at each other's houses, where, in the absence of a clergyman, the master of the house, as the priest of the family, may lead the devotions. For our

own Church he is disposed to establish monthly or quarterly meetings on my father's plan, which I gave him. The clergy are to dine here after the confirmation next Thursday, and he then means to propose it, and commence it himself in the chair.

September 4th, Sunday. The Bishop preached this morning to a crowded church, and every sermon I hear from him seems better than the last. It may be because I know him better and love him more.

September 6th. Every day teems with interest in this highly favoured island. At day-break this morning I attended his lordship to *Cotta*, six miles off, the principal Church missionary station, where they are intending to establish a Christian institution for the island. The resident missionary there now is Mr. Lambrick, an excellent, active, vigorous man, of advanced age, formerly a tutor at Eton, and now more honourably employed. It happens that one missionary from each of the other stations, *Jaffna*, *Bad-digam*, and *Candy*, are now there for their annual consultation on the affairs of their mission. It is a beautiful sequestered spot, very much resembling *Cotyam*, in Travancore. The house stands on a gentle eminence on the borders of a lake, the banks of which, on all sides, are covered with trees and verdure. We crossed the water in a boat beautifully ornamented with palm, in which we were received by two clergymen, who conducted us to the house. On the entrance, his lordship was received by the five missionaries present; and Mr. Lambrick read an address, in the name of all, most touchingly and admirably worded, expressive of their joy at ranging themselves under his paternal authority, their gratitude for his kindness, their thankfulness for his present visit, and at seeing a friend, a

protector, and a father in their lawful superior, and thus laying before him the account of their state and prospects. I assure you it was neither read nor heard without tears. The Bishop (who had had no previous intimation of their purpose) returned a most kind and affectionate answer, attaching to himself still more strongly the hearts which were already his own. His utterance was ready, and only checked by the strong emotion of the time. The scene was to me (an honoured spectator of the whole) most beautiful. We were embowered in the sequestered woods of Ceylon, in the midst of a heathen population, and yet here was a transaction worthy of the apostolic age; a Christian Bishop, his heart full of love and full of zeal for the cause of his Divine Master, received in his proper character by a body of missionaries of his own Church, who with full confidence and affection ranged themselves under his authority as his servants and fellow-labourers—men of devoted piety, of sober wisdom, whose labours were at that moment before us, and whose reward is in heaven. It realized my ideas of true missionary labour. Immediately after the address we went into the house to family prayers. Mr. Lambrick read a chapter of Isaiah (the 63d,) and the Bishop prayed, repeating, according to his custom, a selection of the Church prayers, and introducing before the thanksgiving, a prayer for that institution, and all that were engaged in its service. We then breakfasted, and after breakfast the schools were collected in the large, open, covered space before the house, which is used as a place for preaching. The Bishop examined them all, and spoke to them, and catechized them. There were, I think, about two hundred present. At twelve o'clock we returned home—the Bishop rejoicing in what he had seen, and I rejoicing

in the privilege of sharing his joy. Would to God every missionary station could exhibit the same beautiful sight of zeal and Church order strengthening and adorning each other!

September 7th. This has been a very busy and fatiguing day: I tremble for our dear Bishop's strength. We had a long meeting of the District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the morning, after which the Bishop went to visit Mr. Armour's seminary—a government central school placed under that gentleman's superintendence, where Europeans and natives are excellently taught English, Portuguese, Tamil, and Cingalese. His lordship examined one hundred and fifty-nine boys, and it was four hours before we got home.

September 8th. A most happy day, and happily concluded. In the morning the Bishop held a confirmation; there were two hundred and ten candidates—about equal numbers of English, Portuguese, Cingalese, and Tamil. It was a noble and affecting sight, to see so many of different nations and languages joined as one family, and owning allegiance to one common Father. The Bishop went through the whole service both in English and Portuguese himself. The effect on all, of his officiating in the latter, was electric; every heart felt it. In the other languages the respective native ministers interpreted, reading in Tamil and Cingalese the prayers he offered in English. He delivered his address from the pulpit, so that the whole congregation, which was very large, might hear him. When we came home, he told me he had never witnessed so delightful a service, and never felt his heart so much interested for the candidates on any occasion. It was evident, indeed, from his whole appearance at the altar.

All were struck with his fatherly manner, and his deep seriousness in the imposition of hands. He repeated the form of blessing once for each circle at the rails, but over each child he breathed a silent prayer while he laid his hand on its head. It is impossible to tell you how he is beloved and honoured here; but I begin seriously to tremble for his life. It seems hardly possible for his frame (which is but slight) to bear long such labour. Into every detail of business, as well as into these solemn and public services, he throws the whole power of his active mind, anxiously investigating all that is brought before him, and devising plans of more extended usefulness.

This evening the clergy (all the missionaries of the Church included) dined with him; and after dinner he proposed the formation of a *clerical meeting*, on a plan for many years adopted by my father, and which, at his lordship's request, I had previously detailed to him. It was joyfully acceded to, and I acted as secretary in writing down the rules as he proposed them. In the prayers which followed, he offered up a fervent petition for its continuance and success, justly calling it a primitive and almost apostolic usage. It was delightful to me to hear the public testimony to my beloved father's wisdom and piety from one so capable of appreciating his character. I had been unwell in the morning, and was lying on my bed when the Bishop came into my room to discuss the subject. It led us naturally to converse on his many excellencies; and on my remarking that I had often felt ashamed when I contrasted my own ample income with the scanty provision which such a man had received from the Church, he said, while his eyes filled with tears—"What then ought I to feel!"

September 9th, 1825. This morning I called on the

Wesleyan missionaries, and visited and examined their central school. They have an excellent chapel adjoining the mission-house, with a noble school-room. Their congregations, I believe, are generally good; but I was rather disappointed with the appearance of the school. I delivered a kind message to them from the Bishop, who would have visited them if he could have found a leisure hour. They have just received a great accession of strength, in the arrival of a young man of education from England, to superintend the school on a superior plan.

September 10th. This evening we had a pleasant clerical dinner at the archdeacon's, and were all heartily glad to get to bed early; we have a busy day to-morrow, and the labours of the week have given us but little rest. The question of the government schools is yet before the Bishop, and still is most perplexing. I cannot tell you the manifold difficulties that are in the way. I was with his lordship in close conference this afternoon for four hours, and the way seems somewhat clearer than it was. I ventured to press strongly upon him the necessity of bending his chief attention to raising the character and efficiency of the native proponents, choosing suitable men for that office, holding out to some the hope of promotion to the orders of the Church, and promising two of the best, that, when he returns, he will give them deacons' orders, if their conduct seems to deserve it, and then keeping them several years as probationers before they are admitted priests. This I hope will have a good effect on the whole body, making them active superintendents of the schools in their several districts, and providing also a nursery for the native priesthood hereafter.

September 11th, Sunday. When I tell you that at seven this morning the Bishop attended the Malabar Church, and

pronounced the benediction in *Tamil*—that he preached a sermon for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, at the English Church in the fort, at eleven, and administered the sacrament to upwards of two hundred communicants—that at four he attended the Cingalese Church, and delivered the blessing in that language—and, at half-past six, the English service in the fort—you will not wonder that we are exhausted. I have had indeed but little to do, having only read prayers, but the excitement and interest in the services of such a day are in themselves fatiguing. The Malabar Church was to me the most interesting. It was the first time I had ever seen a regular church of native Christians, or heard our venerable liturgy in any language but our own. Here was a most orderly and respectable congregation of eighty or ninety persons, with several females of good family, covered with rich jewels, and all joining with great attention and apparent devotion in the responses of the service. His lordship was particularly pleased with the singing of the psalms in *Tamil* to the old German tunes. Christian David well deserves the character I had heard of him, and is indeed an admirable preacher; his manner is eloquent, and his influence over his own countrymen appears considerable. The effect upon the people, of our Bishop presiding in the church and pronouncing the blessing in their own tongue, was excellent. The Cingalese service was also interesting. It is performed in a Dutch church, called *Wolfendorf*—a noble simple building, in the form of a Greek cross, with a central dome. Mr. De Saram officiated, and his father, one of the chief moodeliars, was present. After the service, the Bishop went up and shook hands with the old man, who was quite delighted with this mark of kindness

and consideration. His lordship was almost overcome with his feelings at the altar this morning, especially in the prayers after the communion. I said, as we drove home, "I fear you are exhausted." He said, "I am tired indeed, but I would give some years of my life for such days as this."

September 12th. We had a public meeting this morning at the king's house, to consider of the best means to forward the views opened by the Bishop's sermon yesterday, and for collecting funds in aid of Bishop's College. It was agreed to found a Cingalese teachership; and, if more is subscribed than answers that end, to devote it to the general purposes of the college. The Bishop has given the whole of his £300 towards it; and though the meeting was very small, yet upwards of £250 were subscribed, in addition to the collection yesterday. I have been preparing a report for the press, to be circulated through the island, and a large increase of funds is expected from the smaller stations.

September 13th. The Church missionaries sent me yesterday their address to the Bishop, and with it a paper of questions, which they wished to refer to his decision, chiefly with respect to the prayer meeting (which I mentioned before) and some other missionary difficulties. He has been answering these queries this morning; and the letter is so admirable, and not only explains his sentiments on this important and difficult subject, but illustrates so fully the spirit and temper of his pastoral character, that I send you a copy of it.*

To-morrow morning we start for *Candy*. The governor

* Vide Appendix.

drives the Bishop in his buggy, and I go with Mrs. Heber in a palanquin carriage. Six relays of horses are on the road, and we expect to reach Candy (seventy-eight miles) on Thursday morning. We shall all be glad of the comparative rest which this excursion will give us.

It is much to be regretted that the Bishop's time will not allow him to visit all the subordinate stations in the island; but this is impossible. The most interesting, perhaps, of those he will not have seen, are *Jaffna*, *Trincomalce*, and *Batticaloa*.

The province of *Jaffna* is said to contain 180,000 inhabitants; of whom 154,000 are Heathens, 15,000 Mussulmans, 10,000 Roman Catholics, and 1500 Protestants. The people in general are described as industrious and intelligent, and better husbandmen than the natives of the other districts. They have excellent crops of rice and other grain, and cultivate the palmyra in great abundance, with comparatively few cocoa-nuts. A little Portuguese is spoken, but a very corrupt and mongrel dialect; the prevailing language is Tamil, which extends indeed along the whole coast of the island, from *Negumbo W.* to *Combokenar E.* The American missionaries have five stations in this province; and one of the most judicious arrangements of their system is, that while they divide their strength, and thus extend their usefulness, their stations are not more than five miles distant from each other, so that, for all purposes requiring immediate co-operation, they can without difficulty consult together, and thus concentrate their forces with advantage. At *Battacotta* they have established a central school, where the elements of geography, astronomy, English grammar, and arithmetic are taught, and the students of which are chosen from the *boarding schools*, to be trained

up as catechists, readers, and school-masters. *Pandateripo*, *Ooddoville*, and *Manipace* are inferior stations. In the first of these there is a large Roman Catholic congregation, with a priest from Goa; and in the second, Mrs. Winslow, the wife of the missionary, has a flourishing female school. The boarding schools, both for girls and boys, which form the nursery for Batticotta, are established at *Tillipalli*, and are supplied with scholars from the other inferior stations. There is much to admire and imitate in the whole of this system.

The station occupied by the Church Missionary Society in this district, and where two ordained clergymen reside, is *Velloor*. It is about twenty miles from *Point Pedro*, and is famous for a great temple of Candi Swami, whose annual festival, in July, is numerously attended. I do not hear that there are any learned men among the priests of the temple. The establishment of our missionaries there is very promising, and the Bishop was much pleased with the accounts which he received from Mr. Knight and Mr. Adley, of the hopeful appearance of their infant church. They have eight schools, which contain two hundred and eighty boys, and twenty-five girls; one Sunday school for girls, ten of whom are also daily instructed in reading and needle-work by Mrs. Adley; and one boarding school for inferior branches of education, into which boys are generally drafted from the inferior day-schools. The number of boys there at present is nineteen. Christian David's church, to which he is regularly appointed as colonial chaplain, is about one mile from the fort of *Jaffna*, and said to be numerously attended. He has a good catechist, and a respectable school. During his absence at Columbo, his duty here has lately been supplied by Mr. Knight. There are also two

or three smaller congregations along the coast, particularly at *Minar*, which he visits occasionally.

At *Trincomalee*, our chief naval station in the Indian seas, the Rev. Mr. Lyon is chaplain to the forces. We have no missionary there connected with our Church, nor does it appear, from the accounts the Bishop receives of it, that there is much encouragement for any Christian exertions among the native population. They are said to be greatly demoralized, and of late years have decreased considerably.

The most promising field of labour on the eastern coast, is in the district of *Batticaloa*, extending about one hundred miles in length, from the *Vergul River N.* to *Combokenar S.*, and twelve or fifteen miles broad. The number of inhabitants rather exceeds 30,000, two-thirds of whom perhaps are Mussulmans. They are generally poor and ignorant, but their moral character is superior to that of the other districts. The influence of caste is but small, and the persons of chief rank and authority are either already Christians, or sincere inquirers. There are three schools supported by Mr. Moyart, whom I mentioned before; and the Wesleyans, who have an assistant missionary there, have established five others; in all of these about two hundred and fifty boys are educated in the immediate neighbourhood of *Poolianteevoo*,* the principal residence of the collector. There are a few Roman Catholic Christians in the district, but they have no resident priest, and are visited once a year by the priest from *Trincomalee*.

The Bishop called me to join him in his walk by the side of the lake this evening, and expressed his confident

* "The Tamarind Island."

expectation that the diocese (the labour of which, he felt, was fast exhausting his strength) would soon be divided into smaller bishoprics. The slight detail which I have just given, will enable you to judge how numerous and complicated are the subjects of interest that press on his mind, even in this small and remote corner of his immense charge.

September 14th. We got into our carriages at day-break, and passing over a beautiful bridge of boats at four miles from Columbo, pursued our journey through a most charming country, abounding in all kinds of trees and flowering shrubs. Twenty-four miles brought us to *Veean-goddy*,* where we breakfasted. The whole road was adorned with palm, and triumphal arches here and there, most tastily arranged, or rather octagonal towers of open palm-work, through which the carriage drives. Nothing can exceed the taste with which the breakfast-house was adorned; and entirely the work of natives, at the shortest notice, without drawings or other assistance. At noon we were in our carriages again, and came thirty miles to dinner;—but through what a country! Every moment fresh beauties burst upon us. Hitherto from the coast it had been flat, and extremely like the finer parts of Bengal; but now the hills began to swell around us, the distant mountains were seen, the scenery became more and more bold, and during the whole afternoon ride, our conversation was little else than one continued exclamation of wonder and delight. It is quite hopeless to attempt any description of the scenery. The Bishop says there is nothing like it in the world. The hills, whose forms are most glorious,

* Goddy means a small rising ground—a hillock.

are literally masses of rock clothed (how it is possible I know not) with trees of exquisite foliage, and creepers in luxuriant beauty throwing over them their light and elegant drapery. The shrubs and trees (of which there are many varieties elsewhere unknown) retain their beauty throughout the year.

September 15th. At six this morning we mounted our horses to ascend the Ghaut (the *Cadaganúwa Pass*), and it is certainly true that all we saw yesterday did not deserve to be compared to this. The road is cut with immense labour in the side of the mountain. Above you, for some hundred feet, is rock, almost perpendicular, literally covered to the very summit with the finest trees; abundance of ebony (which grows to no very great size, a tall stem, rough dark rind, with light spots and small leaf,) with ten thousand varieties of creeper, and here and there masses of naked rock appearing, to relieve the sated eye, and to give form and character to the whole. Below you is a precipice exactly similar, ending in beautiful reposing valleys, and the view stretching on to other hills and mountains of equal beauty. In the middle of the pass, when we had ascended about six miles, we found breakfast ready in a palace of palms erected for the occasion. We were met here by some of the Candian chiefs, called *Adigars*. Their dress is singular and very handsome. They wear a turban exactly like an enormous old-fashioned pin-cushion, such as used to stand on a lady's toilet, richly ornamented, and with a little upright point in the centre. Their upper dress is a jacket like a lady's body unfastened, of rich materials, cloth of gold or brocade, with gold buttons and puffed sleeves. Under this is a waistcoat of the same, or rather lighter stuff, and buttoned up close. Their lower

garments are an immense mass of cloth twisted round them in many folds, very protuberant before (as if they carried a month's provision,) and hanging loose to their feet. Round the loins this mass is confined by a superb band of gold or silver. The stones of their rings are enormous, some not less than two inches in diameter; one on each hand, of rubies and diamonds mixed, with several others of single stones. The two chief *Adigars* of the empire are distinguished by the whimsical privilege of having an enormous whip cracked before them wherever they go. No other man in the island dare go out thus attended. The countenance of these people is much finer than the Cingalese of the coast, less feminine, and more free and independent, as all mountaineers naturally are. Many of them know English, though so lately conquered; and one of them, (a very smart, active fellow, the son of a rebel chief,) to whom Mrs. Heber was showing a sketch she had just made, said it was well done, but that he did not like landscape—he preferred figures, and he would have the honour of presenting her with some of his own drawings to-morrow! We came on eight miles further in our carriages, and arrived at *Candy* about noon. It is beautifully situated among hills, the town itself laid out in straight streets, in all other respects like a small Indian town; the palace very paltry. We drove to the governor's pavilion, where all the chief persons, native as well as European, immediately attended a levee, after which the Bishop went to the house of the gentleman who was appointed to receive him, and I remain with Sir Edward. The pavilion is a temporary residence only, with separate bungalows, a circular dining-room, and the grounds beautifully laid out. The dining-room is on a terrace which overlooks the coun-

ny, and opens on level grass-plots, always green, with a noble hill rising behind. There was no bathing-room to my bungalow, and one was built of palms, literally in half an hour. We dined this evening at Mr. Sawyer's, with whom the Bishop is living. The climate is very similar to that of *Poona*, but far healthier. As a proof of this, there is a regiment of Europeans here (his majesty's 83d) who have only four men in hospital; a circumstance, I imagine, of which very few stations in the world can boast.

September 16th. Sir Edward took us this evening a beautiful ride, about a mile from the pavilion, where a gorge in the hills displays a prospect which all agree to be the most lovely, even in Ceylon. It is more open and extended than any thing we have hitherto seen in this hilly tract, and is called *Dombra Valley*. The Peak of *Dombra* is a noble mountain on the opposite side, its summit covered with clouds, a number of tributary mountains round him, and in the distance, on either side, hills tumbled together in the most romantic confusion. The valley is clearer from jungle than any I have observed; the fields are not level ground, but gentle swells, covered with the richest verdure and separated by little tufts of trees. Through this valley is the course of the river that almost encircles Candy, and rises in Adam's Peak, the *Mahavilla Gunga*. Our road lay along the declivity of a hill towards the city, covered with wood; then sloped off through a long and exquisitely beautiful grove of palms, by the banks of the river. We loitered here till it was almost dark, and, as we returned, the whole ground was spangled with *fire-flies*, the form of every bush being distinctly traced by these living stars. The whole ride was magic. We reached home very late, and went to dine at a large party given by one of the chief

civilians, who lives in the state-rooms of the king of Candy—about as good as a common farm-house, with a brick floor. Most part of the palace was pulled down, and what remains is used for public offices and houses. The audience-hall is now the court-house and the church.

September 17th. The Bishop visited Mr. Browning at the Church mission-house, and was pleased with the schools which he examined. There are about eighty boys, several of good family, especially two brothers of our friend Loco Bendez, who read English very creditably indeed. This establishment is yet in its infancy, and the native congregation is of course but small. I did not understand that Mr. Browning had made any converts from heathenism, but he is usefully employed among the nominal native Christians, and his labours are very considerable, more perhaps than his weak health can bear. On our road we passed by several Boodh temples, and the cemetery of the kings of Candy, the chief beauty of which arises from the magnificent trees which overshadow the tombs. The Bishop made some rapid sketches, leaving his palanquin occasionally for a few minutes as we passed along. You are aware that the religion of Ceylon is not Brahminical, but Boodhist: they pay divine honours to a sage of gigantic dimensions, called *Boodh* or *Goutamah*, who appeared on earth, as they believe, about six centuries before the Christian era, to reform and instruct mankind. His religion seems to approach to the morality of pure Deism. It prevails still throughout the empire of Burmah and the neighbouring kingdoms, and there is good reason to believe that it extended at one time over the whole of India; but in the twelfth century it was almost exterminated in that country by the persecutions of the Brahmins. Their temples are

neat, and much cleaner than the Hindoo. They contain a figure of the sage (one that we saw on Saturday was very gigantic,) reclining on his side, and supporting his head with his hand. The walls are covered with paintings of his attendants, but nothing monstrous or supernatural. In one of the temples at Candy they preserve with great care a precious relic—a *tooth* of Boodh. It is kept under several bell-framed vessels, one within another, of gold and silver, enriched with precious stones; the last, which covers the relic, studded with very fine rubies. This is never seen but on solemn occasions. The Bishop did not see it, as it seemed doubtful whether his visit might not be misinterpreted. In a rebellion that broke out some years ago, this relic was stolen by the rebels, and a counterfeit dexterously substituted in its place. The possession of it gave great spirit to the faction, from a tradition which prevailed, that the relic secured the sovereignty to its possessor. It was recovered by a British officer (Colonel Kelly, of the 83d) on the person of a begging priest, and replaced in the temple, where it now is. The priests of Boodh are a stupid race, and have little or no literature. Their books consist of a few paltry fabulous histories of Ceylon, a few story books, and by far the greater part are treatises on medicine. They dress in yellow, and each one carries a small fan—"the mystic fan of Bacchus." They are good botanists, great collectors of simples, and even the common people can tell you the name of almost every plant you see.

September 17th. Our friend the governor is an admirable guide through the beauties of his favourite Candy. I retired last night with the conviction that I had seen the most beautiful point of the surrounding scenery; he has, however, taken us to-night to one of a different character,

but hardly inferior in beauty. The two parties united made a considerable cavalcade, and we rode to a tunnel which the governor has lately cut through a formidable hill. It is an ample passage, hewn out of the solid rock, four hundred feet long, and thirty or forty feet high. Through this we descended by a noble road to the bed of the river (on the opposite side of the city from the course we took last night,) and thence ascended along the edge of the hill through which we had passed by the tunnel. Nothing could be more picturesque than our party winding along this road. It is very narrow (four feet only,) cut in the declivity of the hill. Ask your brother to describe the roads in the Pyrenees. Sir Edward says it gives a very perfect idea of them. But then you must add the foliage of Ceylon, and the noble palms, mixed with other trees, which Spain can hardly rival. This four-foot road extended three miles, and as it was quite dark before we left it for a wider path, I confess I felt not a little relieved at exchanging it for a surer footing.

September 18th, Sunday. The Bishop held a confirmation this morning at seven. The church is at present held in the audience-hall of the late king. About thirty persons were confirmed. His lordship delivered an address much altered from the one I had heard from him before, and excellently adapted to local circumstances. The power of seizing on such topics of interest is one among the many beauties of his rich and powerful mind. After we returned home, before breakfast, I was mentioning to him how forcibly it had struck me, during the service, that in that hall where, a few years ago, the most savage tyrant* re-

* Sri Wikreme Raja, the last king of Candy, was solemnly deposed,

ceived his miserable subjects—and even the English embassy was compelled to be almost prostrate before him—a Christian Bishop was now administering the solemn ordinances of our religion. He leaned his head on his hand and burst into tears. How wonderful is the providence of God in the economy of his Church! Never was any people intrusted with such power of doing good as England now is; nor is it possible, in the nature of things, that this power can long endure; her dominion, like that of other nations that have preceded her, must pass away. What a fearful responsibility on the government and its ministers, on the nation and all its children, and (above all) on our Church and its rulers! Such was our conversation in the palace of the emperor of Candy on this memorable morning. At eleven the Bishop preached on Luke x. 42, (“One thing is needful,”) and administered the sacrament to about forty communicants. He has established also an evening service at four o’clock, and we had a very good congregation of soldiers and others. The men of the 83d especially are most thankful to the Bishop for this new service.

September 19th. We left Candy at sun-rise, and rode to the Botanic Garden, three miles from the town, where we breakfasted. The garden is beautifully laid out by Mr. Moon, the late naturalist, who died a short time ago, and is universally regretted. After breakfast we came on to this place, *Ootooan-Candy*, where we halt for the night, making our journey to-day twenty-four miles.

September 20th. After a pleasant journey of fifty miles, by a convention of the British authorities and Candian chiefs, in the year 1815. He is still living, a state prisoner, in the fort of Vellore. His family was Malabar, which accounts for some Hindoo temples at Candy, the prevailing religion of the country being Boodhist.

the first ten on horseback and the rest in our carriages, we arrived at Columbo in the evening, much tired, but all of us (especially our dear Bishop) the better for our excursion.

September 21st. This morning the Bishop held a second confirmation, and immediately after ordained Mr. Armour priest. He had formerly received deacons' orders from Bishop Middleton.

September 22d. The first clerical meeting was held this morning, after breakfasting together, at the Bishop's house. His lordship presided himself, reading the 28th of St. Matthew, and offering prayers, both before and after the conference. The archdeacon read a very good address on the nature and good effects that might be expected from the institution, and the spirit in which such meetings should be attended. Several important points were then discussed, and the Bishop entered with great life and energy into the business of the morning. His address to the clergy, and fatherly benediction at the end, were full of feeling, and made a strong impression on all. It was a delightful and a beautiful sight—the world perhaps can show but few equal to it—a Christian Bishop presiding among his clergy on such an occasion and in such a manner. At the close of the meeting the archdeacon presented an address to his lordship, in his own name and that of the clergy, expressive of their thankfulness, reverence, and affection. Nothing could be more unexpected, but his answer was very noble, and all parted with many tears. Is this the nineteenth century or the first? The Bishop finished this evening his long letter to the governor, on the various subjects that have engaged his thoughts, in which he has embodied the different plans proposed for schools, native preachers, &c. &c. His mind seems much relieved by this final arrange-

ment, and I have no doubt all his wishes will be accomplished. We dined at the king's house, where we took leave of the governor and Lady Barnes. We all leave Columbo with sincere regret, and I am sure the good Bishop leaves behind him an impression which will never be effaced.

September 24th, Baddigam. Yesterday and to-day have been consumed in travelling. We arrived this evening at this lovely place, a little out of our direct road, and about twelve miles from Galle. There is no large town, but several villages in the neighbourhood, which is well cultivated and full of natural beauty. The two missionaries have built their houses on two neighbouring hills, and the river winds beneath them, through a rich and verdant plain. We are the guests of Mr. Mayor, on whose hill, and immediately adjoining his house, the church is built. The top of the hill has been levelled for its site, with considerable labour and expense; but excellent stone was thus obtained for the building, and it forms a striking and interesting object in these wilds of heathen darkness. Mr. Ward lives on the opposite hill: both families are apparently amiable and excellent. A number of persons have come over from Galle for the service to-morrow, that they may hear the Bishop once more.

September 25th, Sunday. The Bishop consecrated the church, and preached to a very numerous congregation, both of Europeans and natives. He had resolved not to consecrate this church, on the ground that there was not sufficient security against its desecration hereafter; on which plea he had refused at Chunar. These difficulties, however, were overruled; Mr. Mayor, in whom the property was vested, made it over this morning to the Bishop

of Calcutta, the Archdeacon of Columbo, and the Secretary of the Church Missionary Society, as trustees. If it was such a delightful service to us, what must it have been to these admirable men, who have garnered up in this sequestered spot their hopes of future good! In the afternoon the Bishop confirmed twelve persons after the second lesson, and I preached. In the course of the sermon, after alluding to the services of the morning, I introduced a prayer for the blessing of God on labours so auspiciously commenced, and it was remarked that the Bishop threw himself on his knees, and joined with fervour in the petition. I cannot tell you how much this little incident affected me; how beautifully does it illustrate the habitual piety of his mind, which needs only the slightest suggestion to awaken it!

We have been walking this evening round the verandah of the church, overlooking the surrounding country in the still repose of a beautiful moonlight, and talking of past and future days. In the verandah, at the east end, is the grave of their first native convert, Daniel, who died seven months ago. His loss to the mission was irreparable; but his death may do more than even his life could have done. He was full of energy and zeal, independent in character, and high in intellect. His family— are most of them still heathen, and reside in the neighbourhood. His brother, who was committed by him solemnly to the missionaries at his death, says, that since that time he has never doubted about Christianity: the death-bed of Daniel convinced him of its truth.

The Bishop has been examining and exhorting the upper class of the Cingalese and English school. Their progress and knowledge are considerable. Here are the foundations

of a noble fabric, a spiritual building, which will, ere long, be the glory of these lovely hills. At our family devotions, the Bishop offered a solemn prayer for the success of this mission, and for a blessing on all connected with it. I need not add, that he is followed by all with the same love and reverence that has attended him through the island.

September 27th, Galle. The wind is still contrary, and keeps us prisoners here, in a most uncomfortable state, since all our baggage is on board. The delay, however, has, I trust, been productive of good. There is a young man here, a Wesleyan missionary, of very pleasing manners, respectable attainments, and much beloved at this station, both by Europeans and natives. He has long had a desire to enter the Church, and he would be a valuable accession of strength, if it could be achieved. I have sometimes talked to the Bishop about it, and renewed the subject this morning. He assented gladly to the proposition, provided there were no objection to his leaving his present connexion. His lordship sent the archdeacon to inquire into his views, and he came himself this afternoon and had a long interview with the Bishop. He requested to see some of his sermons, and with these, as well as his conversation, he was much pleased. He has written, therefore, to government this evening, to propose him as a colonial chaplain, and to request he may be stationed at Galle; should no objection arise, he will follow to Calcutta for ordination. If so valuable a labourer is admitted into our vineyard (where he will have a far wider and more important field than he now has,) we shall have no reason to regret the delay. The archdeacon, Mr. Mayor, and I, occupy an empty bungalow, where we sleep in our palanquins. Before we creep into our cells, we read a chapter

of the Scriptures, and offer up our united prayers for the Church and for each other. It is our convent.

September 28th. Another day's delay; but the weather appears clearing, and the wind coming round. The Bishop has been able to visit Mrs. Gibson's school, and catechize the children. It is a great honour to Bombay, that more than half the subscriptions for the building came from thence.

September 30th, Cruizer Discovery. We came on board yesterday, cleared the harbour, and got fairly out to sea.

October 2d, Sunday. We have a fine breeze, which has carried us at once into the bay, and gives us the hope of reaching Calcutta in the course of a week. We had service as usual to-day, the Bishop preaching and I reading prayers, though the ship rolled too much to allow any body to stand. I have had much talk with his lordship about the *Syrian Church* in Travancore. He is anxious to hear of the arrival of Mar Anthanasius amongst them, the Bishop whom we met in Bombay, and who was proceeding to Malabar from the Patriarch of Antioch, with the powers of Metropolitan. When at Columbo, the Bishop received a letter from the missionaries at Cotyam, stating that there is no fear of any division from the arrival of the foreign dignitary, and that he will be received with joy by both clergy and people. He hopes to cultivate a closer intercourse, and a constant correspondence between his Syrian brethren. It is most important to do so.

October 5th. I have had a conversation this evening with the Bishop, on the subject of public and private schools. He recommends a preparatory school till thirteen or fourteen, and then a public one. He prefers a small preparatory school to a large one, and the Charter-house and Rugby to all other public schools. With regard to

Hazlewood-house, he has heard much in its praise, but his fears are something like mine on the subject of religion. He dreads any thing like latitudinarianism on that point, and thinks it may have a very mischievous effect if the boys go to different places of worship. I should grieve, indeed, if my boy did not grow up with the same perfect reverence for our Church that his father and grandfather have felt, and manifested either any hesitation in his preference on one side, or any want of tolerance or charity on the other.

October 9th. Another Sunday on board. The Bishop insisted on reading prayers this morning, and I preached: next Sunday I hope we shall be in the cathedral. He talked much this evening about Thomason, for whom he has a very high respect and regard: he frequently mentions the difficulty, the impossibility of supplying his place in Calcutta—in the pulpit, in the schools, in the study, and (which he thinks, in the present fermenting state of public feeling in the Church, more important than any) in that general, pervading influence of his just and steady judgment on the numbers who are personally attached to him.

October 14th. These baffling winds so near the port are very tantalizing. Eight miles in twenty-four hours! Our provisions for the crew are getting short, as the captain did not anticipate so long a passage: his own table will hold out ten days longer, and before that I hope we may work up. The Bishop has written for me some beautiful lines, which he sends for your album; they are a translation of a passage in the *Shah-Nameh*, and it is a happy specimen of the ease with which, like Sir William Jones, he can make the exotic beauties of Persian poetry his own.

No one that has not attempted it can conceive the extreme difficulty of this from a language whose genius is so different from ours. If he had but leisure for the odes of the inimitable Hafiz, it would supersede, at once, all the scattered attempts of others. But what leisure has a Christian Bishop to gather these pearls of the East, except in the occasional idleness of a calm at sea?

Seest thou yon shelter'd vale of various dye,
 Delightful prospect to the traveller's eye?
 Yon mossy seats, yon garden blooming fair—
 'The turf all velvet, all perfume the air?
 Sate with sweets the languid river laves
 Yon lilies floating on its silver waves;
 While through the copse in bashful beauty glows
 The dark luxuriance of the lurking rose.
 Now seen, now lost amid the flowery maze,
 With slender foot the nimble pheasant strays;
 The ring-dove's murmur lulls the cypress dell,
 And richest note of tranced Philomel.
 Still, still the same throughout the circling year,
 Unwearied spring displays an Eden here.
 And mark, my friend, where many a beautiful maid
 Wreathes the light dance beneath the citron shade:
 She first,—of Touran's king the stately child,
 Gleams like a sun-ray through the scented wild;
 Sitara next,—her sister, lovely queen,
 Than rose or fairest jasmine fairer seen;
 And, last, their Turkish maids! whose sleepy eyes
 Bask underneath the filmy veil's disguise,
 Whose floating locks the coal-black musk disclose,
 Their forms the cypress, and their cheeks the rose,
 While on each sugar'd lip the grape's rich water glows. }
 How blest the traveller not forbid to stay
 In such sweet bowers the scorching summer day!
 How fam'd the knight whose dauntless arm shall bear
 To great Kaikhosroo's court a Turkish fair!

October 17th. Since Friday, the 14th, I have not been able to write. On Saturday the weather was threatening all day, with heavy thunder and lightning. At night it freshened to a severe gale; which lasted for many hours, till about twelve on Sunday. The heat of our closed cabins was very oppressive. It was God's great mercy that we were well prepared by the previous weather for the weight of the gale, or the ship must have lost her masts. She rode through it, drifting under one sail, till the weather began to clear off a little on Sunday evening. Every body was either ill or worn out with fatigue the whole day. I staid on deck as much as the rain would allow me, to avoid the suffocation below. On Sunday evening we were able to assemble for prayers in the gun-room, when the Bishop returned thanks for our preservation. We did not know where we had drifted; but, as we were in soundings, we anchored for the night, it being probable we had neared the western shore. To-day we have seen the sun, and find our place better than we expected. The weather is now beautifully clear. We are waiting anxiously for a pilot; and we are in the place to expect them; but they have probably been driven from their stations by the gale. On Saturday the Bishop was engaged in writing an important letter (which I copied as he wrote) to the Archbishop of Canterbury—a general report of his diocese, and many interesting particulars of his present visitation, with several points of reference for his grace's counsel and decision. The storm has interrupted him, and the water is still too rough to write without difficulty.

October 18th. We have been cruizing about all day to find a pilot vessel, but in vain; and, in our present situation, it is not safe to approach the sands without one. Our

patience was very nearly exhausted ; but we have ceased to grumble at the delay, for it has made us the happy instruments of saving thirty-one human beings, who were tossing about in a little boat of bulrushes, their vessel having sunk in the gale. We were sitting at dinner when they were descried, and the delight we first felt in supposing it to be a pilot-boat was soon exchanged for the liveliest interest in their rescue. You can easily imagine the good Bishop's eagerness in witnessing and promoting all the captain's benevolent arrangements for their comfort and accommodation. They are natives of the *Lacative Islands*, trading to Calcutta with cocoa-nuts, and they have been four days without more than a little sweetmeat and a very scanty allowance of water. They have a compass which they made themselves, an English sextant, and one of the old-fashioned instruments for taking altitudes, called *Jacob's Staff*, which they prefer to the other. Their observations are sufficiently accurate, and they were able to tell us pretty nearly the ship's place. We took them all on board, and, while a plentiful meal of rice was boiling for them, they stretched themselves on the deck, and in ten minutes every one was fast asleep. One or two of them, awakened by some slight noise, raised themselves on their arms and saw their little boat drifting away from us, and after looking at it for a moment with a painful expression of regret, sunk to sleep again. It was a real luxury to the Bishop, and indeed to all the party, to sit by their several happy groups as they shared their meal, and then to see them enjoying the ample space of the deck, which for the night was given up to them, and stretching their limbs, which had been cramped for four days in their tiny skiff. Thank God we have been detained for so good a purpose. It is to be feared many vessels have perished.

October 19th. At length we have found a pilot vessel, and this evening, after prayers, we left the ship *Discovery*, and came on board. We shall probably arrive earlier by this arrangement, and may be there to-morrow night, or Friday, though the wind is very light. This unexpected delay in our voyage will make it very difficult for the Bishop to leave Calcutta again before the end of January, and he will be much pressed for time in his visitation of Madras. We have been busy with the map all this morning, trying to arrange it according to the seasons of the year. I hope he will contrive to be at *Quilon* in the hot months, when it would be difficult to travel. He is anxious for this also on account of the Syrian churches; for he would then have an opportunity of cultivating a friendship with the resident of Travancore, and so perhaps gaining for the poor Christians many advantages. In the next general visitation he thinks of going by *Nagpoor*, *Mhow*, and *Poona*, to Bombay, and thence by *Dapooly*, *Sattara*, *Beejahpoor*, and *Bangalore*, to Madras.

October 21st, Calcutta. We landed at Chandpaul Ghaut, under the usual salute. The Bishop has been absent from home a year and four months, and has yet only accomplished the first part of his laborious visitation. He has in that time traversed Bengal, Hindostan, the northern and western provinces of India, and the Island of Ceylon; and the labours and perils of so vast a range are such as few Christian bishops have ever been called to encounter. And yet how much still remains! Not to mention the Eastern Islands and New South Wales, the "ultima Thule" of his diocese, there are several stations in central India and the whole of the Peninsula, so full of interest and hope,

and where the labours of subordinate ministers have prepared the way so much more than in other provinces, for the visit of their chief pastor. Our Bishop rejoices to feel himself once more at home; but he has only two months' repose to enjoy before his labours commence again; and with the great accumulation of business during his absence, and the many important matters that are waiting his decision here, his repose will rather tend to exhaust than to recruit his strength. I shall not attempt any thing like a regular journal of our engagements while we are stationary, and only mention circumstances of occasional interest.

November 1st. I find, by the multiplicity of the Bishop's engagements, there is no chance of our getting away before the beginning of February. This will drive our journey through the south into the hot weather; but he cannot break through earlier. The delay, however, will enable me, I trust, to accomplish the one great object of my own journey—the printing of my Persian Pentateuch.

November 7th. This morning Archdeacon Corrie and I attended the Bishop to return the visit of Father Abraham, the Armenian Bishop,* from Jerusalem. We were received in the vicarage-house attached to the Armenian church, and attended by Mr. Jacob, an intelligent Armenian merchant, who acted as interpreter. Father Abraham is rather

* It appeared afterwards that he was not a bishop, but a vertapet, or doctor in divinity, sent from his convent on Mount Sion by the Armenian Patriarch of Jerusalem, with the powers of Episcopal commissary, to visit the churches in India. The diocese of India is under the Archbishop of Ispahan, in the patriarchate of Jerusalem, and is superintended by the occasional visits of these itinerant commissaries, who, after a few years spent among the scattered congregations of their communion, return to their superior with a report of the churches and the contributions of the faithful.

below the middle size, with a handsome beard and a very pleasing expression of countenance. In the black dress of his convent he is a striking figure. He showed us a handsome copy of the Four Gospels, five hundred years old, bound in solid silver, and ornamented with a cross of gold. The Bishop has invited him to dinner on Saturday, and engaged him to breakfast at the college on Thursday. We afterwards visited the two resident priests of the Greek Church: our Bishop talks modern Greek, and writes it well.

