CHAPTER XVIII.
1844-1849.

LORD HARDINGE'S ADMINISTRATION.—THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

The year 1844 opens a New Period.—Lord Hardinge.—Public Service opened to Educated Natives.—Dr. Duff's Anticipations not realized till 1854.—The New Period one of Public Discussion.—John Kaye and John Marshman.—Sir Henry Lawrence and Captain Marsh.—Establishment of the Calcutta Review.—Dr. Duff's Recollections of the Event.—His Early Articles.—The Editorship forced on him.—Encourages Bengalee Essayists.—Sir John Kaye's Gratitude.—The Fever Epidemic of 1844.—Calcutta now a Healthy City.—Dr. Duff's Appeal for the Medical College Hospital.—Description of the Dying and the Dead.—The Ten Hospitals of Calcutta now.—Dr. Abercrombie and his Daughter.—Project of a Monument to John Knox.—Relief of the Highland Famine.—Mrs. Ellerton.—Duel of Warren Hastings and Philip Francis.—Letter to Mrs. Duff.—Bishop Wilson.—Letter to Principal Cunningham.—Andrew Morgan and the Doveton Colleges of Calcutta and Madras.

The successive administrations of Lord Auckland and Lord Ellenborough, by the violent contrasts which they presented, and the vital questions which they raised, summoned all Anglo-Indians, official and non-official, to discussion. The civil and the military services were placed, temporarily, in a heated antagonism. The disasters in Afghanistan, followed by the evacuation of the country after a proposal to sacrifice the English ladies and officers in captivity, and by the follies of a public triumph and the Somnath proclamation, had roused Great Britain as well as India.

The annexation of Sindh and the war with Gwalior further stirred the public conscience in a way not again seen till the Mutiny, of which the Auckland-Ellen-
borough madness was the prelude. And the whole was overshadowed by a new cloud in the north-west, far more real, at that time at least, than the shadow cast by the advance of Russia from the north. The death of Runjeet Singh, who from the Sikh Khalsa, or brotherhood, had raised himself to be Maharaja of the Punjab, from the Sutlej to the Khyber and the glaciers of the Indus, had given the most warlike province of India six years of anarchy. It was time, if India was not to be lost, that one who was at once a soldier and a statesman should sit in the seat of Wellesley and Hastings. The new Governor-General was found in the younger son of a rector of the Church of England; in the Peninsular hero who, at twenty-five, had won Albuera, had bled at Waterloo, had left his hand on the field of Ligny, and had become a Cabinet minister as Secretary-at-War. Sir Henry Hardinge went out to Government House, Calcutta, at sixty, and he returned in four years as Viscount Hardinge of Lahore. Before he left England he took the advice of Mountstuart Elphinstone, never to interfere in civil details. All through his administration he consulted Henry Lawrence, and saw himself four times victor in fifty-four days, at Moodkee and Ferozeshuhur, at Aliwal and Sobraon. Like his still greater successor, his victories were those of peace as well as war. He opened the public service to educated natives. He put down suttee and other crimes in the feudatory states. He stopped the working of all Government establishments on the Christian Sabbath, a prohibition requiring renewal, in the Public Works department at least, since his time. He fostered the early railway projects, and carried out the great Ganges Canal. For the first time since, ten years before, Lord William Bentinck resigned the cares of office, our Eastern Empire felt that it was being wisely governed.
Almost the first act of the new Governor-General, in October, 1844, was to publish a resolution which delighted the heart of Dr. Duff, because it at once recognised officially the success of his persistent policy, and Government for the first time acknowledged the value of colleges and schools, Christian and independent, other than its own. Because English education had made such progress in Bengal since the decree of 1835, the Government directed that the public service be thrown open to natives thus educated, and that even for the lowest offices "in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot." Not only was the official department of public instruction to submit, every New Year's Day, the names of students educated in the state colleges and fit for appointments, but "all scholastic establishments other than those supported out of the public funds" were invited to furnish similar returns of meritorious students for the same reward. The order was received with such enthusiasm by both natives and Europeans, that even the bureaucratic Council of Education, which had adopted all Dr. Duff's educational plans while keeping him and his Christianity at arm's length, burst into the unwonted generosity of notifying that the measure was applicable "to all students in the lower provinces without reference to creed or colour." True this was only. interpreting the Hardinge enactment according to the Bentinck decree, which had in principle declared all offices, save the covenanted, open to natives, and the department still refused to spend the public money on any but its own secular schools. But the Council's notification, no less than the order of the Government of India, marked a decided advance towards that measure of toleration and justice to native and missionary alike, which Dr. Duff fought for till Parliament conceded it in 1853.
Unfortunately the *laissez-faire* instincts of the English, and the nepotism of the vernacular Bengalee officials, co-operated to neutralize the reform for a time. The Council fixed the tests of fitness strictly to suit its own colleges, practically excluding the "private individuals and societies" that, in truth, had made Government education what it had become. The Court of Directors objected to such a test as the English language and literature. In five years only nine students, all from Government colleges, were appointed to the public service. But when the leading Hindoos of Calcutta presented an address of gratitude to the Governor-General, and when Dr. Duff wrote to his committee in the following terms, both were right notwithstanding. For this order of Lord Hardinge was the second step, after Lord W. Bentinck's, towards that catholic system of public instruction which culminated in the establishment of the three Universities in 1857.

"Henceforward those who possess the best qualifications, intellectual and moral, are invariably and systematically to be preferred. And this order extends from the highest situations of trust down to the lowest menial offices. In the latter departments alone it is calculated that there are at least ten thousand persons in Government service in the Bengal Presidency alone, employed in serving summonses, etc., who can neither read nor write. In the higher departments of the service not above a dozen of superiorly qualified persons have hitherto succeeded in forcing their way into honourable employment. Of what mighty and indefinite changes, prospectively, does this order, then, contain the seeds? And what pre-eminently distinguishes it is this, that it is so catholic. Government institutions, and all other institutions, public or private, missionary and non-missionary, are placed on an equal footing.
No partialities, no preferences in favour of young men trained in Government schools and colleges! This is a remarkable feature. It is the first public recognition of missionary and other similar institutions, in immediate connection with the service of the State. What fresh motives for evangelizing labours in this vast realm! I feel appalled and well-nigh overwhelmed at the new load of responsibility thus thrown upon us. Oh that the Christian people of Scotland would arise in behalf of the millions of India, as they have nobly arisen in behalf of their own thousands and tens of thousands at home! That this Government notification will be followed by a sudden influx, an instantaneous rush of young aspirants into existing institutions, I do not mean to imply. But that it will furnish the strongest incentive to self-improvement, and impart the most powerful impulse to the general cause of education which has ever yet been supplied under British sway, is clear beyond all debate. . . Oh that we had the resources in qualified agents and pecuniary means, with large, prayerful, faithful hearts, to wait on the Lord for His blessing, and then, under the present impulse, might we, in every considerable village and district of Bengal, establish vernacular and English seminaries that might sow the seeds of divine truth in myriads of minds, and thus preoccupy them with principles hostile to ruinous error, and favourable to the reception of saving knowledge.” The predicted rush of native students took place. An impetus was given to the study of English, though not from the highest, yet from a motive quite as high as that which feeds the competitive examinations annually held by the commissioners since the public service, civil and military, was opened to the whole nation. Had Lord Hardinge’s order been carried out according to its spirit, or even letter, the natives of India must have
found themselves now much nearer, because better prepared for, that share in their own government the demand for which may create a political danger. For the Christian colleges would have supplied those elements of moral character based on conscience and faith, which the cold secularism of the powerful state system steadily destroys without supplying the true substitute. Apart from this solution Lord Lytton is, to-day, as vainly attempting to meet the difficulty as all his predecessors.

Ever since Lord William Bentinck had supplied the stimulus to the discussion of public reforms in the press, and Duff and Trevelyan, Macaulay and Metcalfe, had led the way, the more thoughtful Anglo-Indians had felt the want of a literary medium. The editors of newspapers themselves, like Captain Kaye of the daily Hurkūru and Mr. Marshman of the weekly Friend of India, were the first to urge the importance of establishing a magazine or review to which men of all shades of religious and political opinion could contribute. The former, afterwards Sir John Kaye, had been led, by ill health, to abandon a promising career in the Bengal Artillery for the sedentary pursuits of a literary life. His professional experience gained for him the confidence of the many officers who, in India, are always ready to feed journalists with valuable materials, and fitted him to become the historian of such contemporary events as the first Afghan war. Mr. Marshman had come out to India with his father at the close of the previous century; he had received there an intellectual and spiritual training of unusual excellence; he had made the grand tour in Europe; he had discharged professional duties in the Serampore College with great ability, and he had become the first Bengalee scholar, had established the first newspaper in that language, and had succeeded
Carey as Government translator. When the grand old Serampore brotherhood passed away, he became heir to the debt which their benevolent enthusiasm—supporting at one time twenty-seven separate mission stations out of their own pocket—had incurred. With marvellous energy, by the first steam paper-mill in the East, by preparing excellent law and school books for all Bengal, and by establishing the famous weekly journal, he wiped out the debt. From first to last he contributed sixty thousand pounds for the enlightenment and christianization of India. To these two, with Dr. Duff, we owe the Calcutta Review. To them we must add Sir Henry Lawrence and Captain H. Marsh of the old Bengal Cavalry. Marsh was a nephew of Mrs. George Grote, whose husband was a contributor to the Westminster Review. That became the model of the new undertaking in a mechanical sense alone. In all other respects the founders of the Calcutta Quarterly were out of sympathy with Bentham, Mill, and their school.

The first number appeared in May, 1844. A few weeks after Sir Henry Hardinge landed at Calcutta. Before, in 1874, writing the history of its first twenty years, we consulted the survivors of the band who had created its reputation—Duff, Kaye and Marshman, who have since passed away; and we are happy in being able to add to the narrative the later statement of Dr. Duff, taken down from his own lips in those conversations with which, to himself and his friends, he lightened the pain of his last illness. The first number at once leaped into popularity. A second edition was called for, and then a third was published in England. "In a very short time," Sir John Kaye wrote to us, Dr. Duff "had written his article on 'Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India,' and from that time he became a contributor equally indefatigable
and able." Captain Marsh proved too trenchant a critic for the sensitive officials of those days, but his article on "The Rural Population of Bengal" would not now be pronounced so extravagant as Henry Lawrence then considered it. Of that he had written to the editor: "I have evolved myself of some form and embodiment akin to an article. Great fact if true—if confirmed by worthy John Kaye, good John Kaye, true John Kaye, and running in the same coach with earnest, solemn Duff—the silent, the unreplying, the uncorresponding Duff. Oh! brave, brave! Is it so? Yes or no? Utrum horum—odd or even?" He had great admiration (never better bestowed) of Dr. Duff, wrote Sir John Kaye, and was pining under an unanswered letter.