November 10th. This was the morning fixed for the Bishop of Jerusalem's visit to the college. He came attended by Ter Joseph, the vicar of Calcutta, and Messrs. Jacob and Avdall: the latter, a native of Sheeraz, is well acquainted with English, and the author of several small works in our language: he is now preparing to print at our press a History of Armenia, which he has translated into English, from the original of Father Michael Chamich. Father Abraham was very much interested in all he saw, particularly the library, where he was delighted to find the works of Chrysostom and Eusebius, both of whom they hold in high estimation. We read and interpreted to him the inscription on Bishop Middleton's monument; and he was much struck with the simplicity and beauty of the expression, more particularly with the circumstance that it proceeded from his own pen. These instances of friendly intercourse with the different branches of the Eastern Church may be of great benefit.

November 21st. I was employed all day in putting the Bishop's library in order: in the evening we drove out together, and then went to dine, in state, with Father Abraham of Jerusalem, where we met the archdeacon. The party was very interesting, and the Armenian Bishop's

manners are excellent at his own table. Every thing was in European style; and, after the first course, one of the deacons in waiting sang a hymn; and when we rose from table, as when we sat down, Father Abraham said grace himself. Several of the Greek Church, as well as the Armenian, were present.

November 22d. I have finished the arrangement of the Bishop's library, which is rich in good divinity, fathers, and foreign literature. St. Andrew's day is fixed for the ordination of deacons, and St. Thomas's for the priests. I am appointed to preach the sermon the first day, and Archdeacon Corrie the second.

November 27th, Advent Sunday. This has been a great day for Calcutta, on which was preached the first Episcopal missionary sermon, strictly so called. The Bishop pleaded the cause of the incorporated society—the same sermon as in Bombay. It could not fail to make a great and good impression: the collection seems to have been about four thousand sicca rupees.

November 30th. This morning has been rendered interesting by the ordination of Mr. Bowley, Mr. Reichardt, and Abdool Messeeh: the last a most venerable person, the first-fruits of the Christian priesthood in Hindostan. You are aware that they had all, some years ago, received Presbyterian ordination in Calcutta. Bishop Heber has been anxious (as he is on all subjects) to ascertain what had been the feeling of his predecessor on a point of so much delicacy; and he finds that Bishop Middleton, not having power at that time to ordain them himself, expressed no objection to the measure then resorted to, as a temporary expedient, in consideration of the exigencies of the Church, and the difficulty of obtaining an adequate supply of regu-

larly ordained clergymen. This is indeed the ground on which the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has acted in the missions in the south of India, recognizing the orders of a sister national Church, and thankfully employing, as its missionaries, those who had received them, till our own Episcopacy should be established with full powers in this diocese for the continuance of its own ministry. That time has now happily arrived, and it justly appears to the Bishop a matter of no trifling importance, that all those employed by the societies in our communion should derive their commission from the same source, and be subject to the same paternal authority. I send you an admirable letter he has written to the Rev. Mr. Schmid, in answer to the objections he urged against the measure.* All the clergy dined with the Bishop this evening; we were nineteen at table—the largest number of clergy ever present at one time in India. I sat by Abdool Messech, and we had a great deal of talk in Persian, as he speaks no English. After the usual toasts of “The preacher and his sermon,” and “The newly admitted deacons,” the Bishop gave, “The native Church at *Agra*, and its founder, Mr. Corrie.”

December 12th. We had a meeting this morning of the Diocesan Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at the Bishop's house, for the purpose of making a transfer of the mission schools belonging to them, to the new Diocesan Committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in conformity with Bishop Middleton's original intention, and the Bishop of Chester's late proposition.

* Vide Appendix.

December 13th. I have been examining the Calcutta Grammar School this morning, at the request of the Bishop, who is the visiter, and was unable to attend. It is an institution formed three years ago by the Indo-Briton population, chiefly for their own class. Greek Testament, Virgil, Ovid, Paterculus, the first book of Euclid, arithmetic, geography, were our subjects—and one or two of the lads showed very favourably for Calcutta. I distributed medals, &c., and assured them I would report favourably to his lordship of the state of their school.

December 18th, Sunday. I preached at the jail before breakfast—the only place where one wishes for a small congregation: only twelve persons. The morning was bitterly cold, and (even after preaching) I went shivering to Thomason's, where I found a breakfast-table spread before a good blazing fire.

December 21st. How delightful have been the interesting solemnities of to-day! Abdool Messeeh and the others who were before admitted deacons, were ordained priests: Archdeacon Corrie preached an excellent sermon, in which you will easily imagine his feelings almost overcame his utterance; for they were all, in some sense, his children. Mr. Adlington, a young missionary whom he had educated almost entirely, was ordained deacon at the same time. Poor Abdool Messeeh has been ill some days, and was quite overpowered by the service; he nearly fainted after the act of ordination. The good Bishop went through the Hindostanee part of the service without difficulty. One of the most interesting solemnities of our Church, at all times, is the admission of new candidates to the sacred office, and the pledge so solemnly demanded and willingly given, which separates them for ever from the secularities of the

world to the stewardship of God's family. But the peculiar circumstances of this country, the tried and well known character of the men themselves, and the bright prospects of futurity which opened on the mind even from this early and partial dawn, all conspired to make the scene before us one of deeper and more powerful interest. It was an awful and touching moment, when the *Veni Creator* was sung by the congregation, the Bishop reading the verses from the altar, surrounded by twenty of his clergy kneeling in their surplices. All seemed to feel the beautiful devotion of this heavenly hymn, and to join with one heart in the sublime invocation of the ever-blessed Spirit. Who can doubt that such prayers were answered? Father Abraham was present, with his vicar, during the whole service. He embraced the Bishop at the door of the vestry, and I attended him to his carriage, where he and Ter Joseph embraced me, and expressed their pleasure at thus joining with us, and their sense of the honour with which they had been received.

All the clergy dined with the Bishop in the evening, where I had the pleasure of having the venerable Abdool Messeeh by my side. He speaks Persian with perfect fluency, and much greater purity than most of the learned Mussulmans in this country. He has great urbanity and courtesy of manners, beautifully and harmoniously blended with the gravity which becomes his advanced age, his fervent piety, and his sacred office. His conversation is varied and accomplished, and is not only marked by the knowledge of the world, which his former life and his missionary labours have naturally given him, but adorned with the lighter elegancies of the Persian classics, and enriched with the rare accompaniment of good taste and judi-

cious reflection. Its peculiar charm, however, is the happy adaptation of the exquisite expressions of Saadi and Nizami, which are familiar to him, to the purposes of Christian feeling. This happy talent has made him very acceptable to the more educated among his countrymen, and he is a welcome visiter at the Court of Oude, where the king has more than once engaged him in conversation on the subject of Christianity, and in controversy on its evidences and doctrines with some of his learned Moollahs. He often meets with hard names and angry looks from the more bigotted amongst them; but his soft answer generally turns away their wrath, and, while they hate his religion, they are still constrained to admire the man. He drank wine with me at dinner, but it was only to avoid the rudeness of a refusal; and he explained to me afterwards, that he very seldom touches it, and would rather abstain from what might lessen his influence among the Mahometans. I fear he carries this abstinence beyond his strength; for the infirmities of age are fast growing on him, and he requires a more generous diet. He seemed much pleased with the distinguished kindness and respect the Bishop paid him, but it was the pleasure of a man who valued the distinction for the sake of him who conferred it, and who loved the praise of God more than the praise of men.

December 22d. I went by appointment this morning to meet the Bishop at the free school, to assist him in the annual examination. It was disheartening to see so many of the boys repeating their lessons like parrots, without understanding a single word. The misfortune is, that they never use our language at home or at play, so that all the instruction they get is confined to the sound of words, and to writing. The best cure would be easy dialogues of the

commonest sort, to induce them, if possible, to play in English. The Bishop's conversation this evening was remarkably brilliant and entertaining. It happened to turn on a great variety of subjects, and displayed the richness of his memory, and his playful and happy fancy. The descriptions he gave us of the meetings in Wales, which he had witnessed, for competition in music and poetry, was very interesting, particularly the rusticity of the candidates for fame, literally the coarsest and humblest persons. He was present on one occasion with Lady Harriet Wynne, who declared herself so delighted at what she heard, that she expressed her intention of having her son, then lately born, educated in Welsh as well as English. The Bishop having announced this for her, the company received it with glad applause, and a peasant in blue worsted stockings, who had not been a competitor for the prize, stepped forth and pronounced some beautiful couplets in answer, of which something like this is the substance—"Strike the harp with the hand of joy, for two messages of joy are brought to us—that our chief still loves his people, and that a child is born to his house. What shall I prophecy of the boy that is born? Brave of heart like Cadwallon, and tuneful as the bards of old. May he live, and may his hand perform the deeds of Cadwallon, and his harp echo the strains of Taliessin!" This was a man with the rough manners and coarse dress of a Welsh peasant!

December 29th. Tho intercourse so happily commenced with the Armenian Church, is the source of much pleasure and information to us, and may be, with the blessing of God, the means of great good to them. With their many disadvantages, a scattered and oppressed people, they still retain much knowledge and much love for the Gospel of

Christ. Some of their nation have joined themselves to the Church of Rome, and are of course looked upon by the rest as having betrayed the liberties and independence of their own. Those Romish Armenians have a convent at Venice (of St. Lazarus,) where they have printed some very useful works; but many of them, particularly their creeds and liturgies, have been perfidiously altered, to make them coincide with the Latin Church. The original Armenians are orthodox in all the essential doctrines, such as the fall of man, the proper deity and atonement of Christ, and the grace of the Holy Spirit. In the doctrine of the incarnation they are Jacobites, and they seem clearly to hold the doctrine of transubstantiation. I hope soon to possess their offices. The liturgy they use is that of St. Chrysostom (not St. Basil,) with some few prayers added by different bishops. Father Abraham told me this morning, he had heard the whole of our ordination service interpreted to him, and he found many parts exactly the same as theirs. We had much talk about the usurpation of the Church of Rome, of Christian fellowship and unity. On all these points I was much pleased with the sound judgment displayed by them, and their ready quotation of the sacred Scriptures, with which they are familiar: I was particularly struck in this respect with one of the young deacons, Mesrop David. They have seen Abdool Messech several times since his ordination, and are much pleased with his goodness and piety. This intercourse is valuable to both parties—to them, in showing them what is doing for the extension of Christianity (for they have as yet had no missionary zeal in their Church,) and to him, in introducing him to the ancient established churches of the East, whose existence and character have been hitherto almost unknown

to him. Here is also one good fruit of his Episcopal ordination—the full recognition of his sacred character, and the proportional increase of his influence. Mr. Jacob told me to-day the pleasure he had enjoyed on the evening the venerable man lately passed at his house. They had invited a Mussulman physician of considerable learning to meet him, and had been delighted with the soundness of argument by which he had refuted his cavils against Christianity, the gentleness with which he used his victory, and the earnest solemnity of manner with which he improved it. He afterwards expounded, in Hindostanee, a chapter of the Gospel, and led the evening devotions of the family. I read over to Father Abraham our Bishop's letter to the Syrian Metropolitan in Malabar. He was exceedingly delighted with it. "It is apostolic," said he; "it is like one of St. Paul's." They have invited us to attend their service on Christmas-day, which, in their calendar, falls on the 18th of January. Their service on that feast commences at mid-night, and concludes with the communion at day-break.

January 2d. Father Abraham has a letter from the Syrian Patriarch of Jerusalem to the Church of Malabar, and, as he is not likely to deliver it in person, he has requested that it may be enclosed with the Bishop's, in the same packet; and he has been reading to me a letter he has just written himself to Mar Athanasius, to send with it.* It expresses the pleasure he has had in hearing of the state of his churches, and his joy at the extension of Christ's kingdom in India, so much greater than he expected to find, and which he attributes greatly to the influence of the zeal and exertions of their brother *Reginald*,

* Vide Appendix.

the English Bishop: he warns him of the subtlety and wickedness of the Romish Church, and implores him to look well to his flock, seeing all were purchased by the blood of Christ. It breathes, in short, the true spirit of Christianity, and is a valuable document, as exhibiting, not merely his own feelings, but those also of his Church and nation, who, while their services retain many of the corruptions of a darker age, still cultivate an unfeigned love and extensive knowledge of the Scriptures, and are free from ecclesiastical tyranny and ambition.

January 7th. I attended the Bishop in his visit to Chinsurah, where we arrived after an early breakfast and a pleasant sail of six hours. This station, some little time ago, was transferred by the Dutch government to the English, and the inhabitants received, without reluctance, the ministry and services of the Church of England. Mr. Morton, one of the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, resides here, and performs divine service in English, in the small but handsome church on the bank of the river. We were hospitably received at his house, where Mr. Overbeck, the late governor of the settlement, and several others, were invited to meet the Bishop at tea in the evening. His lordship was much pleased to observe the good feeling that appeared to subsist, without any undue compromise of principle, between Mr. Morton and two missionaries of other communions who joined our party, Mr. Mundy, of the London Society, and Mr. La Croix, from the Netherlands. The Bishop's kindness tended much to strengthen this; and, even if it had not been the case before, it might naturally have followed, from the common feeling of love and honour with which all regard him.

January 8th, Sunday. The Bishop preached both morning and evening; Mr. Mundy, the dissenting minister, gave up his own service in the morning, and came himself to church with all his people. Mr. Morton is evidently much respected, and his plan of conciliation is diminishing, at all events, the evil of dissent. He is employed in preparing a Bengallee dictionary, which has long been a desideratum. I cannot learn that he has any converts from heathenism.

January 9th, Chinsurah. We went early this morning to look at a large old house, about a mile from the church, which government has given up to the Bishop, for the residence of the clergyman. It has been a noble house, but is miserably out of repair, and the grounds a perfect wilderness. The Bishop hopes that 3000 rupees may perhaps make it suitable for a purpose, which, with his usual fertility of resources, he has been devising for it.*

January 14th. The Bishop was attacked three days ago with a violent fever; and, almost immediately after, I was seized myself. Thank God, he is now much better. I suspect we both owe our illness to the same cause—wandering through the wet grass about that old house at Chinsurah on Monday morning, and standing some time in the damp rooms under the house. This morning the arch-deacon and Mr. and Mrs. Wilson breakfasted at the palace. Mrs. Heber is a very active friend to the new system of female education, and has been successful, during our late journey, in procuring large additions to its funds. These, together with a princely donation of 20,000 rupees from a

* The estimate afterwards given was so enormous that the Bishop's plans fell to the ground.

rich native here,* emboldens them to buy land and build a central school without delay. The Bishop was busy in drawing plans for the building. The rest of the morning I spent with him, despatching forty-two letters to different mofussil stations, desiring the clergy to preach in aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and soliciting the patronage of the principal persons among the laity.

January 26th. The Bishop tells me a circumstance which, as connected with Father Abraham's expressions in my last interview with him, and in its possible results, is very interesting. A proposal is made by Mr. Avdall (who is now engaged in an English History of Armenia) *to translate our liturgy into their language.* Some encouragement is necessary for him—either supporting him during the time, or securing him from loss, by taking a certain number of copies. His lordship intends to recommend it to the patronage of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

January 28th. The government have secured accommodations for us on the Bussorah Merchant, which is moving slowly down the river. The uncertainty as to the actual time of sailing is harassing and painful both to the Bishop and his family, and he has therefore determined to join the ship at all events on Monday morning, securing to-morrow a quiet Sunday at home.

Our whole population is thrown into great joy by the news just arrived, of the fall of *Bhurt pore*: Lord Combermere took it by storm on the 18th instant. The attack was most triumphant, though it is the strongest place in

* Rajah Budinâth Roy.

India. We had 30,000 men before it and 150 pieces of artillery: our loss is very considerable. The storm has covered Lord Combermere with glory; and his merciful as well as soldier-like conduct greatly endears him to the army. The Bishop, who has watched with lively interest the progress of the siege, from his connexion with the commander-in-chief, and his personal regard for him, rejoices greatly in this splendid termination of his first Indian campaign, and dwells with great delight on the noble forbearance he has shown, not only to the inhabitants in the progress of hostilities, but in the determination which he avowed to him before he left Calcutta, of rather protracting an affair, which an instant attack might have rendered more brilliant for himself, in order to prevent the greater waste of human life. One of his lordship's arrangements I cannot help mentioning to you, because the Bishop frequently notices it, and as it is evidently so exactly in accordance with his own generous nature: several small parties were posted at different points in the neighbourhood of the city, in order to facilitate the flight of the defenceless inhabitants, and secure them from injury and insult. While the necessary evils of war are mitigated by such provisions as these, the better part of chivalry still survives.

January 30th. We left Calcutta this morning in a government bheauliau, which was waiting to carry us down to the ship, but only reached the inn at this place—*Fulta*, a little above *Diamond Harbour*. At sun-set we had a delightful stroll along the banks of the river, when the Bishop repeated to me these beautiful lines, which he wrote when going up the river on his northern journey:—

An Evening Walk in Bengal.

Our task is done! on Gunga's breast
 The sun is sinking down to rest;
 And, moored beneath the tamarind bough,
 Our bark has found its harbour now.
 With furled sail and painted side,
 Behold the tiny frigate ride.
 Upon her deck, 'mid charcoal gleams,
 The Moslems' savoury supper steams,
 While all apart, beneath the wood,
 The Hindoo cooks his simpler food.
 Come walk with me the jungle through;
 If yonder hunter told us true,
 Far off, in desert dank and rude,
 The tyger holds his solitude;
 Nor (taught by recent harm to shun
 The thunders of the English gun,)
 A dreadful guest, but rarely seen,
 Returns to scare the village green.
 Come boldly on; no venom'd snake
 Can shelter in so cool a brake.
 Child of the sun, he loves to lie
 'Mid nature's embers, parched and dry,
 Where o'er some tower in ruin laid,
 The peepul spreads its haunted shade:
 Or round a tomb his scales to wreath,
 Fit warder in the gate of death!
 Come on! yet pause! behold us now
 Beneath the bamboo's arched bough,
 Where, gemming oft that sacred gloom,
 Glows the geranium's scarlet bloom,
 And winds our path through many a bower
 Of fragrant tree and giant flower;
 The ceiba's crimson pomp displayed
 O'er the broad plantain's humbler shade
 And dusk anana's prickly blade; }
 While o'er the brake, so wild and fair,
 The betel waves his crest in air.

With pendant train and rushing wings,
 Aloft the gorgeous peacock springs;
 And he, the bird of hundred dyes,
 Whose plumes the dames of Ava prize
 So rich a shade, so green a sod,
 Our English fairies never trod!
 Yet who in Indian bower has stood,
 But thought on England's "good green wood!"
 And bless'd, beneath the palmy shade,
 Her hazel and her hawthorn glade,
 And breathed a prayer (how oft in vain!)
 'To gaze upon her oaks again?
 A truce to thought! the jackall's cry
 Resounds like sylvan revelry;
 And through the trees, yon failing ray
 Will scanty serve to guide our way.
 Yet mark! as fade the upper skies,
 Each thicket opes ten thousand eyes.
 Before, beside us, and above,
 The fire-fly lights his lamp of love,
 Retreating, chasing, sinking, soaring,
 The darkness of the copse exploring;
 While to this cooler air confest,
 The broad dhatura bares her breast
 Of fragrant scent and virgin white,
 A pearl around the locks of night!
 Still as we pass in softened hum,
 Along the breezy alleys come
 'The village song, the horn, the drum. }
 Still as we pass, from bush and briar,
 The shrill Cigala strikes his lyre;
 And what is she whose liquid strain
 Thrills through yon copse of sugar-cane?
 I know that soul-entrancing swell!
 It is—it must be—Philomel!
 Enough, enough, the rustling trees
 Announce a shower upon the breeze,—

The flashes of the summer sky
 Assume a deeper, ruddier dye;
 Yon lamp that trembles on the stream,
 From forth our cabin sheds its beam;
 And we must early sleep, to find
 Betimes the morning's healthy wind.
 But oh! with thankful hearts confess,
 Even here there may be happiness;
 And He, the bounteous Sire, has given
 His peace on earth—His hope of heaven!

January 31st. The Bishop has one of his travelling drawers filled with a small selection of books for the journey; and it is an unusual luxury to him, after his perpetual engagements of business, to have a few quiet hours of uninterrupted reading. One of his books is Milner's Church History, which he has brought with the intention of making some selections from it for the Ceylon missionaries to translate into Cingalese. I never knew any one read so rapidly; he has got through two volumes in the course of yesterday and to-day, besides several letters and a variety of other avocations. We went down to the ship after breakfast this morning, but finding her still on this side the sands "*James and Mary*," and with no chance of getting lower to-day, we put our cabins in order, and returned here to dinner. The Bishop is much indisposed this evening, and I am anxious to be within reach of medical aid.

February 1st. Dr. Marshman, of *Scrampore*, breakfasted with us on his way to the ship, on which he is embarking for England. I am engaged in preparing an abridgment of the History of the Syrian Churches in Travancore,* from the time at which La Croze breaks off: it

* Vide Appendix.

will be useful to his lordship, in his personal intercourse with them on his approaching visit. In the evening our conversation happened to turn on the state of the Norwegian clergy. He describes them as orderly and well informed; many of them men of learning and piety. There are four bishops in Norway and one in Iceland, and they preach frequently. They wear the mitre as well as the rochet—and the sleeves (as indeed throughout all the churches on the continent) not so exuberantly full as ours. The prayers are read by the priest turning to the altar, and the people are generally very inattentive: the lower orders go to church, but scarcely any of the better sort. This change from their former habits he justly attributes to the influence of the manners of revolutionized France, the common poison of Europe.

February 2d, Ship Bussorah Merchant. We joined the ship this morning—I fear, with the prospect of a long voyage to Madras. However, nothing could be better than the relaxation thus afforded the Bishop to recruit his strength, before he plunges into the business of the most important part of his diocese. I look forward myself with great pleasure to the time we are likely to spend at sea, not only for the opportunity thus afforded me for gaining information on the great objects of the journey, but chiefly for the happiness of unrestrained and constant intercourse with his lordship. We have delightful accommodations; he has half the round-house, and my cabin adjoins his. He is recovering rapidly under his doctor's hands, and, though I feel very nervous at having such a charge, he says he has no inclination to change his attendant.

February 3d. Our progress is very slow down the river, but it enables us to get acquainted with the passengers, and

arrange every thing with greater comfort before the voyage begins. The Bishop came into my cabin after breakfast, and said he found that, besides the European crew, there was a detachment of invalid soldiers on board, returning to England, probably in a very ignorant and demoralized state, after their long residence in this country, and that he thought we might be exceedingly useful to them in the course of the voyage. He proposed, therefore, that we should go down alternately every morning to instruct them and pray with them. I begged him not to interrupt his own more important avocations for these lower duties, which I would gladly undertake alone, if he would commission me to do so; but he would by no means consent to relinquish his share in them. "I have too little," said he, "in my situation, of these pastoral duties, which are so useful to the minister as well as to his people; and I am delighted at the opportunity thus unexpectedly afforded me:—it will remind me of dear Hodnet. Besides, it is very possible that the mere circumstance of my going down may impress them more strongly, and incline them more to listen to us both." He had his prayer book in his hand, and, after speaking to the commanding officer, went below immediately. Is not this worthy of a Bishop? What inexpressible dignity do such simple labours add to his high and sacred office! We had family prayers in the cuddy after tea, which will be continued during the voyage. I need not tell you that all the passengers gladly assented to the proposal. What is there that he could ask them, that they would not assent to? for all are delighted, even on this short acquaintance, with the life and variety of his conversation, and the gentleness of his manners.

February 4th. On going down to the poor soldiers this

morning, I found the effect of the Bishop's visit yesterday to be just what might have been expected. His kindness and condescension have prepared them to receive with thankfulness all that is said to them; and, before I began to read, they could not help saying, as they collected round me, "Only think of such a great man as the Bishop coming between decks to pray with such poor fellows as we are!" Who can tell what good may result from these humble efforts?—greater perhaps than from his more public and splendid labours, which are followed by the admiration of the world. These are unseen and unknown;—for who would expect to find the Bishop of India, the accomplished Heber, praying by the cots of a few disabled soldiers, between the decks of a merchant vessel?—but *his Father which seeth in secret, himself shall reward him openly.*

A letter which has just reached the Bishop from Calcutta, contains accounts of the violence of the Syrian Metropolitan in Malabar, and the mischief that is apprehended to our mission there, if our Bishop supports his claims. We have had much conversation on the subject; and while he deplores the personal character of the foreign prelate, which may be correctly stated, he feels strongly the importance of recognising the commission he bears, and distinguishing the office from the man. He disapproves the policy which would seek to separate them from Antioch, in order to effect a reform amongst them; for the truth is, that their existence thus long as an entire Church in the midst of a heathen land, with the observance of primitive discipline and order—their self-respect, and the high place they have retained in the opinion of their heathen neighbours, have all been greatly owing to their dependence on Antioch, and the occasional renewal of their intercourse with the parent

see. Even if we could succeed in breaking that dependence, while their condition renders a union with us impossible, we should very materially endanger their ecclesiastical character, which it is so important to preserve: but, with their present feelings of entire veneration for the patriarchate of which they are a branch, such a disruption is utterly impracticable; and, if we attempt, we lose all hold on their affections. With this view the Bishop is anxious so to arrange his journey as to pass as much time as he can spare with them in Malabar, and he feels assured that his intercourse with Mar Athanasius in Bombay, will be the very means of giving him great influence as a peace-maker.

We walked on the deck this evening, admiring the last glories of a most splendid sunset, and the first reflection of the noon-beams on the rippling waters—when the Bishop, as he leaned over the side of the ship, repeated to me these exquisite lines, which he has inserted in his volume of hymns, and which are worthy to be written in letters of gold:

I prais'd the Earth, in beauty seen,
 With garlands gay of various green;
 I prais'd the Sea, whose ample field
 Shone glorions as a silver shield:—
 And Earth and Ocean seem'd to say,
 "Our beauties are but for a day!"

I prais'd the Sun, whose chariot roll'd
 On wheels of amber and of gold;
 I prais'd the Moon, whose softer eye
 Gleamed sweetly through the summer sky;
 And Moon and Sun in answer said,
 "Our days of light are numbered!"

O God! O Good beyond compare!
 If thus Thy meaner works are fair,
 If thus Thy bounties gild the span
 Of ruin'd earth and sinful man,
 How glorious must the mansion be
 Where Thy redeem'd shall dwell with Thee!

February 5th, Sunday. The pilot left us at midday, and the ship was in too much confusion to have service on deck in the morning: the Bishop preached to the men below. This evening we had prayers in the cuddy, the whole crew standing on the outside, and the Bishop preached an excellent plain sermon on "the parable of the sower."

February 6th. I was sitting reading in my cabin this morning, when the Bishop came in and showed me an interesting letter he has lately received, and which has much affected him, giving him an account of the last hours of a friend of his, of high genius and talent, who, for twenty years, from the time when he first entered the Church, has been laid by from all public duty by asthma, and thus confined almost entirely to the bosom of his own family. By this painful and (as he himself thought) necessary discipline his spirit was purified, and prepared for heaven. The Bishop says he was often struck with the strong influence of religion which his example and conversation diffused through every branch of the noble family to which he belonged. I went down and preached to the men as usual this morning, and one of them, who had been in hospital at *Meerut*, when the Bishop was there last year, requested me to ask his lordship to *confirm* him, if it could be done on board. He seems a well disposed man, and the Bishop has consented to do it on Sunday next, if he finds him pre-

pared. It will probably be the first time the ordinance was ever administered in a ship.

The Bishop is busily employed re-writing his charge for Madras. After delivering it there, it will be printed; but not till he has gone through the South, and is able to speak of the success of missionary labours from his own knowledge. He means to add notes, containing much valuable information of that kind, and which, from *him*, will come with weight and authority. He asked me to-night if I thought he ought to publish as much as he had written in answer to the Abbé Dubois. I told him, certainly; that the Abbé's work had done much harm in a large circle, and that, though others had answered him, a "blow from his great hammer" was still wanted. He was kind enough to say he would show me the manuscript before it went to the press. He says the report given of it in the Calcutta papers was so accurately and well done, that his friends concluded at home he had already published it, and quarrelled with him for not sending them copies—and that he had been much affected by the last letter which he had received from his aged mother, who, on reading the extracts in the newspapers, writes to him that she understands the tenderness of his motives in not sending her a copy, lest he should alarm her fears by his mention of the climate as one "*where labour is often death.*"

February 11th. This has been a day of great sorrow on board to a poor mother who is mourning over her infant child, and a scene of instruction to us all. The lady in the opposite cabin to mine, in very weak health herself, is going to England, taking with her a sickly infant of two months old, and leaving her husband in Calcutta. It was seized with convulsions this morning, and after lingering

through the day, has just breathed its last sigh. The Bishop has been repeatedly in the cabin, comforting and praying with her; and in the intervals I hear him weeping and praying for her in his own. I have never seen such tenderness, never such humble exercise of Christian love. Alas! how his spirit shames us all! I thank God that I have seen his tears, that I have heard his prayers, his conversation with the afflicted mother, and his own private reflections on it. It has made me love him more, and has given me a lesson of tenderness in visiting the afflicted that I trust will not be in vain. I did not do him justice. I did not think he was more fitted (as he really is) for the sick-room and the dying bed, than the crowded audience and the theatre of the world.

February 12th. We committed the poor baby's body to the deep at sunrise, and the Bishop read the service himself. The afflicted mother is very ill, and seems very grateful for his kind attentions. It is a solemn service; but how full of peace is the death of a little innocent! and what unspeakable consolation to a parent's heart, that there is no shade of doubt as to its eternal state—that "of such is the kingdom of heaven!" We had prayers on deck as usual, and the Bishop preached on *the good Shepherd*. I spent two hours in his cabin, after the service, in very interesting conversation on the subject of angels, and the several emblematic visions of St. John, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. This evening he has spent chiefly in the cabin of the poor bereaved mother; and, while she was bitterly lamenting her loss, instead of checking her expressions of impatience, and *prescribing* to her the duty of submission, he told her the following beautiful apologue, as one with which he had himself been much affected:—"A shepherd was mourning

over the death of his favourite child, and in the passionate and rebellious feeling of his heart was bitterly complaining that what he loved most tenderly, and was in itself most lovely, had been taken from him. Suddenly a stranger, of grave and venerable appearance, stood before him, and beckoned him forth into the field. It was night, and not a word was spoken till they arrived at the fold, when the stranger thus addressed him:—"When you select one of these lambs from the flock, you choose the best and most beautiful among them. Why should you murmur because I, the good Shepherd of the sheep, have selected from those which you have nourished for me, the one that was most fitted for my eternal fold?" The mysterious stranger was seen no more, and the father's heart was comforted."

February 25th. We anchored in Madras Roads this morning, and left the ship in an accommodation-boat which the beach-master had sent to convey the Bishop on shore. The manner in which all persons on board, the crew as well as the passengers and invalids, took their leave of the Bishop, showed how much he had endeared himself to them in the course of the voyage; and, as the ship will probably be detained here a week, he has invited the lady who has already been so much indebted to his kindness in her affliction, to spend that time with us, promising to send a carriage for her in the evening, when he had ascertained what apartments he had it in his power to offer her. He was much amused with the uncouth and primitive structure of the boat, which, he said, might well pass for the gig of Noah's ark, its lofty sides, the high-raised benches of the rowers, and the noisy but not unmusical song with which they accompanied their oars, as they conveyed us through the surf, which happened to be much more quiet than usual.

Colonel Taylor, the town-major, and Mr. Roy, the senior chaplain, met his lordship at the master attendant's office, and conducted us to the Garden House prepared for our reception. It is handsomely furnished, and two carriages, as well as all the *materiel* of housekeeping, have been provided for the Bishop's use, during his residence here. He suffers much from the heat, which, except when the sea-breeze is blowing, is intense. It is less pernicious, however, than the steamy and oppressive climate of Calcutta, though there are fewer alleviations from punkahs and closed windows. The season is so far advanced for travelling that the Bishop can only afford to spend a few weeks at the Presidency, despatching the business of more immediate importance, and deferring other matters of general regulation till his return from the South. This will just afford time for the necessary arrangements for our journey; but so many things will be crowded into this brief space, that I fear his strength will be exhausted. A large packet of letters was waiting for him; and, among others of great and pressing interest from different quarters of his diocese, there is one from the Syrian Metropolitan, entreating his aid and assistance in the difficulties that had unexpectedly arisen from the cabals formed to oppose the establishment of his authority. He states that the resident had given him leave to visit the churches of his communion, promising that, if they recognised his authority, he would do the same: he denies that the two native metropolitans are true bishops, because they have not the *sustaticon* from the patriarch, and has therefore deposed them to the rank of priests: he asserts that the Church in general have received him gladly, but that Philoxenus and Dionysius are refractory and rebellious. This letter has been sent to Calcutta, and arriv-

ing after the Bishop sailed, has been returned from thence; and it is evident that the letter he sent to Athanasius by Mr. Doran has never been received. This state of things is sufficiently alarming, and makes his immediate presence among them, as a counsellor and mediator between the two parties, most desirable. His heart is full of this overwhelming interest, and, while conversing about it to a late hour this evening, "May God give us wisdom!" has been his often-repeated ejaculation.

February 26th, Sunday. The Bishop preached in the morning at St. George's, the Presidency Church, to an overflowing congregation. His text was Phil. i. 21, "*To die is gain,*"* and his sermon one of his most impressive and masterly compositions.

February 27th. After breakfasting with the governor, and calling on Sir Ralph Palmer, the Bishop was engaged with visitors till three o'clock. He was much struck with the beauty and situation of Mowbray, on the banks of a small river, and commanding a view of St. Thomas's Mount, and was as much delighted at meeting an old college friend in the chief justice, as I was in recognising most unexpectedly a school-fellow of my own, standing at Rugby, in one of the other judges. A few such meetings, he said, would almost make us forget the seas that separate us from our country. At five, after an early dinner, I attended his lordship to the Female Asylum, an admirable

* The remembrance of this his first sermon at Madras will never be effaced from the minds of those who heard it, not only from its many striking beauties, but as being almost a prophetic intimation that he was then hastening to the last scene of his earthly labours. How little did they imagine while hanging on his lips, that the triumph of the text was so soon to be fulfilled in him!

institution, containing about three hundred girls, and supported partly by government, partly by private contributions, and partly by their own skill and industry in embroidery and other work. Dr. Rottler, the senior missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, has been the chaplain for more than twenty years, and the venerable man was catechizing them when we arrived. The Bishop begged him to proceed with his instructions, and was moved even to tears by the affectionate and simple manner in which he taught them, and the evident attachment of the children to their aged pastor. The Bishop addressed a few words to them in his own winning and impressive manner, and gave them a holiday to-morrow. A public dinner at Government-house closed a busy and exhausting day.

March 1st. A succession of visitors throughout the morning, with the exception of the hour when we escaped to attend prayers at St. George's. It has been usual to have prayers on Wednesday and Friday morning during Lent, but they are so ill attended, that the Bishop recommends they should be discontinued another year, and a weekly lecture substituted for them. In the afternoon he visited the Male Asylum, an institution justly celebrated as the place where Dr. Bell first introduced the system of education which has since become famous throughout the world. A noble building is half finished for the schools; but the house where Dr. Bell formerly resided, appears to be but little changed, except from the injury of time, and is still occupied by Mr. Roy, as the superintendent of the asylum. There may, perhaps, be an unwillingness to alter what reverence for the founder of the national system of education in Great-Britain induced Bishop Middleton to

denominate classic ground. His lordship examined three classes, and begged a holiday for the boys to-morrow. He thought it by far the best specimen of the system he had ever seen, and was not less pleased with the appearance of health and enjoyment among the lads in their noble play-ground, which forms a striking contrast with the confined premises of the free-school in Calcutta. Many of these soldiers' orphans have turned out excellent school-masters, surveyors, and even architects; and nearly the whole expense is defrayed by the *Male Asylum Press*, conducted by sixteen young men and ten apprentices, all selected from the institution.

Accounts are daily arriving of the disturbances in Travancore, but all seem to agree in the fact, that Mar Athanasius is received both by the people and the body of the clergy. The Bishop was much grieved to find yesterday, that Mr. Doran has been delayed in Madras, and that his letter has never yet been sent. He has directed me to send it instantly, and is preparing a second letter, exhorting the Syrian to milder measures. His influence may yet restore every thing.

March 2d. In the afternoon his lordship visited the schools and church of Vepery, the chief missionary station of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He was received by the Rev. Dr. Rottler and Mr. Haubroe, the resident missionaries, and the members of the select committee. All the schools, both English and Tamil, attached to the establishment, were assembled in the church and examined. The Bishop expressed his pleasure at the excellent state of the institution, and particularly with the Native Girls' School, which he was surprised to observe has unostentatiously and usefully existed in these missions for

many years, while the project of introducing native female education is considered a phenomenon in Calcutta. He was delighted with the new church, a beautiful building of simple Gothic, the only church of that style in India ; and he shook hands with Mr. Law, the architect, complimenting him on the ingenuity and skill which, without ever having seen any specimen of Gothic architecture, had achieved so much under so many disadvantages. His own skilful eye and classical taste, which has been formed on the purest models of the art, detected some few violations of propriety, particularly in the western door, and the ornaments of the eastern window ; but these suggestions only increased the value of his general admiration of this really beautiful and noble structure. He was particularly struck with the good taste which, by placing the pulpit and reading-desk on each side of the aisle, will give, from every part of the church, a full and uninterrupted view of the recess of the altar, which is well raised and of excellent proportions. It is his wish, that in every church the altar should be the first and chief object, and that it should be rather more elevated than is usually the case. He intimated to the committee his intention of consecrating the church on his return to the presidency, when the furniture of the interior is expected to be completed.

He addressed the children of the several schools before they were dismissed, as well as the catechists and the native Christians, who were assembled in great numbers to receive his blessing. On our return in the carriage, he suggested the propriety of establishing a seminary here, not merely for catechists and schoolmasters, but also for the native priesthood, as auxiliary to the objects of Bishop's College, but on a scale of less expense, and for the immediate supply of the peninsula.

March 3d. Both yesterday and to-day have been chiefly occupied by the visits of some of the clergy, who had not before seen the Bishop, and conferences on a subject of great importance, which is referred for his decision. The churches of the native Christians have lately been much agitated on the question of the observance or abolition of *caste*. It seems that Swartz, and the elder missionaries who followed him, allowed these distinctions to remain to a considerable degree among their converts, but the younger missionaries have uniformly opposed them. The Bishop is anxious to hear all the opinions he can collect, and declines pronouncing his own, till he has seen the churches of the South.

March 5th, Sunday. The Bishop preached at St. George's in the morning, and at St. Mary's in the afternoon.

March 7th. On my road to Palaveram, this morning, I visited the church on the great Mount, and examined it with far greater interest than it deserved, from a notion that it was built on the spot which tradition has assigned as the scene of St. Thomas's martyrdom. This, I afterwards learned, was the little Mount, a mile nearer to Madras, but the illusion lasted till my pilgrimage was over. The church owes all its beauty to its situation. It is a plain, white building, without any architectural ornament or regularity, consisting of one narrow length with two side-wings and vaulted roof. It seems to have been originally Armenian, but to have passed into the hands of the Roman Catholics. The old Sacristan, whose slumbers I disturbed in the vestry, showed me a few Armenian books mixed with Roman missals.

March 8th. The Bishop held a confirmation at St.

George's, when there were four hundred and seventy-nine* candidates; and it is hardly possible to conceive a more interesting sight, than so large a number of young persons presented by their respective ministers for the prayers and blessing of their chief pastor. There was a considerable congregation of others also, and his lordship therefore delivered his address from the pulpit, as he had done occasionally in other places. Immediately after the service, he held a meeting of the District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, when he announced his intention of proposing, on his return from the South, the establishment of a similar committee for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,† to which, in conformity with the wishes of the parent societies, the care of superintendence of the missions might be transferred. He proposed also, a new edition of Dr. Rottler's translation of the Tamil Common Prayer Book, in a smaller and more convenient size; and in order to lessen the expense, and thus facilitate its more general circulation, he opened a separate fund for the purpose, to which he contributed largely himself. This was in consequence of a representation made to him a few days ago, by the missionaries of the Church Missionary and Wesleyan, as well as other

* Two hundred more than were confirmed here by Bishop Middleton in 1816, and more than double the number confirmed by Bishop Heber in Calcutta.

† I had the happiness, after the Bishop's death, of stating these intentions, now rendered sacred by that event, to the community of the Presidency, on Whitsunday, from the pulpit of St. George's, where, it is needless to say, they met with the most prompt and liberal support; and an archidiaconal committee was accordingly formed on the following morning, the 15th of May, with the cordial co-operation of all classes.

societies, of the difficulty they found in procuring copies of the quarto edition, and the impossibility of supplying the wants of their respective congregations at the price it now bears.* His lordship stated also his desire of obtaining the fullest possible information on the difficult and perplexing subject of *caste* lately submitted to him, and requested the sub-committee appointed to report on Native Education, to extend their inquiries to this subject also, and to state their opinions to him on his return to the Presidency.

On leaving the church, the Bishop expressed his pleasure at an allusion I made in the course of the meeting, to the tradition that this was the scene of the apostle's labours, and alleged several reasons for believing its truth. It rests, indeed, on evidence† more than sufficient for an association which we naturally love to cherish; and perhaps the strongest reason for the general disinclination to receive it, arises from the paltry fables with which the superstition and ignorance of the Portuguese missionaries have invested it. The clergy dined with the Bishop this evening—fifteen in number.

March 9th. The Bishop visited the military station of *Poonamalee*, about ten miles distant from Madras, where there is a dépôt for recruits on their first arrival from England, a considerable number of pensioners, and an asylum for the children of soldiers. All these circumstances

* I am happy to add, that this new edition, in octavo, has just been completed under the superintendence of Dr. Rottler and the Tamil sub-committee, assisted by the able services of the Rev. Mr. Sawyer; and the subscriptions then set on foot have enabled the committee to give this valuable boon to the native churches at the very low price of two rupees and a half.

† Vide Appendix.

conspire to make it a most important sphere of clerical labour, comprising, as it does, a very large number of those who require catechetical instruction—the young and healthy, who have not yet lost the good impressions of their early education, and the veteran, who has much to unlearn, after a long life perhaps of vicious indulgence. Many of these pensioners are allowed to live at *Tripassore*, about eighteen miles further inland, and which is occasionally visited by the chaplain of Poonamalee. We mounted our horses at day-break, and overtook the carriage at seven; but the road was so bad, that we were obliged to get out several times, and literally put our shoulders to the wheel. After sundry adventures, and envying the riders in bullock hackeries, which cantered merrily along, while we hardly moved, we arrived at last at the chaplain's door, where the officers of the cantonment, and several of the clergy from Madras, were assembled to receive the Bishop. There is a small church here, which was consecrated by Bishop Middleton in 1816; but it is much disfigured by an enormous pulpit, which completely conceals the altar. The Bishop requested that this might be removed and given to Mr. Sawyer's Tamil Chapel, and something smaller and less unsightly substituted for it. He exceedingly dislikes the prevailing custom of interrupting the view of the communion-table, and recommends the adoption, in all cases, of two light desks, one on each side of the aisle, and raised by a few steps from the level of the floor, as in the new church at Vepery.

Divine service commenced at ten o'clock, when the Bishop administered confirmation to one hundred and five candidates. While I was arranging them, and receiving their tickets, it appeared that several others, who had not

previously been examined, were very desirous of being admitted, if possible. His lordship, when I mentioned this to him, desired me to examine them, and promised, if I found them properly instructed, to hold a second service for that purpose in the afternoon, being very unwilling to reject any whom he could conscientiously admit, from the great uncertainty whether a similar opportunity might ever again be afforded them. His address after the morning service had particular reference to these new candidates. Fourteen of these, among whom was an old pensioner, I thought sufficiently prepared; but there was one young woman who came with her little boy, and thinking him too young, I advised her to keep him back till the Bishop's return to Madras. She had stood behind the rest while I was speaking to them, and when I had finished, came forward with much feeling, and begged that she might herself be admitted. She wept much, was evidently in declining health, and there was a sincerity and earnestness in her whole manner that affected the Bishop most powerfully. "Bring them both to me," he said; "who knows whether they may live to wish for it again?" The evening service and the second confirmation was at three o'clock. The Bishop addressed them also in his usual impressive manner, and at five o'clock we set out on our return home. We had scarcely, however, left the door, when we found another congregation anxiously expecting him. Mr. Sawyer, one of the Church missionaries at Madras, has built a small chapel here, with a school-room and catechist's house. He has a similar establishment at *Tripassore*, and some other neighbouring places, which are branches of his mission, and to each of which he makes an occasional visit. We found here seventy or eighty persons assembled, and

the Bishop repeated several of the collects and the Lord's prayer, and dismissed them with the benediction.

While I was engaged with the candidates between the morning and evening services, the Bishop was writing an answer to an important communication he received yesterday, and in the result of which he is much interested. It appears that a considerable number of poor native Christians employed about the beach, have built, by subscription, a good church for their own use; and though nominally Roman Catholics, yet, being dissatisfied with the neglect they have experienced from their own pastors, they are just balancing whether they shall not seize the opportunity of our Bishop's presence at Madras, to make the building, which is nearly finished, a Protestant church, and request the services of a clergyman of the Church of England. This proposition, no doubt, originates chiefly in the extraordinary feeling of personal respect and affection with which all classes, native as well as European, through all the gradations of society, regard the Bishop; for it is altogether their own act, uninfluenced by any persuasion of their superior. If it should take effect, it will be an important stride of our Church before that of Rome, and will be a strong additional proof of the excellent effect of our Episcopal establishment, not only for the support, but also the peaceable extension of the Church. His lordship has written to say, that, if this should be their determination, he will, with great pleasure, consecrate the church when he returns—will preach to them himself in Portuguese during his residence at Madras, and fix among them a regularly ordained minister. He mentioned to me his intention of appointing Mr. Sawyer to this new duty, as one whose temper and conduct had given him much pleasure. It is

well for the Bishop that the journey will give him some respite; many such days of labour, together with that characteristic earnestness with which he enters into every new plan of usefulness, would soon exhaust a stronger frame than his. How little idea have our friends in England what the labours of an Indian Bishop really are!

March 10th. The Bishop held his visitation at St. George's, attended by fourteen of the clergy. His charge was much improved by the introduction of a good deal of matter connected with subjects of local interest, and especially some additional remarks on the Abbé Dubois. Mr. Lawrie, the junior minister of the Scotch Church, called on the Bishop after the service, and introduced the missionaries of the London Society; for here, as elsewhere, admiration and respect for him seem to form a point of union for members of every Church. A request has been made to him by some of the leading members of society, that he would print the sermons preached during his residence at Madras, and he has consented to do so on his return. Several times, as we have been riding by St. George's, he has remarked its beautiful structure rising amidst the palms that surround it, as a striking emblem of the peaceful and gradual establishment of Christianity in India; and to-day, as we were going to church, he mentioned his intention of complying with this request, and promised to make a sketch of St. George's for the frontispiece of the little volume, with this appropriate motto—

Crescite felices, eoa crescite Palmæ!

The clergy dined with him in the evening, and his delightful conversation made the close of the day one of the most instructive parts of this apostolical ordinance; and the fervour of the good Bishop, in the prayer with which he dismissed us, was most impressive.

March 11th. The Bishop, attended by the archdeacon and eight of the clergy, visited the nawab, or rather his uncle, the regent, Azem Jah Bahader (for the nawab himself is an infant.) We were in our robes, and the Bishop in his doctor's gown. The regent received the Bishop at his carriage (attended by the town-major, Colonel Taylor,) and placed him on a sofa by himself. His brother, who talked Persian tolerably well, placed the archdeacon and me on another. His questions were curiously minute as to the office, rank, salary, and number of Bishops in England; and especially why they did not wear *beards*—independently of which, it seemed difficult for him to conceive the existence of the gravity and wisdom of a chief moolah; and when I told him the Archbishop of Canterbury was superior to all, he said, "Of course then he wears a beard." He says the nawab has a library of about 2000 volumes, and an establishment of eight or ten moonshees: it seems curious that the chief moonshee, in a Mussulman Court, should be a Hindoo, Rajah Khoshee Lal. The court, though small, is sufficiently splendid, and there seemed to be a greater number of learned Mahometans than I expected.

Thence we went in our robes to Lady Munro, to whom the Bishop presented the vote of thanks from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for her kind patronage, particularly of the schools at Vepery, to which she has been in the habit of presenting annual prizes from her own bounty. I have seldom witnessed a more interesting or affecting picture: the beauty and gracefulness of Lady Munro, the grave and commanding figure of the governor, the youthful appearance and simple dignity of the dear Bishop, the beloved of all beholders, presented a scene

such as few can ever hope to witness. Sir Thomas listened with deep interest to every word that the Bishop addressed to her, and then said, while he pressed his hand and the tears were rolling down his venerable cheeks—"My lord, it will be in vain for me, after this, to preach humility to Lady Munro; she will be proud of this day to the latest hour she lives." "God bless you, Sir Thomas!" was the only answer the feelings of the Bishop allowed him to make—"And God bless *you*, my lord!" was the earnest and affectionate reply.

We dined in the afternoon, and met the clergy at the archdeacon's, at Brodie Castle; and, during our long drive, the Bishop amused me with a singular history of a most respectable and excellent old man, who, for many years, had secretly followed the strange delusions of Lutherburg and his party, had treasured up large folios filled with hieroglyphical representations of dreams and visions, but complained to the Bishop (whom he loved as his son, and therefore admitted to this secret confidence,) that the *astral spirits* had played him false. The life of this excellent man was filled up with daily acts of professional duty and private virtue, while his secret studies were devoted to these absurd chimeras, imposed upon him by artful and designing hypocrites. "He is now gone," said the Bishop, "where the former will be mercifully accepted, and the latter forgotten, like the visions of a distempered dream."

His lordship has invited Mr. Doran to join our party. The government has made a most liberal provision for our comfort, in an abundant supply of tents, elephants, and camels. The only difficulty Colonel Taylor has had, is to persuade the Bishop to accept what is considered a suffi-

cient equipment. He was in vain attempting for several days to reconcile him to the proper number of tents; and this morning he took me aside, and said he perceived it was hopeless trying to combat the Bishop's fear of giving unnecessary trouble, and as he was convinced the comfort of the journey at this season, as well as the respectability of his progress in the eyes of the natives, would chiefly depend on the sufficiency of the camp equipage, he should take the liberty of sending all he had assigned. The arrangements were all finished to-day, and the baggage was sent off this evening.

March 12th. The Bishop preached to an overflowing congregation at the chapel in the Black Town in the morning, and, great expedition having been used in completing the preparations for lighting St. George's, he preached the first evening lecture there, which he has established instead of the former afternoon service. The church was crowded to excess, and the Bishop's farewell address, from the words "*He sent them away,*" was a forcible and touching appeal to the hearts of his audience, especially begging them to continue their attendance at this new service, which he had suggested for their greater comfort, and charging them to remember him in their prayers. I do not know when he can possibly have found time for the composition of this sermon; for every hour since his arrival here has been most fully and entirely occupied.*

March 13th. We left Madras this afternoon, after a

* The somewhat singular text, together with the felicitous transition from the former and argumentative part of his sermon, to the concluding address, and its application to the immediate circumstances of the occasion, made a lasting impression on the minds of his auditors. Alas! they heard him again no more; "*he sent them away*" with his last blessing!

fortnight of great enjoyment as well as exertion. The novelty and variety of the objects that have engaged the Bishop's attention, the excellence of the public institutions, and the foundation of missionary labours in the venerable establishments at Vepery, have all conspired to excite the strongest interest in favour of Madras; and no where has his own character been more justly appreciated. He has been particularly gratified by observing the harmony that so happily prevails among the clergy, and their disinterested kindness in assisting each other, and even seeking for opportunities of extending their sphere of usefulness. This was particularly shown in the readiness with which they embraced his arrangement for the afternoon service at the fort church, in consequence of which, Messrs. Roy, Moorson, and Denton will take that duty in rotation with the chaplain of St. Mary's. On the whole, I am sure he leaves Madras with cordial feelings of attachment to the inhabitants, and increasing interest in this important portion of his diocese. All this makes us look forward with great pleasure to the few weeks we hope to spend here on our return; and, with the prospect of my future connexion with the clergy, I could not have wished for a happier or more delightful introduction.

We drove in our carriage to the Mount, the head-quarters of the artillery, where we spent the evening with Mr. Hallewell, the chaplain of the station. He took us to the top of the hill, which commands the best prospect of Madras and the surrounding country, and showed the Bishop the foundations of the new church which government is building in front of the parade-ground, calculated to hold five or six hundred persons. After joining in the evening devotions of this excellent family, we prosperously began

our journey, by a run in our palanquins to *Sadras*, where our tents are waiting for us. The Bishop promised me a sketch of the Mount, but he was too much hurried to take it.

March 14th. We halted at day-break at *Mahabalipooram* (the town of the great Bali,) commonly called the *Seven Pagodas*. Captain Harkness, who commands the Bishop's escort, and Doctor Hyne, an accomplished naturalist appointed to attend him as his surgeon, joined us here; and we found the former, who is an excellent Tamil scholar, an intelligent cicerone through the curious remains of this ancient city, now in a state of comparative ruin and desertion. There is a tradition that within the last century the gilded domes of several large pagodas were just visible above the sea, not a trace of which is now left. The only temple remaining on the sea-shore is striking in its position, and interesting from having been apparently a united temple of Vishnu and Siva, whose rival claims, as you are aware, divide the religion of India, and are seldom seen in amity together. The first has a recumbent figure of Vishnu; and the second, which is the largest, and is washed by the waves, has the lingam in its sanctuary, and a pillar in front which is now actually in the sea. The two are connected, and appear originally to have been enclosed by several walls now in ruins.

About three hundred yards from the sea runs a low irregular hill parallel with the shore, with immense masses of loose granite, containing many cave-temples, but none of them remarkable for size or grandeur. After seeing the stupendous excavations of Elephanta, Karlee, and Ellora, these are only interesting as they possess the same character, and apparently different from any other remains in the Peninsula. This certainly adds probability to the tradi-

tional account preserved among the Bramins, that the whole of these unfinished works were executed by sculptors and masons of a distant province, who had fled from the tyranny of their prince; but, after some years' exile here, were persuaded to return to their own country. In some of these there are beautiful specimens of sculpture, and many full and elaborate descriptions from the Mahabharut on the sides of the rock, in almost every part of the hill. We were most struck with one very small temple in the northern hill, but of beautiful proportions, and much resembling the remains of Egyptian architecture. In one part of this is represented, with great spirit, the story of Vishnu's appearance in the form of a dwarf to the proud monarch, who was vain of his universal empire. He asked, as a boon, for three steps in his dominion. Bali assented; and Vishnu, assuming his own form, with the first stride took possession of earth, with the second of heaven, and the sculptor has represented him in the act of taking the third, which was to annihilate the monarch's power. There is much beauty also in the opposite compartment, which represents the bath of Lukshmee, over whom the elephants are pouring water. The Bishop took a rapid sketch of a small temple on the very point of the rock, to which the only approach has been a stair, which is now destroyed. It is a stone building with a brick foundation, partly shaded by a tree, which is secretly undermining what it appears treacherously to adorn and shelter. The town, a part of which is still inhabited, has many remains of former magnificence, and a noble tank, graced of course with many a romantic legend. Several very imperfect descriptions* of this remark-

* See a paper by Mr. Chambers, Asiatic Researches, i. 145, another

able place have been given, but an accurate account of the several ruins is still a desideratum.

A ride of a few miles brought us to breakfast at our camp, a little beyond *Sadras*. With all the comforts even of this princely mode of travelling, the heat is still intense, and it is almost impossible to attempt any thing like employment during the day. While we were at dinner, the Bishop was informed that the Rev. Mr. Winckler, a missionary from the Netherlands Society, resided in *Sadras*; and as it was then too late to invite him to our tents, he sent Mr. Doran and me in the evening with a kind message to him, expressive of his regret that he had not sooner known of his being in the neighbourhood, that he might have made his acquaintance. He has two schools, and is about to build a small chapel with subscriptions which he is collecting for that purpose. He has a small Dutch and Portuguese congregation, from the poor remains of the Netherlands inhabitants, and their dependents, still lingering among the ruins of their former settlement. The small fort near the sea-shore is now dismantled, and a few handsome tombs (on which the Dutch seem always to have bestowed considerable care and expense) is all that remains to remind us of their greatness. Mr. Winckler's sphere of duty is of the most humble and unpromising description, but yet is almost more than his nervous and sickly frame can bear. He was very grateful to his lordship for the kindness that suggested our little embassy. On our return to camp, we found the Bishop and the rest of the party drinking tea on the shore, under the light of a lovely moon; and, after our

by Mr. Goldingham, *ibid.* v. 69, and two others, much more minute, in the 5th and 6th Nos. of the *Oriental Herald*, published at Madras in 1820.

usual evening prayers, we were all glad to retire to bed early, and prepare for our march to-morrow.

March 15th. We marched at four, and our road lay within a short distance of the sea-shore, through a cultivated, pleasant country, abounding in palmyra and other trees. We reached a choultry at *Tuknumporkum*, in which we breakfasted and spent the morning. The Bishop finished the sketch he made yesterday of *Mahabalipooram*, and spent an hour after tiffin in talking with some old European pensioners whom he found on the other side of the same choultry, and who were travelling with their native families to end their days at *Cuddalore*. He gave them some money to mend their evening meal, and promised them a supply of books when they reached their destination. We made an evening march of eight miles, crossing over an arm of the sea about a mile broad, but not too deep for our horses, and then traversing a lovely jungle, more like Ceylon than the coast of Coromandel, containing every variety of trees and flowers. We found our tents pitched near a beautiful *tope* of mangoe trees at the village of *Allumparva*, famous along the whole coast for the finest oysters. The tahsildar met the Bishop with all due honours, but rather exceeded the instructions he had received from government, in bringing the dancing-girls as well as the village music. Both form part of the usual honours paid to persons of rank in travelling, but the government, with very proper consideration, in their circular instructions to the provincial authorities, have expressly forbidden the former, as an indecorous accompaniment to the progress of a Christian Bishop.*

* At this place the Journal of the Bishop himself breaks off, and I have made fewer extracts from my own than I should otherwise have

March 16th. A march of thirteen miles through a well cultivated plain country, separated from the sea by high sand-hills, mostly covered with shrubs, brought us to *Conjamere*. The Bishop wrote his second letter to Mar Athanasius,* and gave it to me to translate into Syriac. It is excellently calculated to allay his violence, without compromising at all his undoubted authority.

March 17th. We arrived at *Pondicherry* after an intensely hot march, and found our tents pitched on a burning sand, about a mile from the town. The road is not unlike that from *Galle* to *Columbo*, with abundance of palmyra; and the country, though sandy, not at all destitute of cultivation. After breakfast, the police-master arrived with a message of welcome from the French governor, and, half an hour after, one of his aides-de-camp brought an invitation to an early dinner, and a guard of honour to remain with the Bishop. The curé of *Pondicherry*, Padre Felice, a capuchin from Italy, sent a very civil message, begging the Bishop to use his garden-house, which is in the neighbourhood of our tents; but as we must march tomorrow, in order to reach *Cuddalore* before Sunday, his lordship declined accepting it: we did not therefore see the curé. We were received at Government-house in a most cordial and hospitable manner, and among the guests at dinner the Bishop was pleased to find the Vicomte de Richmond, who has lately arrived from Europe, to succeed to the government, and brought letters for his lordship,

done respecting those places, particularly *St. Thomas' Mount* and *Mahabalipooram*, which he has so admirably described. Would that his own hand had delineated the crowded and interesting picture of his few remaining days!

* Vide Appendix.

from Mr. Elphinstone at Bombay. He is an accomplished man, and has travelled much in India, Persia, and many countries of Europe. His fellow-traveller, Monsieur Belanger, is also an intelligent young man; and an old gentleman, who has employed many years in antiquarian researches, and has seen much of the northern provinces of Hindostan, was not the least amusing of the party. The conversation of these gentlemen with the Bishop was lively and brilliant. He talks French with considerable ease and fluency, and it would be difficult for men of any country to start a subject of conversation, however foreign from his own immediate pursuits, with which his various and discursive reading has not made him in some degree familiar; there is a playfulness also in his mode of communicating what he knows, and a tact and consideration for the national and literary prejudices of others, that particularly endeared him to the little circle of to-day.

After dinner, while the Bishop walked out with Mr. Cordier, the governor, I went with the rest of our party to visit the college and church of the Jesuits. The church is altogether the most correct ecclesiastical building I have seen in India, being after the model of the ancient churches; but there is an unfinished and desolate air about it, which seems to indicate the present poverty of the mission. Vespers were just over, and there were a few natives kneeling at their private devotions in different parts of the aisle, or reading by a solitary lamp on the ground.

The titular Bishop of *Malicarnassus*, who resides here as the chief of the mission, sent his compliments to me, and invited me to visit him in his cell. He was dressed in the usual plain robe, with a gold cross. I found him a gentlemanly, well informed man, and very good-natured in giving

me all the information about the establishment which our short interview allowed me to ask. He complained much of the sufferings of the mission, almost from its first foundation, by the constant wars between the French and English, the suppression of the Jesuits, and the revolution. They had once a noble library, but, after the first capture of *Pondicherry* by our army, in 1761, it was almost entirely dissipated, and (as he expressed it) the books have never yet found their way back again. I was in hopes of finding some Persian or Syriac manuscripts, but he assured me they had nothing of the kind, having never had any connexion with the missionaries of *Persia*, or with the Christians of *St. Thomas*, in *Malabar*. The Jesuits that were settled here, were reduced to great distress by the suppression of their order in Europe; and in 1777 this mission was intrusted to the superintendence of the *College des Missions Etrangères* in Paris. They have never educated native missionaries for *Tanjore* and *Madura*, as is stated by Father Paulin: indeed the Jesuits of *Pondicherry* employed only Europeans; and it is only since 1780 that natives have been educated here for the priesthood. There is at present a small seminary for European children, and another for the native clergy. The government contribute towards the support of the former, and the latter is supported entirely by the mission. They have at present thirteen native students. I believe they supply from hence most of the churches in the northern circars, and in the provinces of *Mysore* and *Hyderabad*.

The directors of the French missions in *China*, *Tonquin*, *Cochin-China*, and *Siam*, established a seminary at *Virampatam* about the year 1770, in which there were generally forty students, natives of those several kingdoms,

and destined, after receiving their education there, to return as priests to their own countries. It did not, however, last more than ten or twelve years: the expense was so enormous, and the health of the students suffered so much from being removed in early youth to a foreign climate, that the directors and the vicars apostolic were obliged to abandon it. They afterwards founded one at *Penang*, which has subsisted for the last twenty-five years. But neither of these had any dependence on the college of *Pondicherry*.

On my return to Government-house, I found the Bishop had been requested to confirm four young persons, the children of an English officer, deceased, by a French lady. We went immediately to their house, and he spent an hour in examining and conversing with them on the subject of religion. I was much struck with the patience and earnestness of his manner in this interesting service, and not only the ease, but the manifest delight with which he left the crowded party of the governor, which was anxiously expecting his return, for this unexpected call of duty. The fatigue of travelling, the excessive heat, and the constant engagements of the day, had all been extremely exhausting, and we have to march at three to-morrow morning; yet he did not shorten in any degree what it was right to say. He expressed great pleasure in their answers and general appearance, and, after confirming them, returned for a short time to the Government-house, and retired early to his tent. He has invited the young officer, who came with the guard of honour this morning, to accompany us to *Tanjore*.

March 18th. A long and sultry march brought us to *Cuddalore*, where we were hospitably received by Colonel

Fraser, at his beautiful villa of Mount Capper. This is the first English station we have visited since we left *Madras*: it is one of those places to which pensioners and invalids, who prefer a residence in this country, are sent to end their days—with but little or no restraint of military discipline, and with too great facilities for the indulgence of their destructive habits. There are here at present one hundred and eighty soldiers, of whom one hundred and forty are Protestants. Most of them are married to native Christian women; and Major Hicks, the commanding officer, has an excellent school for the education of their children, which is supported chiefly by the subscriptions of the resident families. About forty poor children are thus regularly instructed, and the chaplain of the station could scarcely have a better auxiliary in his intercourse with the parents, with whom kindness and attention may yet do much. The Bishop has been much interested in the account he has received of the labours of Mr. Church, who was formerly chaplain here, and died some time ago at Madras. His simple and judicious instructions, united with great kindness of manner, and, above all, the example of his own life, more eloquent than a thousand sermons, effected a very considerable reform among the poor pensioners, and his name is remembered by all classes with affectionate respect. The field, therefore, which is actually in the worst state, is not always the most hopeless for moral culture. The pensioners' lines are near the old town, not far from the Mission Church, and two or three miles from *New-Cuddalore*, which is the civil station. The Bishop has been engaged in ascertaining from the Rev. Mr. Allen, the chaplain, the particulars of his own immediate charge, and giving him directions for his future conduct, leaving

Monday to be devoted entirely to the affairs of the mission. The chief persons of the station, as well as the two clergymen, met the Bishop at breakfast and dinner, and I have seldom known him enjoy himself more than he has done this evening, in a ramble over these beautiful grounds, and in the conversation of our accomplished host.

March 19th. The Bishop preached in the morning an admirable sermon, from Romans vii. 24, 25, containing many excellent remarks on that difficult chapter, which might be of great use to the student in theology, at the same time that the whole sermon was full of practical benefit to the poor soldiers, who formed the bulk of the congregation. The church is a respectable old building, belonging to the mission, but the accommodations very inconvenient, and much in want of repairs. The chaplain is allowed the use of it for the performance of English service, and on this ground, the Bishop intends to apply to government for a small monthly rent, as well as for the necessary repairs and alterations. He has given Mr. Rosen a plan for a different arrangement of pews and benches, by which it may hold nearly two hundred persons. It was built in 1766-7, from the materials of Fort St. David's, the works of which had been destroyed during the war. The church register reaches back to the year 1768.

In the evening service, which the Bishop established today, and desired Mr. Allen to continue, he confirmed thirteen candidates, and there was an excellent congregation of soldiers, whose attendance is altogether voluntary. There are two Tamil services for the native Christians; but their numbers appear very small, not more than fifty or sixty persons, and those chiefly of the serving or labouring classes, and the wives of soldiers.

March 20th. The Bishop has passed a most fatiguing day in the investigation of the mission property, and devising some plan for its future improvement. The very neglected state into which it has fallen for many years, is probably to be attributed chiefly to the carelessness and mismanagement of Mr. Holzberg, who was suspended from his office, and died here in 1824; and Mr. Haubroe, who immediately succeeded him, and Mr. Rosen, the present missionary, have had to contend with many great difficulties, among which, the embarrassment of the public funds is not the least. They are burdened with debt to the government, and some part of the landed property is in sequestration.

The resources which are available for its improvement are various, but their aggregate amount very trifling. There are two good mission houses adjoining the church, and pleasantly situated near the river. In one of these the missionary himself resides; the other, in which the widow of Mr. Holzberg is allowed to live during her life, will produce a clear profit to the mission after her death. There are a few fields in the neighbourhood, which might produce perhaps 150 rupees per annum.

But that which has most occupied the Bishop's attention, is an estate called *Padre-cottagam* (or the minister's farm,) near *Devicottah*, about twenty-five miles from this place. It is an island formed by the Coleroon, and with some little expense and care might become a very productive property. It was granted by the government of Madras to this mission in the year 1760, after the battle between Colonel Coote and the unfortunate Lully. The debt which this estate owes to government is lately somewhat reduced; one-eighth of it is free from taxes, and the remainder is subject to a rent of fifty per cent. It is calculated that it

might produce, if in proper cultivation, a clear income of 500 rupees per annum. This appears a very simple statement, now the investigation is over, but it was no easy task for the poor Bishop to arrive at it through all the perplexity of accounts, of different measurements, and varying produce, from all which jarring elements he succeeded in reproducing this unfortunate glebe. The following memorandum, which he afterwards put into my hands, though he had not time to finish it, will best explain his own wise and benevolent plans respecting it: "It is not as a source of income, but as the nucleus of a Christian agricultural population, that this property appears to me most valuable. There is no want of colonists of such a description. A considerable number from *Tranquebar*, well recommended by Dr. Cæmmerer, have applied for permission to settle there; and other industrious Christian families might be easily selected from *Cuddalore*, and perhaps *Tanjore*. The space would afford accommodation and nourishment, as I am informed by a native tahsildar, for fifty or sixty families. Give them the land in small lots, and on easy terms, as tenants at will; build a church and fix a missionary there—and what an opening would not this give to the spread of the Gospel! By God's blessing and the help of benevolent individuals, other lands might be purchased in the same neighbourhood, the parish would grow larger and larger, and the schools, the church, and every thing but the missionary salary, might be defrayed by the very moderate rent of the cultivators. These last, indeed, might for some years be only required to pay the government tax, and a proportionate rent on that land which was tax-free. They would be thus encouraged to clear away jungle, repair dams, &c.; the property, now worthless, would get

into good heart; and a population, now poor, dependent, and idle, would be trained up in habits of industry and comfort. It would be necessary, however, for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to pay the debt to government, and to purchase the land in question from the *Cuddalore* mission. It will also be necessary to advance, the first year, a small sum to the cultivators (200 rupees, Mr. Rosen says, would be abundantly sufficient;) and, above all, to fix a missionary and a catechist there. Mr. Rosen also talked of a headman, at a handsome salary, being necessary to oversee the cultivation. But I cannot see why each peasant cannot cultivate his little lot for himself, without such a go-between. All disputes might be referred to the missionary."

The same paper contains also the following remark: "The cultivated fields in the neighbourhood of this place are let to Heathens, though Mr. Rosen complains that the Christians are miserably in want of employment. He urges, however, that the Christians, being very poor, would be wretched paymasters, and that they would be discontented if they had not the lands at a proportionably easy rent." He is decidedly of opinion that, wherever it is practicable, mission lands should be occupied by Christians, even though the funds may not immediately be so much benefited as they would be by Heathen tenants, considering the advantage thus secured to the community, cheaply purchased by so trifling a sacrifice.

He inspected the whole of the mission premises at day-break this morning, and, besides the repairs and alterations of the church, he suggested one very material improvement, which is thus noticed in his paper of memorandums:—"The present school-room is a wretched, ruinous building,

adjoining the church-yard, and entirely unfit for its purpose. On the other side of the church, and so near it as to be a dangerous nuisance, there is a native house and garden, which might afford good accommodation for the schools, school-master, and catechist, and might be purchased for seventy-five pagodas. This would be a very desirable acquisition to the establishment, if the money could be raised."

On the whole, he has felt much interested in the future capabilities of this mission, rather than its actual state, and much may be hoped from those plans which he has already formed for its advancement.

March 21st. We left our excellent host at *Cuddalore*, and made a night's run to *Chillumbrum*—a mode of travelling which the Bishop exceedingly dislikes, but it is necessary, in order to enable us to spend Easter-day at *Tanjore*. The Bishop signed and despatched the Syriac translation of his second letter to Mar Athanasius, which I have found some difficulty in finishing, in the midst of such constant engagements. The heat in our tents to-day, with all appliances of tatties, &c., was intense; we could not reduce it below 97°. This evening we visited the stupendous pagoda for which this place is famous, and which is one of the seven* of greatest renown in the Peninsula. There are four magnificent *goberams*, or gateways, of pyramidal form, and about 120 feet in height. They consist of nine stories, covered with a profusion of sculptured figures, and surmounted by an oval dome; the two lower stories are of stone, (some of the stones of immense size,) the rest of

* The other six are Juggernaut, Tripady, Conjeveram, Seringham, Coubaconum, and Ramisseram.

brick and chunam. The measurement of the whole structure, given by Robertson, is very probably correct: 1332 feet in one direction, and 936 in another. The interior courts are very imposing; especially the first, in which is a splendid choultry of 1000 pillars, consisting of two grand rooms *en suite*, with vaulted roof, handsome vestibule, and upper platform, to serve as the throne of the idol on its occasional excursions from the sanctuary; each room having fourteen pillars in length, with ten colonnades on each side. This was the first of the Southern pagodas which the Bishop had seen; and he found, he said, abundant reason to confirm him in the favourable judgment he had formed of Hindoo architecture, even from the smaller specimens in the North, in opposition to the erroneous opinions formed on these subjects by some late writers in England.* The chief curiosity, we were told, of this pagoda, is, that it contains in one court a temple to each of the rivals, Vishnu and Siva. We found them repairing several of the domes, which are covered with sheet brass. There are said to be three hundred Bramins attached to the establishment, and our party was followed by at least that number of clamorous beggars.

March 22d. We rode thirteen miles to *Sheally*, where we found an excellent travellers' bungalow. The Bishop received a letter from a clergyman on the *Nilgherries*, mentioning the increasing violence of Mar Athanasius, but that "some of the cantanars (or priests) have renounced the authority of their own metrans, and joined the stranger, and that the whole body of the people are intimidated by his anathemas, and the superior authority with which

* See Mill's History of India, B. ii. c. 8, and his authorities. See also Bishop Heber's Journal, ii. 363.

they suppose him to be invested by the patriarch." His lordship remarked, when he showed me the letter, that the only conceivable motive for any number of the clergy and people to submit to the pretensions of a stranger, and one of violent and tyrannical character, in preference to their own countrymen, the native bishops, whom they had long known and respected, was a deep conviction that the authority under which he acted was paramount, and superseded all other. The chief secretary to government encloses a letter from the resident in *Travancore*, (who is now on the *Nilgherries*,) saying that "the new priests from *Antioch*" are so violent and contemptuous of the government of the country, that he has authorized the devan to send them away, but that he had not yet heard that they are gone. The Bishop, who feels the utmost grief at this intelligence, wrote immediately to the resident, begging him to suspend this order till he himself can arrive at *Cotyam*, and the real sentiments of the people can be ascertained. While we were in Madras, the Bishop laid his view of the subject before the governor, who requested him to take such steps as he thought fit for the arrangement of these unhappy differences, and authorized him to promise the payment of his salary on the part of government to the foreign metropolitan, who might then reside amongst them as the chief in power, but without prejudicing the native bishops, whose Episcopal ordination was undoubted, and to whom he would naturally delegate the actual government of the churches as his suffragans.

Had the first letter to Mar Athanasius from our Bishop, recognising his claim, been delivered when he sent it, it would have had the effect of suspending these measures, which there is every reason to apprehend will now be pre-

cipitated, and the power with which he is invested for mediating and reconciling the two factions be unhappily neutralized. If the resident's order has not yet been enforced, all may yet be healed, and the rupture with *Antioch* avoided. If otherwise, I fear the mischief will be irremediable; for the view which the Bishop takes of the matter is this: the Syrian churches in Malabar form a diocese subject to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, who has been in the habit, from time to time, of sending bishops with full powers from himself to direct their ecclesiastical polity, and to consecrate others at their discretion. It was in this character that Bishop Heber recognised Mar Athanasius at Bombay, after a careful examination of his credentials, and subsequently in his two letters. He does not doubt that his conduct has been violent and unjustifiable, but it remains to be seen how much this has been caused by opposition to his just claims; and, however much he deploras this conduct, he sees the necessity of separating between the personal character of the man and the office with which he is invested. He hopes to be able to moderate the one, while he is only performing an act of justice in acknowledging the other. As to a violent separation from *Antioch*, to whom they owe allegiance, he thinks it would be injurious to their character, in the eyes of the Heathen nations, and to their own self-respect. If, indeed, the body of their Church were reformed, the case would be widely altered; but there is every reason to believe that the daughter is as corrupt as the mother; and this quarrel is not one of reformation, as in our case with the Church of Rome, but of legitimate authority. The Bishop's hope is, that the improvement gradually produced in Malabar by the friendly labours of our missionaries, may extend its influence back to *Antioch*, while, at the

same time, it prepares them to be the most efficient means of extending the Church of Christ in this country, where they are respected by the Heathen, as a dependence on a most ancient and venerable communion. He dreads any thing like interference on the part of our missionaries; and intends, if he sees any danger of this being even suspected, to remove them for a time to some other station, till every thing is amicably arranged. Entire neutrality in these internal discussions is the only ground on which the Church of England can maintain the good faith to which she was pledged, when she first established this mission in the heart of a neighbouring and independent church. As far as the Heathen government of *Travancore* is concerned, the only question of any importance is, what bishop has received the suffrages of the Church; for they have the right, by ancient charter from the kings of *Travancore*, to choose* their own bishops, who, in consequence of that election, are recognised as supreme among them by the existing government. It appears that the will of the Church, on the present question, was expressed in full convocation on December 25th, 1825; and, if this be true, all that is further necessary is

* The manner of their election of a new bishop is by casting lots, after the example of the apostles in the designation of Matthias, Acts i. 23. Two are nominated, and the choice between them solemnly referred to God, by casting lots at the altar. "In Spain this was once the common practice, as may be concluded from a canon of the Council of *Barcelona*, A. D. 599, which orders that, when a vacant see is to be filled, two or three shall be elected by the consent of the clergy and people, who shall present them to the metropolitan and his fellow bishops, and they, having first fasted, shall cast lots, leaving the determination to Christ the Lord. Then he on whom the lot shall fall shall be consummated by the blessing of consecration." Bingham Orig. Eccles. B. iv. c. i. Instances of this custom in the Syrian Church may be seen in Asseman Biblioth. Orient. iii. 200, 202, 234.

the official communication of it to the devan, and to the British resident.

March 23d. A ride of thirteen miles through a richly cultivated and very populous country, brought us to *Myaveram*, where we expected to find nothing but a bungalow to shelter us during the heat of the day; but we had just separated after breakfast, when the Bishop, who was sitting alone in the hall, reading his Greek Testament, was agreeably surprised by a visit from a German clergyman. He supposed at first he was a traveller, but found that he was a missionary in connexion with the Church Missionary Society, and stationed here in the centre of a circle of thirty schools, which he has lately established. Strange to say, no one had mentioned to his lordship, Mr. Barenbruck or his mission. He spent the day with us; and in the afternoon, before we began our evening march, the Bishop visited the mission house and schools, which are built in a noble compound and with a great degree of comfort. The mission is at present in its infancy, but Mr. B. has happily attached to him John Devasagayam, one of the best catechists in the service of any mission, and whose fidelity and Christian character will be of great value in the formation of his Church. We halted to-night, after a second march of twelve miles, at the village of *Trevalengoddy*; Mr. Barenbruck accompanying us in our journey to *Tanjore*. I took the liberty of suggesting to the Bishop, the good that might result from a letter of friendship to Mar Philoxenus, the elder of the two native bishops in *Travancore*, a venerable old man, who has lately lived in retirement in the North, leaving the active superintendence of the diocese to Dionysius, the younger. He wrote it immediately, and gave it me for translation.

We expected to have passed Good-Friday alone in our tents, but were agreeably surprised, on arriving at *Combacorum*, to find it the residence of a sub-collector; and, though the Bishop was expected to pass through in the night, yet the necessary preparations were soon made for divine service, and he had a congregation of twenty or thirty persons, among whom were several native Christians who understood English. Mr. Mead, a dissenting minister in connexion with the London Missionary Society, very kindly sent the desk from his own chapel for the Bishop's use, and attended the service himself. He enclosed to his lordship a statement of his schools and other plans of usefulness, in which, however, he has not met with the success he anticipated; but his own spirit and conduct are highly honourable. There is also a congregation here of thirty-six Christians belonging to the *Tanjore* mission, a good chapel, with an English and Tamil school, but no resident catechist. The missionaries visit them occasionally, and, in their absence, the prayers are read by the schoolmaster.

The town is large and populous, having been the seat of the ancient Chola dynasty, whence the whole coast acquired the name of Cholamandel, since corrupted into *Coromandel*. There are some ruins of the palace still visible, and two splendid pagodas, whose stately gateways exhibit the usual disgusting ornaments of their sensual and polluted worship. These are generally confined to the lower stories, and the Bramins attempt to ground on this circumstance a wretched defence of such revolting representations, as if it was intended to teach the vulgar, that, from the enjoyment of animal pleasures, the lowest condition of man's nature, they must gradually ascend to intellectual and spiritual attainments. If this is any thing more than a mere subterfuge, in

order to excuse in our eyes what they cannot exhibit without some feelings of natural shame, it betrays at once the sensuality and grossness of their moral system, and their total ignorance of the principles of human nature. The Bishop remarked the frequency of these sculptures in the south of India, while there is scarcely an instance of them in the northern provinces, as a very curious point of distinction; and also the smallness of the buildings in the latter, and their stupendous size in the former.

March 25th. We went to bed in our palanquins, which the bearers took up at midnight and brought us to *Tanjore* (twenty-two miles) at day-break, where we met with the kindest welcome from the resident, Captain Fyfe, and his lady. The Rev. Messrs. Kohlhoff and Sperschneider, the missionaries of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, waited on the Bishop in the morning, and received his directions for the service of to-morrow. The venerable appearance of the former strongly recalled to our minds the striking and well known expression of Bishop Middleton when he parted from him ten years before, and received his blessing.* He has now completed nearly half a century of Christian labour in India; and the simplicity of his manners and character are exactly what you would expect to see in a pupil and follower of Swartz. Dr. Cæmmerer also and Mr. Schreyvogel, the Danish missionaries, arrived from *Tranquebar* to meet the Bishop. He was particularly anxious to see these gentlemen, to ascertain their sentiments on the great question of *caste*; and, not being able himself to visit their mission, begged them if possible to

* "The Bishop (according to his own expression,) considering Mr. Kohlhoff's character, could not help feeling that the less was blessed of the greater." Bonney's *Memoirs*, p. 43.

meet him here. His letter* to Mr. Schreyvogel from *Chil-lumbrum* contains several excellent inquiries and remarks upon the subject, on which arrangement of thought and freedom from prejudice appear particularly difficult.