These are Dr. Duff's recollections of his early connection with the Calcutta Quarterly: "I am not one who cared much for what people said or thought, but there was one thing I felt keenly—the way my connection with the Calcutta Review was represented. Some high and mighty ones probably did not like the idea of a missionary having the control over it. If I make up my mind for a great principle based on the Bible, I don't care for all the emperors of the world. About the beginning of 1844 Kaye was under the necessity of leaving India for his health. I had no bitterer enemy at the time than he. One day I had an invitation from him, most unexpectedly, to spend the evening with himself and family. Nothing passed about the controversy, but he spoke on all subjects on which he knew I was interested, and spoke so agreeably no mortal would dream that anything unpleasant had existed between us. Thank God, I never cherished the spirit of resentment. It was my daily prayer to be preserved from the spirit of envy, jealousy, malice, uncharitableness, resentment, or vin-
dictiveness in any shape or form; the feeling being intense that if God for Christ's sake forgave me ten thousand times ten thousand transgressions, it was my duty as well as privilege to forgive all who had offended or wronged me in any way whatever, whether they reciprocated the feeling or not. In the course of my long life nothing tended to give me greater peace of mind and conscience than the strenuous endeavour invariably to carry out this principle into living practice. To cherish hatred or the spirit of unfor-givingness punishes himself vastly more than the person hated or unforgiven. I went to Kaye simply as a human being to a human being. What surprised me most of all was that before parting he asked me, in a very respectful way, whether I would not favour them by concluding the evening so pleasantly spent by engaging in family worship, which I was delighted to respond to.

"Shortly after spending the evening at his house I received a long letter from him, in which he stated his views about the desirableness of having a first-rate quarterly Review for India; that the only parties whom he had consulted in the matter were Sir Henry Lawrence, Mr. John Marshman, and Captain Marsh; and that now, having ascertained they were favourable to the project, he wished to learn whether I would join with them and become a regular contributor. I had long felt very strongly the need of a powerful periodical to do justice to the mighty affairs of our Indian Empire. I therefore had no hesitation in replying at once, expressing a sense of the extreme desirableness of such a periodical. Only, I added, all will depend on the principles on which it is conducted. If these be sound in all departments—political, civil, social, theological, religious and moral, the good accruing therefrom may be pre-eminent. On the contrary, if
the principles be unsound on these and other leading subjects, the evil will be proportionately great. I promised I would gladly join them in a close co-partnership to carry on the new Review, if he would pledge himself in the first place that nothing would appear in it hostile to Christianity or Christian subjects generally; and secondly, that whenever proper occasion naturally arose, clear and distinct enunciations should be made as to sound Christianity and its propagation by missionaries in India. Mr. F. promptly assured me that these substantially expressed his own views, and if I would write an article for the first number he would leave me entirely free to choose the subject. Having a number of old documents in my possession relative to the first Indian, or Danish mission in Tranquebar, I wrote a very elaborate article on the whole subject of Missions, in which no important department was omitted. This article Mr. Kaye cheerfully inserted. It has since been reprinted at home, Dr. Andrew Thomson, of Edinburgh, making special allusion to it in his work on the Lives of Missionaries.

"In the second number of the Review I chose the subject of 'Female Infanticide among the Rajpoots and other Native Tribes of India,' and the extraordinary variety of operations carried on by our Government to extinguish it. I secured from the public library all the blue-books which had been published in all the Presidencies for fifty years past, in which many of the ablest and most enlightened servants of Government had taken an active share. I took special pains with it. Then there was in the fourth number 'The State of Indigenous Education in Bengal;' next came 'The Early or Exclusively Oriental Period of Government Education in Bengal.' I was preparing other articles of a similar kind, when the editorship came upon me. Mr. Kaye sent me a
polite message to come to his house to consult on a very vital and important matter. He said that already the Review had proved an unexpected success. It would be very sad to let it go down just when entering on such an extensive work of great and obvious usefulness. The state of his health was such that he must almost immediately leave India under peremptory medical instructions. What was to be done with the Review? No one could properly edit such a work airtight except in India itself. ‘Now I’ve applied to every man in the service, and out of it, whom I thought at all likely to be able and willing to undertake it, at least for a time, but every one positively shrinks from the task.’ To maintain it on the footing on which it started in a country like India, where, at that time, none attempted to make a livelihood from their own literary exertions, except editors of newspapers, whose hands were already too full, was desirable. Therefore in the most earnest way he appealed to me to assume the editorship, for a time at least, and be the sole responsible head of it. The magnitude of the task at first appalled me. But writers of ability gave me articles, and occasionally supplied facts on subjects they were acquainted with, which, with their consent, I dressed up into articles. It came to be understood, when an article or materials for an article were sent, if the departures on any point did not diverge too far from the principles originally agreed on, that slight alterations might be made to adapt it to these principles without interfering with its leading objects. Mr. Kaye himself saw the fourth number in the press. Then it was that I took up the editorship, and I continued to hold it till obliged to return from India in 1849, when I gave up the management to my friend, the late Rev. Dr. Mackay, who was a man of exquisite taste and many literary
accomplishments. It is but fair to Mr. Kaye to say that he insisted upon my taking some adequate remuneration. I peremptorily declined. I looked upon the work as one calculated in many important ways to promote the vital interests of India, and in endeavouring to promote these I felt there was no inconsistency between devoting a portion of my time to it besides the more direct mission work; in fact, that the two duties worked into each other's hands and promoted the interests of each other. The grand object was to raise up the whole of India from its sunk and degraded position of ages, in every aspect of improvement, political, social, civil, intellectual, moral and religious. I felt, however, the Institution I had founded ought to derive direct benefit from the Review. Accordingly a hundred rupees a year for scholarships and

This arrangement last dical passed into other varying fortunes since, literary authority suppl regarding India as the Dr. Duff contributed, some of which were the time of his fina' continued to inflr valuable of the se been the enlisting Dr. Duff's students-
Rev. Lal Behari Day the Dutt and Mitter cles of peculiar value and occasionally of such authorship was not at the

To the last Sir John Ka, ings, did not cease to expr
Duff. It might seem merely appropriate that he should dedicate to the missionary a volume on such a subject as "Christianity in India: a Historical Narrative," in words which express not only the author's gratitude for his kindness but "admiration of his character." In the history of Indian progress, however, which Sir John wrote as a plea for continuing "The Administration of the East India Company" during the charter discussions of 1853, the secular historian of a corporation that had generally discouraged Christian Missions, and so has since passed away, did not hesitate to record "the great and successful exertions of private bodies to diffuse, principally through missionary agency, the light of knowledge among the people." The foremost place amongst these be must, declares, all admit to be "due to Al and his associates—to the little party of the lterian ministers who now have been toiling for the unwearying zeal and with And, after telling the man concludes: "There ed over all parts of the come to be taught; for the magnitude can be compared and his associates. In these honours; of their Scotch ng remembrance." was Dr. Duff led to ally not only the press but rely philanthropic as well cession of sickly seasons, of fever during the latter Calcutta and its neighbour-
the natives of "poor, pillaged, ravaged, unhappy India." When all was over the missionary sank back exhausted, and had to rest half-way down the pulpit stairs. One at least of the young who had heard him had to seek shelter in bed on returning home, to hide the marks of weeping, ready to join on the morrow in the project of a school companion whose emotions had taken the practical shape of a penny a week subscription."

Dr. Duff's host, on this occasion, was the Rev. Dr. William Thomson, whose portly figure and exalted character used to strike him with awe when he was a boy at Perth Academy. In his own field of genial scholarship and active philanthropy he was worthy of his more famous brother, Andrew Thomson of St. George's. The tremendous strides of the missionary, as he walked with her father to the top of Kinnoul hill, so alarmed the youngest daughter, now Mrs. Omond of Monzie, that she was glad when he stopped at the Tay bridge to take a long fond look of the hills among which his father's cottage lay. When, in 1863, the old man passed away at the age of ninety, Dr. Duff, then still in India, recalled in a public letter the long career of Dr. William Thomson, and declared that his had been "one of the happiest, most genial, and alike to head and heart most exhilarating domestic circles in Christendom."

It was during this Perthshire tour that Rev. Guthrie, following hard on Dr. Duff's track in the cause of church extension, found this trace of him at Abernyte. Mr. Wilson, the minister of the parish, had as his assistant that James Hamilton who became an accomplished naturalist and Edward Irving's successor in London. But Wilson himself was an opponent of Sir Isaac Newton in the law of gravitation. It grieved him that his Church's first missionary should dream of
subverting Hindooism by a science quite as false as the cosmogony of the Veds. Dr. Guthrie attempted to reason with the animated fossil, and then pretended to be so far convinced as to ask most meekly how it is that the people of the antipodes do not drop off into boundless space. "Well sir," said the simple opponent of Sir Isaac Newton, "they keep on just as the flies do which you see there walking along the ceiling." Some of the a priori objections to Dr. Duff's evangelistic system of education were quite as well founded.

In two instances only did the Indian missionary meet with rudeness. One occurred under circumstances which have caused the event to be traditional in the place. Appealed to long after for the facts, he thus told the story. The presbytery of Dunbar had been summoned to meet in the parish kirk of the town. Dr. Duff was received the evening before the meeting under the hospitable roof of Mr. Sawers. On setting out to visit the minister of the kirk, as was his first duty, he was gently warned that his reception might not be very cordial. The Rev. Mr. Jaffray, he was told, was notoriously hostile to foreign missions generally, and was by no means reconciled to those of his own Church. This did not deter Dr. Duff, whose duty it plainly was to show courtesy to the man in whose kirk he was to address the presbytery and the people. After some hesitation the servant admitted him, and he followed her to the study so closely that further denial was impossible. Mr. Jaffray stood up, and glaring at the intruder with fury, shouted out in tones heard by the passers-by in the street outside, "Are you the fanatic Duff who has been going about the country beguiling and deceiving people by what they choose to call missions to the heathen? I don't want to see you, or any of your descrip-
tion. I want no Indian snake brought in among my people to poison their minds on such subjects; so as I don't want to see you the sooner you make off the better." Dr. Duff stood calm and imperturbable for a little, and then, breaking the silence, said that he had come merely to show him courtesy as the minister of the parish and an ordained minister of the Established Church, as both of them were. As he must be aware to-morrow the meeting of presbytery was to be held in his church, he, Dr. Duff, thought it only due to him to show this tribute of respect and courtesy. With permission therefore Dr. Duff very briefly would tell him the nature and object of his visit to Dunbar under the sanction and recommendation of the General Assembly. He did so very briefly because he saw in Mr. Jaffray's countenance that the churl was all the while in wrathful agony.