After dinner the Bishop walked over the premises of the mission, visited Swartz's chapel, hallowed by the grave of the apostolic man, and copied the inscription on the stone which covers it, interesting as being the composition of the rajah himself, and certainly the only specimen of English verse ever attempted by a prince of India. He was particularly pleased with the natural simplicity of expression in the last lines.

SACRED TO THE MEMORY
OF THE
REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ,
MISSIONARY TO THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY
FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
IN LONDON,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
ON THE 13th OF FEBRUARY, 1798,
AGED 71 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS.

Firm wast thou, humble and wise,
Honest, pure, free from disguise;
Father of orphans, the widow's support,
Comfort in sorrow of every sort;
To the benighted dispenser of light,
Doing and pointing to that which is right;
Blessing to princes, to people, to me;
May I, my father, be worthy of thee!
Wishes and prayeth thy SARABOJEE.

*The chapel is of the simplest order, with a semicircular recess for the altar at the east end: the tomb of Swartz is just before the reading-desk, in front of the altar. Before

† Vide Appendix.

the southern entrance are the trees under which the venerable father used to sit and receive the reports of the catechists, and examine the children just before the daily evening service. Immediately adjoining the chapel was Swartz's cottage, on the site of which, but considerably enlarged from the former foundations, Mr. Sperschneider has built a house, which would be an excellent rectory in England. The mission garden is very large, and we saw there many native Christians, among whom one was presented to the Bishop as one of the few who have offices under government: he is a writer in the rajah's service.

March 26th, Easter-Day. The Bishop preached this morning in the Mission Church in the fort, all the clergy present assisting in the service. His text was from Revelation i. 18: *I am He that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive for evermore.* Many of the native Christians who understood English were there, and entreated his lordship, after the service, that he would allow them a copy of his sermon. He promised to make some alterations in the style, so as to bring it nearer to their comprehensions, and have it translated for them into Tamil. I assisted him in the administration of the sacrament to thirty communicants of the English, and fifty-seven of the native congregation; to each of the latter we repeated the words in Tamil. The interest of this service, in itself most interesting, was greatly heightened by the delight and animation of the Bishop, the presence of so many missionaries, whose labours were before us, and all the associations of the place in which we were assembled, built by the venerable Swartz, whose monument, erected by the affection of the rajah, adorns the western end of the church. The group in white marble, by Flaxman, represents the

good man on his death-bed, Gerické standing behind him, the rajah at his side, two native attendants, and three children of his school around his bed. I did not learn who wrote the inscription; which, though not perhaps all one might have wished on such a subject, yet records with strict propriety and truth the singular homage paid to his high character by contending princes, and the influence of his counsels in the settlement of the principality. This was also gratefully acknowledged by the Court of Directors, in the monument raised to his memory in the Fort Church at Madras.

TO THE MEMORY OF THE
REVEREND CHRISTIAN FREDERICK SWARTZ,
 Born at Sonnenburg of Neumark, in the kingdom of Prussia,
 the 26th of October, 1726,
AND DIED AT TANJORE THE 13th OF FEBRUARY, 1798,
IN THE 72d YEAR OF HIS AGE.

DEVOTED FROM HIS EARLY MANHOOD TO THE OFFICE OF
MISSIONARY IN THE EAST.
 THE SIMILARITY OF HIS SITUATION TO THAT OF
THE FIRST PREACHERS OF THE GOSPEL,
 PRODUCED IN HIM A PECULIAR RESEMBLANCE TO
 THE SIMPLE SANCTITY OF THE
APOSTOLIC CHARACTER.
 HIS NATURAL VIVACITY WON THE AFFECTION,
 AS HIS UNSPOTTED PROBITY AND PURITY OF LIFE
 ALIKE COMMANDED THE
REVERENCE OF THE
CHRISTIAN, MAHOMEDAN, AND HINDU;
 FOR SOVEREIGN PRINCES, HINDU AND MAHOMEDAN,
 SELECTED THIS HUMBLE PASTOR
 AS THE MEDIUM OF 'POLITICAL NEGOCIATION WITH THE
BRITISH GOVERNMENT';
 AND THE VERY MARBLE THAT HERE RECORDS HIS VIRTUES
 WAS RAISED BY
 THE LIBERAL AFFECTION AND ESTEEM OF THE
RAJAH OF TANJORE,
MAHA RAJAH SERFOJEE.

This monument will long remain a striking memorial of the gratitude and veneration with which his highness still regards his friend and guardian; but his best and most lasting monument is seen in the foundation and prosperity of these Christian churches, the living witnesses of his faithfulness, and zeal, and wisdom.

In the evening the Bishop attended a Tamil service in the same church, which was literally crowded with the native Christians of *Tanjore* and the surrounding villages, many of whom had come from a considerable distance to be present on this occasion. Mr. Barenbruck, assisted by a native priest, read the prayers, Dr. Cæmmerer, from *Tranquebar*, preached, and the Bishop delivered the blessing in Tamil from the altar. Mr. Kohlhoff assured me that his pronounciation was remarkably correct and distinct, and the breathless silence of the congregation testified their delight and surprise at this affecting recognition of their churches as a part of his pastoral charge. I desired one of the native priests to ascertain how many were present, and I found they exceeded one thousand three hundred; yet, by the judicious arrangement of excluding the infants, whom their poor mothers are in general obliged to bring, there was not the least disorder or confusion; and I have seen no congregation, even in Europe, by whom the responses of the liturgy are more generally and correctly made, or where the psalmody is more devotional and correct. The effect was more than electric: it was a deep and thrilling interest, in which memory, and hope, and joy mingled with the devotion of the hour, to hear so many voices, but lately rescued from the polluting services of the pagoda, joining in the pure and heavenly music of the Easter hymn and the hundredth psalm, and uttering the

loud Amen at the close of every prayer. For the last ten years I have longed to witness a scene like this; but the reality exceeds all my expectations. I wished that some of those (if any of that small number still remain) who deem all missionary exertion, under any circumstances, a senseless chimera, and confound the humble and silent labours of these devoted men with the dreams of fanaticism or the frauds of imposture, could have witnessed this sensible refutation of their cold and heartless theories. The Bishop's heart was full; and never shall I forget the energy of his manner, and the heavenly expression of his countenance, when he exclaimed, as I assisted him to take off his robes, "Gladly would I exchange years of common life for one such day as this!" Some time after he had retired to rest, while I was writing in my bed-room, which is next to his, he came back to me to renew the subject on which his thoughts were intensely fixed; and his often-repeated expressions of wonder and thankfulness at the scenes of the past day, were followed by a fervent prayer for the people, for the clergy, and for himself.

March 27th. The Bishop held a confirmation this morning in the Fort Church, at which there were twelve European and fifty native candidates: Mr. Kohlhoff preached in Tamil. His lordship signed the Syrian translation of his letter to Mar Philoxenus, and I despatched it to the senior clergyman at *Cotyam*, to be delivered. The missionaries and their families dined at the residency to meet the Bishop, and at seven, after our evening drive, we attended a Tamil service at Swartz's chapel in the mission garden, when there were present nearly two hundred natives and seven clergymen. He had received no previous intimation of this service, but the manner in which he

seized on the opportunity thus unexpectedly offered of a visitation strictly missionary, was more touching and impressive than any previous preparation could have made it. He sat in his chair at the altar (as he usually does in every church except the cathedral;) and after the sermon, before he dismissed them with his blessing, he addressed both missionaries and people in a strain of earnest and affectionate exhortation, which no ear that heard it can ever forget. We were standing on the graves of Swartz and others of his fellow-labourers who are gone to their rest, and he alluded beautifully to this circumstance in his powerful and impressive charge. As this was probably the last time that he could hope to meet them again in public, he exhorted them to fidelity in their high office, to increasing diligence and zeal, to a more self-denying patience under privation, and neglect, and insult, looking for the recompense of reward; and lastly, to more earnest prayer for themselves and the souls committed to their trust, for the prince under whose mild and equal government they lived, and for him, their brother and fellow-servant. The address was short and very simple, but no study or ornament could have improved it. It was the spontaneous language of his own heart, and appealed at once to ours. The impression of it, I trust, will never be effaced.

Dr. Hyne, our medical attendant, has been for some days indisposed, and, since our arrival here, has grown rapidly worse. The Bishop has particularly requested Captain Fyfe to allow him to be removed to a room adjoining his own, that it may be more in his power to attend to him, particularly at night, than he could otherwise do; and, even in the midst of his constant engagements here, he has snatched many intervals to sit with him, and read

and pray by his bed-side. He was twice with him in the course of last night.

March 28th. The Bishop paid a visit of ceremony to the rajah, accompanied by the resident, and attended by all the clergy. We were received in full durbar, in the great Mahratta hall, where the rajahs are enthroned. The scene was imposing, and, from the number of Christian clergymen in the court of a Hindoo prince, somewhat singular: the address and manners of his highness are, in a remarkable degree, dignified and pleasing. The Bishop sat on his right, the resident next to his son on his left, and the rest of the party on each side in order. He talked much of "his dear father," Swartz, and three times told the Bishop he hoped his lordship would resemble him, and stand in his room. Perhaps few things from the mouth of an Eastern prince, with whom compliment to the living is generally exaggerated, could show more strongly the sincerity of his affection for the friend he had lost. The openness of his gratitude and reverence for the Christian missionary in the midst of his Bramins, and himself still constant in his own religion, is admirable; and if on some occasions it be a little too prominent, who would not pardon and even love a fault which is but the excess of a virtue? He was his pupil from the time he was twelve years old till he was twenty-four, and succeeded to the musnud the year after Swartz died. "And John Köhlhoff," said he, "is a good man, a very good man; we are old school-fellows." The Bishop thanked him for his uniform kindness to his poor Christian subjects and their teachers. He said it was but his duty, and he trusted all his subjects knew that he was their friend and protector. He thanked his lordship for his goodness in preaching to

them in Tamil (alluding to his having pronounced the blessing and administered confirmation in that language,) and regretted it was not possible for him to attend. I understood afterwards from the resident that he would certainly have done so, had the visits been exchanged before. He added, that the next time he visited *Tanjore*, he hoped he would be able to preach in Mahratta also. Hearing from the Bishop that I came from *Poona*, he asked me if I understood Mahratta, and talked with interest about that country of his ancestors, and especially of the events of the late war. Much of the conversation naturally turned on the pilgrimage he had lately made to *Benares*, and the Bishop's northern journey supplied him with many topics which were equally familiar to both. Upon his lordship's admiring the hall in which we were sitting, he showed considerable information on the subject of architecture, and the comparative excellencies and peculiarities of the Hindoo and Mussulman styles. At parting, he requested the Bishop to come again privately to see his library, museum, and printing-press. On the whole, much as we had heard of this celebrated person, we found our anticipations had not been raised too high. Much, doubtless, of the interest excited before we saw him, sprung from the hallowing and endearing associations with the name of Swartz, which in Heathen India, or the nations of Christendom, must ever be

Magnum et venerabile nomen :

but his manners and conversation have many charms of themselves, unconnected with these circumstances ; and the Bishop said, as we returned from the palace, " I have seen many crowned heads, but not one whose deportment was more princely."

The rest of the morning was spent in various local arrangements and communications with the missionaries; and hearing with surprise that no distinct petition had hitherto been offered, according to the apostolic injunction, in their public services, for the prince under whose government they lived, he composed the prayer of which I send you a copy, and which he desired might be immediately translated into Tamil, and henceforth used in all the churches of the province:—

“O Lord God Almighty, Giver of all good things, we beseech thee to receive into thy bountiful protection thy servant his highness the Maharajah Sarabojec, his family and descendants. Remember him, O Lord, for good, for the kindness which he hath shown to thy Church. Grant him in health and wealth long to live; preserve him from all evil and danger; grant that his son, and his son’s son, may inherit honour, peace, and happiness; and grant, above all, both to him and to them, that peace which this world cannot give—a knowledge of thy truth here, and everlasting happiness hereafter, through thy Son Jesus Christ our Saviour. *Amen.*”

In the evening we had some excellent music at the residency, and the relaxation was as necessary to him as it was delightful; he enjoyed it exceedingly, and was particularly struck with the performance of two Bramins, who accompanied Mrs. Fyfe in several difficult pieces, and afterwards played the overture in *Samson at sight*. But, in the midst of his evident enjoyment of this intellectual luxury, his thoughts were fixed on higher and nobler objects of interest; and, while all around him thought his ear only was employed, his heart was devising plans for the benefit of these neglected missions, and dwelling on the prospect

of their success. I believe it is often thus, when he is most the delight and admiration of society. He called me to an inner drawing-room, to communicate a suggestion that had just occurred to him, and which he desired me to carry into effect. We were standing by an open window, looking out upon the garden, over which the moon had just risen. I know not why I should tell you these trifling circumstances, but the scene with all its features will never be effaced from my recollection. It is fixed for ever in my remembrance by the powerful spell of his noble and heavenly spirit, and the memorable sentiment with which our conversation closed. I expressed my fears that his strength would be exhausted by this unwearied attention to all the varieties of his great charge; adding, that I now understood the force of St. Paul's climax—"That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." "Yes," he exclaimed, with an energy worthy of the apostle himself—"but that which overwhelmed him was his crown and glory!"

March 29th. The rajah returned the Bishop's visit in all his state. He rode on a very noble elephant, with a common hunting howdah, covered with tiger skins. Other elephants that attended him had silver howdahs with more costly trappings. His two grandsons, very fine little boys, came with him, and seem great favourites at the residency. His lordship begged the rajah to allow his son, a young man of eighteen, who has been proclaimed heir to the crown, to accompany him in his journey through the provinces, promising to instruct him in English as we travelled. He replied that he should accept the invitation with great gratitude, but with far greater if he would allow him also to accompany him in his return to *Bengal*, and spend some

years under his lordship's superintendence. The Bishop gladly assented to the proposition, and offered him either apartments in the palace, or to procure a house for him in the neighbourhood of *Calcutta*. The rajah said he would consult the ranee, who was so fond of this her only son, that he could determine nothing without her consent.* After the visit was concluded, I attended his lordship to the Mission-house, where he spent six hours in close and earnest consultation on the resources and plans of this large and important district. Dr. Hyne's illness is more dangerous, and the Bishop spent a great part of this evening in his room.

March 30th. The Bishop paid a private visit to the rajah, who received us in his library—a noble room, with three rows of pillars, and handsomely furnished in the English style. On one side there are portraits of the *Mahratta* dynasty, from *Shahjee* and *Sivajee*; ten book-cases, containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek, and Latin books, and two others of *Mahratta* and *Sanscrit* manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air-pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of medicine, which was for some years his favourite study. He showed us his valuable collection of coins, paintings of flowers and natural history, with each of which he seemed to have considerable acquaintance, particularly with the medicinal virtues of the

* This plan, which was so extraordinary a proof of the rajah's confidence, and promised so much benefit to the young prince and his future subjects, was relinquished on account of the ranee's objections, who had suffered so much anxiety from the illness of her son during his pilgrimage, that nothing would induce her to consent to so long an absence again.—Vide Appendix.

plants in his *hortus siccus*. When we took our leave, his minister showed us a noble statue of the rajah, by Flaxman, which stands in the great hall which was used by the ancient Hindoo court, before the conquest of the Mahrattas. The pedestal is a remarkably large and fine slab of black granite, eighteen feet by sixteen and a half. His stables contain several fine English horses; but that of which he is most justly proud, as the rarest curiosity of an Indian court, is an English printing-press, worked by native Christians, in which they struck off a sentence in Mahratta, in the Bishop's presence, in honour of his visit.

On our return from the palace, we spent the rest of the day, till four o'clock, at the Mission-house. Of the variety and multiplicity of the objects that have this morning come under the Bishop's consideration, it is impossible to give you a detailed account; and when you remember that the points thus crowded into a few hours were all new, and many of them involving questions of intricacy and delicacy, you will understand something of the labours of his office.*

* I subjoin the rough sketch which I wrote down from his mouth, and which bears in many places his own additions and alterations. This paper formed the basis of the instructions given by his lordship to the missionaries in his letter of the 31st, and was the ground of my subsequent representations to the government here, and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, both here and in England, who were anxious to carry into effect his last wishes, as the best monument to his memory. It is a relic, therefore, which subsequent events have made doubly precious to its possessor.

1. The ordination of native priests—The qualifications necessary—
Let them come to Madras on the Bishop's return—Mr. Kolihoff proposes examination by *papers, separate*.
2. The pay of native priests £35 per annum.—9 S. pagodas per mensem.

The greatest difficulty arose from the embarrassments occasioned by the enormous expense of the new Mission-

3. Three recommended,—one to the west, one to south-east, and one to *Tinnevely*.

4. An old man at *Tinnevely* fit for pension—Knowledge of S. S. and eloquence;—but, like Eli, he allowed the scandalous conduct of his son.—Twenty-two congregations in *Tinnevely*.

At *Madura* fifty or sixty Christians—A catechist is fixed there: near *Madura* but few.

Proposed that the congregations in *Tinnevely* be transferred to the Church Mission Society, and that in return this mission take charge of those schools at *Myavcrum*, and in the neighbourhood of *Vepery*, belonging to the Church Mission Society.

The number of transferred congregations from the Royal Danish Mission, twelve.

There should be a European missionary at *Tanjore*, *Trichinopoly*, *Madura*, and *Tinnevely* (if that is kept.)

At *Ramnad* there is a church built by Colonel Martin, and which fell in Christmas, 1624; now the collector and sub-collector propose to re-build it, for the benefit of the mission—Proposed to send Maliappen there—In its neighbourhood three villages altogether containing one hundred Christians.

The new natives ordained, proposed to be sent to *Komaramangalum*, *Ramnad*, *Madura*, (or *Trichinopoly*.)

Place the present native priests,—Adeikalum at *Tanjore*, Vissavassanadam at *Combacorum*, Pakyanadum at *Kanandagoddy*, and Nellatumby at *Boodaloor*.

Send Mr. De Mello to *Madura*—The inhabitants have erected a temporary building, and wish for a more substantial one.

Churches to be repaired at *Boodaloor* and *Poodaputty*—Houses for native priests at *Boodaloor* and *Kanandagoddy*, 500 rupees each; a temporary house at *Madura*, say 100, Church money.

Present establishment, three native priests at	£35 each	105
one pension		25

£ 130

house. As it is much larger than is necessary for the comfort of one missionary, and Mr. Kohlhoff resides in his own, I suggested the appropriation of one side to a seminary of natives for the priesthood. Six students might be sufficient; and such an institution is indispensable, as the Bishop has determined to keep up eight native priests for the service of this mission. Bishop's College is of too high an order, too distant, and too expensive for this purpose. He was much pleased with the proposal, which he immediately embraced. From the house we went to the adjoining chapel, on the site of which he authorizes the building of a new church, with part of the very liberal sum allowed for this purpose by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge;

Travelling expenses to three native priests, at forty rupees each per annum	12		
Repairs of chapels, houses, &c.	70		
Twelve catechists 28 pagodas per mensem	95		
Thirty-five Tamil schoolmasters, 44, 24, 42.			
Cost of house 1900 S. pagodas	}	3404	35 15
Buy houses 1000		747	
Tiled verandah 300 (this is new)		—	
		2657	35 15'
Of this has been paid by the mission	497		
	250		
	—		
		747	

Burial ground requires a wall: perhaps government would do this.

Thirty-six "servants in temporal concerns."

The poet a proper person to be recommended to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The Bishop will endeavour to obtain for the missionaries an allowance of one pagoda per diem travelling expenses, for visiting the congregations while travelling.

The missionaries and catechists in arrears.

intending to apportion the remainder to different villages of the district. He drew immediately a plan and elevation of the proposed building, keeping the present chapel, with Swartz's grave, as one side of the transept.

The library contains some valuable books, chiefly German and Latin, with a few theological works in English; but it is fast falling into decay, and almost useless to the mission in its present state. A little timely care might save it, and a few additions and exchanges of books might render it an essential benefit to the establishment. No part of this venerable institution gave the Bishop greater pleasure than the English schools, both male and female, which he visited before we left the garden.

March 31st. The reverend missionaries called to take their leave of the Bishop, and to receive his instructions. These he had previously drawn up in a letter addressed to Mr. Kohlhoff, of which I send you a copy :

MY DEAR SIR,

I enclose a draft on Madras for Madras rupees, *three hundred*, of which I will thank you to dispose in the following manner, instead of that which I mentioned yesterday:—

Benevolent Society instituted by C. David . . .	100
Mrs. Martensen	50
Poet	30
Each of the four native priests, 30 . . .	120
	<hr/>
	300

Have the goodness to inform the native priests of the necessity which there is of their all fixing themselves at the different stations assigned to them, that houses will be

built for them at *Komaramangalum*, *Boodaloor*, and *Kanandagoddy*, to which I will now add, *Ramnad* (if there is no house there already.) I will also observe, that it being desirable to plant, at all the above stations, persons in full orders and competent to administer the Lord's supper, it will be necessary to send away *all* who are now in orders (so soon as you can spare them,) from *Tanjore*, and to supply the place of him whom we had destined for home service, with one of the deacons whom I propose, by God's blessing, to ordain on my return to Madras. The other *two* deacons may be stationed at *Madura* and *Trichinopoly*, where houses may be *rented* for them.—Have the goodness to inform the country priests now in orders that I am enabled to promise each of them, besides his house and travelling expenses, a clear monthly pay of 10 pagodas—which I believe is £7 a year more than they now receive.

The newly ordained deacons must, for the present, be content with the former allowance of £35, to be increased when they shall be admitted into full orders.

You will have the goodness to direct the candidates for orders whom you have recommended to me, to prepare themselves both by prayer and study in the time which must elapse before my return to Madras, of which I will send you due notice. It will be probably about the beginning of July.

Will you have the goodness to make inquiries about the present state of the church at *Ramnad*, also of the churches at *Combaconum*, *Kanaramangalum*, *Boodaloor*, and *Kanandagoddy*, what repairs will be necessary for each, and the estimate of expense.

Wherever there is a native priest stationed, it is highly desirable that there should be a decent place of worship. The repairs of these, I should hope, may be defrayed by

the ordinary income of the mission. Their *erection*, where necessary, I will endeavour to provide for, from some other quarter.

I shall apply to government to request them to make a monthly allowance of 80 rupees for the performance of English service on Sundays. Of this, 10 rupees may serve to light the church, and for other trifling expenses. The remaining 70 will be a small addition of 10 pagodas a month each, to the incomes of yourself and Mr. Sperschneider. I sincerely hope government will not refuse this—I am sure it is well merited by you both. I wish it were in my power to obtain you more. I will write to Dr. Rottler on the subject of the Mission-house. By the suggestion of making a part of it a place for the education of youth, I hope I may be enabled to relieve Mr. Sperschneider from his difficulties.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and brother in Christ,

(Signed) REGINALD CALCUTTA.

TANJORE, *March 31, 1826.*

The Rev. Mr. KOHLHOFF.

In his visit to establish a missionary at *Ramnad*, the Bishop has a further object beside the immediate care of the Protestant congregation of that place and the villages in its neighbourhood. The whole of that coast, from *Ramnad* to *Cape Comorin*, is inhabited by the tribe of *Paroors*, the only men employed in the pearl fishery, who are all Roman Catholics. They amount to about 10,000 souls. In temporal matters they are subject to the *jadetallivan*, or head man, who resides at *Tutacoreen*, in which place alone there are nearly 5000. In spiritual affairs they are

governed, but unfortunately not instructed, by one priest sent occasionally from *Goa*, who has frequent quarrels with the *jadetallivan*, and is dreaded by the people for his extortion. The character of these people is very favourably described by those who have known them best, and a better opening could hardly be desired for a prudent and zealous missionary. Surely, if these circumstances were known in England, some one might be found willing to undertake so interesting and extensive a charge. If the wants of that district alone could be told in our universities, is it possible they could be told in vain?

The Bishop had much conversation this morning with Mr. Schreyvogel, the junior missionary from *Tranquebar*, both on the subject of *caste* and on his own future plans. He wishes to be transferred to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Bishop has desired him to accompany him to *Trichinopoly*, where he thinks of placing him, if on further intercourse it should appear desirable, and the transfer can be effected. Mr. Kollhoff will also join our party.

We leave *Tanjore* with the sincerest regret, and with the strongest interest in a spot so favoured and so full of promise. The Bishop has more than once observed to me, that instead of the usual danger of exaggerated reports, and the expression of too sanguine hopes, the fault here was, that enough had not been said, and repeats his conviction that the strength of the Christian cause in India is in these missions, and that it will be a grievous and heavy sin if England and the agents of its bounty do not nourish and protect the churches here founded. He has seen the other parts of India and *Ceylon*, and he has rejoiced in the prospects opened of the extension of Christ's kingdom in many

distant places, and by many different instruments; but he has seen nothing like the missions of the South,—for these are the fields most ripe for the harvest.

Poor Dr. Hyne continues so ill that we are obliged to leave him behind us, and, indeed, scarcely a hope is entertained of his recovery. But he has become so much attached to the Bishop, in the course of the last week, that he cannot bear to relinquish the hope of rejoining him. His lordship has therefore promised to wait for him a few days at *Trichinopoly*, in case he should be allowed to resume his journey: but this is most improbable. I cannot help mentioning a beautiful instance of his piety and kindness, to which I was accidentally a witness this evening, as it exemplified so strongly his delight in the humblest duties of the pastoral office, and the characteristic modesty that seeks rather to conceal them from the observation of others, when no end of charity is answered by their being known. The carriage in which we were to travel the first stage of our evening march was at the door, and we were about to take leave of our kind and excellent hosts, when the Bishop excused himself for a moment, saying he must shake hands once more with his poor friend before he left him. A few minutes after, going up stairs for a book which I had forgotten, and passing by Dr. Hyne's open door, I saw the dear Bishop kneeling by his bed-side and his hands raised in prayer. You will not wonder that I should love this man, seeing him, as I see him, fervent in secret and individual devotion, and at one hour the centre of many labours, the apostle of many nations, at another snatching the last moment to kneel by the bed of a sick and dying friend, who but a fortnight ago was a perfect stranger to him.

April 1st. We reached our tents at midnight, and ar-

rived between seven and eight this morning at *Trichinopoly*. Many of the principal residents, both civil and military, met his lordship a few miles from camp, and conducted us to the house of Mr. Bird, one of the provincial judges, by whom our whole party was most kindly welcomed. The intense heat of the weather, and the fatigue we had lately undergone, almost unfitted us for any exertion; but the Bishop was occupied the greater part of the morning in receiving the report of the English congregation, schools, and hospitals, from the Rev. Mr. Wright, the chaplain of the station, and of the mission from Mr. Kohlhoff. The head-quarters of the southern division, a king's regiment, detachments of artillery, and the officers of several corps of native troops, beside the departments of the civil authorities, make this one of the most important stations under the Presidency, and it is happy in the care of its present chaplain; but the mission is in a very poor and deserted state. It was first founded by Swartz, who visited this place, as well as *Tanjore*, in his occasional excursions from *Tranquebar*; and in May, 1762, fixed his residence here, dividing his labours between the two missions for sixteen years, until, in 1778, he removed to the residence which the rajah (Tuljahjee) assigned him in the fort of *Tanjore*, and left the church of *Trichinopoly* to the care of Mr. Pohle. Since the death of that excellent and venerable pastor, it has depended on the occasional visits of the missionaries of *Tanjore*; but the distance, and their other numerous engagements in their own immediate district, make it impossible for them to give more than a general superintendence. Perhaps, under all circumstances, it is rather wonderful that it has not suffered more. Including the villages in the suburbs, there is a congregation of about

four hundred and ninety souls, under the care of a catechist, with one Tamil school and a considerable English one. The funds of this mission, which are entirely distinct from those of *Tanjore*, are very small, not exceeding thirty rupees a month. It had been erroneously supposed that its resources were rich, and more than adequate to all demands; a mistake which arose from conceiving that the *vestry fund*, a purse which had been formed and supplied by voluntary contributions for the relief of the poor generally, was available for the purposes of the mission. The English school appears entirely supported by the vestry, but is kept in the school-room attached to the mission premises in the fort.

The Bishop has given notice of a confirmation in the Mission Church on Monday morning, and desired me to write to Mr. Schreyvogel, requesting him to preach on that occasion. To collect information on the several resources and wants of the mission, has been more than enough for to-day. To-morrow will be occupied entirely with the English services.

April 2d. The Bishop preached this morning to a crowded audience at St. John's, from 1 John v. 6: *This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth.* In the evening service, he confirmed forty-two of the English congregation in the same church, and delivered his address to them from the pulpit. He exerted himself greatly in both services, more perhaps than was necessary, and complained that the church was very difficult for the voice to fill, and the pulpit raised too high. He has been oppressed the whole day by the intense heat of the weather,

and anxious, in consequence of unfavourable accounts from Calcutta. On returning from church, in the morning, I was so ill as to be obliged to go to bed, and, with his usual affectionate consideration, he came and sat the greater part of the afternoon with me. He read me a letter he had written to Mr. Fenn, at *Cotyam*, on hearing that Mar Athanasius has actually left the country, but I was too ill to copy it for him. Its general tenour was to approve the entire neutrality with which he informed him the missionaries had acted; and, as matters now stood, to recommend the Church in *Malabar* to write by the hand of their bishops to the patriarch of *Antioch*, relating to the events connected with the visit of his legate, and entreating him in his choice of future metropolitans, to have especial regard to gentleness and moderation of character. Our conversation this afternoon turned chiefly on the blessedness of heaven, and the best means of preparing for its enjoyment. He repeated several lines of an old hymn, which, he said, in spite of one or two expressions which familiar and injudicious use had tended to vulgarize, he admired as one of the most beautiful in our language, for a rich and elevated tone of devotional feeling.

Head of the Church triumphant!

We joyfully adore thee,—&c.

In the family prayers this evening, after we returned from church, he particularly mentioned our friend Dr. Hynes, whom he told us he had promised, at parting, that he would *then* always remember.

April 3d. How shall I record my feelings this sad, this miserable day!—I am writing by the lifeless body of my dear departed master! Oh, what is man! what in his best

estate, when most gifted with all that is truly great and admirable! Here lies one whom all loved, whom every heart admired and cherished! One to whom the eyes of all in India, and of thousands in England, were turned with high-raised expectations of usefulness in the Church of Christ; and how justly!—for his whole soul was filled with intense desire for the glory of his Divine Master. Here lies one who has been the tenderest, the most affectionate friend—the most condescending, most confidential—one whom I have always loved most dearly, but, till now, knew not how much I loved him.

At six this morning our dear Bishop attended the Tamil service in the Mission Church in the fort, when he confirmed eleven young persons of the native congregation, and pronounced the blessing in Tamil. After divine service, he visited the English and Tamil schools, and the Mission-house, which are all immediately adjoining the church; and, seeing the greater part of the native Christians collected round him while he stood on the steps leading to the house, he addressed them, as Mr. Kohlhoff afterwards informed me, with his characteristic energy and kindness. He exhorted them to be Christians not in name only, but in truth, and to have their conversation honest among the Heathen that surrounded them; promised that he would soon place a missionary among them, and prayed God to pour down his blessing upon them. He then took leave of Mr. Kohlhoff and Mr. Wright, who had also attended him, and returned home. I had been prevented by sickness from accompanying him, and Mr. Doran had taken that duty for me. On his return, he came immediately into my room before he took off his robes, and stood talking by my bed-side for half an hour, with more than

his usual animation, on the subject of the mission. He said he had been much interested in all he had seen; that it broke his heart to witness the poverty of the congregation, which needed much the constant care of a vigorous and active missionary; and that having heard Mr. Shreyvogel preach, he was quite determined to place him here. He lamented that he had previously had so little information of the details of the several missions he visited, and expressed his intention of requiring, in future, periodical reports from all in every part of the diocese. After some particular arrangements for the morning, he left me, in order to undress and bathe. He sat a few minutes, apparently absorbed in thought, before he went to the bath, which is a separate building; a few yards from the house, and filled from a spring considerably beyond his depth. He had used it on the two preceding mornings, and enjoyed it exceedingly. His servant, alarmed at his staying beyond his usual time, and hearing no sound, opened the door, and saw the body, apparently lifeless, below the surface of the water. He ran immediately to my room and gave the alarm, with a bitter cry, that his master was dead! On reaching the bath, I plunged in, and assisted a bearer, who was already there, to lift the body from the water, and Mr. Doran and I carried it in our arms to the nearest room. Every possible means were instantly used, but in vain: the garrison and superintending surgeons, who arrived almost immediately, continued their attempts at resuscitation for a considerable time; but all hope was gone—and the blessed spirit was already before the throne of God. They give it as their decided opinion, that his death was caused by apoplexy; there had probably been a predisposition to it, which the shock of the cold water

had suddenly brought on. All were plunged in grief. The venerable and excellent Mr. Kohlhoff visited me, and his almost passionate burst of sorrow was deeply affecting. He threw himself into my arms, weeping aloud—"We have lost our dear father! we have lost our second Swartz, who loved our mission, and laboured for it: he had all the energy and benevolence of Swartz, and greater condescension. Why has God bereaved us thus?" It was long before the good man's grief was moderated; I cannot wonder at its violence, and I dare not blame it. His hopes had been raised to their height by the labours of unwearied love which he witnessed at Tanjore, and which he thus described to a friend yesterday:—"If St. Paul had visited the missions, he could not have done more, excepting only his power of miracles." And now, alas! all these hopes, and a thousand others which we fondly cherished, are gone for ever! So sudden has been the event, and so serene and heavenly is the expression of his features, that I can scarcely yet believe the reality of our loss: but this is the last hour I shall pass by his dear side in this world. May grace be given to me that we may meet again in glory!

April 4th. At sunrise the melancholy procession moved. Minute guns were fired from the fort, and the troops of the station formed a street a mile and a half in length, from Mr. Bird's house to the church.* The chief civil and military authorities bore the pall: I followed as chief mourner, accompanied by Captain Harkness commanding his escort, and the Rev. Messrs. Kohlhoff, Doran, and Schreyvogel. The sides of the road were thronged with thousands of natives, Hindoos and Mahometans, as well as Christians, who crowded along the banks to catch the sight

* Vide Appendix.

of his bier ; for among all his name was well known and deeply revered. Mr. Wright read the first part of the service, Mr. Doran the lesson, and it was my sad office to commit his dear remains to the earth. His grave is on the north side of the altar in St. John's Church—the very spot from which he had blessed the people but twelve hours before his own pure spirit was admitted to the blessedness of heaven. It required the strongest effort to enable me to fulfil this last service to my beloved master ; I was interrupted frequently by the tears and sobs of those around me ; and, when I had closed the book, hundreds of the poor native Christians whose hearts he won yesterday by his kindness and condescension, crowded round, entreating to be allowed to throw the earth upon his coffin.

I can never forget the awful solemnity of that hour. I cannot yet believe the event ; it is like the warning of a disturbed and feverish dream—but we must soon awake to the conviction of its reality ; and not we alone who enjoyed his confidence and affection, but a thousand hearts who trusted to him as the bulwark of Christianity in India, and reposed their hopes in the many excellencies that were blended in his matchless character, as the one best fitted to adorn his high station, and to fulfil the course appointed him. His was indeed a character that can neither be too widely known, nor too closely imitated ; and, though there are times of deep and overwhelming sorrow for the mysterious dispensation that has laid us low, there are also moments in which we must all acknowledge with gratitude the distinguishing favour that has spared him to us so long. Oh may not one of the many who in happy England will soon mourn over the bereavement of our orphan Church, set sail for these desolate shores without breathing a

earnest prayer to Almighty God that the mantle of *Elijah* may rest on *Elisha*; and as one of our noblest heroes, when entering upon his last and most splendid action, exclaimed, "Victory or Westminster Abbey!" so may *his* eye be fixed with firm confidence and humble hope on the labours and the triumph of *him* who has gone before, and aspire with a holier and more chastened ambition to the *grave of Trichinopoly and Heaven!*

It would be but to trespass on the indulgence of the reader, which has accompanied me through these last memorable days, to the heart-rending scene by which they were so abruptly closed, did I extend the extracts from my journal beyond these limits. At the same time, I feel it would be injustice to his memory—to the societies in whose cause he might be said to spend his latest breath—and to this government, to which I have now the happiness to belong—did I not record the subsequent tribute of universal and affectionate respect paid to his memory by all classes, in a degree unprecedented even in this most liberal country. I will briefly add, therefore, the events of the short time that intervened before my return to Calcutta.

It was spent in a melancholy journey through the same scenes that I had lately visited under such different circumstances, and in anxious endeavours to carry into effect his plans and purposes for the benefit of the missions, which had engaged his latest cares. Wherever I went, I met the same deep feeling of general sympathy; and every suggestion of his wishes, however slight, was promptly met by the liberality of government, the aid of the religious societies in connexion with the Church, and the spontaneous exertions of all classes of society.

It was my melancholy duty, in compliance with the request made to me by Mr. Wright at the grave, and the generally expressed wish of the community, to preach the funeral sermon, on the following Sunday, over my revered and honoured friend. It was a day never to be forgotten; and when, at the close of it, I commended the native congregation (whose poverty he had lamented to me with his last words, and for whose welfare he had pledged himself to provide) to the kindness of the British residents of the place, my voice was lost in the sobs and tears of the congregation. The suggestion was received with the most cordial approbation, and the next morning a public meeting* was held in the church, for the purpose of raising a fund for the benefit of the *Trichinopoly Church Establishment and Schools*. The result, both in the amount of subscriptions and donations, was sufficient to encourage our sanguine hopes for its permanent and enlarged support. Measures were also immediately taken, to ensure the transfer of Mr. Schreyvogel from the Danish mission at Tranquebar, to the service of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and for his appointment to this station, according to the expressed intentions of the Bishop in the last hours of his life. The government of Madras desired me, in the handsomest manner, to bring to their notice every proposition which he intended to make, and placed all the public resources at my disposal, for the prosecution of my journey, in the fulfilment of his known intentions. And, besides several works which the papers in my possession enabled me to recommend on his lordship's authority, they most liberally complied with my own

* Vide Appendix.

suggestions, and gave immediate orders for the complete repairs of the Mission Church in the fort, endeared to our future recollections as the scene of his last earthly labours. They directed also a marble to be placed on his grave, and a mural tablet in St. John's Church, to his memory, to be inscribed as follows:—


SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
REGINALD HEBER, D. D.
LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA,
WHO WAS HERE
SUDDENLY CALLED TO HIS ETERNAL REST,
DURING HIS VISITATION
OF THE SOUTHERN PROVINCES OF
HIS EXTENSIVE DIOCESE,
ON THE THIRD DAY OF APRIL,
A. D. MDCCCXXVI.
AND IN THE THIRD YEAR OF HIS EPISCOPATE.

"BE YE ALSO READY."

Before I left Trichinopoly, I once more paid a visit to the Mission Church. I ascended at day-break the celebrated rock, which is a striking eminence of bare granite within the fort, about four hundred and fifty feet high, commanding the country to a considerable extent, and crowned with a small pagoda of great sanctity. The ascent is chiefly by a broad covered way, built with solid masonry, with occasional openings to the air; and, the last eighty or one hundred feet, the steps are cut in the surface of the rock, and uncovered. The view of the country is in one direction extremely rich; the island of *Seringam*, whose gigantic pyramids gave to the whole scene a strong resemblance to the plains of Egypt, with its venerated pagoda of sevenfold enclosure, and the branches of the Cavery,

whose course, like that of the Nile, is marked by the unrivalled fertility of the soil through which it flows.

This great temple, in many respects the most remarkable in India, stands about a mile from the western extremity of the island. The walls of each enclosure are twenty-five feet high and four thick, of solid masonry. The interval between each enclosure is three hundred and fifty feet, and each has four large gates, surmounted by a lofty goberam, or pyramidal tower. The outward wall is nearly four miles in circumference, and the southern gate, which is still unfinished, is really stupendous, the entrance being forty-five feet high, and overlaid with beams of granite, thirty feet long and five thick; the style singularly beautiful and light. The veneration in which Seringam is held, arises chiefly from the belief that the idol enshrined in the inner sanctuary, is the identical image of Vishnu which was worshipped by Brahma. The sanctuary itself is small and heavy; and the style of architecture, both of this and the three inner courts, is very different from that of the four others, and bears evident marks of a much higher antiquity. The most beautiful thing, perhaps, is the choultry of one thousand pillars, lofty, regular, and very noble. The jewels of the pagoda, gold vessels, dresses, necklaces, &c., for the great idol, and in which he is arrayed on his chief festival, are but very tawdry and indifferent. They are said to be worth about six lacs of rupees, or £60,000. The temple has several times been plundered by its own Bramins, who are described as the most profligate of the southern colleges. Orme says, that in his time their numbers, with their families, maintained entirely by the offerings of pilgrims, amounted to forty thousand souls.—
Vol. i. p. 178.