When Dr. Duff ended, he said he had nothing more to explain and would now retire. "By all means," the reply was, in a surly tone, "the sooner the better. I never want to see your face again on earth. I was no party to the meeting to-morrow. The presbytery had a perfect right to fix on my church; but as for me, I had nothing to do with it; I shall not go near the meeting, for I hate the subject, and might almost say the same thing of him who has been the means of calling such a meeting to disturb the feelings of my people and introduce what may be new strifes and divisions among us." Dr. Duff, in a single sentence, said he hoped and trusted it would turn out otherwise, since the blessed Saviour's command was, "Go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature," and the present was but a humble attempt on the part of the Established Church of Scotland to obey this parting and imperative commission. All this time both were standing in the middle of the floor; so Dr. Duff, respect-
fully bowing, bade him good-night, and retired to his congenial quarters. That evening Dr. Duff said nothing, except, in answer to a question, stating in general terms that the warning Mr. Sawers had given had not been in vain. Next day, however, he was everywhere met by parties personally unknown to him, who condoled with him on the strange reception given to him by their minister. "The truth is," they said, "we expected nothing cordial, but we never dreamed that he would stoop to such rudeness." After this Mr. Jaffray very generally throughout the bounds of the Church, when this remarkable incident became known, went under the name of the Brahman of Dunbar. The intention was to indicate his barbarous rudeness, but the greatest injustice was thus in ignorance done to the Brahmans of India, more particularly the learned and studious class, who are among the most courteous and gentlemanly persons to be met with.

By this time the effect of Dr. Duff's work in Scotland had spread across the border, influencing churches and societies in England. When in the midst of his organization of associations in Perthshire, he was pressed by many and repeated invitations from the great missionary and religious societies in London to address them in the coming month of May. Even those who had most ignorantly objected to his Assembly oration of 1835, that it did not represent the operations of other Christians in India, had by this time discovered, alike from his provincial addresses and the representations of their agents in Bengal, the catholicity of his spirit and the extent of his zealous co-operation with all the Protestant missionaries in Calcutta and the neighbourhood. Especially was this the case with the Church Missionary Society, the noble evangelical organization of the
Church of England, whose representatives in Bengal, Dealtry, Corrie and Sandys had been his most intimate fellow-workers. His response to that society’s earnest appeal to address its annual meeting in May was the beginning of a relation which, as we shall see, became closer and more loving on both sides till the end. Never before had the directors deemed it expedient to go out of their own episcopal circle to find speakers, till Dr. Duff was thus enabled to return, on a wider scale, the kindness of Dealtry and Corrie to himself when he first landed in Bengal. When the meeting was held in London he found himself on the platform seated between the Bishops of Chester and Winchester. When the latter had spoken the young Presbyterian apostle rose, and so addressed them that the interest and emotion of the vast audience continued to increase till he sat down amid a tempest of enthusiastic applause. We have no réport of this effort beyond its effect, which the Bishop of Chester indicated when, following Dr. Duff after a long pause, he declared with characteristic gravity that he had waited until the gush of emotion excited by the preceding speaker had been somewhat assuaged. When all was over, among others the godly Mr. Carus, one of the deans of Trinity College, Cambridge, introduced himself to Dr. Duff, and at once exacted the promise that the missionary would accompany himself in a day or two on a visit to the University.

Other circumstances apart, the peculiar interest of this visit to Cambridge lies in the meeting for the first and last time of the aged Simeon and the young Duff. Simeon was within a few months of his death, but even after half a century’s labours for the Master, in England and Scotland and for India, he was apparently in health and vigour. He and Dr. Duff had what the latter afterwards described as “a very prolonged
sederunt.” He was full of questions regarding India and its missions, for which he had done so much all that time. And we may be sure that, among the other topics which occupied that memorable conversation, the Moulin revival was not forgotten. We have already traced the spiritual ancestry of Duff to Simeon, from the journal of the latter, written in 1796, when the events occurred. The record of them, or the talk about them forty years after by the venerable saint and his own son in the faith, the evangelical Anglican and the evangelical Presbyterian, it is now possible for us to recall from Duff’s talk afterwards.

What during the conversation gave Simeon such profound interest in the Moulin revival of 1796 was the remembrance of his own share in the quickening. His host, Mr. Stewart, the parish minister, was then a comparatively young man, an excellent and accomplished scholar, but without any evidence of true piety. He was of a frank and cheerful disposition, and was a great favourite with the people, for whom he had always a kind word. His life, as written by Dr. Sieveright, of Markinch, shows how by degrees he became unhappy, from the conviction that there was something real in Christianity which he did not possess and had not discovered. The exceeding honesty of his intellectual nature showed itself thus, as one present told Dr. Duff. Mr. Stewart had read the preliminary psalm at public worship in the church on the Lord’s-day, and was about to give out his text, when he leaned over the book board, and looking round with a saddened, piercing eye on his congregation, he said to them in substance: “My brethren, I am bound in truth and faithfulness to tell you that I feel myself to be in great ignorance and much blindness on the subject of vital religion. I feel like one groping in the dark for light, and as yet I have found none. But I think it right to tell you,
that if God in mercy will give me any measure of the true light, joyfully shall I impart the same to you. Do you therefore, all of you, pray God fervently that He may be pleased to bestow upon me the true light, or such portions of it as He may deem fit for me."

An announcement of so novel and startling a kind, indicating such simplicity and godly sincerity, could not but produce a profound sensation. The news rapidly spread, not only through the parish but through the surrounding country. One of the consequences was that many even of the most careless and ungodly were wont to go every Lord's-day to church in the expectation of hearing that the minister had found what he called the true light. Still weeks and months passed without any discovery being made to him. At last it so happened that Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, and the Rev. James Haldane, of the Tabernacle, Edinburgh, had arranged to make an extensive tour through the north of Scotland, preaching the gospel as they might find opportunity. On a Thursday they had arranged from Dunkeld to visit Blair-Athole, about twenty miles distant. They had to stop at Pitlochrie, which is about half-way. At that time there was a small country inn there. On arrival they told the innkeeper that as early as he could manage it they wanted a couple of horses to take them to Blair-Athole. "Na, na," said the innkeeper, "this is our fast day, as the sacrament is to be held next Sabbath, and we regard the fast day like another Sabbath, and we do not hire horses or vehicles on the Lord's-day." "Well," said Simeon, "I suppose there is worship in the parish church to-day?" "Oh, yes," said the innkeeper, naming the hour. "Well," said Simeon, "though this in one respect is a disappointment to us, it may be that in some other respects, as yet unknown to us, God may have some gracious
design in it, so let us go at once to the English worship at Moulin." Towards the evening of the day, after all the services, English and Gaelic, were ended, Simeon and Haldane resolved to call at the manse and see the minister, who received them with great heartiness. After some converse Mr. Simeon, from his sage, spiritual experience, could not but notice there were internal workings in the soul of Stewart which to him looked like the incipient influence of divine grace. Mr. Stewart was greatly refreshed by Mr. Simeon's converse, and in parting with both in the evening he said to them, "You can see everything that is worth seeing in and about Blair-Athole by Saturday afternoon;" so he implored them both to come to the manse on Saturday evening, attend the church on Sabbath, and partake or not partake, as they thought proper, of the sacrament. Mr. Stewart said that as minister of the parish he would be expected to preach what the Scotch were in the habit of calling the "action sermon"—sermon before the administration of the sacrament—but that on sacrament Sunday they had always public service in the church in the evening, as the people's hearts were then surcharged with feelings of love and pious emotion. That sermon Mr. Stewart asked Mr. Simeon to preach. Simeon agreed, and it is very remarkable how that sermon was blessed of God as the signal instrument of opening Mr. Stewart's eyes to discern the true light of the everlasting gospel.

His own declaration was, that about the middle of the sermon Mr. Simeon, who had evidently studied his case and endeavoured to adapt as much of the discourse as was practicable to it, uttered a few sentences which to Mr. Stewart looked like a revelation from heaven. His own significant expression was, that it seemed as if the dense cloud canopy which had hitherto interposed between his soul and the vision of God in Christ
reconciling a guilty world to Himself, had suddenly burst asunder, and through the chink a stream of light had come down direct from heaven into his soul, displacing the darkness which had hitherto brooded over it, filling it with light, and enabling him to rejoice with exceeding great joy. He was wont, also, to add, that in spite of partial obscurations afterwards, this light never wholly left him, but continued to animate, cheer and guide him through all his ministerial and other labours. On the following Lord’s-day Mr. Stewart was enabled joyfully to announce publicly from the pulpit, that the light which he sought for and waited for from heaven had at last dawned upon him and filled his soul with gladness; he would therefore proceed Sabbath after Sabbath to give out as much of it as he could to his own people and others who might choose to be present. He then commenced a series of discourses on the 3rd chapter of St. John’s Gospel, which awakened, aroused and enlightened numbers of the people. Parties were wont to come every Sabbath from all the surrounding parishes, so that the work became very extensive, and proved a mighty revival, in which scores of the previously careless, indifferent and godless became genuine converts to the truth as it is in Jesus, and continued so all their days. Yea, instead of diminishing, their light went on increasing and abounding. However humble in their circumstances, however illiterate, their souls became replenished with the truths of the Bible, so as to become burning and shining lights to all around them.

All this will account for the deep interest felt by Mr. Simeon when Dr. Duff called upon him, as the father and mother of the missionary when young and unmarried came more or less under the arousing influences of the great revival. About three or four months after this Mr. Simeon was called to his
eternal reward, but though he rests from his labours, his works, in many of their blessed and fruitful spiritual consequences, do still follow him. Such is substantially Dr. Duff's account of what he had heard of the Moulin revival, and of what Simeon and he had talked over in Cambridge. The Baptist Carey, the Anglican Simeon, the Moderate Inglis, and the Evangelical Chalmers, united with such Congregationalist contemporaries as Urquhart and Lacroix to link Duff into a truly apostolical succession, divided by no party and confined to no sect.

As the guest of Carus at Cambridge, Dr. Duff occupied the rooms in which Sir Isaac Newton made many of his most remarkable discoveries in optics. The old St. Andrews student revelled in associations in which no college in the world is more rich. For Trinity, which Henry VIII. founded and his daughters enriched, had been the nursery not only of the Church's most learned prelates and theologians, but of Bacon as well as Newton, of Cowley and Dryden and Andrew Marvell. When dining daily in the common hall with the professors and students, he had much converse with Whewell, who was master from 1841, when he succeeded Christopher Wordsworth, to 1866 when he was followed by "Jupiter" Thompson, the present master. But what interested him most of all, after the living Simeon, was the collection of the Milton MSS. in the museum of the college. There he saw the list, in Milton's own hand, of the hundred titles, or more, which the poet had jotted down on returning from Italy, in his thirty-first year, as possible subjects of a great English poem. There "Paradise Lost" appears at the head of them all, and also four drafts of it for dramatic treatment,* the drama to open, as the poet's nephew

Phillips tells us, with Satan's speech on first beholding the glories of the new world and the sun, as now given near the beginning of the fourth book of the epic.