The fort, an extensive walled town, containing twenty or thirty thousand inhabitants, several handsome mosques, and the nabob's palace and gardens lay beneath us. But the most painfully interesting spot was Swartz's Church, where our dear Bishop pronounced his last blessing on Monday morning. The associations of a remote and superstitious age, the traditions of a Heathen antiquity, even the gallant and heroic exploits of our own countrymen,* which the objects before us were so well calculated to awaken, all gave place to the recollections suggested by these humble walls, consecrated by the simple rites of our own pure and holy faith, and now doubly hallowed by the ministrations of Christian heroes, the prayers of Swartz and Heber. We hastened to take a nearer view of it, perhaps for the last time. It is a handsome, well-proportioned church; but the cracks in the arches and roof are very threatening, and it is pronounced to be unsafe. It seems strange that Swartz, both here and at *Tanjore*, should have built with elliptical arches. Here is perhaps the only specimen of his composition in Persian, which he spoke with considerable fluency. At the altar are the Lord's prayer, the commandments, and the creed, in English; texts on the Lord's supper and baptism; several short texts in Portuguese and Tamil, and the following in Persian, where it will be remarked that he has preserved the correct orthography of the name Jesus, as the Syriac and all Eastern Churches have done, rejecting the Mahometan corruption of  unfortunately substituted by modern usage.

* This was the scene of the great struggle between the English and French, constituting one of the chief eras in the history of British India. Mill's Hist. B. iv. c. 2.

گفتار از انجیل

گفت ایشوع منم راه و راستی و زندگی و نیاید
 کسی سوی پدر الابوساطت من راست
 گویم بشما اگر چیزی بخواهید از پدر بنام من
 بدهد تا اکنون بنام من چیزی نخواسته اید
 بخواهید و بستانید تا شادی بکمال کردن
 اینست حیاة جاوید که شناسد ترا خدای
 بحق تنها و او را که فرستاده ایشوع مسیح را
 دوست داری خداوند خدای ترا از همه
 دلت و از همه جانت و از همه اندیشه هایت
 اینست فرمان نخستین دوم مانند اینست
 آنکه دوست داری نزدیک را همچون خود
 را بدین دو فرمان بسته است تمام تورات و
 پیغمبران

گفت ایشوع تلاع میدان خود را بروید
 سوی تمام عالم و دعوت کنید به انجیل
 بهمة خلقت هر که بگردد و عبادت گیرد
 زنده شود و آنکه ایمان نیارد و مواخذه باشد

On a grave-stone in the aisle is this verse of Hafiz:—

من اگر نیکم اگر بد تو برو خود را باش
هر کسی آن د رود عاقبت کار که کشت

In the re-building of the church, the recess of the altar will not be touched. It was from this spot the Bishop pronounced the benediction, only one hour before he entered into rest;—and let this be, in years to come, the *lone* of India, where future missionaries may renew their vows; and while they tread this sacred ground, and enter into his labours, may pray for a larger portion of his heavenly spirit to descend upon themselves.

On my return to *Tanjore* I visited many of the village churches, in order to ascertain their actual condition, and the extent of assistance they severally required. I found every where the same deep feeling of sorrow for our common loss, in which even the inhabitants of the poorest and most sequestered villages felt they had their share, even though they had only heard from others the report of his goodness; and I will mention it to their honour, that though many of those I saw were in the lowest state of poverty, and many of them reduced to slavery—while a multitude of earnest petitions were presented to me for a more regular pastoral instruction—I did not receive one single request for pecuniary aid. I could not listen without a painful emotion of *hope at least deferred*, to these importunate cries for help. It is for us to supply their wants, especially of a regular and stated ministry; for they are brethren and fellow Christians—nay, more, they are the

children that have been given to our Church, and whom she is bound to nourish, and it is a duty of awful responsibility which we dare not, and cannot, neglect. But where are our resources for this great work? Where are the labourers for this abundant harvest?

During my stay at the residency, I requested a private audience of the rajah, who received me with great personal kindness, and expressed his unfeigned sorrow at the dear Bishop's loss. He spoke with great admiration of the union of so much kindness and condescension with such extensive learning, and said *he* had especial reason to mourn for his death, which he felt to be a private loss; for, the very day on which he heard of the event, the ranee had almost consented to allow her son to accompany him to Calcutta. He was much affected when I assured him, that besides the public prayer which his lordship had commanded to be put up for him in all the churches of the province, I had heard his private petitions fervently offered for his highness, for his family, and his son. I expressed my thankfulness to him, on behalf of his Christian subjects, for all his acts of kindness to them, and implored him not to forsake them, now that they had lost their father. He said he should consider it more than ever his duty to take care of those whom the good Bishop loved, and assured me he would always be their friend. "Whatever John Kohlhoff asks for them shall be done. But where will they find such another Bishop?" It was at first his highness's intention to raise a monument to his memory at his own expense, and he afterwards became a subscriber of 1000 rupees to the general fund opened for that purpose at Madras.*

* Vide Appendix.

One of my most interesting excursions was to *Motamaveram*, a villago about thirteen miles from Tanjore, the *Chatteram*, or hospitable establishment of the rajah, and which he particularly requested me to visit, in order to examine his English schools. There is an excellent house comfortably furnished, with an establishment of servants, and a table handsomely supplied at the rajah's expense, for the reception of European travellers. Our party was sumptuously entertained, after a morning very pleasantly employed in visiting different schools and charitable foundations, which do so much honour to the munificence of the rajah.* At day-break I went two miles further to *Konandaguddy*, a pretty retired village, where there is a Christian congregation of upwards of two hundred persons, seventy of whom assembled in the chapel, where Mr. Kohlhoff read prayers and preached. He was kind enough to interpret for me when I addressed them, as he did in every congregation we visited. The rajah entirely supports the Christian school there, as a branch of the *Chatteram*, from which it is kept separate, to avoid pollution to the Bramins. There are fifty children clothed, fed, and

* The present establishment was stated to me as follows, in an account sent to me, by the manager, from the Cutcherry:—

800 Bramins, supported, clothed, and supplied with medicines and bathing oil.

3500 persons daily fed.

A lying-in hospital.

A Tamil school . . . 298 boys.

Teloogoo 63

English (Heathen) 60

Persian 36

Mahratta 34

besides the English school at *Konandaguddy* for fifty Christians.

taught. The catechist's and schoolmaster's houses adjoin the chapel, which is a plain, thatched building, in a beautiful compound surrounded with bamboo and other trees; and on the other side of the chapel we marked out the ground for the residence of the native priest who is to be placed here, according to the Bishop's desire. I saw no scene of humble labour more enviable than this sequestered village.

After leaving Tanjore, which I did with heartfelt regret, I turned a few miles out of my road to visit the once-flourishing mission of Tranquebar, now fast hastening to decay. It was founded by the illustrious Ziegenbalg, and for more than a century its schools, its press, and the labours of its resident missionaries were in active and successful operation, under the authority of the Royal College of Copenhagen. Little more now remains than the melancholy traces of its former establishments. The original income of the mission, as established by Frederick IV., king of Denmark, amounted to 4600 Danish crowns: I am told it does not now exceed 420 rupees. The number of missionaries was formerly seven; in the last sixteen years they have been reduced to two, who are henceforward to be considered as chaplains to the government, and their character as missionaries to the Heathen entirely relinquished. They had established twelve congregations in the Tanjore country, besides several in their own immediate neighbourhood: the former have been for many years transferred to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, by whom their catechists and schoolmasters are now supported, in connexion with the Tanjore mission; the latter are still visited by the Rev. Dr. Cæmmerer, the senior missionary, who, on his first arrival in India, was the pupil of Swartz.

Their establishment of schools, and the seminaries for the education of catechists and native priests, are now reduced to one free school for the immediate neighbourhood of Tranquebar; and the press, from which so many useful works have formerly issued, and whose value is abundantly confessed, not only by the gratitude of the Protestant missions, but by the abuse and envy of the Romanists, has now for many years stood still; and these advantages must henceforth be supplied for the whole of the Peninsula, by the increased efficiency of the press at Madras. The library, to judge from its present remains, was originally a noble collection; but time, worms, and other depredators, have all been busy with it, and, from the 3000 volumes that now remain, a few only can be rescued and transferred to other libraries. There are two mission churches, both in the form of the Greek cross; one called *Jerusalem*, within the fort, the other *Bethlehem*, near the mission garden. The former of these was built by Ziegenbalg, A. D. 1718, and there is a small mural tablet to his memory on one side of the altar, and to Gründler, his assistant, on the other.

In short, a visit to this decaying mission is one of very melancholy interest, and having taken charge of Dr. Cæmmerer's son, who was to sail with me to Calcutta, and communicated with Mr. Schreyvogel about his transfer to Trichinopoly, I was not sorry to hasten on to more active scenes, though the hospitality and kindness of Dr. Cæmmerer would have induced me to prolong my stay. It was like walking over the sands of a noble river which has still a name in history, but whose deep and fertilizing waters have been long dried up, or diverted into other channels.

I had the satisfaction, on my return to *Cuddalore*, to

complete the arrangements of the Bishop for the improvement of the mission property. The government complied with his request for the repairs of the church, immediately on my bringing it to their notice; the adjoining house and compound were purchased by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to complete the premises; and measures were immediately taken by Mr. Rosen, to commence the establishment of a Christian village at *Padre-cottagam*, which had engaged so much of his lordship's anxious calculations. There are many difficulties to overcome; but, with the collector's kind assistance in repairing the embankments, and the liberality of government in remitting the arrears, a much better prospect is opened for the success of this interesting experiment; and who would willingly relinquish the hopes of an infant colony, however humble, whose plan was marked out by the pen of Heber, and which was among the latest objects of interest to his ardent and noble mind?

With regard to the recent events in *Travancore*, it became necessary for me to supply, as far as possible, the intention which he communicated to me on the Sunday before his death, of relating to the Patriarch of *Antioch* the transactions that had occurred. It was highly important to obviate the unfavourable impression which he must naturally receive of the conduct of the English Bishop to *Mar Athanasius*, for whom he had requested his succour and friendship. *Mar Athanasius*, though he had experienced his kindness at Bombay, yet, when he was involved in difficulties in his new diocese, had received no answer whatever to his letter, nor had even heard from the Bishop at Calcutta. The unexpected length of the voyage to Madras, the unfortunate detention of his first letter, in which

he recognised him as metropolitan, and for the delivery of which he was therefore most anxious, all conspired to this result. The effect on the mind of *Mar Athanasius* will naturally be the very opposite to that which would have been produced had these letters reached him; and thus, considering the English Bishop as his negligent and inefficient friend, he will probably have imbibed and communicated to the patriarch a feeling of hostility to our Church, as well as to the government of *Travancore*, most earnestly to be deprecated: it might interrupt the amicable relation established with so much wisdom and judgment by Bishop Heber with the Eastern Churches, and might possibly, if not timely prevented, lead the Church of Antioch to sever from itself for ever, by a general anathema, the Christians of St. Thomas. After serious consideration, therefore, I wrote to the patriarch the letter which will be found in the Appendix, a copy of which I forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with this statement of my reasons for the conduct I had pursued. It was satisfactory to me to hear from the late Bishop James, soon after his arrival, that his grace approved the steps I had taken.

During his short residence at Madras, his lordship had announced his intention of forming, on his return from the South, a District Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, as he had already done with so much success in the other Presidencies, and in Ceylon. This was one of his public plans which remained unaccomplished, and the first expression of my hopes that this might still be carried into effect, was instantly met with the most cordial and entire concurrence. The difficult and painful duty of making known the objects of the venerable society from the pulpit of St. George's,

which he had promised himself to perform, was now devolved on me, by the kindness of the clergy, on Whitsunday; and the following day a public meeting was held for the formation of the new committee, when the numerous attendance and zealous support of the different classes in society was a sufficient testimony, if any such were wanting, with what universal affection his name was cherished, and how sacred they held the duty of accomplishing the plans of one who could never have pleaded with them in vain—whom they had seen only to love, and loved only to mourn his loss.

But this deep and universal feeling of affection, reverence, and sorrow, had just before been proved by the spontaneous expression of the public mind at the meeting* held a few days after the melancholy event was known, and at which the governor, Sir Thomas Munro, himself presided. They who had the happiness of knowing this venerable and illustrious person, will not soon forget the impression of the deep and powerful feelings under which he spoke; and they only can appreciate the value of a tribute so unusual and so nobly paid to departed excellence. The short intercourse he had enjoyed with him had been sufficient not only to endear to him the charm of his conversation, but to ensure his admiration of his unwearied and disinterested labours, and of that noble forgetfulness of self which shone through every action of his life. The same feeling animated every heart in a degree unknown on any former occasion, and recent and casual acquaintance seemed to vie with the well tried affection of many years in recording the general lamentation, that each one had lost in him a friend, a benefactor, and a father.

* Vide Appendix

A subscription was immediately opened for the purpose of erecting a monument to his memory in St. George's church, and the amount soon exceeded 28,000 rupees. Similar meetings were afterwards held in the other Presidencies of India and Ceylon, and the same resolution was adopted in all, to appropriate the surplus of the fund, after the expense of a monument was defrayed, to the promotion of some object most congenial to his wishes. But, though the whole of British India had but one heart and one voice on this mournful occasion, I have heard of no instance in which the universality of feeling pervading every class of society, from the highest to the lowest, was more signally exemplified than here, in the great number of natives as well as Europeans, Heathens as well as Christians, who were anxious to enroll their names in this record to his virtues.

I had the melancholy gratification of hearing, on my return, that I had been requested to prepare the inscription for the marble; and, though feeling most sensibly the hopelessness of success, I shall always esteem it an honour to have had the task assigned me, as I must ever rejoice to have been permitted to share the counsels and minister to the comfort of such a heavenly and devoted spirit. The execution of the monument has been intrusted to Chantry, a name which ensures the beauty and excellence of the work. The design is a figure of the Bishop, rather larger than life, kneeling, with his hands clasped in the attitude of prayer, and turned towards the altar. But though this will long remain as a memorial of his character, and a record of our admiration, yet he has left a more enduring monument than "storied urn or animated bust," in the hearts of those who loved him, and the memory of succeeding times. The re-

semblance of the human form, like that form itself, is weak and perishable: the features of the mind may remain for ever, moulded and expressed, not by the chisel of the sculptor, but in the imitation of his admiring friends. And, when these traces of our affection shall long have passed away, his memory shall still be blessed;—for all that we have loved and admired in Heber, will remain for ever in the imperishable value of his labours, and the unfading blessedness of his reward.

M. S.

Viri admodum Reverendi, et in Christo Patrie,
REGINALDI HEBER, S. T. P.

EPISCOPI CALCUTTENSIS;

Qui ab ipsa statim adolescentiâ,

Ingenii fama, Humanitatis cultu,

Omnigenæque Doctrinæ laude ornatissimus,

Se suaque Deo humillimè consecravit.

In sanctissimum Episcopatus ordinem adscriptus,

Ecclesiæ apud Indos Anglicanæ infantiam

Usque ad vitæ jacturam, aluit, fovit, sustentavit.

Admirabili ingenii candore,

Suavissimâ morum simplicitate,

Divinæque animi benevolentia,

Usque adeo omnes sibi devinxerat,

Ut Ecclesiæ universa Patrem,

Ethnici Patronum carissimum desiderarent.

Subitâ morte præreptus,

Juxta Urbem Trichinopolim,

Mortales Exuvias deposuit, Aprilis die III.

Anno Salutis MDCCCXXVI, Ætatis XLIII,

Episcopatus III.

Madrasenses, non solum Christiani

Sed et Ethnici,

Principes, Magnates, Pauperes,

Ad hoc marmor extruendum

Uno consensu adfuerunt.

The Blessedness of the Faithful and Wise Steward.

A

FUNERAL SERMON

ON THE

DECEASE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND REGINALD,

LORD BISHOP OF CALCUTTA.

TO
THE CHURCH OF INDIA,
BOTH CLERGY AND PEOPLE,
AND ESPECIALLY
TO
THE BRITISH INHABITANTS OF TRICHIINOPOLY,
THIS SERMON
IS INSCRIBED
BY THEIR MOST FAITHFUL
AND AFFECTIONATE SERVANT,
THE AUTHOR.

S E R M O N,

&c.

ST. LUKE xii. 42, 43, 44.

Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Of a truth I say unto you, That he will make him ruler over all that he hath.

A STRIKING and unanswerable argument for the divine origin of our holy faith, is drawn from its wonderful adaptation to all the circumstances of our present and future destiny; the exact coincidence and agreement of its spiritual provisions with all the exigencies of our lost condition, and all the capabilities of our regenerate nature—and (as a part of the same beautiful and admirable order) the intimate and harmonious blending of all its most urgent commands, its deepest and most affecting realities, with the moral constitution of our minds, the hopes and fears, the charities and sympathies of man. A religion thus framed could proceed from Him only who made the heart.

Your own reflections will enable you to follow up this argument through all its interesting details; I mention it

thus summarily, as it may suggest to us, on this sad occasion, the surest and best grounds for consolation and instruction in that feeling of general affliction with which every heart is filled. We are mourning this day for our friend and spiritual father. We are met to renew our prayers and tears over his grave, whom even strangers quickly learned to love, whom they who best knew him loved and valued most, and on whom the eyes and hearts of thousands rested with a deep and concentrated affection. Ours is no private and individual sorrow. The event which we deplore will be heard with tears through every town in India; and the same feeling will be deeply shared by every heart in our native country, which had traced his progress with admiration, with gratitude, and hope. Not we only, but the Church of Christ throughout these Heathen lands, mourns this day as a widow and an orphan. And how then shall I endeavour to direct your sorrow and my own? Shall I exhort you to receive this and similar dispensations of Divine Providence with stoical indifference, and to harden your hearts against the indulgence of natural grief, as if it were the enemy of moral virtue?—Or shall I, like the idolater of pleasure, seek to divert you from the solemnity of this awful warning, and bid you sleep on upon your beds of roses, though the voice of death himself is in your ears? Alas! in either case, I should prove myself a vain and miserable comforter; in either case, I should but prove my utter ignorance, not less of the nature of man than of the religion of the cross.

Far different is the example of our Redeemer, and the spirit of his Gospel. Jesus wept at the grave of Lazarus, though he knew that his friend was suffering only a temporary death: nor do I read that he blamed the tears of

Martha and of Mary, while each severally exclaimed, in the fulness of their hearts, "*Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died.*" But he left them not to the morbid indulgence of an unavailing sorrow; he made it the instrument of their instruction and improvement: he seized on that moment of suffering, when the heart was softened for the reception of his heavenly teaching, to proclaim the blessed doctrine of a resurrection to life eternal, and the necessity of faith in Him, if ever we would enjoy that blessedness. "*I am the resurrection and the life: whosoever believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth, and believeth in me, shall never die.*" He wept over the desolations of Jerusalem; and while he minutely foretels the ruin of that devoted city, and the still more fearful advent of the Son of man to judge the world, he bids his disciples arm their spirits for the suddenness of that tremendous hour by constant watchfulness and prayer; he alarms their fears for their country and the world; but he makes use of those very fears to urge them to increasing vigilance and labour: he tells them of the danger of supineness and inaction, and of a rich reward of superadded and eternal blessedness to the faithful stewards of his household. "*Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season? Blessed is that servant, whom his lord when he cometh shall find so doing. Of a truth I say unto you, That he will make him ruler over all that he hath.*"

My brethren, if we would sorrow as Christian mourners, let us imitate, in our solemn meditations, his blessed example. The Providence of God hath spoken to us in a

voice which no sophistry can misinterpret, and from whose deep impression no worldliness can escape. Had we stood by the grave of Lazarus, the realities of death and a judgment to come could hardly have been proclaimed more powerfully than in the awful event which we deplore. Scarcely could the suddenness of these fearful realities have been more strongly impressed upon our souls, if we had heard the Saviour himself exclaiming, "*Be ye also ready: for in such an hour as ye think not, the Son of man cometh.*" And oh believe it! this house of mourning is the best school of heavenly wisdom. These impressions are the very means by which God seeks to turn you to himself. Humble yourselves, therefore, under the mighty hand of God. Erase not from your memories these warnings of your own mortality; quench not the ideas they impart of future and eternal realities; but, seeing we look for such things, let us learn from the example of our dear departed father, "*what manner of persons we ought to be in all holy conversation and godliness.*"

The first general lesson that our Saviour teaches us in my text, is the tenure by which we hold whatever we call ours on earth; that we are the stewards of his property, not the masters of our own; that we are placed here in a state of trial and service; that the various talents in our possession—rank and influence, wealth and learning, the love of friends and the opportunities of leisure—every blessing within our reach, and every breath we draw—are intrusted to our charge by the Master of this great household, not for our own aggrandizement, but for His glory and the good of our fellow-servants; that though He is absent for a time, invisible to all but the eye of faith, and forgotten by the slothful and disobedient, yet His eye is

ever over us, that "*He compasseth our path and our lying down, and is acquainted with all our ways;*" that though His voice is long unheard, and His hand unseen, He marks down in the book of his remembrance every action, and word, and thought; and that he will assuredly one day come to reckon with his servants, and to assign to each one his eternal portion of reward or punishment. Again, He teaches us that in this stewardship it is required that a man be found *faithful*; that we must not squander or misapply the things committed to our care, but honestly and conscientiously appropriate them to the objects for which they were designed. He instructs us, further, that prudence and *wisdom* are also necessary, if we would approve ourselves to our Divine Master; that a faithful steward will be wise, in choosing out of many instruments the one most proper to effect the object he has in view—in selecting the most favourable time for action, for counsel, and for secret thought—in deciding accurately between claims of duty apparently equal and conflicting, and in knowing well what plans of benevolence and justice will best advance the honour of his Lord and the welfare of those within his influence or authority.

Such is the condition, and such the duty of *all* men, of whatever rank or order in society; for all have some share of their master's goods; "*to one hath he given five talents, to another two, to another one; to every man according to his several ability.*" But it is evident from the expression of the text, which is an indirect and most impressive answer to the question of St. Peter, "*Speakest thou this parable to us, or even unto ALL?*" that our Lord had especial, though not exclusive, reference to his chosen apostles, and their successors for ever, the higher ministers

of his Church, the chief stewards of the mysteries of God; for they are emphatically "*made rulers over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season.*"

Bear with us, brethren, while, as the ordinary stewards of the divine mysteries, we magnify our office. We do it from no desire of vain-glory or earthly pre-eminence—God is witness! and this, at least, is no place, this is no time for dissimulation. We do it that we may impress it more deeply on our own consciences, (and where could we better seek to renew the impression, than before the altar of our Saviour, and at the grave of our beloved Bishop?) "to how weighty an office and charge we are called; that is to say, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord; to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever. We would have it always imprinted in our remembrance, how great a treasure is committed to our charge: for they are the sheep of Christ, which he bought with his death, and for whom he shed his blood. The Church and congregation whom we serve is his spouse and his body."* If, in ordinary men, fidelity and wisdom are required in the discharge of their several duties, how much more in those who are intrusted with an office of so great excellency and so great difficulty? If the special assistance of the Holy Ghost was necessary to the artificers who were employed in the construction of the tabernacle, that all its parts might be framed according to the pattern in the mount, how much greater need have we, who are fellow-labourers

* Ordination service.

with God in building up his spiritual temple, to pray for that "ability which is given of God alone," that by the daily help of his Holy Spirit we may be *wise to win souls?* And oh! if it becomes others who are intrusted with secular gifts and worldly talents, to prepare for that day when they shall be called to give a strict and solemn account at the judgment-seat of Christ, with what fidelity and zeal, with what continual and unwearied diligence, with what patient and humble watchfulness, must we, who are the stewards of his heavenly treasures, wait on our holy ministry, "*lest our Lord come in a day when we look not for him, and in an hour when we are not aware?*" We are animated and encouraged in our work by promises of continual support and eternal blessedness, if we continue faithful to the end; but the danger of our fall is infinitely greater, and the punishment more fearful.

But the words of my text have a meaning still more appropriate to the occasion for which I have chosen them; they refer to a higher dignity in the Church than ours, a larger and more honourable field of labour, a more weighty and tremendous responsibility, and a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They refer to the apostolical office itself; and to that which has succeeded it in its more peculiar and characteristic duties—of ordaining other ministers to the Lord's vineyard, and superintending them in the exercise of their ministry. For as *you*, the children of our spiritual care, are obedient unto *us*, and receive from our hands the nourishment of your souls, so has it been our privilege to obey in all things the paternal authority of our spiritual governor, to whom the economy of the Church amongst us was mercifully intrusted—even as he was subject to Christ, *the great Shepherd and Bishop of our*

souls, and as Christ himself, in the days of his earthly ministry, was subject to his Heavenly Father.*

Who then was that faithful and wise steward whom his Lord thus made ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season? “*He was a burning and a shining light: and ye desired† for a season to rejoice in his light.*” Alas, ye desired in vain! that light is suddenly extinguished, and we are left to judge of its excellence and beauty by the present darkness of our minds. But let us not mourn in vain, or sit, even here, with our loins ungirt. We can learn no longer from his lips, but let us study, with pious care, the example he has left us, and let us endeavour to follow it with so much the greater earnestness, as it is now sealed by the hand of death, and endeared to us by the sanctity of a filial affection.

He was born of an ancient and distinguished family; and from circumstances of connexion, as well as birth, might reasonably have looked forward to eminent public offices in the service of his country, and an honourable career of political ambition. To this his high and buoyant spirit, his thirst of noble praise, his ardent love of liberty, and a mind glowing at once with the examples of ancient greatness, and sensibly alive to the imitation of living excellence, would all have conspired to lead him: nor have I ever met with one who seemed more strongly marked, by a rare combination of amiable and commanding qualities, to be at once the idol of the people and a favourite with the source of power. His career of academical labour was distinguished by several of the highest honours;

* S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrænos.

† ἠθέλησάν τε, John v. 35.

his mind was richly stored with a vast variety of ancient and modern learning; and, even in early youth, his name held no ignoble place in the literature and poetry of England. Whatever yet seemed wanting to fit him for the theatre of the world, was added by his extensive intercourse with foreign European countries, of the fruits of which no ordinary specimen was exhibited in his enlightened researches respecting the northern nations, to the foot of Caucasus, and to the western boundaries of Asia. The record of those researches is given, with its just tribute of praise, by one of the most interesting and distinguished of our modern travellers.*

But this career of fame and human praise, whatever were its value, and whatever facilities were presented to him for its acquisition, had, for a mind like his, but a feeble and transient fascination. He had a higher and more noble ambition; the object of his pursuit was less splendid in the eyes of men; it was one of secret virtue and self-denying diligence; but, if estimated (as we around his grave can now measure it) by the standard of eternity, it was the path of the purest happiness on earth, and terminating in certain and imperishable glory. His society was much courted by the world, and in the learned retirement of his college; and never surely was any one so formed to enjoy the society of those around him, or to win their admiration and affection by the varied and inexhaustible charms of his own delightful conversation. But he devoted himself to the humble duties of a parish priest in a retired village,† and thought he had attained his highest happiness, and most honourable distinction, in becoming the friend,

* Dr. E. D. Clarke.

† Hodnet, in Cheshire.

the pastor, the spiritual guide of the simple villagers around him, in consecrating his talents, his time, and his resources, to the service of his God and Saviour. The more humble was the sphere of his duty, the more did his heart rejoice in its performance. He laboured to accommodate his instructions to the comprehension of all; a labour by no means easy to a mind stored with classic elegance, and an imagination glowing with a thousand images of sublimity and beauty. He rejoiced so to form his manners, his habits, and his conversation to those who were intrusted to his care, that he might gain the confidence and affection of even the poorest among his flock; so that he might the more surely win their souls to God, and finally, in the last great day of account, *present every man faultless before his presence with exceeding joy*. He was, above all, singularly happy in his visitation of the sick, and in administering consolation to those that mourned; and his name will long be dear, and his memory most precious, in the cottages of the poor, by whose sick-beds he has often stood as a ministering angel.

His labours, however, were not confined to the village of his care. He sought, indeed, no higher employment than that which he had chosen; but they who knew his worth, and could appreciate his talents, were anxious to draw him from his retirement. He preached not unfrequently from the pulpit of the University, of which he was considered one of the brightest ornaments: and his sermons on the Nature and Influences of the Holy Spirit, delivered on his appointment to the Bampton Lecture, remain to the Church of God a monument of his deep and varied learning, his powerful and majestic eloquence, and his zeal and fidelity in resisting the most subtle and pernicious of

modern heresies. He was subsequently appointed preacher to the learned Society of Lincoln's Inn; and it will not soon be forgotten by those who then enjoyed his ministry, how well and admirably he united the force of argument, and the beauty of illustration, with the plain enunciation of his heavenly message, and a powerful and affectionate appeal to the hearts and consciences of his hearers.

But his Divine Master called him to other and more important labours; and on the sudden removal of the excellent prelate who first presided over our Indian Church, and who is yet freshly remembered in the hearts of those who hear me, he was chosen to the care of this extensive diocese, and consecrated to the highest and holiest order in the Christian Church. He left his native land with no common sacrifice of private interests, of individual affections, and of all the reasonable hopes and prospects of his family and admiring friends; for such had been his life, that they who were but his acquaintance loved him as a friend; his friends loved him as a brother; and his family cherished him as a part of their own existence. He left his native land (I speak from intimate knowledge and full conviction) with the devoted spirit of a true Christian bishop, with no selfish feeling, and no shrinking from the arduous and perilous duties which he well knew awaited him. He sought not the office; but felt, while he undertook it, the heavy burden which it imposed, and the awful responsibility of the charge. Indeed, if there was any thing in my honoured friend and master which I presumed to think a fault, it was that he thought too little of the external dignity which was annexed to his spiritual power; and from a feeling of entire humility, and from that modesty and gentleness which pervaded every word and every action, sought rather to

escape from that homage and respect which it was equally our duty and our happiness to pay. He came to this country, accompanied by the prayers and blessings of thousands; and I speak only the language of many hearts, in every distant province, when I say that he came to us, his immediate charge, and to the Heathen nations among whom we dwell, in the fulness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ.

Little more than two years have elapsed since he first arrived in India; but in that short period he had visited almost every station where a Christian Church could be assembled, and, while engaged in the longest and most difficulty journey that has fallen within the duties of any bishop since the earlier æges of Christianity, he employed himself, wherever he came, not only in the higher functions of his office, but in the more humble and laborious duties of an ordinary pastor. He had thus become known to all his clergy, and to all his people, in the plains and mountains of Hindostan, in the wilder tracts of Central India, in the stations of Guzerat, the Deckan, and the western coast, in the hills and valleys of Ceylon, and in these southern provinces, the scene of his latest labours, and henceforth of his dearest memory.

In the course of these journeys, and in all his other labours, his heart was most earnestly and intently fixed, not only on the government of the existing Church, but on the extension of Christ's kingdom in these strong holds of Heathen and Mahomedan superstition. He delighted to consider himself as the chief missionary of India, a character implied, in his judgment, in the nature of his Episcopal office itself: and, while he felt it to be his bounden duty to confine his pecuniary aid and direct influence to

the establishments of that Church whose orders and ministry he received as apostolical, yet most sincerely did he rejoice in the successful labours of all Christian societies, of whatever denomination, in the field of India; for he felt, that, while marshalled against a common enemy, there should be none other than a generous rivalry, and a brotherly emulation between our separate hosts:—and that even thus the fortune of the field is best secured, if each army keeps its own ranks unbroken, and its own discipline inviolate. The several societies connected with our Church partook largely of his regard and active support; particularly—the venerable chartered Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, whose general cause, as connected with their central establishment of Bishop's College, he had successfully pleaded at the several Presidencies of Bombay, Columbo, and Calcutta; and which he proposed, on his return to Madras, to recommend there also to the benevolence of the Christian world—The Church Missionary Society, to whose labours and the character of their missionaries he repeatedly bore the most honourable testimony—and the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, whose interests literally occupied his dying thoughts.

The missions of this last-named society, at Tanjore and in this place, the foundations of the apostolic Swartz, and the excellent men who have walked and are still walking in his steps, awakened, in a most powerful degree, and beyond any thing he had previously seen, the affections of his heart: and to devise and arrange a plan for their revived and more extended prosperity was the object which occupied for many days, and to the last hour of his life (as several who now hear me can bear witness,) his anxious thoughts, his earnest prayers, and the concentrated energies of his

mind. Again and again did he repeat to me, that all which he had witnessed in the native congregations of these missions—their numbers, their general order, their devout attendance on the services of the Church—exceeded every expectation he had formed; and that in their support and revival he saw the fairest hope of extending the Church of Christ. Never shall I forget the warm expressions of his delight, when, on Easter-day, he gathered them around him as his children, as one family with ourselves, administered to them the body and blood of our common Saviour, and blessed them in their native tongue; and when, in the evening of that day, he had seen before him not fewer than one thousand three hundred natives of those districts, rescued from idolatry and superstition, and joining as with one heart and voice in the prayers and praises of our Church, I can never forget his exclamation, that he would gladly purchase that day with years of life.

Those of you who heard his parting address, on the succeeding day, from the grave of Swartz, will never lose the deep impression of that solemn moment, when (as if he had foreseen that his departure was at hand) he commended you to God and to the word of his grace, charging you by the love of your Saviour and of each other, and animating you by the memory of your departed father, and by the near prospect of your eternal reward, to perseverance, fidelity, and Christian order. Of his last public ministrations in this place I need not speak to you; the memory of them is fresh in every heart; you treasure them as the last words of a departed friend. You remember well the earnestness and affection of his manner, how *he exhorted, and comforted, and charged every one of you, as a father doth his children, that ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you to*

his kingdom and glory. Alas! who could have foreseen, while hanging on those lips, that they would so soon be closed in death; that the voice of your shepherd, whom you had just begun to love, should be heard by you again no more for ever? His sun was in its meridian power, and its warmth most genial, when it was suddenly eclipsed for ever. He fell, as the standard-bearer of the cross might well rejoice to fall, by no lingering delay, but in the firmness and vigour of his age, and in the very act of combat and of triumph. His Master came suddenly, and found him faithful in his charge, and waiting for His appearing. His last hour was spent in his Lord's service, and in ministering to the humblest of his flock. He had scarcely put off the sacred robes with which he served at the altar of his God on earth, when he was suddenly admitted to his sanctuary on high, and clothed with the garments of immortality.

What mean then these tears for his removal? and why mourn we for our departed father as men without hope? He was that faithful and wise steward, whom his Lord had made ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season. And oh! blessed, eternally blessed, *is that servant whom his Lord when he came found so doing!* He has exchanged a life of labour, and anxiety, and imperfection, for the repose and blessedness of heaven. His warfare is accomplished; and he has passed from the conflicts of the Church on earth, to the glories of an everlasting triumph.

But his full reward is not yet received. The morning of the general resurrection shall first dawn, and all nations shall be gathered before the throne of God, and all his faithful children, from every age and every clime, shall be

assembled, before his joy can be full. “*For what was his hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?*” Ye, and all the other children of his care, shall in that day be *his glory and his joy.*

The connexion between the ministers of Christ and the people committed to them can never be dissolved. It hath in it nothing perishable, and death itself hath no power to break it. It may be interrupted by many changes; the pastor may be removed to another flock, one and another may be taken from him, but the bond of their connexion is eternally the same. The bread with which we feed you here, is the bread of life. The cup which we give you, is that spiritual stream that follows the Church of God from the rock of Horeb to the borders of Canaan; and that which supports and nourishes you now, will form assuredly your blessedness hereafter. And may we not hope that those who have been the honoured instruments of your spiritual nourishment on earth, may enjoy an increase of the satisfaction and blessedness of their souls in heaven, while you receive with them the hidden manna which is in the sanctuary of God, and the waters of the river of life, which cometh forth from the throne of God?

And surely if the contemplation of heavenly objects is endeared to us by communion with those we love, it may well be thought that one part of the blessedness of heaven may consist in that communion rendered perfect and entire. That blessedness assuredly can be no other than the knowledge and love of God—of Him who is the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier of our souls; that beatific vision, where to know and to love is one act of the delighted Spirit, and where “*God is all in all.*” Yet the angels in

heaven (though their happiness is similar) have still their appointed services, and their service is their glory. The Church, which is now militant on earth, shall then be triumphant; but its ministers and servants will still find there a ministry and a service, a service of no worldly sanctuary, and mingled there with no imperfection and alloy; they will find an increase of their own individual blessedness in adding to the blessedness of those who first learned from them the way to heaven, and in witnessing, by perfect and intimate communion with the former children of their care, the completion of their earthly labours.

The voice, then, of our father, whose loss we mourn, is silent only for a time: we shall listen again to its accents: he will speak to us again (but in tones how different!) "*when this mortal shall have put on immortality.*" We shall hear from him again (but by a communication how blessed!) the words of eternal life; and in him, and all other faithful stewards of His household, we shall behold that solemn promise of our Saviour accomplished, "*Verily I say unto you, He will make him ruler over all that he hath.*"

And now, brethren, beloved in the Lord! comfort one another with these words. We mourn for our honoured father, thus suddenly removed from us, his spiritual family. The Church of Christ is mourning for the disappointment of her best hope and fairest promises. Yet, what lessons of heavenly wisdom may we learn at his grave! We are deprived of his instruction, of his counsel, of his paternal government; but his example is left for our study and imitation. "*He being dead, yet speaketh.*" He approved himself to his heavenly Master as a faithful and wise steward; we also, each one of us, have some place of service

in the same great household. The hour is coming, when we also shall be called to "*give account of our stewardship; for we may be no longer stewards.*" His day of trial was suddenly and abruptly closed; ours is still passing, but ours may close suddenly and abruptly too. Oh! let not this warning be unimproved by any one that hears me. Lay it seriously to heart. You have heard it frequently before; you have now heard it as it were audibly proclaimed by a voice from heaven—"Be ye ready also: for the Son of man cometh at an hour when ye think not." Learn this lesson from your sorrow, and you will have cause to rejoice for ever: "*Gird up the loins of your mind; be sober, and hope to the end for the grace that is to be brought unto you at the revelation of Jesus Christ.*"

Yet suffer me, my brethren, before I leave you, to suggest what appears to me the best and most appropriate testimony of your regard and reverence for his memory. You remember, when our blessed Lord was now about to ascend into heaven, his thrice-repeated question to the disciple who was thenceforward his strenuous and faithful servant, "*Simon, lovest thou me?*" How deeply did the tender and affectionate command of Christ sink into his heart! and how zealously did he obey the injunction, "*Feed my sheep!*" The time and circumstances of the event which we are now deploring, seem to point out to your kindness and protection those who were the objects of his latest care, and amongst whom he left his latest blessing; I mean the native Protestant congregations of this place.

This was the first mission established by the venerable Swartz; and his successors have for many years watched over its interests. But their hands are feeble; and the

Church which is already gathered from among the Heathen, requires the aid of a nursing father to rear and protect its infancy. We fondly hoped it had found that protecting hand in our late excellent Bishop. He loved, and, if God had spared his life, he would have cherished them as his children. A few minutes only before he expired, he spoke to me of their distress and helpless state, and of his plans for their revival and perpetual establishment. Brethren! I commend them now to you. I leave them with confidence to your protection, your patronage, your support. I know you will not leave them destitute. I know you will not suffer the plans just formed for their benefit to fall to the ground. Your love for his memory forbids me to fear it; above all, your love and gratitude to Him who hath purchased both them and you with his own blood, forbids me to fear it. Surely, if our departed friend could now speak to you from his place of rest, this would be his earnest appeal to your hearts—“*Feed my lambs!*” and if now his happy spirit still hovers over us, and beholds our labour of love, he will indeed rejoice in this proof of your Christian faith, that you love those little ones for whom Christ died. Your excellent pastor will detail to you the necessities of the mission, its capabilities of extended usefulness, and the plans which had been arranged for its improvement. Let your bounty carry those plans into effect, and you could not, I am well persuaded, raise a more noble monument over this dear and hallowed grave.

And you, my fellow-servants, my fathers and brethren in Christ, pardon me, I beseech you, that my affection has carried me on thus far to speak of him whom we all loved, when I should rather have learned from you. I feel that I am most unworthy to speak of him; but I could not give

to another the chief place in sorrow. Let us pray for ourselves and for each other; remembering that the time is short, and the work which is committed to our hands is not ours, but His that sent us. Let us wait on our ministry with deeper humility, and with increasing earnestness. We are still on the field of battle; let us not put off our armour, but let us exhort and strengthen one another to be faithful unto death, that we may receive the crown of life.

We need much the help of the Almighty for the strengthening and refreshing of our souls. Let us seek it at the table of our Lord. There we shall best remember our sins, where we see the sacrifice provided for them; there we shall most surely find the influences of His Spirit, where He has promised to vouchsafe them; there we shall most effectually obtain the confirmation of our faith, and hope, and love; and thence returning, purified by sorrow and prepared for our various services on earth, we may look forward with humble hope to that day, when *“ a great voice shall be heard from heaven, saying, Behold, the tabernacle of GOD is with men, and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his people, and he will be their GOD. And GOD shall wipe away all tears from their eyes; and there shall be no more death, neither sorrow, nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.*

At a meeting of the inhabitants of Trichinopoly, held in St. John's Church, on Monday, the 10th of April, 1826,

Major-General HALL in the chair,

Resolved,

I. That this meeting, desirous of testifying their affectionate regard and veneration for the memory of the late lamented Lord Bishop of Calcutta, do enter into a subscription in aid of the Trichinopoly mission, whose interests engaged the last hours of his lordship's life.

II. That this fund be intrusted to a committee of management, consisting of the general of the division, the commanding officer of Trichinopoly, one of the three judges of the circuit court, the collector of the district, the chaplain and missionary (provided the gentlemen filling these situations are willing to undertake the charge,) and seven other members, to be chosen by the subscribers at large, at their general meetings. It is necessary that it be distinctly understood, that the committee merely act as trustees for the right application of the funds, without exerting any interference in the internal economy of the mission.

III. That the reverend missionaries of Tanjore be requested to suggest, from time to time, the best means for supporting the existing mission at Trichinopoly, until a missionary be regularly appointed to this latter station.

IV. That the office of patron to the *Trichinopoly Mission Fund* be reserved vacant, and that the succeeding Bishop of Calcutta, on his arrival in India, be requested to fill it; and that the venerable Archdeacon of Madras be requested to accept the office of vice-patron.

V. That books be immediately opened for donations and subscriptions, and that the chaplain be requested to receive the sums subscribed, until the committee have prevailed upon one of their members to accept the office of treasurer.

VI. That the Rev. Thomas Robinson be requested to present these resolutions to the venerable the Archdeacon of Calcutta, and to state, as he can from his own personal knowledge, the urgent need in which the mission stands of a regularly ordained and resident missionary, and that the Archdeacon will endeavour to grant one as early as possible.

VII. That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be respectfully submitted to the honourable the governor in council for his information and approval, and that the aid of government be solicited for carrying into effect the intentions of our late revered prelate, the funds of the present mission being at their lowest ebb.

VIII. That the chaplain be requested to accept the office of secretary to the *Trichinopoly Mission Fund* pro tempore.

IX. That the thanks of this meeting be voted to Major-General Hall, for his kind and conciliatory conduct in the chair.

(Signed) Jos. WRIGHT, *Secretary.*

Trichinopoly, April 10th, 1826.

APPENDIX.

Colombo, September 13, 1825.

MY REV. BRETHREN,

Having been consulted by you, and the other clergy of this archdeaconry, on the propriety of engaging with missionaries of other religious sects, in solemn conference on topics connected with your work among the Heathen, such as are now statedly holden at Jaffna and at this place, I have first to express my thankfulness to God for the brotherly and tolerant spirit which, since my arrival in the island, I have noticed among those who, with less or greater differences of opinions, and discrepancies of doctrine and discipline abundantly to be deplored, yet hold, as I am persuaded, the same faith in the Cross, and shall be found, as I trust, in the last day, on the same Rock of Salvation. Nor am I less thankful to the Giver of all good things for the affectionate and orderly spirit which I find in you, my brethren, and which has led you voluntarily to submit a question in which your hearts, as I have reason to believe, are much engaged, to the counsel of your ordinary. May God continue and increase this mutual confidence between us, and conduct it, and all things else, to His glory, and our salvation.

The meeting in question has been described to me as a conference of ministers and missionaries in a certain district, held in each other's house in rotation, attended by

the ministers or missionaries themselves, their wives and families, and occasionally by devout laymen from their vicinity. These meetings are described as beginning and ending with prayer, led, indifferently, by ministers of different sects, or by their lay friends, but not by the females, and as broken by hymns, in which all present join. The remainder of the time is occupied by a friendly meal together—in the comparison, by the missionaries, of the different encouragements and obstacles which they meet with among the Heathen, and in discussion of the best means by which their common work can be forwarded. It appears that this practice commenced at Jaffna, under circumstances which made it very desirable for the missionaries of the English Church not only to live on friendly and courteous terms with the missionaries sent from America, but to profit by the experience and example of these missionaries in their manner of addressing the Heathen. And it appears, also, that these conferences have been strictly private and domestic, and that there has been no interchange or confusion of the public or appropriate functions of the Christian ministry between yourselves and the friends who unhappily differ from you in points of Church discipline. Under such circumstances it is probable that, by God's blessing, many advantages may have arisen to you all from these conferences; and, without inquiring whether these advantages might have been, in the first instance, attainable in a manner less liable to inconvenience or misrepresentation, I am happy that I do not think it necessary to advise their cessation, now they are established, and that your dereliction of them might greatly interrupt the charitable terms on which you now live with your neighbours.

There are, however, some serious dangers to which such

meetings are liable, against which it is my duty to caution you, and by avoiding which you may keep your intercourse with your follow-labourers, as now, always harmless and unblamed. The first of these is the risk of levelling, in the eyes of others, and even in your own, the peculiar claims to attention on the part of men, and the peculiar hopes of grace and blessing from the Most High, which, as we believe, are possessed by the holders of an apostolic commission over those whose call to the ministry is less regular, though their labours are no less sincere. God forbid, my brethren, that I should teach you to think on this account highly of yourselves! Far otherwise. This sense of the advantages which we enjoy should humble us to the dust, when we bethink us who we are, and what we ought to be, who have received the Spirit of God by the dispensation of a long line of saints and martyrs—who are called to follow the steps of Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Rowland Taylor, and Henry Martyn; and who are by the external dispensation, at least, of Providence, the inheritors of that grace which fell on St. Paul. But humbly, yea meanly, as we are bound to think of ourselves, we must not appear to undervalue our apostolic bond of union; and the more so here in India, inasmuch as it is the great link which binds us to the ancient Syrian Church, and one principal means whereby we hope, with the blessing of our Master, to effect its gradual reformation. The neglect, or abandonment, or apparent abandonment, of this principle, is the first danger which I apprehend to be incidental to such meetings as I have described. To guard against it, an additional care and caution will be desirable, in your steady adherence, wherever this is practicable, to the external ceremonies and canonical observances of our Church; and, without

estranging yourselves from your dissenting friends, by cultivating a yet closer union with those who are, properly speaking, your brother clergy. With this view I would recommend not only the measures which I have lately suggested, of frequent meetings of the clergy of this archdeaconry for the purposes of mutual counsel and comfort, but a readiness on your part, who are missionaries, to officiate whenever you are invited, and can do it without neglect of your peculiar functions, in the churches of the colony, and in rendering assistance to the chaplains. By this occasional attention (for, for many reasons, I would have it occasional only) to the spiritual wants of your own countrymen, several important ends will be obtained; you will yourselves derive advantage from keeping up the habit of English composition and public speaking; you will endear yourselves to your brethren and countrymen by the services which you will render them; and, above all, you will identify yourselves, in the eyes of all men, with the established Church, and distinguish yourselves from those other preachers whom that Church cannot consistently recognise.

Another precaution which occurs to me as desireable, against the risk to which I have alluded, is that it be perfectly understood that the meetings are for the discussion of such topics only as belong to your distinct functions as missionaries to the Heathen. For this reason I would recommend that the meeting be confined to missionaries only, with their families, and such devout laymen (for I am unwilling to damp or seem to discountenance their laudable zeal) who have already joined themselves to your number. The other clergy of the archdeaconry will find, I conceive, a sufficient bond of union, and source of mutual comforts

and advice, in the *clerical meeting*. There are other inconveniences and improprieties incidental to what are usually called prayer-meetings, which have led to their rejection by the great majority of the Church of England, and, among the rest, by some excellent men, whom the conduct pursued by those with whom their chief intimacy lay would have naturally inclined to favour them. I mean, among others, the late Mr. Scott, of Aston Sandford, and the late Mr. Robinson, of St. Mary's, Leicester. Such is the practice reprobated by the apostle, of a number of persons coming together, with each his psalm, his prayer, his exhortation; the effect of which is not only often confusion, but, what is worse than confusion, self-conceit and rivalry, each labouring to excel his brother in the choice of his expressions and the outward earnestness of his address—and the bad effects of emulation mixing with actions in which, of all others, humility and forgetfulness of self are necessary. Such, too, is that warmth of feeling and language, derived rather from imitation than conviction, which, under the circumstances which I have mentioned, are apt to degenerate into enthusiastic excitement or irreverent familiarity.

And though it is only due both to yourselves, my brethren, and to your dissenting fellow-labourers, to state that all which I have seen or heard of you sets me at ease on these subjects, so far as you are concerned; yet it will be well for you to take care, lest, by setting an example of such an institution in your own persons, you encourage less instructed individuals among the laity to adopt a practice which, in their case, has almost always, I believe, been injurious. It is on this account chiefly, that with no feelings of disrespect or suspicion towards the excellent laymen

who, as I understand, have joined your society, I would recommend, if my counsel has any weight (and I offer it as my counsel only,) that, though there is no impropriety in their taking their turns in reading the Scriptures, and mingling in the discussions which arise on the subjects connected with your conference, they would abstain from leading the society in prayer, except when the meeting is held in one of their own houses, and when, as master of the family, they may consistently offer up what will then be their family devotion.

I would, lastly, recommend to you earnestly, that both your discussions and your prayers have, as their leading object, the success of missions, and the means whereby missions may, with God's blessing, be rendered successful; and that you would deviate as little as possible into other fields of ecclesiastical inquiry.

With these precautions, I trust that unmingled good may, through His blessing who is the God of peace and order, emanate from your religious conferences.

With reference to the employment of laymen to officiate in your congregation, I would say, that where a missionary is as yet unable to read prayers, or preach, in the language of his hearers, he may unquestionably employ a native assistant to do both, provided the prayers are those of our Church, and the discourse a translation from his own dictation or writing. The use of interpreters is not only sanctioned by the necessity of the case, but by the express authority of Scripture and Ecclesiastical History. And even where this necessity has not existed, but where any convenience has been obtained either by priest or people, it has been always the custom of the Church to admit lay-catechists (under the direction of the minister) to read the

Scriptures, to give out psalms, to repeat the creeds, and even, when any convenience results from it, the litany, down to the Lord's prayer and the following collects, which the rubric assigns to the priest. It is hardly necessary to observe, that, both in this and the preceding case, the absolution must not be read, nor must the sacraments be administered, by any but the regularly ordained minister.

To your questions respecting baptism, I reply,

1st. We are not, as I conceive, allowed to baptize the infant child of Heathen parents, where there is reason to fear that such child will be brought up in Heathenism.

2d. We may not even baptize the infant child of Heathen parents on the promise of such parents to procure for it a Christian education, unless security of some kind is actually given for its adoption, and removal from its parents' corrupt example, by its sponsor, or some other Christian.

3d. We may, I apprehend, baptize the children of a Christian father by a Heathen mother, though they are living together unmarried, provided the father declares his intention of giving his child a Christian education, and there are sufficient sponsors to add their promises to that of the parent. My reason for this decision is, that, as no professed Christian, however wicked his life, is beyond the outward means of grace, and the Lord may, for all we know, have still merciful purposes concerning him, so we cannot, for the father's sin, exclude the child from that promise which is made to the children, and the children's children, of believers. But where the mother is Christian, and not the father, it is doubtful whether she may have sufficient property in, or authority over her child, to ensure it a Christian bringing up. Nor is it a point on which the promise of a Heathen father can be received as sufficient;

its actual adoption, therefore, by some Christian friend or sponsor, must in this last case be stipulated for.

4th. The same principle appears to apply to cases when one only of a married couple is a professing Christian; though here some latitude of discretion may be allowed, in case of danger of death, of extreme maternal solicitude, of known good character on the believing mother's side, and the known probability that may exist, that her wishes, and the endeavours of the sponsors, will not be frustrated in her infant's education.

5th. The case of nominal Christians, notoriously addicted to Heathen practices, must depend, in part, on the nature and extent of the evil; and still more on the character and sufficiency of the sponsors. Mere idolatrous or superstitious habits in the parents, if not attended with open apostacy, cannot exclude the infant when properly vouched for from another quarter. The parent, however blinded and sinful, has not lost the external privileges of Christianity, and the infant cannot be deprived of a privilege which the parent has not forfeited.

6th. The same rule will apply yet more strongly to Christians of whom we know no further harm than their ignorance and neglect of public worship.

7th. It will have been already seen that we have no right to refuse baptism to children actually adopted by Christians, provided those, or other Christians, become their securities.

8th. With regard to the case of children thus adopted when past the age of six years, and on the marks of conversion which may then be required in them, it appears that, at this age, a child who has not, from its earliest infancy, enjoyed a Christian education, can seldom know much of Christianity. Such may be admitted as infants, with proper

sponsors, and it may very often be desirable thus to admit them. It is not easy to fix an age at which infancy ceases, which must depend on intellect, opportunity, and many other considerations. "In subjecto capaci," conversion is doubtless required; and, where capacity may be soon expected, it is generally desirable to wait. But in cases of sickness, or where any good or charitable end is answered by the immediate baptism of such children, and where, as before, sufficient securities are present, it appears that we are not warranted in denying them God's ordinance.

9th. The Church of Rome, though grievously corrupted, is nevertheless a part of the visible Church of Christ: we may not therefore repel the children of such parents from baptism, if they are vouched for by their sponsors in the words of our service; which, it may be noticed, are wisely so framed as to contain nothing but those points on which all Christians are engaged. The direction at the end to teach our Church catechism, is a counsel from us to the sponsors, no engagement entered into by them. It follows that we are not to refuse baptism to the children of Roman Catholic parents, with sufficient Protestant sponsors; I even doubt whether we are at liberty even with sponsors of their parents' sect.

But in all these questions I cannot forbear observing, that we may remark the wisdom of that primitive institution (which our Church has wisely retained) of godfathers and godmothers, as affording a way of receiving into the flock of Christ those children for whose education their own parents cannot satisfactorily answer. An ignorant or immoral father may be himself, for the present, irreclaimable; but we may always insist that the sureties whom he adduces, should be competently informed, and of a life not

openly immoral. And though the decay of discipline in our own country has grievously impaired the value of such sponsors, yet a missionary among the Heathen both may and ought in this respect to exercise a sound discretion; both examining with mildness, informing with patience, and with firmness and temper deciding on the knowledge, faith, and holiness, of those who themselves undertake to be the guides of the blind, and to sow the seeds of knowledge, holiness, and faith, in the hearts of the young candidates for salvation.

That God, my reverend brethren, may increase and strengthen you in these and all other gifts of his Spirit through his Son, and that both here and hereafter his blessing may largely follow your labours, is the prayer of

Your affectionate friend and servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

To the Reverend Deocar Schmid.

(In answer to his Letter on the Re-ordination of Lutheran Ministers.)

Calcutta, December 23, 1825.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

The great press of business with which I have had to contend ever since my arrival in Calcutta, has prevented my replying to your letter of the 1st of November, till after the event occurred from which you wished to dissuade me. I can assure you, however, that, though your arguments have remained unanswered, they have been carefully weighed by me; and that, though I have concluded by acting differently, I think highly of the talent which suggested them.

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a controversy connected with some of the most important and difficult questions in the whole field of polemic divinity. I only wish to convince you that I have not been inattentive to your letter, and to set you right on some points on which you appear to have misunderstood me in our last conversation. You suppose that I generally admit ordination by presbyters without a bishop to be valid. I do not admit this. All I said is, that when a Christian nation has, by unfortunate circumstances, lost its apostolical succession of bishops, the continuance of ministers being a thing absolutely needful and essential, those good men are not to be censured who perpetuate it by the best means in their power. And, were I to return to Germany, I would again, as before, humbly and thankfully avail myself of the preaching and sacramental ordinances of the Lutheran Evangelical Church, not doubting that they are a true Church of Christ, and that the Spirit of God is with them, as I trust he is with us also.

But though an imperfect ordination may, doubtless, be accepted by our Lord and common Master, and though a Church, under circumstances such as I have described, may remain a true Church still, it does not follow that, where this supposed deficiency may be supplied, it may not be advisable for a minister of the Gospel either to seek for fresh orders himself, or to counsel others to do so. And this may be more especially advisable where his, or their, ministerial utility is likely to be much augmented by a closer union with a Church under (what I conceive to be) the ancient discipline. We (that is, the members of our Church) have no right or inclination to judge other national churches. But our own flocks have a sacred right

to be well satisfied as to the divine commission of those whom their spiritual rulers set over them. Even where the smallest doubt exists of the perfection of the orders received, and their conformity with apostolical practice, it may be a part of Christian prudence to choose the safer side. And even where this doubt is not felt by ourselves, yet, if its existence in others impedes our usefulness, we have the highest possible warrant, in the case of St. Paul and Timothy, for condescending, even in a more material point, to the failings and prejudices of our brethren. Accordingly, if a preacher, ordained in the method practised in Germany, foresees a marked advantage to Christ's cause in a closer alliance with his Episcopalian brethren, I see not that he dishonours his previous commission by seeking our prayers and blessing in the form which *we* think most conformable to God's will. And the humility is, surely, any thing but blameable, which stoops for a time to even an inferior degree and inferior duties than those which he has already exercised.

For I see no weight in the argument, that holy orders cannot be repeated without profanation. In the first place, it is a matter of *doubt* whether the first orders were valid or no; and, in the very fact of fresh orders being given without a formal renunciation of the former, it is plain that the fresh orders are tacitly "sub conditione." But, secondly, there is nothing, as I conceive, in the nature of ordination which makes it profane to repeat it on just grounds, or reasonable scruple on the part of the Church or its rulers. Ordination stands on a different ground from baptism. It is not a new creation, but a solemn devotion of a man to a particular office, accompanied by prayer, and, as we believe, an accession of the Holy Spirit. But, though a

man can be only once *regenerate*, he may be often *renewed* and *quickened* by the Holy Ghost; and there is no reason, *à priori*, why he should not receive an *outward ordination* (as he certainly may receive an *inward call*) to a new sphere of action in the Church, as well as to a new office in it. I do not say that this has ever been the practice of the Church, though I still think that something very analogous to it may be found in Acts xiii. But I say this to show the difference between the two cases of re-baptizing and re-ordaining, and that the same risk of profanation does not attach to the last, as, I admit, does in every doubtful case to the former.

Accordingly, I need not remind you that the great body of ancient Christians allowed the validity of baptism (the *water* and *words* being correct,) whether conferred by heretics, schismatics, or laymen. But, though the ancient Church never re-baptized, they most certainly re-ordained in the case of the Meletian and Novatian clergy, as appears from Theodoret, Eccles. Hist. I. i. ix., and *Conc. Nicen. can. 8.*

Still I have no right or desire to judge devout and learned divines of another national church. If they come to sojourn among us, satisfied with the commission which they have received, or if they desire our help in their efforts to convert the Heathen, I gladly meet them as Christians and fellow-labourers. I rejoice sincerely that Christ is made known so widely through their means. I gladly admit them (as I should desire myself to be admitted in Germany or Holland) to the communion of our Church, and to all that interchange of good will and good offices (as in the case of the missionary societies of our Church) which is essential to our carrying on the Gospel work in

concert. But I am not inconsistent with these feelings, if I think that the difference between us, though it should not interrupt our communion, is in itself a misfortune to be remedied. Nor do I feel the less love and reverence for their character and talents, when I earnestly wish them to become in all points like ourselves, except these sins of infirmity of which I am mournfully conscious.

I remain, dear Sir,

Your sincere friend and servant in Christ,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

Letter to Mar Athanasius.

To the excellent and learned Father MAR ATHANASIUS, Bishop and Metropolitan of all the Churches of Christ in India which walk after the rule of the Syrians, MAR REGINALD, by the grace of God, Bishop of Calcutta; grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ.

I have earnestly desired, beloved brother in the Lord, to hear that the Lord hath prospered thy journey from Bombay, and that thou farest well, and art in good health in the land of Malabar. (I hope that they have rejoiced at thy coming, even as they rejoiced at the coming of Mar Basilius, Mar Gregorius, and Mar Johannes.*) And my prayer to God

* The last Syrian bishops (before Mar Athanasius in 1825) who went to rule the Church in Malabar, in 1751; all the metropolitans after them (called Mar Dionysius, or Cyrillus, or Philoxenus severally,) being Indian bishops of their ordaining.

for thee is, that, even as He led the patriarch Abraham from his country and from the midst of his kindred, through faith, to a strange and distant land, He may even thus guide, protect, and prosper thee, and give thee health and grace, and every good gift, and increase unto thee the love of thy flock, and that the fruits of the Spirit may be multiplied to thee from them; as it is written, "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and trust in Him, and He shall bring it to pass."

Especially I have been desirous to hear from thee of the good estate of our brethren, the faithful in Malabar, the bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and also of my own children in Christ, the English presbyters who sojourn among you at Cotyam: may God reward you according to your kindness towards them, and may the brotherly affection between you and them be daily increased and strengthened!

Furthermore, I make known to thy friendship, that the desire of my heart, and my prayer to the Lord, is, that the holy name of Jesus may be yet further known among all nations; and also, that all that love the Lord may love one another, to the intent that they which are without may behold the unity and peace that is among you, and glorify God in the day of visitation. Like as was the desire of heart, and prayer to God, of the blessed Thomas Middleton, who fed the Church of Christ in this Episcopate before me, whose memory is blessed among the saints of Christ, whether they be of the family of England or of India; but they are not two families, but one, which is named after the name of the Lord Jesus, who sitteth at the right hand of God, in whom all nations, tribes, and languages are united, and shall be glorified together.

I also pray thee to write me word of the health of thyself

and all that are with thee, likewise of the health of my own children, the presbyters of England, and what is their conversation among you.

Furthermore, I hope, if the Lord will, to pass to the cities of Madras, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly, visiting the churches there that are subject to me. And I desire, with God's pleasure, to pass on thence to salute thee, my brother, and the churches under thee, that I may be filled with joy while I behold your order, and am a participator with you in prayers. And if there be any thing more which I have not written, it may be told when I come to thee; for the daughter of the voice* is better than the son of the ink; and it is a good time when a man speaketh face to face with his friend.

This letter is sent unto thee by the hand of a learned and faithful English presbyter, John Doran, one of the presbyters from before me, who proposeth, if thou givest leave, to sojourn in Cotyam, even as the presbyters Benjamin Bayley, Joseph Fenn, and Henry Baker have sojourned until now with license of the godly bishops of the Church of Malabar, to teach learning and piety to all who thirst after instruction, doing good, and giving no cause of offence. And I beseech thee, brother, for my sake, and the sake of the Gospel of Christ, that thou wouldest receive him as a son, and as a faithful servant of our Lord, who is alone, with the Holy Ghost, most high in the glory of God the Father; to Him, therefore, be all honour and dominion for ever! Amen.

Moreover I entreat thee, brother, to beware of the emis-

* "The daughter of the voice," in Syrian, means no more than a word. It is a very usual expression for it.

saries of the Bishop of Rome, whose hands have been dipped in the blood of the saints, from whose tyranny our Church in England hath been long freed by the blessing of God, and we hope to continue in that freedom for ever; of whom are the Metropolitans of Goa, the Bishop of Cranganor, and he at Verapoli, who have, in time past, done the Indian Church much evil. I pray that those of thy churches in Malabar* who are yet subject to these men, may arouse themselves, and be delivered from their hands. Howbeit the Lord desireth not the death of a sinner, but his mercies are over all his works, and he is found of them that sought him not.

Our brother Mar Abraham, a bishop of the Armenian nation, who is sent from his patriarch at Jerusalem, (may God rescue his holy city from the hands of the Ishmaelites!) salutes thee. He also brings a letter, which was sent by his hand to thee, from the Syrian patriarch at Jerusalem, and has not found means, hitherto, of forwarding it to thee at Malabar, and has therefore requested me to send it now to thee. All the Church of Christ that is here salute thee. Salute in my name thy brethren, Mar Dionysius and Mar Philoxenus,† with the presbyters and deacons. William Mill and Thomas Robinson, presbyters, that write this epistle, in the Lord salute you.

The blessing of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost be with you evermore! Amen.

REGINALD, BISHOP.

* i. e. All churches of the Syro-chaldaic ritual, one-half of which are under the Romish yoke imposed by the Synod of Diamper.

† The ex-metropolitan, who resigned the chair to the last Mar Dionysius, and lives in voluntary retirement at Codangalongery, or Anhur, in the north.

Letter from Father Abraham, of Jerusalem, (an envoy sent with visitatorial powers, by the Armenian Patriarch, to the Eastern Churches of that Nation in India,) to Mar Athanasius; sent with Bishop Heber's Syriac letter by the hands of Mr. Doran.

Calcutta, January 6, 1826.

Abraham, a servant of Jesus Christ, from the holy see of Jerusalem (appointed bishop and nuncio on a spiritual visitation to the churches of the Armenian nation in the East-Indies,) unto our beloved brother in the Lord, the Right Rev. Mar Athanasius, Metropolitan of the Syrian nation on the coast of Malabar, and to all the communicators in the true religion of Jesus Christ, and to all the beloved brethren attached to the Church, sendeth greeting;—

Grace be unto you, and peace from God our Father, the Most High; and from our blessed Redeemer, the Lord Jesus Christ; and the Inspirer, the Holy Ghost!

I had the gratification to understand from our most beloved brother in the Lord, the Right Rev. Reginald, the Lord Bishop of the diocese of India (over the Christians of the established Church of England,) your good ministry, and adherence to the charge committed unto you by your superior, in being overseer to the flock of God, for whose redemption's sake Jesus died. This hath afforded me the greatest pleasure, and I always render my thanks to God for his grace, which is given to good Christian ministry by Jesus Christ. Permit me to remind you, ye brethren in the Lord, that, according to Scripture, the last days I see are come, when many false prophets and false Christs were to have risen, who dissemble in sheep's clothing, but in

reality are wolves; such as some of the followers of the Roman Catholic Church are, who try to find access unto the flocks (embodied in the Church of Christ by the unity of faith and brotherly love through the triumph of the Gospel,) and are bent upon scattering and driving them deep into the pit of satanical transgressions, by superstition and idolatry; and, for the sake of personal ostentation among men, they endeavour to bereave and deprive the true believers of the glory of God. Wherefore, be ye upon your guard: and watch thou, as the skilful shepherd which thou art represented, according to the beaten track of the heavenly good Shepherd; feed and watch with vigilance over the flock of Christ, even at the cost of blood. The more especially, I say, for the unity of faith and doctrine handed down from your ancestors, in union with the orthodox Church of Armenia, of which you are members, and the Head of us all is Christ, blessed for evermore.

It is rejoicing to observe that we are in expectation, according to the word of the Lord, to witness the end of the Heathens, which seems to be near at hand through the propagation of the Gospel. It is gratifying to me to observe that the most part of India is blossomed with the light and cultivation of the diffusion of Scripture, through the indefatigable labours of our beloved brother in God, the most pious and true preacher of the word of God, our amiable friend, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. Moreover, his impartial intercourse with our Church, and his friendly reception of us in the English Church, has gladdened us beyond the power of the auxiliary, pen and ink, to convey fully my humble sentiments on this subject. It is truly rejoicing to see Christianity thus strengthened, without any distinction to sects and nations; brotherly love working together; one

Christian with another ; wherefore it behoves me to hail, that the day of salvation and the acceptable time is now visible in our age. I avail myself of so seasonable a time, to remind you, our beloved brother in the Lord, of the ministry thou hast received from God, through the grace of the precious cross : minister thou the word of life unto the believers, as well as the unbelievers and Heathens, at the station where your ministry extends, that thou mayest be enabled to rescue the lost from the jaws of Antichrist. It is the bitterness of times that needs the sweetness of the Holy Scripture to be diffused, that the fruits may prove acceptable to the Almighty.

Be it known to our worthy brother in the Lord, that, during the usual course of my communication with the holy see of Jerusalem, I had the honour of receiving a letter of blessing and loving-kindness from the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of the Assyrian Church, at the Holy Land, to your address, which would have afforded me the greatest source of pleasure to hand over to you personally, and to partake, myself, of the pleasure of your brotherly kindness, and to witness your good ministry of the Church and the congregation committed to your charge, of which I have heard so happy an account from our friend and brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta ; but unfortunately it did not prosper so ; for the ship, on board of which I was a passenger, did not touch on the coast. However, a very favourable opportunity occurred since our brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, during his conversation, mentioned to me that he was on the point of forwarding you an epistle in the Syriac language. I availed myself of that opportunity to deliver to him the letter to your address (above alluded to,) to be enclosed in it at the same time,

and am much obliged for his brotherly love that he has done so, and trust to God it will reach you in safety.

I had written these few lines in the Armenian language ; but thinking perhaps none of my nation might happen to be there, to convey my brotherly love and greeting to you, and none of my handful nation here understanding the Syriac language to translate it, I have therefore got it translated into English, a language generally understood all over India ; and I hope you will find some one of the station to read it to you.

I have prepared myself to go on board an Egyptian vessel, named Alib Rohonang, towards the Holy Land ; should it please God to prosper that the vessel should touch at Allepee (as I am given to understand,) I promise myself the pleasure to send information thence to you and the brethren of the Church, and to fulfil my heart's desire.

Our brother, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, joins me in greeting you and the brethren of the Gospel of Christ. Both the Armenian and English Churches of Calcutta salute your Church. All the brethren of both our Churches greet you, and greet ye one another with a holy kiss. May health and long life attend your ministry ; and the grace and peace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

Pray for me, that I may be enabled to prosecute my course to the holy city of Jerusalem.

The salutation and prayer of me, Abraham, with mine own hand.

*The second Letter of Bishop Heber to Mar Athanasius.**March 22, 1826.*

To the honoured among bishops, **MAR ATHANASIUS**, Metropolitan of the churches of India which follow the Syrian confession, my dear Brother in the Lord **JESUS**, **REGINALD**, by divine permission, Bishop of Calcutta, wisheth health, peace, and increase of prosperity in this world, and the world to come. Amen.

This second letter I write unto thee, my brother beloved in the Lord, to let thee know that by God's mercy I have reached the country of Madras, whither thy letter, which arrived in Calcutta after my departure thence, hath been sent after me. I was comforted to learn thy safe arrival and good health among the churches of thy people; yet I have much grief and heaviness of heart to hear that the enemy hath sown trouble between thee and our brethren **Philoxenus** and **Dionysius**, which in time past had guided and governed the churches of Travancore, in their desolation, when no tidings came from Antioch for many years, and the people of the Lord (but for them whom God raised up to feed his flock) had been scattered on the mountains as sheep having no shepherd. Let this, my brother, incline thine heart to show them favour; and may the good Spirit of God move them to render thee all worthy honour and obedience, both for thine own sake, and his that sent thee!

Furthermore, I have spoken concerning thy business to the most excellent governor of the English nation which is in the city of Madras, who had heard divers things reported

against thee; to whom I said, "Athanasius is my brother, and, while he sojourned in Bombay, approved himself in all things blameless, and of a truth he brought letters with him from the honoured father in Christ, the Patriarch of Antioch: perhaps the things are not true which are reported: why then should he be sent away from the land? And now, behold, I go southward, even to Trichinopoly and Quilon; it may be that I shall reconcile him to his brethren. I pray thee write thus much to the queen of Travancore and the deputy that dwelleth in Quilon;"—and the governor has written as I desired. Wherefore, my honoured brother, when I come into your borders, (as, by the grace of God, I hope in forty days to come thither,) my desire is to be allowed to make peace between you; not as having authority, for I am a stranger in your Church, neither desire I to rule over any but my own people; not as having wisdom, for I would gladly learn of you in things pertaining to the truth; but as your brother in the Lord, and the servant of the churches of Christ; and as desiring, like Mordecai, to speak peace to all the children of God, and to say unto you that strive together, as Moses said to the Israelites, "Sirs, ye are brethren; why do ye wrong one to another?" But my counsel is, that all the malpans and catanars of the Church, also thou thyself, and the brethren Philoxenus and Dionysius, should come together to meet me in one place, even at Cotyam, and testify unto me concerning the customs of the Church, and all things belonging to the same; and, that all men may speak their mind freely and without fear, I will bring with me learned men, who speak both Arabic and the language of the Malayalim (but who are not of the number of the priests sent heretofore for the college of Cotyam,) and I can hear both

what is said, and what thou desirest to speak unto me in secret. And whereas there are some which say that Philoxenus is no bishop, and some which say that he was consecrated by laying on of hands and the Holy Ghost, even as thou wert, this thing may be inquired of at the mouth of many witnesses, and the will of the Church be made known whom they choose to obey. And in the meantime, my brother, for as much as it hath been said of thee, "he is a violent man, and seeketh to change times and hours," let me pray thee to be patient, if in the days of darkness and trouble any thing have been done amiss, awaiting the time that thy power shall be strengthened, and the Lord shall cause all thy ways to prosper. But I speak as unto the wise. Thou knowest that the priests of the high places were not at once cut off from Israel; how much less those whom a bishop hath ordained, though in thy absence, and without leave from Antioch. Likewise, in the days of king David, Zadok and Abiathar were both high priests in the tabernacle, though the true priest, having Urim and Thummim, was Abiathar, son of Ahimelech, only; and thus it may be that the anointing shall be on thy head, and the government shall be on thy shoulders, and yet the place of honour next to thee may be given to them that kept the flock before thy coming. But of these things we may discourse together when there is opportunity. And, further, if any man hath wronged thee, speak to me thereof without fear; am I not thy brother? Even if he be of my own people, as far as I have power, he shall not go without correction. Salute the Bishops Dionysius and Philoxenus in my name. I call them Bishops, for as much as they have been so reported unto me by divers sure tokens, and I trust they may be found bishops indeed. Salute the rana-

bar Isaac, thy fellow-traveller and mine, whom I met at Bombay. Salute the malpans and catauars. The priests, Thomas Robinson and John Doran (concerning whom I wrote unto thee,) salute thee. Verily, John was sick at Madras, wherefore my letter was not hastened on. Nevertheless, he is now restored, by God's blessing, and is with me on my journey.

Abuna Mar Simeon, the Armenian, who was with us at Bombay, and who has been now again with me at Madras, salutes you. Grace and peace be with you all, from God and our Lord Jesus!

If thou hast any thing to write, let thy letter be sent unto me in the city of Palamcottah.

Written in the land of Coromandel, nigh unto the city of Alumbura.

REGINALD, BISHOP.

Letter to Mar Philoxenus.

To the honoured among bishops, PHILOXENUS, raised up of God to be a guide and shepherd to the churches of India, which hold the Syrian confession, REGINALD, by divine permission, Bishop of Calcutta, wisheth health, grace, and much prosperity from God and our Lord Jesus.

I have heard from many witnesses, my brother beloved in the Lord, of the works which thou hast wrought, and thy deep tribulation, and thy labour of love which hath been shown towards the Church of Christ among the Malayalim, at a time when no tidings came from the Church which is

at Antioch, and there were many dangers and much sorrow without and within, on the right hand and on the left, from the idolatrous people and the false brethren. Likewise, how thou hast made choice of a wise and holy man, even the brother Dionysius, to judge the people in thy room, and to teach them the pure and certain doctrine of the Lord; and that thou hast sealed him to the work by the laying on of hands, to the intent that the grace which was given thee might not perish, but that, after thy decease, a witness of the truth might not be wanting in Israel, until the time that the Lord of the vineyard shall return to reckon with his servants.

Which thing also was made known to the blessed Father in God, Thomas Middleton, who, before my weakness came hither, was Bishop of Calcutta and of the churches of the English in India; who beheld also your order and the grace of God which was among you, and was glad, and spake thereof unto all the chiefs of our nation. Inasmuch that in the land of Feringistan, which is Chittim, and Ashkenaz, and Gomer, the glory of the Lord was made known; nor there only, but in Britain also, which is our own land; where the blessed Apostle Paul, after he had been in Spain, in times past preached the Gospel, even as the Apostle Thomas did with you, whose memory is at this day blessed among the churches of India.

For which cause also the holy Father in Christ, the Patriarch of Antioch, having heard of your love and the truth and patience of your brethren, sent our brother Athanasius to carry his letters to you, and to testify unto you all the things which were in his heart as a faithful bishop and evangelist; at whose coming, when I heard the same in Bombay, my heart greatly rejoiced, hoping that,

by communication with him, yourself and your flock might be the more established in faith, and that love might increase more exceedingly with all knowledge. Whence then is it, my brethren, that there are wars and envyings among you? God is a God of peace, not of division; a God of order, not of disorder; and by all these things the name of Christ is blasphemed among the Gentiles; and the souls of many shall be turned into perilous heresies; such as are taught by the priests of the bishop of Rome, which are in Cranganore and Verapoli, from whom, in time past, great sorrow hath arisen to this people. Let me entreat you then, my brethren, on Christ's behalf, that you be reconciled one to another, in honour preferring one another, and each desirous to take the lowest room, to the end that ye may reap an exceeding weight of glory hereafter. And for as much as the people are divided, and this man is of Philoxenus, and that followeth after Athanasius; my counsel is, that the multitude must needs come together, and that the priests of the order of Aaron, and the holy Levites, which are the deacons, be called into one place, to declare openly, according to the knowledge given unto them, what hath been the custom of your fathers, and whom they will obey as their bishop and faithful shepherd. Like as it is written, "If thou hast any thing against thy brother, tell it unto the Church; and he that will not hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a Heathen man and a publican." At which time, I also, if it seemeth good unto your discretion, will be present with you in Cotyam; not as a ruler, for I am a stranger among you—nor as a judge, for who am I, that I should judge any but mine own people? but as a brother in Christ, and a faithful witness of that which shall be determined, and who may plead the cause of your nation

with the queen of Travancore, and with the most excellent governor whom the king of England hath set over his cities in India. And, for as much as is slanderously reported of thee, that thou art no bishop indeed, let this thing be also inquired into at the mouth of two or three witnesses. And let not thy heart be troubled in that I have known our brother Athanasius in Bombay; for I have purposed, by God's grace, to know no man after the flesh, but to walk in these things according to the will of God and the tradition of the churches, and to speak peace, if it may be so, to both of you (are ye not both brothers?) and to acknowledge him, if difference must be made, whom your people shall freely choose to rule over them; and within forty days I trust to be strengthened to come unto you.

Brethren, pray for me. Salute our brother, Bishop Dionysius, in my name; salute the brethren which are with you, the malpans, catanars, and deacons, with all others of the Church. Salute our brother Athanasius. God grant that ye may be at unity with each other! The brethren which are with me, even Thomas Robinson (which was in time past known unto the Bishop Dionysius,) and John Doran, salute you.

Grace, mercy, and peace be with you, and with the Israel of God! Amen.

Copy of a Letter from the Rev. Thomas Robinson to Mar Ignatius Georgius, Patriarch of Antioch, 1826.

The presbyter, Thomas Robinson, ramban to the blessed Mar Reginald, bishop of the English churches in India, sendeth greeting and reverence.

I am not worthy to write unto thy eminence, for as much as thy order in the Church of our Lord Jesus is the highest, and mine the most humble; yet since God hath thought me worthy to serve his honoured and blessed servant, Mar Reginald, the Bishop of our Church in India, I pray thee to receive my words as the words of him who was my master and my brother. The rather it is my duty to write to thee, because there were many things which were in his heart to say unto thee, and he was meditating a letter of peace to thee at the very time when the Great Master of all, the Chief Shepherd, called him to his eternal reward. With thy permission, therefore, I will relate to thy wisdom what things he had already done towards thy churches in India, and what was further in his mind to do. It is not unknown to thee, Most Reverend Father, from the information of the Reverend Legate and Metropolitan of thy churches in Malabar, Mar Athanasius, that he met our blessed Father, Mar Reginald, at Bombay, soon after Pentecost, in the last year (1825,) and, as one bishop with another, partook of the holy mysteries with him at the altar of the English church dedicated to St. Thomas in that city. Mar Reginald showed great affection to Mar Athanasius in return for his love to him, and gave him letters to several persons of distinction among the English in this country, commending him to them as Metropolitan and Supreme Bishop of the Syrian churches in India. After that time he saw his face no more, but he always remembered the brotherly intercourse that was between them: and when he wrote an account of his diocese to the Most Reverend and Excellent Mar Carolus, Archbishop of Canterbury and Metropolitan of all the churches of the English nation, he made mention therein of Mar Athanasius, and his mission

from your eminence, and how, by his means, an end would be put to the irregularities that had heretofore prevailed in the church of the Apostle Thomas at Malabar. Also, when an English priest, Johannes Doran by name, came to him at Calcutta five months after, desiring to proceed to Malabar, our blessed father gave him a letter to Mar Athanasius, requesting him to allow him permission to reside among his people, and to receive him as a son for his own sake. This letter I have now at length the satisfaction of sending to the care of your eminency, and I will now relate from what cause, and in what manner, it was most unfortunately detained so long from the hands of Mar Athanasius; for our blessed father most earnestly desired it should be delivered without delay, since it would, in all probability, have prevented his departure from the country, and healed the disorders and schisms that now so wretchedly divide your Church in India.