Ever in the midst of his absorbing talks with Simeon and Carus about missions, Dr. Duff was constrained by the genius loci to think of Milton. When walking by the Cam, on one occasion, he expressed surprise that no regular Cambridge student had then offered his services as a missionary. Carus, in reply, drew his attention to the exceeding beauty of the spot; to the loveliness of the grounds and their adornments; to the banks of the Cam with their grotesque variety of flowers, the willow trees overhanging the stream, the umbrageous shade cast by other trees on the footpaths along the lawns, seats to invite the student to enjoy his favourite books; to the exquisite order in which all things were kept. All this, said Carus, tended insensibly to act on human nature, and produce an intensely refined and luxurious state of mind, with corresponding tastes and predilections from which it would be difficult to wean the student so as to induce him to become a voluntary exile to distant shores teeming with the abominations of heathenism. The remark, Dr. Duff replied, had some force in it, in the case of the old nature. But this ought not to present difficulties to the child of God, who professed to act by faith and not by sight. Whoever was resolute of purpose as a son of God, would find divine grace more than sufficient to wean him not only from the academic illusions of Cambridge, but from all the world besides. But then, turning to the river at their side, he exclaimed in the lines of the exquisite Lycidas, the memorial poem which Milton wrote on the death of Edward King, his fellow-student at Christ's Col-
Next, Camus, reverend sire, went footing slow,
His mantle hairy and his bonnet sedge,
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge
Like to that sanguine flower inscribed with woe.
‘Ah! who hath reft,’ quoth he, ‘my dearest pledge?’

At that time Mr. Carus could not venture to call a public missionary meeting in the college, but the Mayor presided over a great gathering of students and citizens in the town-hall, whom Dr. Duff addressed at length on India and its missions. From Cambridge he went to Leamington, where he gained some advantage from the treatment of the then celebrated Dr. Jephson. Having avoided the excitement of the General Assembly of 1836, he thus spent the summer in England. But on his return to Scotland in autumn, to complete his organization of the presbyteries and congregations, he was sternly ordered by the physicians to rest at Edradour. Rest for him was impossible. He induced them to wink at occasional raids, made for three or four weeks at a time, in different directions from that centre. Thus the months passed till the General Assembly of 1837.

During all his wanderings north and south, Dr. Duff kept up a close correspondence with his colleagues, Messrs. Mackay and Ewart, in Calcutta, and with other friends of the mission there. He was a keen observer of public affairs in the closing days of Lord William Bentinck’s administration, and the opening promise of that of Lord Metcalfe, whom the jealous Court of Directors refused to appoint permanent Governor-General. Of how much that was most brilliant and abiding in these times could we not say that he had been a part? How he explained to the English public the exact meaning of Lord William’s educational minutes of 1835, in his “New Era of the English Language,” we have told. The following extract
from an official letter to the committee, gives us his impressions of the other great triumph in the establishment of the Bengal Medical College:—

"Edradour, 13th July, 1835.

"I have just received a letter from an intimate friend in Calcutta, Mr. J. Nelson, attorney of the Supreme Court, and now a member of our corresponding board. He writes:—

"You will frequently have heard that the school is doing well. Within the last few days a prospect has been opened up likely to be very beneficial to it. I allude to an entirely new construction of the medical school with which Dr. Tytler was connected, which has been placed under Dr. Bramley, who is to receive boys from the various seminaries, qualified by their knowledge of English to become pupils for education in medicine. He states that in the formation of his plan, he particularly looked forward to our seminary for a supply, and at a visit he made to it the other day he found a number of boys most willing to go to him. I think there can be no differences of opinion as to the advantages likely to accrue by this opening for the young men. It is true that the primary object we have in view is the endowing them with a knowledge of Christianity, and sending them forth as teachers and preachers amongst their benighted countrymen; but it is easy to perceive that for many years persons so sent forth would require to be supported by our funds, and we have not the means of doing so except to a limited few. Besides, it appears to me to be highly valuable to have a portion of native Christians as laymen, interspersed among the brethren, particularly in such a respectable character as that of a doctor; for it is not intended that they shall, when qualified, be drafted out to the army. On the contrary, they are to receive the education and thereafter to have a free control in the exercise of their knowledge and talents, in such way and manner as they may respectively think proper. The jail of the Court having been vacated, Dr. Bramley has applied for it, and I believe I may say that Government have agreed to give it for a small rent, one portion to be occupied by our school, and the other by his
medical seminary, whereby such of our pupils as fancy medicine will be completing themselves in the higher branches of education, at the same time that they are receiving medical instruction.'

"Of the intention of Government to remodel the old native medical institution in Calcutta I was fully aware upwards of two years ago. Dr. Tytler, at the head of it, and his coadjutors were of the old school of orientalists, who strenuously upheld the necessity of communicating all European science to the natives through the medium of the learned languages of the East. The decisive experiments of the last few years in Calcutta have tended entirely to explode this opinion, and leave it a refuge only in the minds of a few of the old orientalists. In remodelling the medical school, the grand controverted question was, whether, as heretofore, the knowledge should be conveyed to Mussulmans in Arabic and Hindoos in Sanscrit, or whether it should not be conveyed to both through the medium of English. A Government committee was appointed to receive and examine evidence from all quarters, and then submit a formal report to the supreme Government. The three most active men in this committee were Mr. Trevelyan, the deputy political secretary; Dr. J. Grant, the writer of the account of the last examination of our Institution, and Dr. Bramley. Being all intimate friends of my own, I was from time to time apprised of the progress and results of their inquiries; to about fifty questions relative to the state and prospects of English education in Bengal, I gave a lengthened reply in writing. Before I left India this report was finally completed, and being favoured with a perusal of that part which related to the question of general education, I had the satisfaction to perceive that the new views on this subject were recommended in such a way as to insure
their adoption on the part of Government. And glad I am, for the sake of our Institution and for the real welfare of India, that this has been the consummation. The superintendence of the medical school being taken from Dr. Tytler, the champion of antiquated opinions, and given to Dr. Bramley, the enlightened supporter of sounder views, furnishes a guarantee of indefinite future good to India, as it is the test of the triumph of enlightened principles and measures among the powers that be. Two Calcutta letters have just reached me by the morning post, the one from Mr. Trevelyan detailing the steps relative to the medical institution, the other, consisting of not less than four sheets, from Dr. Bryce. The doctor seems really to be most enthusiastic in our cause."

"London, 22nd June, 1836.

"My Dear Ewart,—I cannot possibly describe to you the intenseness of interest which our mission now excites in our native land. The eyes of all Scotland are now upon you. Oh, that God in His mercy would pour out His Spirit and seal home the truth to the hearts of numbers, yea, thousands of the perishing heathen! I had once cherished fondly the hope that this summer I would be retracing my steps to India. This, however, I find to be an impossibility; the truth is, that the labours at home, into which I was impelled for the sake of arousing the Christian public, have retarded the progress of my recovery, and reduced me to the lowest state of exhaustion. From this it will require some time to recover, and yet my work at home is not ended. The only thing that reconciles me to the detention in my native land, is the assured fact that God has been pleased to employ me as an humble instrument in stirring up the slumbering zeal of our Church, and that the instrumentality has
been crowned with a success which I never, never, never anticipated! Thanks be to God for all His undeserved mercies.

"I now understand the mystery of Providence in sending me from India. What between vile politics and fierce voluntaryism our cause was well nigh being entirely engulfed in oblivion. At first I could scarcely get from any one or in any place a patient hearing. Now, if I had a thousand tongues, they might simultaneously be raised in a thousand pulpits. 'The spirit is willing,' but, alas, 'the flesh is weak.' Pray for me—that after having left a flame burning behind me, I may be speedily restored to you. Yours affectionately,"

"ALEXANDER DUFF."

Dr. Duff did not leave London, on this occasion, without spending a forenoon with Lord William Bentinck. After breakfast the two philanthropists enjoyed the fullest and freest converse regarding the conduct and policy of the Government in India, past and present. Relieved of the responsibilities of Governor-General Lord William was able to criticise most frankly the anomalous constitution of the East India Company, of the Board of Control created to enable the Crown to check and overrule the Court of Directors, and of the administration in India itself in all its branches. The critic commended some institutions and persons, but exposed the faults and weaknesses of many more. Of that priceless experience, as of the still riper knowledge which Dalhousie and Lord Canning took with them to a premature grave, there is no detailed record. Rulers stumble on to-day repeating the mistakes of their greater predecessors and dreaming that their statesmanship is new because they are blind to the past.

Whilst the conversation was still fresh in his mind,
Dr. Duff wrote down a very full and minute statement of the whole, which, as a curiosity, he sent to the Foreign Missions Committee.* One thing, however, was never effaced from his memory: Lord W. Bentinck with great emphasis said that some believed the Government in India was an absolute irresponsible despotism. Others were equally strong in the belief that the Court of Directors was the originating and directing power. Others again were as strongly convinced that the real power lay with the President of the Board of Control, with the British Parliament at his back. But, he added, one thing that struck him, and of the truth of which he had the amplest experience, was this, that in the office of the President of the Board of Control the chief secretary, through whose hands all official documents were sent out and sent home, for a long period—between forty and fifty years—exercised a power to which no President of the Board of Control, no Director, no Governor-General or any other responsible official could pretend.

Lord William Bentinck soon after addressed this letter to Dr. Duff:

* Frankfort, August 27th, 1835.

"Dear Sir,—I am confident you will excuse my seeming uncourteous return for your very kind letter, when I assure you that the weakness that I brought with me from India, and greatly increased by all the excitement, fatigue and bustle consequent upon my return, completely incapacitated me for all business and exertion, and it is only here and at Bruxelles that a day of leisure and quiet has given me an opportunity of offering this explanation to many friends whose

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* This letter is not among those most kindly copied for us from the records of the Established Church of Scotland.
letters I have been equally compelled to neglect. Lady William begs that I will express also her acknowledgments for your obliging inquiries. She is, I am sorry to say, a greater invalid than myself. We have been both advised to take the mineral waters of Germany—she, those of Schwalbach in Nassau, and I, those of Carlsbad in Bohemia. My health has much improved since I left London.

"I am much gratified to hear of your successful operations in Scotland. It must be the result of great personal exertion alone, for though I have had ample reason to know the indifference and apathy that generally prevail respecting all matters connected with India, yet even with all this experience I was not prepared for the feeling of dislike almost with which any mention of India is received. But this conviction of a sad truth, this disgraceful proof of British selfishness ought only to have the effect of exciting those deeply interested in the moral and religious welfare of the people of India to renewed efforts in their behalf.

"I have always considered the Hindoo College as one of the greatest engines of useful purpose that had been erected since our establishment in India; but that institution, in point of usefulness, can bear no comparison with yours, in which improved education of every kind is combined with religious instruction. I will not prolong this letter further than to say that I cannot be more gratified with any man's good opinion than by yours, and wishing you health and happiness, I remain, dear sir, your friend and well-wisher,

"W. Bentinck."

This, the greatest of the Bentincks, who thus expresses something like shame at a degree of English apathy to India still prevailing in spite of warnings like the first Afghan war and the Mutiny for which
that iniquity was the preparation, died four years after, having represented Glasgow in the House of Commons. Born in 1774, he was sixty-five years of age when his ripe experience was lost to a country and a ministry which preferred to the wise Metcalfe a place-hunter like Lord Auckland. But Heaven takes vengeance on a land for preferring the political partisans of the hour to its truly good and great statesmen. The equally noble Lady William, renowned in the East for her Christian charities, was the second daughter of the first Earl of Gosford, and survived her husband till May 1843. This great Governor General’s epitaph was written by Macaulay, in the inscription which covers the pedestal of the statue erected opposite the town-hall of Calcutta by grateful natives and Europeans alike:—“To William Cavendish Bentinck, who during seven years ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity and benevolence; who, placed at the head of a great empire, never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen; who infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; who never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed; who abolished cruel rites, who effaced humiliating distinctions, who allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion, whose constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the Government committed to his charge, this Monument was erected by men who, differing from each other in race, in manners, in language and in religion, cherish with equal veneration and gratitude the memory of his wise, upright and paternal administration.”
CHAPTER XII.

1837-1839.

FISHERS OF MEN.

Effect of First Assembly Speech in Drawing Men.—Rev. John Macdonald gives Himself.—M’Cheyne almost Drawn.—Glasgow supplies James Halley.—The Letters of Principal Macfarlan and Dr. Duff.—Dr. Coldstream and Medical Missions.—John Anderson gives himself to Madras.—Followed by Johnston and Braidwood.—Drs. Murray Mitchell and T. Smith.—Stephen Hislop.—Duff’s Great Speech in Exeter Hall.—Spiritual Destitution of India.—Indignant Satire on the Church’s Apathy.—The Calculus of Eternity, and the Arithmetic of Time.—Missionary sacrifice in the Light of Christ Himself.—General Assembly of 1887.—Duff’s Vindication of the Mission.—The two bigotries, of Infidelity and an unwise Pietism.—Native Apostles.—Duff appeals to Posterity.—Mistake of the Indian Presbyteries in the Training of Native Missionaries.—Dr. Macwhirter’s Command.—Prize Essays on Foreign Missions.—Dr. Chalmers and the position of the Kirk in 1839.—Letter to Dr. Ewart.—Ordination of Dr. T. Smith.—Epistle to all Young Theologians.—Speech on Female Education.—Lectures and Book on India and India Missions.—Farewell to the General Assembly of 1839.—The Press.—Personal References.—Gifts for the College Building, Library and Scholarships.—Duff pleads with Thomas Guthrie to go to India.—Dr. Chalmers endorses Duff’s System, and acknowledges his Christian Economics.—The Farewell to Moulin and to the Children.

In the two and a half years after his return home at the beginning of 1835, convalescent from the dysentery of Bengal but subject to the recurrence of its jungle fever, Dr. Duff had nearly completed his work of organization. Only the fervour of his zeal, and the power of recovery from exhaustion due to a splendid physique which marked his whole life, had enabled him to visit and address seventy-one presbyteries and synods and hundreds of congregations all over Scotland. This he had done during the rigours
of winter and the heats of summer, when as yet the canal boat, the stage-coach, and the post-carriage were the most rapid means of conveyance. Twice he had visited London and some of the principal cities in England on the same mission. But that mission was not merely or ultimately the establishment of associations to collect money, nor even the diffusion through the Churches of a missionary spirit. These were but means to the great end of discovering and sending out men of the highest faith and scholarship to carry on the work he had begun in Bengal, to extend it to Madras, and to strengthen Bombay. For, with his delighted concurrence, the General Assembly of 1835 had received under its superintendence the Scottish Missionary Society’s stations in Bombay and Poona, then under the care of Dr. Wilson, Mr. Nesbit and Mr. J. Mitchell. The Kirk’s Bengal Mission, with its one missionary of 1829–31, must, according to Dr. Duff, grow into the India Mission, to christianize the progress which was radiating out from all the great English centres in the East.

Hence the most real and fruitful result of his first Assembly speech and of those which followed it, in Scotland and in England, was in drawing men to give themselves to India. The whole religious biography of the former country relating to that period is coloured by his influence or bears traces of his persuasive power. We have already told how his early visit to the London presbytery had converted the Rev. John Macdonald from an opponent of his system into such an advocate of it that the minister of Chadwell Street, Pentonville, threw up his home charge and took his place beside Mackay and Ewart in Calcutta. So of that Dr. Macdonald of Ferintosh, who was worthy of the name he bore, of “apostle of the Highlands,” John Macdonald published a. “Statement of Reasons
for Accepting a Call to go to India as a Missionary,” which, as followed by his self-sacrificing life thereafter, was the most powerful testimony to the cause Dr. Duff had yet called forth. No one can give more than himself; no gift to any cause can be more precious than that of the whole spiritualised nature of a man who is in earnest to the death, as John Macdonald proved to be. In Macdonald Dr. Duff early saw, and found for the ten years of the new missionary’s Indian experience, an intense spiritual force to give increased evangelistic efficiency to the Calcutta college. “Your special and peculiar vocation,” he wrote to his new colleague before sending him forth, “would be to impart, through the blessing of God’s Spirit, a spiritual impression to the minds of scores that have already become dispossessed of Hindooism, as well as to preach whenever an opening presented itself, to adult idolaters. Our plan is now so extended as to admit of a division of labour.”

We have seen how young M’Cheyne and Somerville were moved by the interview which they sought with the returned missionary. Duff never lost his hold on M’Cheyne, who soon after formed one of the Church’s mission of inquiry into the condition of the Jews in Palestine and Eastern Europe. In April, 1836, the saintly young preacher wrote in his journal:—“Went to Stirling to hear Dr. Duff once more upon his system. With greater warmth and energy than ever. He kindles as he goes. Felt almost constrained to go the whole length of his system with him. If it were only to raise up an audience it would be defensible, but when it is to raise up teachers it is more than defensible. I am now made willing, if God shall open the way, to go to India. ‘Here am I; send me!’” His biographer, Dr. A. Bonar, remarks that “the missionary feeling in M’Cheyne’s soul continued
all his life. Must there not be somewhat of this missionary tendency in all true ministers?" Yet the only one of the M'Cheyne band who practically answered this question, besides William Burns, of China, was John Milne, of Perth, who was afterwards for a few years Free Church minister in Calcutta. Macdonald's resignation of a home charge for a missionary's apostolate caused so much excitement as to irritate him into putting the question to the degenerate Church—"Why is not such an event commonplace?"

Edinburgh and St. Andrews had sent their best students to the field; it was now the turn of Glasgow, which had been doing much for Kaffraria, to inquire. The ripest scholar in its university proved to be the most devoted student of theology. James Halley, A.B., was the favourite disciple of Sir Daniel K. Sandford, who, having imbued him with the very spirit of a reverent Hellenism, introduced him to the Edinburgh Professor of Greek as "the man who beat Tait," the present Archbishop of Canterbury. He promised to be the ornament of his university and of the Church, when death prematurely closed his bright career. What he was, the Rev. William Arnot's little memoir tells us. He hurried through from Glasgow, with James Hamilton, afterwards of Regent Square, to hear Duff's speech in the Assembly of 1835, and arrived only in time to witness its effect. He describes it as "a noble burst of enthusiastic appeal which made grey-headed pastors weep like children, and dissolved half the Assembly in tears." The immediate effect on him was seen in the College Missionary Society, of which he was president. Addressing Dr. Macfarlan, the principal of the University, and Dr. Duff afterwards, Mr. Halley sought their encouragement of the students' missionary aims. The former replied, declining, to contribute even the usual
guinea, warning them that "such exertions on the part of the students are premature and injudicious," and thus concluding: "I trust you will receive this explanation as a proof at once of my deep interest in the real welfare and improvement of the students attending this university, and of the personal regard for yourself." We are not parodying the words, nor misrepresenting the acts of the head of the University of Glasgow in the year 1835. Early in 1837 Mr. Halley received from Dr. Duff this reply:

"PITLOCHRIE, 7th March, 1837.

"I had once expected to have been able to meet your association in person, in which case much could be advanced that cannot well be committed to writing. But it was a constitution shattered beyond hope of recovery in a tropical clime that drove me from the field of labour; and ever since my arrival in my native land I have been buffeting with the dregs of tropical disease. In this way, rocked by discipline and cradled by disappointment, I have been unable to overtake a tithe of what I had originally proposed to myself. But as it is the ordination of Heaven, I trust I have learned to submit in patient resignation, ever ready to adopt the language of my Saviour and Redeemer—'Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight.'

"In the midst of the thunder of clashing interests and the lightning of angry controversy in this distracted land; how sweet, how refreshing to the soul to enter the quiet haven of devotion, and there hold communion with the great I Am, and the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, and the Holy Spirit that enkindles with the fervour of divine love. It is this feature in the organization of your society—effective as it is in other respects also—that inspires me with the purest joy. An alternate meeting is
devoted, you say, to Christian fellowship, prayer and the reading of missionary intelligence. God be praised who has put it into your hearts to unite in such hallowing exercises. If such meetings were more general they would be the rallying centres of hope to a divided Church and a bleeding world.

"You advert to the chilling influence of academic pursuits on the growth of piety in the soul. Most keenly have I felt it myself. How is it to be obviated? By constantly falling back on the touching and searching simplicity of God's own word, and constantly besieging a throne of grace with the honest effusions of a heart panting and thirsting after the love of God. Without the unceasing recurrence of such soul-reviving exercises I have learned, from sad experience too, that even religious pursuits—whether these consist in replenishing the intellect with divine knowledge or in the multiplied duties of the ministerial office—that even such pursuits may drain up the fountain-head of spiritual vitality and cause the plant of renown in the soul, for a season at least, to droop and wither and decay.