When the priest, Johannes Doran, had gone from Calcutta to Madras, on his way to the country of Malabar, he heard, for the first time, that there were dissensions between the Indian bishops and the metropolitan from Antioch, and, being a stranger, he was advised by some persons that he should avoid taking any part in such controversies, even such as might seem just to him. Therefore, and on account of his health, he remained at Madras for two months, till the end of the month of February, in this year, when Mar Reginald arrived there on his visitation to the southern part of his diocese. It gave him great grief to find that Johannes had delayed his progress, although he had given him letters to Mar Athanasius, as the head of those churches, in which also he had included another letter written by Abraham Abuna, a legate from the Arme-

nian Patriarch of Jerusalem, to Mar Athanasius. As soon as he obtained these letters again from the hands of Johannes, on the 4th day of March, he sent them to Travancore, to be delivered into the metropolitan's hands. He also sent answers to letters he had received from that land, in which he exhorted all who were subject to his authority to reverence the ancient canons and usages of the Syrian Church, and to know him as the rightful head and metropolitan of the faithful Indians in Malabar, who had been received as such, agreeable to your eminency's letters, in a general convocation of the Church, summoned at Cotyam, on December 29th, 1825, by the Bishop Mar Philoxenus. He also expressly and earnestly desired all these his children not to interpose the authority of the Heathen government in Travancore, as defining any thing in the affairs of the Church, but to suffer all things to continue as they were from the old time, even since the Heathen princes gave the Syrian churches of Malabar independent privileges, the people choosing their ecclesiastical governors according to the rites and usages which they held from the day of the blessed Apostle St. Thomas to this time, the government allowing their elections, and receiving those they elected, while they thus rendered to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, and to God the things which were God's. And for as much as it had been reported to Mar Reginald, that Mar Athanasius had acted violently in the Church, depriving those that had been formerly accounted bishops, and despising the authority of the rulers of the land, our blessed father was very careful to inquire into this matter, that he might represent it truly to all the deputies of the governors of the English in that land. In the meantime, the letter of Mar Athanasius to him, written one month

before, which had been ignorantly sent to Calcutta, was given to him at Madras; and to this letter he sent an answer in the Syriac language, on the 22d of March, which also I now enclose to your eminency, wherein he assured him of his unaltered friendship, exhorted him to mildness and forbearance till he should come, and, with his permission and good will, mediate between him and those in Travancore who supported the Indian bishops, assuring him also that he would not leave unpunished those who behaved unjustly or unkindly to him in any way. And Mar Reginald acted even as he had wrote, and he obtained a promise from the excellent governor of the English at Madras, that he would confirm whatever appointment he thought good respecting the peace of the Church in Malabar. And your excellency will see, by his letters to both sides, that he intended that Mar Athanasius should be acknowledged as metropolitan by all those who had power; and that the Indian bishops, when it should be seen they were truly such, should receive honour and maintenance as his suffragans.

In this belief and intention he wrote also a letter of friendship and brotherly love to Mar Philoxenus, as one bishop to another, exhorting him to receive Athanasius, as sent by your eminency, to rule them. I send a copy of that letter to your eminency. I beg your eminency's wise and careful attention to this account; and of the truth of it I myself am witness; for I wrote with my own hand the two letters to Mar Athanasius, and have been near to our blessed father, as his ramban and secretary during all these transactions. Your wisdom will judge from this, with what grief and surprise Mar Reginald heard the events that took place at the same time at Travancore. These events there

is no need that I relate, as your eminency has heard them clearly from Mar Athanasius himself; but the thing which gives most grief to the hearts of all who love the memory, and rejoiced in the plans of our late blessed father in Christ, is, that his two letters to Mar Athanasius were not received. The first letter, which, as I have mentioned, was sent on the 4th of March, must have arrived at Travancore either on the same day Mar Athanasius was arrested by the divan and banished the country, or at least the day after; yet the letter was not sent after him to Cochin, where he remained many days. Nor was it told to Mar Reginald that his letter had not been delivered, till many days after it had arrived at Travancore; and, this news not coming to the Bishop till after Easter, at Tanjore, no remedy was found for the evil: much less was the second letter delivered, which was written, as I have mentioned, twenty days later than the other. But as soon as Mar Reginald heard, as he did in the Passion-Week, that the metropolitan had been arrested by order of the Heathen government, he immediately wrote a letter to the British deputy in Travancore, Colonel Newall, who was then living at some distance in the mountains of the North. In that letter he supplicated him to stop all these proceedings against Mar Athanasius; to wait for his coming before he listened to any accusation against the person bearing the commission of your eminency, and recognised in that character, as he had no doubt he soon would be by all the faithful in Malabar. He reminded him, moreover, how infamous it would be to the English nation, if we should admit, in any degree, the accursed practices which we all condemn in the disciples of the corrupt Church of Rome, in their conduct towards the legates from Syria, who came to the ancient churches,

which Divine Providence had now placed under our civil government and protection. Our blessed father, Mar Reginald, lived not long after the writing of that excellent letter. It was his mind to have followed it up by a letter to your eminency, and by other acts calculated to ensure the peace of your Church at Malabar, when it pleased his heavenly Father to call him to himself. The letter was, however, received by Colonel Newall, who immediately sent orders to the divan of Travancore to stay all farther proceedings against Mar Athanasius, and to authorize his return to the country. That letter, arriving after the death of Mar Reginald, was opened and read by me. But, alas! the news had already arrived from Travancore, that Mar Athanasius had already sailed from Cochin, and consequently that these orders of the resident came too late. It would ill become me, Most Reverend Father, to obtrude any counsel of mine upon your eminency, in an affair where the peace of your Church is so nearly concerned. Suffer me, however, to give you what are not mine, but the ideas of my honoured Father in the Lord, whose nearest wish, after the prosperity of his own children, and the extension of the Gospel of the Lord by their means, was to preserve the integrity of the Church subjected to your eminency's rule in the land of Malabar. It appeared, then, to Mar Reginald, from very strict and accurate inquiries made into the truth of the circumstances, not only from those resident in Cotyam, but from others also, that when the last prelates (on whom be the peace of God!) came from Syria to Malabar, Mar Gregorius, of Jerusalem, Mar Basilius Maphiran, and Mar Johannes, they encountered the like opposition from the ambition of the Indian bishop, Mar Thoma, and his nephew, that Mar Athanasius has to encounter

from the ignorance and prejudice of those opposed to him. Nevertheless, as disciples of Him who was lowly and meek in heart, and who, by his own mouth and that of his holy apostles, has taught us not to render evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good, they, after more than eighteen years' quarreling, procured the younger Indian bishop to be submissive to their will, and (Mar Basilius being dead) Mar Gregorius consecrated him, and honoured him with the title of Metropolitan, by the name of Dionysius. All this is not unknown to your eminency; but besides this, it is also true that there was a young Indian priest, who, during all these troubles and contentions, remained faithful to the just cause of the Syrian prelates from Antioch. Him, therefore, during those troubles, Mar Basilius had consecrated bishop, by the name of Cyrillus. And it is said also, though with what truth I know not certainly, that when Mar Gregorius had given the title of Metropolitan to Dionysius, and when Mar Dionysius afterwards refused to give him the maintenance he agreed to give, then Mar Gregorius gave the same title of Metropolitan to the aforesaid Cyrillus. However this may be as to his dignity of metropolitan, or whatever right this may have conferred upon him, it is the confession of all in Malabar, of every party, that he was truly a bishop by the consecration of Mar Basilius. That Cyrillus, as is sufficiently attested, consecrated another priest before his death, A. D. 1805, by the name of Philoxenus, who again, in 1812, consecrated in the same manner him who now lives, and is called Mar Philoxenus. Now, though the title of Metropolitan is wrongly assumed by that prelate, and the others whom he has consecrated, and ignorantly allowed them by the Heathen governors of the land, it will not be doubtful

to your eminency that they are real bishops, though there were not the number of prelates present at the consecration which the holy canons ordinarily require. But in a barbarous land, where bishops are very few, where intercourse with the see of Antioch was interrupted and difficult, it may seem perhaps to your eminency, as it did to Mar Reginald, that it were better for a bishop before his death to provide successors for himself, provided the real form of ordination be duly observed, than that the Church should be left entirely destitute of bishops. More especially when, at the demise of the true metropolitan, more than twelve years ago, there was no provision for the continuance of lawful pastors among the people of Malabar, unless the other successions from Mar Basilius were admitted as true, which continued from Cyrillus to those who are now in Malabar. It was therefore in our blessed Father's mind to entreat your eminency, and also his Right Reverend Brother, Mar Athanasius, to lay aside all prejudices from the reports of ambitious men in India, who often decry in their brethren those things which they only desire for themselves, and that you would consult in these matters what is conducive to the peace, security, and welfare of the Church—not indeed giving place, even for an hour, to those prejudiced or wicked brethren, who pretend to set up the right of the Heathen magistrates to name Church governors, against that of the see of Antioch; but not denying, even to the gainsaying and the prejudiced, that character which is allowed them by the nation, if it should appear, on due examination and trial by the faithful, the priests and doctors of Malabar, that the character of bishop does not of right belong to them. By these mild means, and by inviting a fair and impartial trial of all doubtful matters, the

peace and order of the Church will be best promoted. Our brethren and fathers of the English Church all look with the greatest interest and affection on the state of the Church of the Apostle St. Thomas, in Malabar; all desire earnestly to see it in peace and prosperity, and its connexion with Syria unimpaired; and they all will hear with sorrow of the violent removal of your legate from this country. I am now engaged, as is my bounden duty, in giving an account of these transactions, with the whole of the wishes of our blessed Father concerning them, to our venerable Father and Lord, Mar Carolus, Primate of England.

&c. &c. &c.

THOMAS ROBINSON,
Priest and Ramban of Mar Reginald the blessed.

SKETCH
OF THE
CHURCHES OF ST. THOMAS, IN MALABAR,
FROM THE SYNOD OF DIAMPER, 1599,
ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY,
WITH NOTES,
EXTRACTED FROM
F. PAULIN'S "INDIA ORIENTALIS CHRISTIANA,"

A. D.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

1599 June 26th, The Synod of Diamper is held. 1600, Angamale subjected to Goa.
 1605 Cranganore erected into an Archbishopric by Paul V. subject to Goa.
 1610 By the bull of Paul V. Cannanore is made the boundary of the Archbishop of Goa, and the jurisdiction of Angamale, or Cranganore, begins at Dharmapatnam, three leagues distant from Cannanore.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.	Archbishops of Goa.	Archbishops of Cranganore.	Italian Vicars Apostolic of Malabar sent from Rome.	Jacobite Bishops from Antioch.	Indian Superintendents of the Christians revolted from Rome.	REMARKS.
1600	D. Alexis de Meneses came to India, A. D. 1595, translated to Braga, 22d of June, 1611, ob. 1617.	1605. D. Francisus Roz. Soc. Jes. created bishop of Angamale, 1601.				
1616	Christophorus de Sa, Hieronimite, translated from Malacca.	1617. D. Hieronymus Xavier, Soc. Jes. elected bishop, but died the same year.				
1619	D. Sebastianus à S. Petro, Augustin, translated from Malapur and Cochin, ob. 1629.	1617. D. Stephanus de Brito, Soc. Jes. ob. 1641.				

A. D.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

- 1632 The Archdeacon George, in the name of the Church, writes to the King of Portugal, complaining of the Jesuits—(This letter at Verapoli—quoted in a Manuscript of Ildephonsus a presentatione)—1st. that they talked Syriac where they pleased. (This probably was “cauponantes linguam et libros.”) 2d. That they gave none of the king's money to native priests. 3d. That Stephanus de Brito (ignorant of Syriac, and therefore disliked more than Roz) had collated to parishes without consulting George.—See D. Raphael de Figueredo's Epistle to the Propaganda.—“Without waiting for an answer to this letter, twenty years afterwards,” they send for a Nestorian (Qu?) Bishop (Ahataillah, Gr. Theodorus,) or, as the Malabars call him, Mar Ignatius, from Bagdad or Babylon.
- 1652

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.	Archbishops of Goa.	Archbishops of Cranganore.	Italian Vicars Apostolic of Malabar sent from Rome.	Jacobite Bishops from Antioch.	Indian Superintendents of the Christians revolted from Rome.	REMARKS.
1631	D. Emanuel Telles ord. Predicatorum.					
1635	D. Franciscus à Martyribus, ord. Francisci Provincialis, ob. 1652.	1641. D. Franciscus Garzia, Soc. Jes. having been appointed in 1637, consecrated Bishop of Ascalon, ob. 1651.				The great schism of the Christians of St. Thomas. The schismatic bishops. The vicars apostolic appointed.

- 1652 *Ahatallah*, or *Ignotius*, taken by the Portuguese, and burnt at Goa, according to Paulin. The tradition of the Christians is, that he was the Patriarch of Antioch, that he was drowned by the Rajah of Cochin off the fort, at the instigation of the Portuguese, and that the king died the same day by a blow on the head, getting into his palanquin.
- 1653 The Christians, enraged at this event, met at Alangatta, where twelve priests install *Parambil Toma*, or Thomas de Campo, to exercise Episcopal government over them. (The Romanists say he was consecrated, the Christians say not, but confess that they gave him and his successors the title of *Mar.*) All the *diocese*, except about 400, fell into schism—Paulin says 200,000 souls. Those 400 report the circumstance to two bare-footed Carmelites of Goa, whom they had known twenty years before, and they send the letters to Pope Alexander VII. who
- 1656 Sends out five Carmelite missionaries from the Propaganda—two of whom, Josephus à Maria, and Vincentius à Catharina, gradually bring back forty of the lapsed churches. Two others, Matthæus à S. Josepho, and Marcellus, are left in Malabar, and Joseph and Vincentius return to Rome. In the meantime Hyacinthus à S. Vincentio arrives in Malabar by way of Lisbon and Goa, and labours in the reduction of the churches. Josephus à Maria, appointed Bishop of Hierapolis and Vicar Apostolic, returns from Rome, and arrives in Malabar.
- 1661 Cochin is taken by the Dutch, and Joseph, being obliged to leave Malabar, consecrates Alexander de Campo, a native, related to Thomas de Campo, to govern the Church; for Francis Garzia, Archbishop of Angamale, was dead.
- 1674 On the death of Thomas de Campo, the Christians place the mitre on the head of his brother, a layman; eight days after, he was killed by lightning, when they elected his nephew; he, dying, appoints his nephew.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.	Archbishops of Goa.	Archbishops of Cranganore.	Italian Vicars Apostolic of Malabar sent from Rome.	Jacobite Bishops from Antioch.	Indian Superintendents of the Christians revolted from Rome.	REMARKS.
1671	D. Christophorus à Silveira ord. Eremit. August.	P. Franciscus Barreto, Soc. Jes. He refused Cochin and also Cranganore.	1659. D. Joseph à S. Maria de Sebastiani. ob. 1689. 1663. Alexander de Campo.	1652. Ahatallah burnt at Goa, 1651. 1665. Gregorius the patriarch or the Syrian metropolitan of Jerusalem. ob. 1672, at Parur.	1653. Thomas de Campo I. 1674. Thomas II. only eight days. —Thomas III.	From 1659 to 1701, the archbishopric of Cranganore was vacant. The first Thomas de Campo was a priest, but never consecrated bishop, except by a mock consecration of twelve priests. The others of that name were laymen.

- 1675 A faculty granted to four bare-footed Carmelites to choose a proper assistant to Alexander de Campo, Bishop of Megara.
- 1677 They choose *D. Raphael de Figueredo Salgado* with the title of Bishop of *Adrumentum*. Alexander de Campo refuses to consecrate him, having (with the protection of Henry Van Rheade, Governor of Cochin,) chosen *Matthew de Campo*, his nephew, to be his Assistant Bishop. He is consecrated, therefore, at Calicut the same year by *Thomas de Castro*, Bishop of *Fulcivila*. This consecration was confirmed by the Pope, 1681. Infinite quarrels between the Carmelites and Raphael—and *Custodius de Pinho*, Bishop of *Hicrapolis*, Vicar Apostolic at the court of the Great Mogul, chosen to appease them.
- 1676 *Andreas*, calling himself Patriarch, arrives in Malabar, with a forged brief from the Pope. The Carmelite missionaries at Aleppi detect him to be a jacobite priest. He was given to wine, and therefore not acceptable to Thomas de Campo's party. He lived some time at Callarcate, thence went to Callada, where he fell drunk into the river and was drowned. The schismatics of the south offer cocks and hens at his tomb on the anniversary of his death, which custom lasted till 1782.
- 1685 Mar Johannes comes from Mosul, with the title of Maphrian, with a patent from the Patriarch of Antioch. Mar Basilius, with him, had only the title of Bishop. They were attended by two Armenian clergymen, and one Greek. Johannes was a true jacobite bishop; he went to the south of Malabar to *Palaya*, and taught his errors by letters written in Arabic with Syriac characters. Hanna and Thomas de Campo oppose him, and he goes to the North, where he dies at *Molanturuti*. Basilius dies at *Codomangala*, where they keep the day of his death.
- (E.)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.	Archbishops of Goa.	Archbishops of Cranganore.	Italian Vicars Apostolic of Malabar sent from Rome.	Jacobite Bishops from Antioch.	Indian Superintendents of the Christians revolted from Rome.	REMARKS.
1675	<p>D Antonius Branda, Monachus Ord. S. Bernardi, ob. 1678.</p> <p>D. Emanuel de Sousa de Menezes Cler. Sa. cal.</p> <p>D. Albertus a S. Gonzalo, Canon. Regul. S August</p>	<p>1682. P. Andreas Freire Soc. Jes. died before the Brief arrived.</p> <p>1684. Emanuel de Sousa Cong. Orat. declines.</p> <p>P. Franciscus Rois. Martello. Cong. Orat. declines.</p> <p>Hieronymus a S. Jacobo Monachus S. Benedict abdicates.</p> <p>1694. Didacus ab annunciatione Justinianus.</p>	<p>1675. Thomas de Castro, a native of Goa, ob. 1681.</p> <p>1677. D. Raphael de Figueredo Saldied before the gado, who had been the assistant of Alexander de Cam- po when old, ob. 1695.</p> <p>1694. D. Custodius de Pinho.</p>	<p>1676. Andreas.</p> <p>1685. Johannes and Basilius.</p>	<p>1761. Thomas de Campo IV. ob. 1786.</p> <p>1786. Thomas de Campo V.</p>	<p>The fifth Thomas said he was consecrated by Mar Basilius; but this is proved by no public document.</p> <p>It is of this Thomas that all written by La Quien, La Croze, Asseman, Schaaf, and the Daues, is to be understood.</p> <p>(F.)</p>
1690	<p>D. Augustinus ab annunciatione, Ord. Mil. Christi. ob. 1712.</p>					

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A. D.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

- 1708 D. Gabriel came to the Quilon coast in an English ship from Madras, calling himself Archbishop of Jerusalem. He caused infinite disturbances. (De eodiarium M. S. D. Angeli Francisci Episcopi Methelopolitani plurimæ Epistolæ P. Innocentii & S. Onuphio, P. Arsenii, D. Episcopi Limirensis, quæ in Scriiis Verapolitais asservantur.) He lived and died a Nestorian, the implacable enemy of Thomas de Campo, and cajoling the Catholics. From these documents Le Quicn and Asseman must be corrected.
- 1717 Thomas V. on his death, had put the mitre on the head of his lay nephew, and the staff and ring on his hand—*Gabriel* had ordained many, and, among the rest, *George*, the senior priest of *Tekenpallipuram*, and the *Muppen* or senior priest of *Callurcate*, both of whom Paulin knew. Thomas VI. wished to be consecrated by Gabriel; but, while he was hastening for that purpose to Cottata, Gabriel expired.
- (G.)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A D.	Archbishops of Goa.	Archbishops of Cranganore.	Italian Vicars Apostolic of Malabar sent from Rome.	Jacobite Bishops from Antioch.	Indian Superintendents of the Christians revolted from Rome.	REMARKS.
1710	D. Sebastianus de Andrade Pesanha. Promotor Officii.	1701. D. Johannes Rebeiro, Soc. Jes. ob. 1716.	1700. D. Angelus Franciscus à S. Theresa, Carm. Discalc. He was consecrated Bishop of Methelopolis, 1701, by Mar Simeon, the Syrian Catholic Bishop. The Archbishop of Goa, and the Bishop of Cochin refused.—Confirmed Vic. Apost. of the diocese of Cranganore and Cochin, on account of the long absence of the bishops of those sees, ob. 1712, buried at Verapoli.	1703. D. Gabriel, Syrian archbishop, ob. 1731, at Cottata.	1717. Thomas de Campo VI. Consecrated A. D. 1772, by Mar Gregorius when he took the name of Mar Dionysius.	
1721	D. Ignatius à S. Theresa, Can. Reg. S. August.	1721. D. Antonius Pimentel, called by the Malabars, Budhimetran, ob. 1752, at Puttencera.	1714. Johannes Baptista à S. Theresa Carm. Discalc. ob. 1650, at Verapoli.			

A. D.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

- 1747 The Schismatics had often urged the Dutch at Cochin to bring them a bishop from Mosal or Persia. Ezekiel, a rich merchant, a Jew of Cochin, caused *Mar Johannes* to be brought in a Dutch ship from Bussora. "David, the son of Ezekiel, often confessed to me (says Paulinus) that he (Johannes) was really a Jew." In Candenatta, Molanturuti, Porrota, Molicolum, and other schismatic churches, he burnt the images of the saints of Christ, allowed the priests to marry—A. D. 1748, stole the silver furniture of several churches, drank hard, and in his cups made many disturbances. He did not consecrate Thomas de Campo, but was taken and sent back on board ship to Bussora. There is a letter against him from the Cardinal Valens, A. D. 1750, to Father Boniface à Pnero Jesu at Verapoli.
- 1746 to 1773 While Florentius was Vicar Apostolic, the contention began between the Syrian and Latin Christians; those of the Syrian ritual separating and troubling the missionaries till the year 1783.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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1725	D. Ignatius à S. Teresa.		1734. Innocentius à S. Leopoldo resigns. 1746. D. Florentius à Jesu Nazareno, Carm. Disc. built a Seminary at Verapoli, ob. 1773.	1747. Mar Johannes Hereticus Iconoclastes.		

A. D.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

1751 April 23, Mar *Basilus, Gregorius*, and *Johannes*, three Jacobite Bishops, came to Malabar, attended by two Syrian clergymen, one from Diarbekir, called *Shokerullah*, the other named *Aday*, who married a wife at *Mattincera*, and with whom Paulinus had often talked. Ignatius sent *Basilus* as archbishop, and his patent is dated July 23, 1749, at Diarbekir. He died at *Mattincera*, and was buried at *Candeuata*, one year after his arrival. *Gregorius* was of Aleppo. He died at *Molanturti*, A. D. 1772, after consecrating Thomas de Campo (or Joseph) in the church at *Ncranatta*, in the presence of *Johannes*, the Chorepiscopus—after which Thomas took the name of *Dionysius*.

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A. D.	Archbishops of Goa.	Archbishops of Cranganore.	Italian Vicars Apostolic of Malabar sent from Rome.	Jacobite Bishops from Antioch.	Indian Superintendents of the Christians revolted from Rome.	REMARKS.
1750	D. Antonius Taira de Neiva Brum. Ord. Mil. S. Jacobi.	1753. D. Johannes Aloysius de Vasconcelles, S. Jes. ob. 1756, at Pattencera.	1774. D. Franciscus Salesias à Matre dolorosa Carin.	1751. Mar Basilus, Mar Gregorius, Mar Johannes.		
1773	D. Franciscus ab assumptione (sœc. nom. Britto) ord. Erem. S. Aug.	Soc. Jes. ob. 1777, at Puttencera.	Disc. opposed by the missionaries, he went away, and died on M. Carmel, 1787.			

A. D.

REMARKABLE EVENTS.

1787 The Christians of the Syriac ritual meet in Angamale, in St. George's church, under *D. Thomas Pareanake* (Vicar General of the sec of Cranganore, from the Archbishop of Goa) separate from the Latin Vicars Apostolic, and swear never to have another pastor except of their own nation. To justify their separation to the king of Cochin and Travancore, they bring many charges against the Jesuits and Carmelites for having joined *Carietil*, their archbishop, of having formerly driven out Mar Simeon from Malabar, and imprisoned some of their priests. They are heard before the king of Travancore (*Paulinus* pleading for the Vicars Apostolic) and are fined 12,000 Scut. Rom. Thomas Pareanake, thus defeated, governs the Church wretchedly, and the clergy receive their orders from the Bishop of Cochin. The acts of this cause is preserved, together with the letter of Rama Varmar, king of Travancore, to John Gerard Van Angelbeck, governor of Cochin, in the records of Verapoli.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.	Archbishops of Goa.	Archbishops of Cranganore.	Italian Vicars Apostolic of Malabar sent from Rome.	Jacobite Bishops from Antioch.	Indian Superintendents of the Christians revolted from Rome.	REMARKS.
1783	D. Emanuel à S. Catherina Carmel. Discal. translated from Cochin.	1782. D. Josephus Carietil, a native of Malabar, educated by the <i>Propuganda</i> , came from Lisbon to Goa, 1786, and died there the same year.	1780. D. Johannes Maria à S. Thomà, Carm. Disc. 1784. D. Aloysius Maria a Jesu, Carm. Disc.			

NOTES ON THE FOREGOING SKETCH.

(A.)

The Diocese of Angamale.

In the act of separation, the Syrian ritualists number eighty-four Catholic parishes, thirty-two Schismatic—in all, one hundred and sixteen, the whole diocese of *Angamale*. [D. Angelus Franciscus, A. D. 1702, numbered one hundred and fourteen parishes of both rituals.] They reckon one hundred thousand Catholic families—making the calculation so high in order to escape the fine. There were formerly about that number of families under the government of the petty kings; but when Rama Vermar subjected all the provinces of *Malabar* to himself, A. D. 1761; and Tippoo Sultan, A. D. 1790, and the following years, destroyed the churches of the North and many Christian families, the number was greatly diminished.

A. D. 1663, when *Cochin* was taken by the Dutch, the Portuguese and all Catholic ministers were ejected. The Jesuits went further north from *Cochin* and *Cranganore*, and built a mission-house and seminary at *Ambalacatta*, in the Samorin's country, which remained till the year 1773. They built another at *Pucotta*, and another at *Puttencera*. More than two hundred were annually converted, among whom some Braniins and Nairs. After the schism under Francis Garzia, the bare-footed Carmelites sent by Pope Alexander VII. lived many years in the villages, but A. D. 1673, their first house was built by Father Matthæus à S. Josepho, at *Cettiatti*, by permission of Governor Vaz

Rheade, *Irrivari Ramen*, the Heathen prince of the country, giving them the ground. There the church of the Blessed Virgin was built, which Alexander de Campo (signing himself *Alexander Metropolita Dekul Hindoo*, Alexander the Metropolitan of all India) exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary. That form of signature was used by the Christians of the Syrian ritual, and the Nestorians also from remote times; or thus, *Tarao Dekul Hindoo*, the door of all India. The seal is a cross in red wax, the most ancient seal of the see of *Angamale*.

The bare-footed Carmelites built another church and college at *Tattaraceri*, three leagues N. E. from *Cochin*, in the year of *Collam*, 816, A. D. 1673, by grant and privilege of *Parumpadapil*, the king of *Cochin*. About four hundred persons were yearly baptized there from Heathenism.

The old seminary of *Verapoli* was built 1682, but the Propaganda Society added another college for twelve Latin youths and eighteen native clergy of the Syrian ritual. This number varied according to the remittances of the Society of Rome.

(B.)

The Bishops from Antioch.

The foreign Jacobite bishops sent to govern the Church in Malabar, all professed to come from the Patriarch of Antioch, which they called the Head of the Christian World. Joseph of Cranganore, who wrote A. D. 1502, says that *St. Peter, when he went from Antioch to Rome, left there his vicar, and he it is who governs the Church in the East-Indies, and is called Catholica*. He says

that this bishop resided in Armenia, and that he ordained Indians, and then adds, " *Itidem agunt Christiani omnes Indi, et regni Catai. Eorum Pontifex Catholica dicitur, fertque tonsuram instar crucis; præficit Patriarchas suos, alterum in India, in Cataia alterum.*" The synod of Diamper, 1599, confirms this testimony; and Renaudot, p. 239, says that the Nestorians and Jacobites, when the orthodox were driven from Seleucia, both took the title of *Catholic Patriarch*, called by the Arabs, *Yathlik*, by Marco Paulo, *Zatolik*. This name the Jacobites, from hatred to the Nestorians, changed for the title *Mafrian*; whence many Jacobite bishops, coming to Malabar, called themselves *Mofrians* or *Mufrians*. Both Nestorians and Jacobites maintained the supremacy of the see of Antioch, an opinion which still prevails among the schismatics of Malabar. " Under the reign of Justinian, they began to call those prelates who were superior to metropolitans, and had several under them, *Catholici*: there were at first two, one of Persia, the other of Armenia [from this last Joseph of Cranganore deduces the succession of Malabar priests,] who remained in the Jacobite Church. The Nestorians who were established at Seleucia and Ctesiphon, having renounced obedience to the orthodox whom they had succeeded, and having despoiled them of all authority under the protection of the last king of Persia, took the title of *Catholici*, and have preserved it ever since, adding to it that of *Patriarch*, being the chiefs of all the Nestorian communion. In fine, it has become so affected by the Nestorian patriarchs, that the Jacobites, in hatred of that sect, having in their Church true *Catholici*, have begun, in the last five hundred years, to give them the title of *Mafrian*."

The same writer says, "The Jacobites of the Church of Alexander had a true ordination and succession, from *Dioscorus* down to *Benjamin*, as other Jacobite prelates of the Church of Antioch had a legitimate succession from *Severus*, the lawful bishop of that see." Therefore some of those Jacobites who have come into Malabar have true ordination. On the extent of the jurisdiction of Antioch, Nilus Doxopatrius apud Allatum l. i. c. 9. 166. *κατειχεν απασαν την Ασιαν, και Ανατολην, αυτην τε την Ινδιαν.*

India, therefore, was anciently subject to Antioch, but the Jacobite patriarchs of that see sent no bishop there, because they were hindered by the Nestorian prelates in Seleucia, Edessa, Nisibis, Balsora, of Persia; in Merv of Khorassan; in Aria, in Cashar, in Malabar; who, maintaining their old right, drove the others out. India is reckoned the thirteenth, or last of the Nestorian sees, and in the seventh century was joined to the see of China— "*Metropolitan of India and China.*" But in the third century after Mahomet, when the Jacobites increased in numbers and power, they began gradually to drive the Nestorians out, and establish their own seat, not only in Persia, but in India; whence it happened, that, in spite of the Portuguese and the Nestorians also, they came into Malabar, and opposed the errors of *Dioscorus* to the heresy of Nestorius. Jacobus, the propagator of the errors of *Dioscorus*, lived about the middle of the sixth century, and preached the *Monophysite* doctrine. The Malabar Nestorians always used Syriac in their liturgies.

(C.)

To the year 1665, when Gregorius, the Jacobite patriarch, came from Antioch, the schismatic followers of Thomas de Campo followed the orthodox faith of the Synod of Diamper, differing in nothing but that they obeyed Thomas, their pseudo-bishop, though unconfirmed by the pope. But A. D. 1665, when the Jacobite heresy was brought in and the old orthodox faith was rejected, these schismatics were called *Putten*, i. e. new Christians; and the Catholics, *Pageda*, i. e. old Christians—names which they keep to this day.

(D.)

Gregorius.—They reverence him as a saint, and trace their present faith to him. There are many Malabar songs about him, which were found by Paulinus at *Parur*, where Gregory was buried. He enumerates his heretical doctrines as follows:—

- 1st. That the Pope and Nestorius were heretics.
- 2d. That Antioch is the head and mother of the world.
- 3d. That Christ had one nature, the divine.
- 4th. That the Holy Spirit proceeds only from the Father.
- 5th. That there is no purgatory.
- 6th. That leavened bread should be used in the eucharist.
- 7th. That the officiating priest should wear the *pluvialis*, but not the *casula*.
- 8th. That Lent should begin ten days later than it is commenced by Catholics.

They keep the anniversary of his death with great solemnity, and visit his tomb.

Joseph of Cranganore thus describes the customs and doctrines of the Christians of St. Thomas, before the arrival of the Portuguese. They had priests, deacons, and sub-deacons—sacerdotes, levitas, hypodiaconos; they did not baptize infants before the fortieth day after their birth, except in case of danger; they confessed; received the eucharist; sprinkled themselves with holy water; prayed for the dead; they used unleavened bread, and wine pressed from ripe grapes, in the sacrament; admitted of no divorce; widows did not marry within the year of their widowhood; they abstained from food from the day of the preparation to Easter; they kept the fast of Lent and Advent rigidly; men made wills, and if they died intestate, those nearest to them in blood were their next heirs; they kept the feasts of Easter, Pentecost, Ascension, Epiphany, the Holy Trinity, all the Apostles, the Assumption, the Nativity, and the Purification of the Virgin; they had monks living in celibacy; they communicated three times a year; they kept the first day of July (which is the third with us) in honour of the translation of the body of St. Thomas; they gave their daughters a marriage portion, and did not admit them to inherit; they had no extreme unction. This is Joseph's account. Francis de Souza ascribes more Nestorian errors to them.

(E.)

Mar Johannes and Mar Basilus.

1685. They rejected the council of Chalcedon; denied the procession of the Spirit from the Son; denied two

natures in Christ; denied purgatory; did not celebrate mass in Lent, nor suffer it to be said except on Sundays, which are not fast days; they denied the beatific vision to be immediate after death; taught to pray standing, not kneeling; allowed priests to marry—whence many Malabar priests took wives, contrary to former custom; abstained from things strangled, &c. Mar Johannes removed graven images and crosses from the churches, but allowed veneration to pictures.

(F.)

Thomas de Campo V., being a Jacobite, opposed Gabriel the Nestorian, subscribed the supplicatory memorial from *Rapolin* to the pope by the schismatics, A. D. 1704, (vide Raulin and Assem. Bibl. Orient. IV. p. 300.) He lived partly at *Pattona Parær*, partly at *Rapolin*, partly at *Cotteta* and *Neronetta*. All his intrigues were either to be appointed bishop by the pope, or by the patriarch (Ignatius,) that so he might be able to expel the foreigners, whether Catholic or Jacobite.

(G.)

Thomas de Campo VI., A. D. 1720, wrote to Ignatius, the Patriarch of Antioch, requesting him to send a Jacobite metropolitan or bishop, who might oppose the *Franks* in Malabar, and consecrate him. The letter was sent to *Amsterdam*; and the Propaganda Society hearing of it, determined to send some Maronite monks to Malabar, to oppose the new prelate on his arrival. This letter of Thomas is given in Syriac, from the archives of the Propa-

ganda Society, by Asseman, T. IV. p. 464—467. His baptismal name was *Ausepu*, or Joseph; his Episcopal name, Mar Dionysius. Paulinus visited him, December 22d, 1785, at *Neranatta*, together with Alexander of *Callurcatta*, to attempt his conversion. He found him in the midst of catanars, with a long white beard; a silver crook, bent back at the top in the Greek fashion, in his hand; dressed in a pontifical robe; wearing on his head a round mitre, in the manner of the Eastern bishops, embroidered with a cross, which was covered by a white veil flowing from his head upon his shoulders. He found him (he says) cunning and intractable, deferring his conversion, and anxious that his nephew should succeed him. "I knew," says Paulin, "the beast by his horns, and leaving him, hastened back to Callurcutta."

(H.)

Mar Basilius.

Il avoit sur la tête une espèce de capuchon noir de toile, dont le sommet étoit semé de croix, et une toque blanche pardessus. Anquetil. C. c. p. 163.

The liturgy which he brought into Malabar was that of St. James, written at *Mardin*, the residence of the Patriarch of Antioch.

*Mar Gregorius,**Called, by Anquetil, Georgius.*

His profession of faith is thus given by Anquetil, p. 157:—

Nos, Syrus Jacobita orthodoxus Christianus jure laudatus, credimus et confitemur secundùm fidem trium SS. concilio-

rum—Nic. Constant. et Ephes.—(contra Nestorium,) Christum Deum nostrum Deum perfectum, et filium hominis perfectum esse, sicut nos, excepto peccato, in unitate admirabili et mirificâ, sine separatione et sine mixtione, *unam personam et unam naturam* incarnatum veri Dei incarnati. Hæc scripsi manu meâ debili ego Chorepiscopus Georgius Syrus Jacobita ex urbe Haleb A. D. 1758. 1st Jan. O. S. 12th Jan. N. S.

Paulinus says he was informed by *Van Tongern*, the Dutch Company's interpreter at Cochin, a respectable man and a Catholic, that the Dutch paid for the passage of these three bishops (*Basilius*, *Gregorius*, and *Johannes*) 12,000 rupees (6000 crowns,) and that the schismatics, refusing to pay the money, after a long suit, were compelled by the king of Travancore, A. D. 1775, to pay it, and thus procured the consecration of *Thomas*, or *Joseph*. By this means, he (with the name of *Mar Dionysius*) taking the government of the Church, and a stipend being assigned to the surviving foreigner *Johannes*, the former feuds that had lasted so many years were allayed. There is an Arabic letter preserved in the records of the mission at Verapoli, written by the deacon *Marhel* and the priest *Elias*, A. D. 1756, July 11th, from Aleppo to the priest *Shokerullah* in Malabar, the companion of these three bishops, in which they salute Bishop *Gregorius*, and acknowledge him as a true bishop, and mention him as intimate with another Bishop *Georgius* at Aleppo.—See also *Anquetil* (lib. Cit. p. 162 sqq.) who saw and talked with those bishops, and learned much of them from *Van Vechten*, the secretary of Cochin. There is no doubt therefore of the validity of *Mar Dionysius's* consecration, if the proper form was used.

Mar Basilus, one day before his death, consecrated an-

other native, called Câtumàngnâden, by the name of *Mar Cyrillus*. There are many doubtful stories told of him; for he was driven into exile at *Anhur*, by *Dionysius*.

Paulinus makes the following reflection on the series of schismatic bishops: "Ex iis palam fit,

1. "Veram ac sinceram horum schismaticorum episcoporum conversionem rarissimam esse; cum iis omninò cautè ac prudenter procedendum, nec non nisi seriâ rerum periclitatione et pendere fidendum esse.

2. "Verecundie et pudori locum relinqui Catholicis, dum vident tanto zelo et ausu Antistites schismaticos et hæreticos errorum suorum monstra propogare, quantum vix habent Antistites Catholici in verâ Religione dilatandâ."

Cochin.

A. D. 1557. The church of the Holy Cross at Cochin, at the request of Sebastian, king of Portugal, was made a cathedral by Paul IV. Before that time, the church was governed by one rector and six prebendaries.

There was also in the city a convent of the order of preachers, another of Franciscans, and a college of Jesuits, public schools, a house for strangers, and several churches, which were all destroyed by the Dutch, 1663, except the church of St. Francis, belonging to the Franciscans, in the middle of the town, which they preserved for their own use. They made a public godown of the cathedral. The Bishop of Cochin was empowered to take charge of the see of Goa, in case of vacancy.

All those places and churches which run towards the south, in the peninsula of Cochin, from *Angicaimal* and

Bendurti, and the whole tract from the rivers to the sea (i. e. all the back-water,) *one league inland*, are dependent on the Bishop of Cochin. The diocese therefore extends from the town of Cochin along the whole shore to Cape Comorin, and from thence stretching eastward to the fishing coast, reaches to the city of Negapatam, on the Coromandel coast. On the Malabar coast they reckon forty-two churches, formerly in the hands of the Jesuits, then of the Franciscans, and afterwards the native priests of Goa. From 1542, Francis Xavier laboured along the whole of this tract, and founded most of the churches from Quilon to the Cape. The more famous churches, from Cochin to the Cape, are—St. Andrew, founded in 1581, (where an infinite number of Heathens and Christians go annually to the feast of St. Sebastian, on the 20th January,) Quilon, Anjengo, Valiatorra, Tiruvancor, Cotteta Coleci, Cariapatnam, Vadakencollum; and on the fishing coast, the church of Manapur and Tutucuri (1566), founded by Georgius Themud, of the order of preachers, Bishop of Cochin; the church of Vaypin, Mattincera, Pallurti, St. Luis, Castella, Angicainal, Cettiati, Manachord, St. Andrew, and others, in the groves and land subject to the Dutch East-India Company, are under the vicar apostolic; and the Portuguese Bishop of Cochin is obliged to keep at a distance from these places, and, while he is in his diocese, resides at Quilon, Anjengo, or some other place on the coast of Travancore. In the jurisdiction of the vicar apostolic, the head of which is the church of St. Joseph, at Verapoli, three leagues from Cochin, exclusive of the Christians of St. Thomas (who follow the Syriac ritual,) there are of the Latin ritual about 60,000 Christians, converted within about one century, and subject to the Dutch,

St. Thomas, the Apostle of India.