"You complain of indifference to religion in general and missions in particular. Oh, it is this indifference which I fear may eventually prove the ruin of our land, if God in mercy do not send some trumpet-peal to rouse us from our lethargy! The work of missions is so peculiarly a Christian work that neither its principles nor its objects can be rendered perfectly intelligible to any but God's own children. Indifference to religion in general must, therefore, produce indifference to the missionary cause. These are related as an antecedent and consequent, as cause and effect. If the souls of men have not yet been awakened to a sense of sin and danger—if they have not yet been sanctified, they cannot be susceptible of
any spiritual impression from any quarter whatever. . . To arrest the attention of such persons in a vital manner, and secure their sympathies and their exertions in behalf of the perishing heathen, we must first arouse them to a lively personal concern for the salvation of their own souls."

Another who was then a youth of promise, and became the founder of the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, if not of Medical Missions, was profoundly impressed. We find Dr. Coldstream, who had just settled in Leith as a physician, thus writing in 1837: "The missionary sermon and lesson of yesterday, by Dr. Duff, were most impressive. I have no words to express their thrilling effect. . . I think I never felt so strongly the delightful influence of the bond of Christian love. The very spirit of love seemed to move with electric fire through the great assembly, knitting heart to heart, and kindling sparks of holy zeal. It is a day much to be remembered." When, thirteen years afterwards, Dr. Duff publicly referred to a series of lectures on Medical Missions published by that most successful society, and asked "when will some of these lecturers set the example of devoting themselves to the missionary service and come out to India?" as has since been done, Dr. Coldstream replied, "I feel as if you had put the question to me individually."

The report of the speech of 1835 found its way to the retreat, near Dumfries, of a young licentiate of the Kirk whom sickness had laid aside. "John Anderson had passed through the eight years' studies of the University of Edinburgh the first man of his set. Like John Wilson at an earlier time, he had come under the influence of Dr. Gordon, who to his labours in pulpit and parish added the duties of secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee. Having refused the office of
assistant to a minister, John Anderson was altogether despairing of health, and was already thirty-two, when that happened which he himself shall describe—"We well remember the time when, on his return from India, the Rev. Dr. Duff, emaciated by disease and worn out with the strenuous exertions of the first five years of his missionary life, delivered his first speech on India Missions... Its statements flew like lightning through the length and breadth of Scotland, vibrated through and warmed many hearts hitherto cold to missions, and tended to produce unity among brethren standing aloof from each other. Never will we forget the day when a few of its living fragments caught our eye in a newspaper in our quiet retreat on the banks of the Nith, near Dumfries, when suffering from great bodily weakness. It kindled a spirit within us that raised us up from our bed, and pointed as if with the finger to India as the fold of our future labours." Already had Anderson, as a tutor, been able to train men like John Cowan, Esq., of Beeslack. But his indomitable will and untiring energy were now called to found and build up in Madras the General Assembly's Institution, which has since expanded into the great catholic Christian College of Southern India—the first to realize Dr. Duff's ideal of a united college representing all the evangelical churches. Ordained in St. George's, Edinburgh, by Dr. Gordon, Mr. Anderson visited the Calcutta Mission before setting up his own on its model, and was soon after joined by such colleagues, also the fruit of Duff's appeals, as Messrs. Johnston and Braidwood from the same university. Aberdeen at the same time joined her sister colleges in the high enterprise, by sending Dr. Murray Mitchell to Bombay. The harvest, for that season, was finished by another missionary from Edinburgh, the Rev. Thomas Smith, to whose ordination we shall again
refer. The opening of the Central India Mission in Nagpore, a few years after, by Stephen Hislop, completed the Indian organization of the missions of the Church of Scotland, established and free. All, directly or indirectly, are to be traced to the living seed sown amid so much weakness but yet with such power in 1835–36.

After a rest at Edradour, all too short, Dr. Duff went up to London at the beginning of May, 1837, to take part in the anniversary of the Church of Scotland’s Foreign Missions, held by the London Presbytery in Exeter Hall. After much searching we have been able to discover in an old volume of pamphlets of the period a copy of what his English critics have always pronounced by far the most eloquent of Dr. Duff’s speeches. Though weak, he was no longer the fever-wasted man who had excited the alarm of the Assembly of 1835. By unrivalled experience in both England and Scotland he had learned the defects of the home Churches and of the best stay-at-home Christians in relation to the missionary command of Christ. And so, as he mused on the contrast between the profession and the reality, as he listened to the rhetorical periods of bishops and clergymen, of ministers and professors who talked but did nothing more, the fire of indignation burned forth into glowing sarcasm. Nothing short of a reprint of the twenty-five pages of that rare address could do justice to this vein of the impassioned orator. Severed from the context, without the flashing eye, the quivering voice, the esticulation, the overwhelming climax, the figures we may now reproduce seem cold. But we must premise the orator’s exhibition of the satire—"These expressions must be imitated to certain tropes and figures that have been cultivated amid the exuberant rhetoric of Ex..."
Beginning, in the highest style of his art, as Demosthenes and Cicero and Paul before Agrippa had done, this modern prophet, sent from the millions of Hindooism to the very centre of Christian profession, congratulated London, and especially its Scottish residents, on the reception of the appeal lately sounded in their ears "in behalf of our suffering countrymen in the Highlands and islands of Scotland. Nobly and righteously, and in a way worthy of the wealthiest metropolis in the world, has the appeal been responded to. But why is it that we should be affected even unto horror at the melancholy recital of mere temporal destitution, while we are apt to remain so cold, callous and indifferent to the call of spiritual necessities that is rung in our ears, loud as the cry of perishing multitudes which no man can number?" Then after skilfully picturing the horrors of famine and pestilence among our own countrymen and within the narrow limits of our island, and asking if imagination could conceive aught more harrowing, he replied: "No! not to the natural feeling, even although such a death is by the hands of a mysterious Providence. To the higher order of spiritual sensibility, however, something may be presented more harrowing still. I know a land where earth, sea and air conspire in favour of its inhabitants—a land so gorgeously clad that it has been emphatically styled 'the climes of the sun.' And truly they are 'the climes of the sun;' for there he seems to smile with exuberant bounty, and causes all nature to luxuriate in her rich magnificence. There the glowing imagery of the prophet seems almost literally to be realized. The trees of the forest seem to clap their hands, and the valleys seem to rejoice on every side. All bespeak the glories of a presiding Deity, and recall to remembrance the bowers of Paradise. But oh! in this highly favoured land—
need I say I refer to India?—which for beauty might be the garden of the whole earth, and for plenteousness the granary of the nations,—in this highly favoured land children are doomed to see their parents and parents their children perish—perish, not because there is no meat in the field, no flocks in the fold, no cattle in the stall, but because they are goaded on by the stimulants of a diabolical superstition to perish miserably by each other's hands."

Then followed word-pictures of that which may still be seen along the Hooghly—"sons and daughter piously consigning a sickly parent, for the benefit of his soul, to the depths of a watery grave;" of "the putrid corpse of the father and the living body of the mother" burning together, in every feudatory state at that time, and only in 1828 prohibited in the East India Company's territory; of the sacrifice of children by their mothers to the waters of Gunga and the jaws of the alligator; and of the systematic murder of female infants by the Rajpoot castes from Benares to Baroda. Rising from one scene of pitiful horror to another, every one of which an audience even of 1837 knew to be living fact and not old history as we now happily do, thanks to Missions and Christian appeals, the rapt speaker reached the highest of all in the spiritual destitution and debasement which had made such crimes inevitable; and in the means which he had taken, through sacred and secular truth harmoniously united, to give India...
"Look at men's acts and not at their words, for I am wearied and disgusted with very loathing at 'great swelling words' that boil and bubble into foam and froth on the bosom of an impetuous torrent of oratory and then burst into airy nothingness. Look at men's acts, and tell me what language do they speak? Is it in very deed a thing so mighty for one of your nobles or merchant princes to rise up on this platform and proclaim his intense anxiety that contributions should be liberal, and then stimulate those around him by the noble, or rather ignoble, example of embodying his irrepressible anxiety in the magnificent donation of £10, £20, or £50! when, at the very moment, without curtailing any of the real necessaries of life, without even abridging any one of its fictitious comforts or luxuries, he might readily consecrate his hundreds or thousands to be restored more than a hundred-fold on the great day of final recompense? And call you this an act of such prodigious munificence that it must elicit the shouts and the peans of an entranced multitude? Call you this an act of such thrilling disinterestedness that it must pierce into hearts otherwise hermetically sealed against the imploring cries of suffering humanity? Call you this an act of such self-sacrificing generosity that it must be registered for a memorial in the book of God's remembrance, with the same stamp of Divine approbation as that bestowed on the poor widow in the gospel, who, though she gave but little, gave her all?

"And is it in very deed a thing so mighty for a Christian pastor, whether bishop, priest or deacon, or any member of a Church, to abandon for a season his routine of duty, and once in the year to come up, either to regale, or be regaled, with the incense of human applause in this great metropolis, the emporium of the world's commerce, the seat of the world's mightiest empire, and the general rendezvous of men and things unparalleled in all the world besides? Is it a thing so mighty for any one of these to stand up on this platform, and call on assembled thousands to rise to their true elevation, and acquit themselves, like men in the cause of Him who rides on the whirlwind and directs the storm? And, dismissing all ordinary forms and figures of speech as tame and inadequate, is it an act so heroic to stand on this platform, and break forth into apostrophe, that ring with the din of arms and the shout of battle? Is it an act so heroic, at the safe distance of ten
thousand miles, courageously to summon the gates of Peking to
lift up their heads, and its barricades and ramparts to rend
asunder at the presence of the heralds of salvation? and,
impersonifying the celestial empire herself, boldly invoke her
to send up without delay her hundreds of millions to the house
of the Lord, exalted above the hills, and place her imperial
crown on the head of Him on Whose head shall be all the
crowns of the earth, and the diadem of the universe?

"Or, is it an act of spiritual prowess so mighty, for one who
never joined in the conflict, to stand up on this platform, and
rehear the battles that have been fought in the missionary
field, the victories that have been obtained, and the trophies
that have been won? Is it an achievement of never-dying
fame to burst into rapture at the unrivalled honour of those
brave veterans that have already laid down their lives in storm-
ing the citadels of heathenism? Hark! here are a few blasts
from a trumpet that has often pealed, and pealed with effect,
at our great anniversaries. The missionary's life? Ah! an
archangel would come down from the throne, if he might,
and feel himself honoured to give up the felicities of heaven,
or a season for the toils of a missionary's life." The miss-
ionary's work? Ah! 'the work of a minister at home, as com-
pared with that of a missionary, is but the lighting of a parish lamp,
to the causing the sun to rise upon an empire that is yet in
darkness.' The missionary's grave? Ah! 'the missionary's
grave is far more honourable than the minister's pulpit.'

"After such outpourings of fervent zeal and burning admira-
tion of valour, would ye not expect a kingdom
were too circumscribed for the range of
hivalrous? Would ye not expect that intervening
continents could oppose no barrier to their resist-
ance? Would ye not expect that, as chieftains at the
head of an invincible army, numerous as the phalanxes that
together, upon the field and
tournament to glitter in the sunshine of the
Land, they should no more be heard of till they
storm their
presence, by the terror of their power, to atoms
the towering walls of China, and
victory to
banners of the Cross over the captu
Araby and
prostrate pagodas of India? Alas, as tell we say,
when the thunder of heroism that
over our heads from year to year in

changeless succession, to die away in fainter and yet fainter echoes among the luxurious mansions, the snug dwellings, and godly parsonages of Old England!

"Listen to the high-sounding words of the mightiest of our anniversary thunderers on this platform, and would ye not vow that they were heroes, with whom the post of honour was the post of danger? Look at the astounding contrast of their practice, and will not your cheeks redden with the crimson flush of shame, to find that they are cowards, with whom the post of honour is, after all, the post of safety? Ye venerated fathers and brethren in the ministry, whom I now see around me, of every denomination—to you I appeal. I appeal in the spirit of faithfulness, and yet in the spirit of love, and ask:—Is this the way to awake the long-sleeping spirit of devotedness throughout the land? Is this the kind of call that will rouse the dormant energies of a sluggish Church? Is this the kind of summons that will cause a rush of champions into the field of danger and of death? Is this the kind of example that will incite thousands of Martyns, Hudsos, and of Morrisons, to arm themselves on the spots where these foremost warriors fell? I know the sentiments of this great audience may be on a vast majority; but as for myself, I cannot, at whatever distance, and of ribaldry from enemies,—I cannot but give expression to my God and Saviour,—I cannot but give expression to the overpowering emotions of my own heart, when, in the words of Scotch and Ireland I exclaim, 'Oh that my tears were a fountain of tears, that mine eyes were a fountain of tears, that mine eyes were a fountain of tears. Over the fatal, the disastrous inconsistencies of my countrymen. It is not enough that we have crowned the most renowned of the leaders of our people.

"What, then? How are the gigantic evils complained of to be finally remedied? Never, never, till the leading Churches be shamed out of their lavish extravagant remodeling to the fashion of a world that is so selfish and so free, and out of their close-fisted penuriousness and narrowness that concern the eternal destinies of their fellow men. Never, till the angels of our Churches, whether ordained or superintending bishops, be shamed out of their unmanly treachery and their cowardice. For
rest assured, that people would get weary of the sound of the demand 'Give, give,' that is eternally reiterated in their ears, when those who make it so seldom give, or, what is the same thing, give in such scanty driblets that it seems a mockery of their own expostulations,—and of the sound of the command 'Go, go,' when those who make it, are themselves so seldom found willing to go!

"How, then, is the remedy to be effected? Not, believe me, by periodical showers of words, however copious, which fall 'like snow-flakes in the river,—a moment white, then gone for ever.' No; but by thousands of deeds that shall cause the very scoffer to wonder, even if he should wonder and perish—deeds that shall enkindle into a blaze the smouldering embers of Christian love—deeds that shall revive the days of primitive devotedness, when men, valiant for the truth, despised earthly riches, and conquered through sufferings, not counting their lives dear unto the death."

"Archangels," he said, "cannot leave their thrones but where are the learned and the eloquent, the statesmen and the nobles,—where is one of our loud-talking professors ready to do more than starve their little services into the wretched inanity of an occasional sermon, or a speech, easily pronounced and calling for no sacrifice? ... What! expect one and all of these to descend from their eminence of honour and go forth themselves content with the humble fare and arrayed in the humble attire of self-denying missionaries? Is not this the very climax of religious raving? Gracious God! and is it really so? ... Are we in sober seriousness determined to contract the calculus of eternity within the narrow dimensions of the arithmetic of time? Do I now stand in an assembly of professing Christians?" Then the sacred orator, turning from sarcasm and irony, from reproach and prophetic ridicule, thus closed with his entranced audience in the presence of Him who gave Himself:

"With deep solemnity of feeling let me ask:—Who is
this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? It is the Man who is Jehovah's fellow. It is Immanuel, God with us. But who can portray the underived, the incomparable excellencies of Him, in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily? In this contemplation we are at once lost in an immeasurable ocean of overpowering glory. Imagination is bewildered; language fails. Go take a survey of the earth we dwell upon. Collect every object and every quality that has been pronounced fair, sweet, or lovely. Combine these into one resplendent orb of beauty. Then leave the bounds of earth. Wing your flight through the fields of immensity. In your progress collect what is fair and lovely in the world, what is bright and dazzling in every sun. Tinge these into other orbs of surpassing brightness, and continue to swell the number of magnificent agglomerates, hole immense extent of creation is exhausted. And unite these myriads of bright orbs into one constellation, combining in itself the concentrated loveliness of the whole created universe, go and atom to a world, a drop to the ocean, the twinkler to the full blaze of the noon-tide sun;—then pare even this all-comprehending constellation of loveliness with the boundless, the ineffable beauty of Him who is 'the brightness of the Father's God over all, blessed for ever!'

Yonder, O heavens, and rejoice, O earth; this y, and glorious Being did for our sakes con-His glory, and appear on earth as a Man of age was so marred more than any man's, a than the sons of men. Oh, is not this lo angel love!—love that is 'higher than the he er than the depths beneath'? Oh, is not this —self-sacrificing condescension!—condescen scen parallel and without a name? God manifest in th manifest in the flesh for the redemption of a rebel, not this the wonder of a world? Is not this the thought of a universe?

"And if love so ineffable and condescension so unfathomable, oh tell me, if it would seem aught so strange, the sight of poor, dim, beclouded humanit of that celestial hierarchy that
caused heaven's arches to ring with anthems of adoring wonder when they beheld the brightness of the Father's glory go forth eclipsed, mysteriously to sojourn on earth and tread the winepress alone, red in His apparel and His garments dyed in blood? Tell me, oh, tell me, if in their cloudless vision it would seem aught so marvellous, so passing strange, did they behold the greatest and the mightiest of a guilty race, redeemed themselves at so vast a price, cheerfully prepared to relinquish their highest honours and fairest possessions, their loveliest academic bowers and stateliest palaces; yea, did they behold Royalty itself retire and cast aside its robes of purple, its sceptre and its diadem, and issue forth in the footsteps of the Divine Redeemer into the waste howling wilderness of sin, to seek and to save them that are lost?

"Ye grovelling sons of earth, call this fanaticism if you will; brand it as wild enthusiasm;—I care not for the verdict. From you I appeal to the glorious sons of light, and ask, Was not this, in principle, the very enthusiasm of patriarchs, who rejoiced to see the day of Christ afar off, and were glad. Was not this the enthusiasm of prophets, whose harps inspired by the mighty theme, were raised into strains of more than earthly grandeur? Was not this the enthusiasm of angels that made the plains of Bethlehem ring with the jubilee of peace on earth and goodwill to the children of men? Was not this the enthusiasm (with reverence be it spoken) of the eternal Son of God Himself, when He came forth travelling in the greatness of His strength, to endure the agony and bloody sweat? And if this be enthusiasm that is kindled by no earthly fire, and which, when once kindled, burns without being consumed, how must the hopes of the Church lie sleeping in the tomb, where it does not exist? 'Til until a larger measure of this divine enthusiasm be diffused through the Churches of Christendom, never, never did we expect to realize the reign of millennial glory—when all nature shall once more be seen glowing in the first bloom of Eden; when one bond shall unite and one feeling animate all nations; when all kindreds and tribes and tongues and people shall combine in one song, one universal shout of赞美 Hallelujah unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever!"
We have not met with a record of the effect of this denunciation and appeal, any more than with a report of that which Dr. Duff had uttered in the same hall in the previous year at the anniversary of the Church Missionary Society. But we know that the Rev. John Macdonald had given himself to the mission as the result of Dr. Duff's earliest visit of all, in 1835; and money at least was not stinted, for it was announced to the Assembly held a few weeks after that £700 had been sent as the result of that meeting.

The General Assembly of 1837 is memorable in clerical annals for the happily rare event of a test regarding the moderatorship. It is of interest because of Dr. Duff's "Vindication of the Church of Scotland's India Missions," in reply to the misunderstandings and misrepresentations which had of his speech of 1835, to which, as an effort, it comes only second. The local vote: "This eloquent address produced, profound silence with which it was listened bursts of enthusiasm which were irre- he peroration at its close called forth emotion in the Assembly such as we had not used." The Assembly ordered its pray Dr. Muir, of Glasgow, in united返乡 thanks to God for preservin. life of their dear brother, Dr. Duff. "Mission" has a value which is more than high education. The demand that the Church should send out highly educated ministers and ab missionaries to races like the Hindoos is still necessary answer to the ignorant:

"Let it be borne in mind, that, as the Government schemes of education exclude religious instruction, this may only be from a stagnant superstition to a rampant
infidelity. What then is to be done? Are the Christians of Great Britain to stand idly aloof and view the onward march of the spirit of innovation in the East as unconcerned and indifferent spectators? Forbid it, gracious Heaven! What then is to be done? Why, if we are faithful to our trust, and wise in time, we may, through the blessing of God, be honoured in converting the education plans of the Indian Government into auxiliaries, that may lend their aid in preparing the way for the spread of the everlasting gospel! Wherever a Government seminary is founded, which shall have the effect of demolishing idolatry and superstition, and thereby clearing away a huge mass of rubbish; there let us be prepared to plant a Christian institution, that shall, through the blessing of Heaven, be the instrument of rearing the beauteous superstructure of Christianity on the ruins of all false philosophy and false religion. Wherever a Government library is established, that shall have the effect of creating an insatiable thirst for knowledge; there let us be forward in establishing our depositories of Bibles and other religious publications, that may saturate the expanding minds of Indian youth with the life-giving principles of eternal truth. And who can tell whether, in this way, by ‘redeeming the time’—by seizing the present golden opportunity—we may not be privileged to behold all the Government scheme of educational improvement in India overruled by a gracious superintending Providence for the ultimate introduction of Messiah’s reign?