The constant tradition among all sects of Christians is, that St. Thomas the Apostle came and preached at the town of *Maliapour*, on the coast of Coromandel, and, after great success in his labours, suffered martyrdom at a hill called *Calamina*; that, after his death, his disciples, being driven thence by persecution, went across the Peninsula to the opposite coast of Malabar, where they found refuge in the hills of *Travancore*. The Arabs have this tradition, as also the Heathens of Travancore, with little variation.—Renaudot: *Anc. Rel. des Indes*; G. Spilberg. *Ind. Orient.* part vii. page 94; Robertson, vol. I.

Tillemont, La Croze, &c., maintain that it was not the apostle, but Thomas, the disciple of Manes, A. D. 277, that first preached Christianity in India. But that idea seems to be false, for two reasons: first, because the constant tradition is for the apostle; secondly, because Epiphanius, in his history of Manes and his disciples, says that Thomas fled, not to *India*, but to *Judæa*, where Manes was taken by the king of Persia. Epiphanius. T. ii. p. 629. We are also told by Epiphanius, that Manes found at *Cashar* bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a large body of orthodox Christians, who banished him for his heresy. This establishment implies the introduction of Christianity at a much earlier date. We know from Eusebius, that Pantænus, who flourished A. D. 180, found the Gospel of St. Matthew in *Malabar*. In the Council of Nice we find Johannes, Bishop of India, Magna, and Persia; and the testimony of Cosmas Indicopleustes is express:—"In Tabrobanâ insulâ ad interiorem Indiam, ubi Indicum pelagus

extat, Ecclesia Christianorum habetur, ubi clerici, et fideles reperiuntur; an ulterius etiam, ignoro. Sinilliter in *Male* ut vocant (unde Malaba) ube gignitur piper. In *Callianá* vero (sic nuncupant) Episcopus est, in Perside ordinari solitus."

Jerome, Gregory, and Nicephorus mention the apostle's labours in India as the commonly received opinion of the Church in their time. The two Mahometan travellers in the ninth century, found a place on the coast called *Beitouna*, or *Beit-Toma*, the sepulchre of Thomas. *Amru*, a Syrian writer in Asseman (*Diss. de Syr. Nest.* p. 34,) tells us that "the sepulchre of the apostle is found in the island *Meilan*, in India, to the right of the altar in the monastery dedicated to his honour." By *Meilan* is probably meant the town of *Maliapour*. That there was a Nestorian monastery as well in *Maliapour*, or *St. Thome*, as in *Edapuli* and *Angamale*, we are informed by 'Thomas Jaballaha, Jacobus, and Denha, A. D. 1504. Vide *Chron. Edess.* ap. *Assem.* tom. i. p. 399.

The Roman Martyrology says, the apostle suffered martyrdom in India. Cujus (St. Thomæ) reliquiæ primo ad urbem Edessam, deinde Othonam translatae sunt. Now the ancient Nestorians, and at this day the Catholic Christians, celebrate the removal of his remains on the first day of July every year, and call it *Dohorana*. Joseph. Crang. cap. 134.—*Calamina*, where the Martyrology* places his burial, is not now found in India. F. Paulin conjectures

* Sophronius also assigns the same place. "Thomas Apostolus, Parthis et Persis et Carmanis et Hirceanis et Bactris et Magis (i. e. Brahmanibus, qu. *maha*, i. e. Magnis) prædicavit evangelium Domini. Dormivit in Civitate Calaminâ, quæ est Indiæ.

that the word might have been corrupted from *Calmelmina* (è Saxo,) and so mean a rock in the neighbourhood of Maliapour, where St. Thomas was martyred—called now *Monte Pequeno* by the Portuguese, the Little Hill, *the Mount*. It is still a place of pilgrimage to Syrians, Arabs, and Armenians (both Catholic and Protestant,) and even the Heathens pray to him, and keep a lamp burning there. Their fable is, that the apostle talked with their god Vishnú. A tradition so constant among people so distant from each other, and so opposite in religious faith, is not lightly to be rejected.

The king under whom St. Thomas suffered, seems to have been the famous Salivahan, who died A. D. 78. He reigned in Pattan, and is the same with the Saraganus of Arrian.

On the doors of the Basilica of St. Paul, in the Ostian Road, carved at Constantinople A. D. 1070, there are figures of St. Thomas and Pantænus. The latter holds the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the martyrdom of St. Thomas is thus commemorated :—

Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΘΩΜΑΣ ΛΟΧΙ ΤΠΟ ΙΝΔΙΑ ΤΕΛΗΥΤΕ.

S. Thomas lanceâ in Indiâ moritur.

The church of Maliapour, from the death of the apostle, languished till A. D. 1606, when Paul V. erected it into a see. The patronage had been given to the kings of Portugal by Paul III., A. D. 1534. The whole coast of Coromandel, from Negapatam northwards, the kingdom of Orissa, Bengal, and Peru, were subjected to the Bishop of St. Thome, A. D. 1606.

The cleft in the rock which is now shown as the tomb of

the apostle, was opened by D. Josephus Pinheirus, Bishop of St. Thome, A. D. 1729, and the childish fables and pretended miracles that have been industriously propagated to increase the reputation of their monastery, have thrown a shade of unmerited suspicion on the venerable tradition of antiquity and the testimony of many ancient writers.

Letter from Bishop Heber to the Rev. D. Schreyvogel.

Chillumbrum, March 21, 1826.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

I wrote yesterday to Dr. Cæmmerer, to express my regret at not being able to visit you at Tranquebar. Since that time, having again looked over your letter to me, as well as that which you sent on the subject of *distinctions of caste*, and of other *customs* yet remaining among the native Christians, which you reprobate as heathenish and improper, I have been led to wish for some explanation of *those customs* and of your *reasons* for objecting to them, of which the latter, as expressed in those papers (to deal freely with you,) do not seem to me satisfactory. With regard to the distinctions of caste, as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are manifested (*a*) in desiring separate seats at church; (*b*) in going up at different times to receive the holy communion; (*c*) in insisting on their children having different sides of the school; (*d*) in refusing to eat, drink, or associate with those of a different caste.

Now it is desirable to know whether these are insisted on as *religious*, or as merely *civil* distinctions; whether as

arising from a greater supposed *purity* and *blessedness* in the soodras over the pariares; or whether they are not badges of *nobility* and *ancient pedigree*, such as those which in Spain, even among the poorest classes, divide the old *Spaniards* and *Castilians* from persons of mixed blood—and in the United States of North-America entirely exclude Negroes and Mulattos, however free and wealthy, from familiar intercourse with the whites; also whether the Christians of high caste adhere to these distinctions, as supposing that there is any *real value* in them, or merely out of fear to lose the society and respect of their neighbours and relations. If these questions are answered in the affirmative (as they have been very solemnly by the Rev. Christian David, in answer to my repeated inquiries,) I confess that I do not think the evil so great as to be *insufferable*, or to justify the ministers of Christ in repelling from the communion those who adhere to them, though it may be that the spirit of pride (from which they flow) should by gentle means be corrected as far as possible. We all know that, in Europe, persons of noble birth or great fortune claim and possess *precedence* in our churches, and I have already observed that the whites take the same priority to themselves in America. But there is no reason for this but *custom*, inasmuch as a gentleman and a beggar are as much equals in God's sight as a soodra and a pariar. The reason why a Christian gentleman conforms to these rules is, because, by acting differently, he would lose his influence with those of his own degree in society; and a soodra may say the same thing, and does say it. It seems then to me, that this distinction of castes in church may still be allowed to continue, provided due care is taken to reach our congregations that they are all naturally equal.

With regard to their private meals and social intercourse, it seems to me that we have still less business to interfere; "for meat and drink destroy not him for whom Christ died." In the schools, indeed, and among the children, taking places, &c., must be arranged, as it appears to me, without regard to caste; but even here caution should be observed, to disgust no man needlessly.

I perceive you object very strongly to certain ceremonies usual in marriages, such as going in procession through the streets with music, erecting a pandal, &c. On what grounds of reason or Scripture do you object to these? Are they *idolatrous*? are they *necessarily* or *usually* attended with *uncleanness* or *indecent*? In what respect do they essentially differ from those ancient ceremonies which are known on the like occasions to have been practised among the Jews, to which both the prophets and our Saviour make repeated allusions without ever blaming them, and which, judging from analogy, must have been practised at that very marriage of Cana which our Lord sanctioned by his presence?

Again it appears that one of your principal causes of complaint against the Danish government has been, that they would not sanction the sentence of excommunication pronounced against a person who had *dancing girls* in his house, and another who had acted some *theatrical part*. Now here, too, I much want information. Were the dances indecent in themselves? Were the performers persons of notoriously indecent character, *prostitutes*, or *servants of some Heathen temple*; or did you object to the *dancing* itself as unchristian, and a fit ground for excommunication? In like manner, was the acting on a *public stage*, and for *money*? was the drama *indecent* or *immoral*? or was it (as

from the little which I yet know of Indian customs I am led to suspect) one of those masked fooleries in which the common people of Germany and England often indulge at Christmas and harvest-home; and which, though they may sometimes be *abused*, are not regarded as in themselves criminal, or worthy of ecclesiastical censure?

My reasons for asking information on these subjects will be plain, when I mention that the question of caste, and of such practices as these, has been referred to my consideration both by the Christians and missionaries of Vepery, and that, in order to gain more light on the subject, a Select Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been at my desire appointed. In the meantime I am most anxious to learn from every quarter, especially from a Christian minister of your experience and high character, the real truth of the case. God forbid that we should encourage or suffer any of our converts to go on in practices either antichristian or immoral! but (I will speak plainly with you as one brother in Christ should with another) I have also some fears that recent missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires, and than was thought fit by Swartz and his companions. God forbid that we should wink at sin! But God forbid also that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it, or deal less favourably with the prejudices of this people than St. Paul and the primitive Church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts!

It has occurred to me, that if either your or Dr. Cammerer. (to whom pray offer my best wishes and respects) could find time on Easter-Monday to come over to meet me at Tanjore, my doubts might be the better cleared and

way or the other, and other matters might be discussed in a few words, of much advantage to the cause of missions in this country.

I remain, Reverend and dear Sir,

Your faithful and obedient servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

(*Private.*)

MY DEAR SIR,

Will you have the goodness to communicate, in any way which is most proper and usual, the purport of the enclosed letter to the Rajah Serboojee? It seems no more than right to make him some acknowledgment for his civilities. And, though I have very little hope of his now sending his son to Calcutta, the advantage to the young man would be so great, that it is well to leave him an opening (in case of his changing his mind) to renew the negociation. I conclude that they are aware, or you will perhaps have the goodness to explain to them, that I neither expect, nor could under any circumstances receive, any *remuneration* for the part which I might take in instructing him; and that he would have his option, either to occupy a part of my house rent-free, or to hire one in the neighbourhood.

To yourself and Mrs. Fyfe, for the kindness and hospitality which you have shown to us all, both in sickness and in health—as well as the impression which your agreeable society has left on my mind—what can I say more than I have already said—or to express all that I feel? God bless you both, and make you long happy in each other and in your children! I am sorry to say that we have another

invalid in our party, poor Robinson being very far from well this morning.

Believe me, dear Sir, ever most truly yours,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

Trichinopoly, April 1st.

—

Trichinopoly, April 1st, 1826.

MY DEAR SIR,

May I request you to convey to his highness the Maharajah of *Tanjore*, the expression of my best thanks for the kind and gratifying attentions with which his highness has honoured myself and my party during our visit to *Tanjore*, and the assurance that I shall, through life, continue to recollect with pleasure my introduction to the acquaintance of a prince so much distinguished by his virtues and talents, as well as by his courteous and condescending manners, and the variety of his accomplishments.

I feel much flattered by the manner in which his highness has been pleased to speak of my offer to superintend the education of the Prince Sewajee, in the event of his being willing to give me the pleasure of his company in my present tour, and afterwards to accompany me to Calcutta. I regret extremely, though I fully feel and appreciate the causes which render this arrangement at present impossible. But I beg you at the same time to state to his highness, that, should the improved health of the prince, or a better season of the year make her highness the ranee less reluctant to part with him for a time, it would be my study to make his stay in Calcutta as agreeable and useful to him as possible, both by directing his studies and intro-

ducing him to the most distinguished society of the place ; and that in health, and every other respect, I would take the same care of him as I should, under similar circumstances, of a son of my own sovereign.

I beg you at the same time to offer my best compliments and good wishes to his highness the Prince Sewajee.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your obliged and faithful humble servant,

REGINALD CALCUTTA.

Captain J. FYFE, &c. &c. &c.

Residency, *Tanjore*.

*To DAVID HILL, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort St. George.*

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of the honourable the governor in council, that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta left this for Trichinopoly last night.

The Lord Bishop visited the rajah on the 28th ultimo, and was received in full durbar with all the marks of respect suitable to his elevated rank and sacred character. On the 29th, the rajah returned the visit ; and on the 30th, his lordship paid a private visit to the rajah, of several hours.

The rajah's character seems to have excited a good deal of interest in the Lord Bishop. His lordship very kindly offered, with the assistance of his chaplain, to undertake the instruction of the rajah's son in various branches of English literature and science ; but though the rajah and his son are very highly gratified and flattered by such a

striking proof of his lordship's kindness and condescension, and the rajah himself more particularly is fully sensible of the inestimable advantages which his son would derive from the society and instruction of a person of the Lord Bishop's shining abilities and extensive acquirements, there are unfortunately insuperable objections to the arrangement. The young man's mother will on no account consent to it. "He is (she says) her darling and only son, and nothing but death shall ever separate them. When she went on the pilgrimage to Benares, and left him at Tanjore, she was near losing him, and no persuasion on earth shall ever again induce her to part from him." I foresaw this decision. It was not to be expected that an affectionate mother would sacrifice her own feelings for advantages which she cannot be supposed capable of fully appreciating.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN FYFE, *Resident,*

Tanjore, April 1st, 1826.

*To DAVID HILL, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government,
Fort St. George.*

SIR,

I have already informed the government of the gratification which the rajah derived from the kind and disinterested proposal of the late Bishop Heber to superintend the education of his son. His highness was very sensibly affected by this and other instances of attention and consi-

deration which he received from his lordship, and, as a testimony of respect for his memory, has subscribed 1000 rupees to his monument.

This spontaneous tribute of admiration and esteem is another gratifying proof that the extraordinary fascination of the Bishop's character extended over every person who came within the sphere of its influence.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN FYFE, *Resident.*

Tanjore, April 3d, 1826.

The rajah intended to have erected a magnificent monument to the Bishop, entirely at his own expense. This was before he had heard that the public had resolved to pay such a well-earned tribute to his memory.

J. F.



Trichinopoly, 3d April, 1826.

G. A. O.

It is with unfeigned regret that the officer commanding at *Trichinopoly* announces the death, this morning, of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

His lordship's remains will be interred to-morrow morning, at a quarter before six o'clock, at St. John's Church; and the troops, under the command of the officer commanding at *Trichinopoly*, will be under arms a quarter of an hour previous thereto, and will form a street from the residence of Mr. Bird to St. John's Church, in the following order:—

The fifth regiment light cavalry, mounted, will have its right resting at the verandah of Mr. Bird's house, the files from thence will be extended five paces along the road leading to St. John's Church—the right of the twentieth regiment N. I. will be about twenty paces from the left of the cavalry, and will extend as above directed—the twenty-seventh regiment N. I. will extend in like manner, with its right resting on the left of the twentieth—and H. M. forty-eighth regiment will thence extend so that its left will rest on the gate of the church.

A carrying party of one serjeant and twenty-four rank and file, under charge of a subaltern, to be furnished by H. M. forty-eighth regiment.

As the corpse passes down the line of troops, each file, as it nears it, will pay the compliment of presented arms.

Nine pieces of cannon to be drawn up outside the church wall facing the parade ground, from which will be fired three salvos after the funeral service has been read.

His majesty's forty-eighth regiment to furnish its band and drummers.

All officers at the station, not on parade with the troops, are ordered to attend and follow the body in procession.

Forty-three minute guns, corresponding with the age of the late Lord Bishop of Calcutta, to be fired from the *Madura* face of the fort, at the time the body leaves Mr. Bird's house.

The flag to be hoisted half-mast high, and continue so displayed during the day.

CHARLES EVANS, *Fort Adjutant.*

BRIGADE-MAJOR'S OFFICE.

HEAD QUARTERS SOUTHERN DIVISION.

Trichinopoly, 3d April, 1826.

D. O. BY MAJOR-GENERAL HALL.

In consequence of the death of the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the officer commanding the division directs, that all the officers in the southern division will wear mourning for a month from the present date.

The officer commanding the division also expects that all officers off duty in the garrison of *Trichinopoly* will accompany his lordship's remains to the place of interment.

By order of Major-General Hall.

M. M'NEILL, *M. B. S. D.*

Proceedings of a meeting of the inhabitants of Madras, held at the Government Gardens, on Wednesday, 12th April, 1826—the Honourable Sir THOMAS MUNRO, Bart., K. C. B., in the chair.

Sir THOMAS MUNRO, on taking the chair, addressed the meeting as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,

We must all deeply lament the melancholy cause of our being now assembled here. My own acquaintance with our late excellent Bishop was unfortunately but of short duration; yet, in that short time, I saw in him so much to admire, that I can hardly trust myself to speak of him as I

could wish. There was a charm in his conversation by which in private society he found his way to all hearts, as readily as he did to those of his congregation by his eloquence in the pulpit. There was about him such candour and simplicity of manners, such benevolence, such unwearied earnestness in the discharge of his sacred functions, and such mildness in his zeal, as would, in any other individual, have ensured our esteem. But when these qualities are, as they were in him, united to taste, to genius, to high station, and to still higher intellectual attainments, they form a character, such as his was, eminently calculated to excite our love and veneration. These sentiments towards him were every where felt: wherever he passed, in the wide range of his visitation, he left behind him the same impression. He left all who approached him convinced that they never had before seen so rarely gifted a person; and that they could never hope to see such a one again. The loss of such a man, so suddenly cut off in the midst of his useful career, is a public calamity, and ought to be followed by an expression of the public feeling.

Sir RALPH PALMER, in moving the *first* resolution, spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen, The honourable chairman having stated the object for which we are assembled, and requested such of us as are prepared with any proposition which they think will accord with the sincere view of the meeting, now to state it, I shall, with his permission, beg leave to offer one resolution to your notice, which I am persuaded will meet with your unanimous concurrence.

Before, however, I do so, I hope it may not be considered an intrusion on my part, or as improperly retarding the

expression of your sentiments, if, in addition to what has been already so feelingly addressed to you from the chair, I too should express one word of sorrow upon the present melancholy occasion—sorrow, not for the sake of him whose loss we are lamenting; for to him, whose life was full of good works, whose heart was devoted to his God, whose faith was pure, and whose hope was sincere; to him, as has been said in another and a more sacred place, “*To die was gain.*” But sorrow for those who, from the experience of the past, feel what they are deprived of for the future—those who were united to him in blood, or bound to him in friendship—those who, like myself, can trace back the remembrance of him to the period when, in that university of which he was one of the brightest ornaments, the brilliancy of his early genius drew forth from a crowded assemblage of learning and wisdom reiterated plaudits, and afforded a sure presage of those splendid talents which, if they had not quite attained, were now fast ripening into perfection—those, in short, who, whether in Europe or in Asia, had the happiness and the honour too of being admitted into his social circle, and derived no less advantage from the information which the universality of his acquirements enabled him to afford, than pleasure and delight from the easy, the affable, the gay, the unassuming manner with which that information was always so freely imparted; for his was not the religion of the ascetick—his was not the learning of the recluse.

For friends who thus knew and loved him, surely the tear of sorrow may be shed. But is it for such as these only? Is it upon private friendship alone that the appalling stroke of death has now inflicted a grievous wound? Alas! it is not.

“ Hush'd be the voice of private wo;
 “ The public bleeds.”——

It bleeds indeed! When we think of what that good man has done—what he was doing—and what, under the blessing of Providence, it might have been hoped he would have been enabled to achieve—when we remember the many charitable and religious institutions which, fostered by his care, aided by his munificence, and guided by his counsel, were progressively answering more and more the ends for which they were established—when we saw him labouring in the great work which he had undertaken, with a zeal not less conspicuous for the ardour with which it was prosecuted, than for the suavity and conciliation with which it was tempered—when we hear of him, to his last admiring congregation, and almost with his very latest breath, exhorting, “ *brotherly love to all, without distinction of rank, caste, or colour*”—when *we*, who so recently were eye-witnesses of his conduct, and hearers of his words, and can therefore well appreciate the effect which the labours and doctrines of such a man were likely to produce—when *we* see, and hear, and think of these things, may we not say that this man was, above all others, the best calculated to succeed in the great undertaking about which he was employed? May we not say, that through the instrumentality of such a man, the rays of Christianity at length bade fair to spread their cheering and glorious light far and wide throughout the continent and islands of India? Must we not feel that, grievous and sad as is the privation which this sudden and lamented event will occasion to all who knew and loved him dearly, yet it is but as a feather in the scale—it is but as a bubble in the air—it is but as a drop in the waters, when compared with the incalculable

loss which by it the cause of humanity and of religion has sustained.

Without trespassing then further, Sir, on your patience, upon this melancholy occasion, I shall beg leave to propose as a resolution to be adopted by this meeting—

That, as the character of the late Bishop Heber was regarded with universal love and veneration, and as his life was of inestimable value, from the works of piety and benevolence which were in a great measure dependent upon it, and which were prosecuted with ardour and with the happiest effect to the very hour of its termination, so his death has excited the deepest feeling of grief in this settlement, and is esteemed by the present meeting a calamity to the cause of religion and humanity.

The venerable Archdeacon VAUGHAN seconded the resolution.

On the motion of Lieutenant-General Sir GEORGE WALKER, G. C. B., it was

Resolved, That, in order to perpetuate the sentiments entertained by this settlement towards the late beloved and revered Bishop, a monument be erected to his memory in St. George's Church, and that the Reverend Thomas Robinson, the domestic chaplain and esteemed friend of the Bishop, be requested to prepare the inscription.

Upon the second resolution being proposed Sir ROBERT COMYN said,

Sir, I beg to second this resolution. The extraordinary merits of the late Bishop's public and private life have been so lately witnessed by all who hear me, and have just now been so feelingly and eloquently dwelt upon by the

Honourable the Chairman, and my friend Sir Ralph Palmer, that I should deem any further allusion to them an inexcusable detention of this meeting. I will only say, that I am most sincerely convinced that there never was a human being who, in so short a space of time, inspired so universal a sentiment of attachment and veneration.

It cannot but be, therefore, a melancholy satisfaction to us all, to raise a memorial which may perpetuate our feelings towards the late Bishop, and our intense grief at our lamentable and irreparable loss; his fame indeed requires no such perpetuation; the noble devotion of his exalted genius to the high callings of his office, has raised for him an imperishable monument: but it is perhaps a duty we owe to ourselves, to convince those who may hereafter succeed to these shores, that we did not close our eyes to that light which has shone with such brilliancy among us.

I need only add, Sir, that, in selecting a hand which shall inscribe the marble with our sentiments, it is impossible to fix upon one more fit than Mr. Robinson's. His high attainments and great regard and friendship for the Bishop ensure the language of truth and feeling in every way worthy the occasion.

The Honourable Mr. GRÆME begged leave to propose,

That a subscription be opened for the purpose of carrying the last resolution (that proposed by Sir G. Walker) into effect, and that any surplus fund be appropriated in the manner best calculated to do honour to Bishop Heber's memory.

The respect, Mr. Græme said, in which our benevolent Bishop was held, and the grief at his premature loss, were so universal, that it seemed desirable that no individual

should be without the opportunity of testifying them according to his means, and he would therefore beg to suggest that no minimum should be fixed for the subscription.

Sir GEORGE RICKETTS, in seconding this resolution, expressed himself in the following terms:—

“ I beg leave, Sir, to second the resolution: and I have to request all those who now hear me to understand, and to make it generally understood, that it is intended that the amount of the subscription shall not be regulated by the probable expense of the monument which is to be raised, but that it shall be unlimited in its amount; and the resolution, therefore, provides that the surplus fund which may remain after discharging the expense of the monument, shall be appropriated in the manner best calculated to do honour to the late Bishop’s memory. It would be premature now to suggest any particular mode of appropriating that surplus, but it will readily occur to the mind of every one, and will, I think, be as readily assented to, that to appropriate it to the furtherance of that great cause for which only the late Bishop lived, and in which he died, would, if he is permitted to be sensible of what is passing here on earth, and to derive any gratification from it, gratify him more than the most splendid monument that art and wealth could erect to his memory. It is also intended that the subscription shall not only be unlimited in its amount, but shall also be as universal as possible throughout this Presidency, and that every person, however low and poor he may be, and of whatever colour he may be, who may wish to join in rendering honour to the late Bishop’s memory, shall be admitted to subscribe the smallest sum. Those who knew the late Bishop will, I am sure,

be satisfied that, to one of his mind and feelings, the most grateful tribute which could be offered to him, would be that which, however small it might be, would be rendered by the lowly and the poor, by those to whom the light of Christianity is new, and who would thus testify their sense of the blessings of it, and their veneration for that Church of which he was lately the head in this part of the world. The highest honour that can be rendered to him will be, not so much in the costliness and magnificence of the monument which may be raised to him, as in the numbers of those who shall contribute to raise it. It should be like those sepulchral cairns which were heaped in former times upon the graves of the illustrious dead, by every individual of the country laying a stone upon them; and every person within this Presidency, high and low, rich and poor, European and Indian, who venerates that religion of which the late excellent Bishop was one of the brightest ornaments and best supporters, should have the gratification of being able to say, "I too have contributed a stone to his monument."

On the motion of Lieutenant-Colonel CONWAY, it was *Resolved*, That a committee of management be appointed, consisting of the following persons:—

The Honourable Sir Ralph Palmer, the Honourable Mr. Græme, the Honourable Sir R. Comyn, the Honourable Sir G. Ricketts, the venerable Archdeacon Vaughan, Lieutenant-Colonel H. G. A. Taylor, D. Hill, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew, R. Clive, Esq., Captain Keighly, Rev. R. A. Denton, Captain Sim, P. Cator, Esq., Seth Sam, Esq., W. Scott, Esq., Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, the Rev. W. Roy, the Rev. R. W. Moorsom, J. Gwatkin, Esq.; and that

the Rev. W. Roy and the Rev. R. W. Moorsom be requested to officiate as *Secretaries*, and Mr. Gwatkin as *Treasurer*.

Mr. HILL, in seconding this resolution, spoke as follows:—

“ I bog leave to second the motion. My own name is included in the list which has been read, and I shall derive a sincere, though melancholy gratification, from testifying, by any means in my power, the veneration and affection which I entertained for the late Bishop. I shall make it a matter of conscience to acquit myself of any trust which may be confided to me for the purpose of doing honour to his memory; and I take the liberty of proposing that the name of Colonel Conway be added to the list of the committee.”

On motion of Sir RALPH PALMER, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the meeting be presented to Sir THOMAS MUNRO, for his kindness in acceding to the request made to him, that he should preside on the present occasion, when the community were anxious that their sentiments should be embodied in the manner most honourable to the memory of the late Bishop.

The Rev. W. Roy rose and spoke as follows:—

“ The duty of seconding the resolution which has just been read to you, Gentlemen, devolves on me; and although it is a resolution which you are doubtless prepared to pass by acclamation, were such an expression suitable at such a season—a resolution embracing our united sentiments of cordial acknowledgment—yet I cannot refrain from adding

a few words of address to the distinguished personage who has condescended to preside at our meeting.

“ As a man, I do but faintly express the feelings of this numerous, this respectable assembly, when I assure the honourable gentleman, that the kindness which he has evinced in taking the chair on this mournful occasion, has poured the balm of consolation into our afflicted spirits; but, as a minister of the Gospel (using the term in its most extensive meaning,) I may be permitted to add, in the name of my brethren and myself, that long as we shall have reason to deplore the loss which the cause of divine truth and humanity has sustained, so long shall we remember, with feelings of respect and gratitude, the honour which the head of the government has this day shown to the memory of him who was the zealous friend, the affectionate brother, of each and every the humblest labourer in the same vineyard as himself—our revered, our beloved Bishop.

Speech of the Honourable Sir Charles Grey, at a similar meeting held in Calcutta.

GENTLEMEN,

Before I proceed to any thing else, I am reluctantly compelled to correct a seeming mistake as to the object of this meeting. A notice has appeared this morning, professedly by authority, which, though probably well meant, has in it something too much of the character of solicitation. I know not on what authority it speaks, but the friends of the late Bishop are anxious only that expression should be

given to the feeling with which the community regarded him. Subscriptions for his monument, if they are the spontaneous indications of respect and sorrow, will be valuable testimonies, but not otherwise: and I trust that neither solicitation nor influence will be employed to swell their amount.

Leaving this matter, it is with real agitation and embarrassment that I find it my duty to mark out the grounds on which this meeting appears to me to have been called for. Assuredly it is not that there is any difficulty in finding those grounds, nor that I have any apprehension that you will not attend to a statement of them with willingness and indulgence: but this is a very public occasion, and my feelings are not entirely of a public nature. Deep as my sense is of the loss which the community has sustained, yet, do what I will, the sensation which I find uppermost in my heart is my own private sorrow for one who was my friend in early life. It is just four-and-twenty years, this month, since I first became acquainted with him at the university, of which he was, beyond all question or comparison, the most distinguished student of his time. The name of Reginald Heber was in every mouth; his society was courted by young and old; he lived in an atmosphere of favour, admiration, and regard, from which I have never known any one but himself who would not have derived, and for life, an unsalutary influence. Towards the close of his academical career, he crowned his previous honours by the production of his "Palestine;" of which single work, the fancy, the elegance, and the grace have secured him a place in the list of those who bear the proud title of English Poets. This, according to usage, was recited in public; and when that scene of his early triumph comes upon my

memory, that elevated rostrum from which he looked upon friendly and admiring faces, that decorated theatre, those grave forms of ecclesiastical dignitaries mingling with a resplendent throng of rank and beauty, those antique mansions of learning, those venerable groves, refreshing streams, and shaded walks—the vision is broken by another, in which the youthful and presiding genius of the former scene is lying in his distant grave, amongst the sands of Southern India;—believe me, the contrast is striking, and the recollection most painful.

But you are not here to listen to details of private life. If I touch upon one other point, it will be for the purpose only of illustrating a feature of his character. He passed some time in foreign travel before he entered on the duties of his profession. The whole continent had not yet been re-opened to Englishmen by the swords of the noble lord who is near me, and his companions in arms; but in the eastern part of it the Bishop found a field, the more interesting, on account of its having been seldom trodden by our countrymen. He kept a valuable journal of his observations; and, when you consider his youth, the applause he had already received, and how tempting, in the morning of life, are the gratifications of literary success, you will consider it as a mark of the retiring and ingenuous modesty of his character, that he preferred to let the substance of his work appear in the humble form of notes to the volumes of another. This has been before noticed. There is another circumstance which I can add, and which is not so generally known: This journey, and the aspect of those vast regions, stimulating a mind which was stored with classical learning, had suggested to him a plan of collecting, arranging, and illustrating all of ancient and of modern

literature which could unfold the history and throw light on the present state of Scythia—that region of mystery and fable—that source whence, eleven times in the history of man, the living clouds of war have been breathed over all the nations of the South. I can hardly conceive any work for which the talents of the author were better adapted; hardly any which could have given the world more of delight, himself more of glory. I know the interest which he took in it; but he had now entered into the service of the Church, and, finding that it interfered with his graver duties, he turned from his fascinating pursuit, and condemned to temporary oblivion a work which, I trust, may yet be given to the public. I mention this, chiefly for the purpose of showing how steady was the purpose, how serious the views with which he entered on his calling. I am aware that there were inducements to it which some minds will be disposed to regard as the only probable ones; but I look upon it myself to have been with him a sacrifice of no common sort. His early celebrity had given him incalculable advantages, and every path of literature was open to him; every road to the temple of fame, every honour which his country could afford, was in clear prospect before him, when he turned to the humble duties of a country church, and buried in his heart those talents which would have ministered so largely to worldly vanity, that they might spring up in a more precious harvest. He passed many years in this situation, in the enjoyment of as much happiness as the condition of humanity is perhaps capable of—happy in the choice of his companion, the love of his friends, the fond admiration of his family—happy in the discharge of his quiet duties and the tranquillity of a satisfied conscience. It was not, however, from this station

that he was called to India : by the voice, I am proud to say it, of a part of that profession to which I have the honour to belong, he had been invited to an office which few have held for any length of time without further advancement. His friends thought it at that time no presumption to hope, that ere long he might wear the mitre at home : but it would not have been like himself to chaffer for preferment : he freely and willingly accepted a call which led him to more important, though more dangerous — alas ! I may now say, to fatal labours.

What he was in India why should I describe ? You saw him : you bear testimony. He has already received in a sister Presidency the encomiums of those from whom praise is most valuable ; especially of one whose own spotless integrity, and a sincerity far above suspicion, make every word of commendation which is drawn from him of tenfold value. I have reason to believe that, short as their acquaintance had been, there are few from whom the voice of praise would have sounded more gratefully to him who was the subject of it. Would that he might have lived to hear it ! What sentiments were entertained of him in this metropolis of India your presence testifies : and I feel myself authorized to say, that if the noble person who holds the highest station in this country had been unfettered by usage, if he had consulted only his own inclinations and his regard for the Bishop, he would have been the foremost upon this occasion to manifest his participation in the feelings which are common to us all. When a stamp has been thus given to his character, it may seem only to be disturbing the impression, to renew, in any manner, your view of it ; yet, if you will grant me your patience for a few moments, I shall have a melancholy pleasure in pointing out

some features of it which appear to me to have been the most remarkable.

The first which I would notice, was that cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit, which, though it may seem to be a common quality, is, in some circumstances, of rare value. To this large assemblage I fear I might appeal in vain, if I were to ask that he should step forward who had never known his spirit sink when he thought of his native home, and felt that a portion of his heart was in a distant land; who had never been irritated by the annoyance, or embittered by the disappointment of India. I feel shame to say that I am not the man who could answer the appeal. The Bishop was the only one whom I have ever known who was entirely master of these feelings. Disappointments and annoyance came to him as they come to all, but he met and overcame them with a smile; and, when he has known a different effect produced on others, it was his usual wish that "they were but as happy as himself." Connected with this alacrity of spirit, and in some degree springing out of it, was his activity. I apprehend that few persons, civil or military, have undergone as much labour, traversed as much country, seen and regulated so much as he had done, in the small portion of time which had elapsed since he entered on his office; and, if death had not broken his career, his friends know that he contemplated no relaxation of exertions. But this was not a mere restless activity, or the result of temperament. It was united with a fervent zeal, not fiery nor ostentatious, but steady and composed, which none could appreciate but those who intimately knew him. I was struck myself, upon the renewal of our acquaintance, by nothing so much as by observing that, though he talked with animation on all subjects, there was nothing on which

his intellect was bent, no prospect on which his imagination dwelt, no thought which occupied habitually his vacant moments, but the furtherance of the great design, of which he had been made the principal instrument in this country. Of the same unobtrusive character was the piety which filled his heart. It is seldom that of so much there is so little ostentation. All here knew his good-natured and unpretending manner: but I have seen unequivocal testimonies, both before and since his death, that under that cheerful and gay aspect there were feelings of serious and unremitting devotion, of perfect resignation, of tender kindness for all mankind, which would have done honour to a saint. When to these qualities you add his desire to conciliate, which had every where won all hearts; his amiable demeanour, which invited friendships that were confirmed by an innocence and purity of manners which bore the most scrutinizing examination, you will readily admit that there was in him a rare assemblage of all that most deserves esteem and admiration.

But I will not leave the matter upon these grounds. What we do this day, we do in the face of the world; and I am loth to leave it open even to the malignant heart to suppose that we have met here on a solemn, but hollow pretence; that we use idle or exaggerated words, or would stoop to flattery, even of the dead. The principal ground of all on which I hold the death of the Bishop to have been a public loss, was the happy fitness and adaptation of his character for the situation and circumstances in which he was placed. There is no man, whether he be of the laity or a churchman, to whom I will yield in earnestness of desire to see Christianity propagated and predominant throughout the world; but it would be sinful, if it were

possible, to banish from our recollection the truths which the experience of former ages has left for the guidance of the present.

It is an awful, but an unquestionable fact, that a fuller knowledge, a more perfect revelation of the will of God, has never been communicated rapidly to large masses of mankind, without their being thrown into confusion. To some it has seemed that religion is so important an element of moral and social order, that no alteration can be made of its quality and proportion, without the whole mass dissolving, fermenting, and assuming new forms; that, by some mysterious condition of the lot of humanity, all mighty blessings are attended by some great evil; that every step to heaven is still to be won by fresh sacrifices and atonements. There is another, and I trust a better mode of reasoning on these symptoms of interpreting these terrible signs. I will not readily believe that religion has been one of the causes of disorder; but rather that the vices of men having prepared the crisis, and called for the revulsion and re-action of the preservative principles of society, religion has then manifested herself in a more visible and tangible form, and come as a ministering angel, only to enable those who were struggling for the right, to persevere and to prevail.

The appalling fact, however, remains not the less indisputable, that it is in scenes of extensive disorder, amidst mortal strife and terrible misery, that she has achieved her greatest triumphs, displayed her strongest powers, and made her most rapid advances. When Christianity first spread itself over the face of the Roman empire, all the powers of darkness seemed to be roused to an encounter: the storm blew from every point of the compass; unheard-of races of men, and monsters of anarchy and misrule,

more like the fantastic shapes of a dream than the realities of life, appeared amongst the gloom ; and that period ensued which has been perhaps rightly considered as the most calamitous in the whole history of man. When that new world was discovered, which now presents such fair and animating prospects, religion was imparted to the southern portion of it by carnage and by torture—I say that in South-America the ground was cleared by the torch and dug by the sword, and the first shoots of Christianity were moistened with the blood of unoffending millions. Again, when in Europe the Church cast its old slough, and reappeared in somewhat of its pristine simplicity, all Europe was convulsed by civil war for a century and a half. Witness in France those battles, and massacres, and assassinations, of the Huguenots and Catholics ; in Germany, that closing scene of thirty years' confusion, in which the grotesque and barbaric forms of Wallenstein and Tilly are seen struggling with the indomitable spirit of Mansfield, and the majestic genius of Gustavus Adolphus. Witness in England the downfall of its ancient throne, and the eclipse of royalty. Let me not be misunderstood on points such as these. There is no one who has rightly considered these events, who will not, even while he mourns over them, admit that it is now better the changes took place, even with their terrible accompaniments, than that they should not have taken place at all. But, whilst I avow this, I hope it is not presumptuous to breathe a fervent prayer that India may receive the blessing without the attendant misery ; not faint-heartedness, that I tremble at the possibility of all Southern Asia being made a theatre of confusion ; not lukewarmness, that, rather than see religion advance upon the rapid wings of strife, I would prefer to

wait for her more gradual approach, preceded by commerce and the arts, with peace and knowledge for her handmaids, and with all the brightest forms of which human felicity is susceptible crowding in her train. I confidently trust that there shall one day be erected in Asia a Church, of which the corners shall be the corners of the land, and its foundation the Rock of Ages; but when remote posterity have to examine its structure, and to trace the progress of its formation, I wish they may not have to record that it was put together amidst discord, and noise, and bloodshed, and confusion of tongues; but that it rose in quietness and beauty, like that new temple where “no hammer, or axe, nor any tool of iron, was heard whilst it was in building;” or, in the words of the Bishop himself—

“No hammer fell, no ponderous axes rung;
Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung!”

That such may be the event, many hands, many spirits like his, must be engaged in the work: and, because of my conviction that they are rarely to be found, I feel myself justified in saying that his death is a loss, not only to his friends, by whom he was loved,—and to his family, of whom he was the idol,—but to England, to India, and to the world.

THE END.