"From having formerly said so much on the power of useful knowledge in destroying the systems of Hinduism, it has been strangely concluded by some that our object has been to reform the natives of India by means of knowledge without religion." Need I say that no conclusion could possibly be more unfounded? It is, indeed, most true that, for reasons which have more than satisfied many of the wisest and most devoted Christians in this land, I have, with uniform and persevering earnestness, advocated the universal diffusion of sound knowledge in India. Not content with seeing such knowledge ooze out in scanty drippings, I have toiled and laboured, in conjunction with others, to pour it out in copious streams that may, one day, cover the whole land with the swelling tide of reason and intelligence. This, however,
happens to be only one-half of any statement that I have ever, anywhere, made on the subject. And what right has any one, in reason or in justice, to fasten on one-half of a statement, and deal with that half as if it were the whole? Strongly and sincerely as I have pled for the diffusion of sound general knowledge in India, have I not, on every occasion, insisted as strongly on the contemporaneous diffusion of religious truth? Have I not even laboured to demonstrate that, for the best interests of man in time and eternity, the former should ever be based on the latter—permeated with the spirit of it throughout and made to terminate in its exaltation and supremacy? Have I not ever contended for the Holy and inseparable alliance of both?—for the reciprocal inter-blending of their different, though not uncongenial, influences? And if one or other must have the procedency, either as respects priority of time or dignity of position, in the mighty work of operating a corrupt world; in the name of all that is good and just, let that be selected for the honour which, in ent, superiority and excellence of nature, is pre-entitled to it.

A useful knowledge man might not live so completely: without a divine knowledge' eternity must have could the missionaries of the Church of missionaries of a Church first loosened from Pratap, Sharts and Hamiltons, subsequently established by the Halyburtons—how could we dare to sacrifice the same to a spurious liberality, that highest and sublimest which those ennobling truths many of these worthies so freely and to testify? Or, if we dared thus to act the aspiring children, how could we abide the piercing stings of day to witness our treacherous cowardice? how might we not feel, even now, as if their very souls were laid out of the tomb, and their blood from under their feet against us! Such, indeed, and so strong, were the convictions of the vast importance of useful knowledge. the great work of reforming India, that were they to refuse to forbid the diffusion of it in connection with a mission, I, for one, would feel myself, however reluctantly constrained at once to relinquish the
honorable position which it has been pleased to assign to me. But such, and so overwhelming, are my convictions of the immeasurably superior importance of that higher knowledge, which unseals the fountain of Immanuel’s love, that—sooner than consent wilfully to withhold it for an hour from the famishing millions of India, or of any other land, in deference to the noxious theories of certain propagandists of the present day—I would lay down my head upon the block, or commit this body to the flames!

"I feel assured, however, that, so far as this house is concerned, it will never fall into either of these extremes. Notwithstanding the charges of religious bigotry that have been so profusely heaped upon it, this house, like its noble reforming ancestry, has been, is now, and, I trust, ever will be, the consistent, the enlightened advocate of all really useful knowledge throughout the wide domain of families, schools and colleges, whether in this or in other lands. And, notwithstanding the charges of secular convergency that have been as abundantly levelled at it, this house, like its noble reforming ancestry, has been, is now, and, I trust, ever will be, the intrepid, the unbending advocate of a thorough Bible instruction, as an essential ingredient in all sound education, whether on the banks of the Forth or on the banks of the Ganges. Yea, may I not be permitted with emphasis to add, that sooner than consent to surrender this vital principle, which is one of the main pillars in the palladium of the Protestantism of these realms, this house is prepared, as in times of old, to submit to dissolution by the strong arm of violence!—and its members, like their fathers of the Covenant, prepared once more to betake themselves to the dens and caves of the earth—to wander by the lonely shore or over the desert heath, to climb the mountain-peak for refuge, or quietly assemble to worship in 'some deep dell by rocks o'er-castiyed'?

"Let it, then, ever be our distinguishing glory to arbitrate between the advocates of untenable extremes. Let us, on the one hand, disown the bigotry of an unwise Pietism, by resolving to patronise to the utmost, as in times past, the cause of sound literature and science—lest, by our negligence, in this respect we help to revive the fatal doctrine of the dark ages, that what is philosophically true may yet be allowed to be theology falsely. And let us, on the other hand, de-
nounce the bigotry of infidelity, or religious indifference, by resolving to uphold the paramount importance of the sacred oracles, in the great work of christianizing and civilizing a guilty world. Let us thus hail true literature and true science as our very best auxiliaries—whether in Scotland, or in India, or in any other quarter of the habitable globe. But, in receiving these as friendly allies into our sacred territory, let us resolutely determine that they shall never, never, be allowed to usurp the throne, and wield a tyrant's sceptre over it."

The foresight and the faith, the culture and the self-sacrifice of that passage, reveal the height and the breadth of the speaker's Christian statesmanship. Every year since it spoke it has only given new force to truth, new reason for regret that the Church and Government alike were not wise in time to golden opportunity. Even Lord William Government had refused the Mission College in recognition of the secular instruction of the Company, which was a partner with assert of Jugganath in their gains from the works, and which ordered its Christian oil. Muhammadan sepoys to salute the elephantheaded, pot-bellied idol Gunputty, should hurt the religious feelings of the natives. The Mutiny came about the catholic universities with it. The wildness!—but at what a price? In vain, to the rack and tearing the press and imprisoning libellous and scandalous editors, does the Government try to stifle the effects of the undiluted and rigid secularism of schools and colleges. It goes on sowing the wild. No other Government on earth does or ever done. Woe to India and to the Church, if the three Churches of Scotland especially with John, and Wilson, and now in Dr. Shoolbred, not ventured to lead the way—if this warning is not given!
Dr. Duff went further. The spiritual reformation of the varied peoples of India he saw must be effected by themselves when foreigners had thus handed on the divine torch to "the Luthers and the Calvins and the Knoxes of Hindostan":—

"Our object, therefore, is not local or partial, individual or temporary. It is vast and all-comprehensive. It is nothing less than intellectually and spiritually to reform the universal mind of India; and not merely so, but to embody the essential spirit of the reformation in improved institutions, that shall perpetuate its blessings to latest ages. But, has it ever been heard of, that a great and permanent reformation, in any land, has been the work of a day, or a year, or even a single age? Never, never. A great reformation is not merely the pregnant cause of innumerable happy effects:—it is itself but the aggregate effect of innumerable predisposing causes, that may have been accumulating for centuries, ere they became ripe for explosion. Viewed in this respect, the Reformation of Luther has been well compared to the rounds of a river, in its precipitous passage from some mountain range to the level plains below. Now, for India we not only contemplate a religious reformation, as effective as that of Luther in Europe, but a reformation still more pervasive, and more thoroughly national.

"As yet, however, we are only defiling among the wild, upland, and mountain ranges of Hinduism, with its bleak wastes of fable, its arid knolls of prejudice, its frowning crags of superstition, its towering eminences of idolatry. But already, blessed be God, after the long dark night of forty centuries, has the Sun of righteousness begun to gild the Eastern horizon. Already are His earliest beams seen reflected from the frozen summits. Already are there droppings of truth on many a rocky heart. Already are there under-currents of inquiry, that shall one day emerge from the hidden recesses of individual minds. Already are there evangelical fountains that send forth their little rills of saving knowledge. Already are the clouds fast gathering, surcharged with the waters of salvation, and ready to pour down their copious showers. And soon may the swol brooks unite
into rivers, and rivers into a mighty stream of quickening influences. For some years more, the mighty stream itself may continue to flow on through comparatively barren and unanimated solitudes. At length, impatient of restraint, it must burst its accustomed boundaries, and, dashing headlong, in the foam and thunder of a cataract of reformation, it will gently glide into the peaceful under-vale of time. There it shall roll on in its majestic course, overspreading its banks with the verdure of righteousness, and pouring the fertility of paradise into its pastures of gospel grace, till it finally disappear and is lost in the shoreless ocean of eternity!

"Persuaded, as I feel, that such is our present position among the incipient processes that shall, in due time, unite and issue in so glorious a consummation, I, for one, am cheerfully willing to toil on, for years, in feeding, if it be but one of the little rills of awakening influence,—though I should never live to behold their confluence into the mighty stream of sequences, with its rushing cataract, and waving harvest gilding its after-course. And, as regards the ultimate realization of the magnificent prospect, I would, even on a dying pillow, from a whole generation of doubters confidently appeal to posterity."

We have seen how of his first four converts three had become teachers, and were soon to become preachers of the gospel, but under the Church of England, the London and the American Missionary Societies, because the Church of Scotland was not prepared to send forth the young evangelists in her own name. Dr. Bryce, who had retired from the ecclesiastical service in Bengal, rose in the General Assembly "after the heart-stirring and transcendentally eloquent speech" of Dr. Duff, to tell its members how something at least was to be done to remedy this for the future. The Assembly of 1834 had created three presbyterial bodies at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, which united, in sending representatives to the central and highest court. These bodies drew up a course of study to be followed by converts who sought to be
licensed preachers and ultimately ordained missionaries to their countrymen. In attempting to fix this course, said Dr. Bryce, "the presbytery felt that a very great latitude must be held as allowed to them, alone acquainted as they could be with local circumstances. But of this latitude they felt disinclined to avail themselves beyond the necessity of the case, and after the most mature deliberation given to the subject, they determined to follow generally as a model, and as far as practicable, the course pursued at our Divinity halls at home." We do not know how far this decision would have been modified had Dr. Duff been in Calcutta, although his letter at page 281 seems to imply that he would have followed the Scottish model less slavishly. While we admire the determination to secure a learned as well as godly native ministry, shown in the rule which compels Bengalee, Marathee, Goojaratee, Tamul, and even simple Sonthalee converts to pass a satisfactory examination in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and to sign the historical documents of the Scottish Churches before being licensed to preach, we are compelled by hard facts as well as common sense to ask if it is thus we shall raise or equip native Luthers. Is it a Christian Nanuk or a Hindoo Calvin that India needs? As the story of the mission goes on we shall meet with able Bengalee converts, made preachers and missionaries because they have satisfied the presbytery according to Dr. Bryce's still enforced "course of study." But financially as well as ecclesiastically and even spiritually, this parody of Western theological training has worked so badly that the three Scottish Churches have been asked by their missionaries to sanction an evangelical course and creed more like those of the Apostles and the Church at Antioch, and not less thorough and pure than those of covenanting,
mucht-suffering, often testifying and still sorely divided Scotland. The Church of India has grown so far out of infancy that it asks to be freed from the controversial swaddling-bands of the West.

After again visiting some of the presbyteries in the south of Scotland, Dr. Duff began his preparations for returning to India. But he was premature. His general health was suffering so greatly that he was detained, and was even forbidden to attend the Assembly of 1838, by his medical adviser, Dr. Macwhirter, who had been for years physician to the Countess of Loudoun, wife of the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-General of India. Dr. Macwhirter when in Calcutta had the reputation of being an exceedingly skilful physician, while he was one of the most gentle and amiable of men. After full personal inspection and all manner of inquiries, the physician lifted up his hands in astonishment, expressing the utmost surprise that, with a body, so weakened by general as well as special disease, and so exhausted by the prodigious labours undergone, Dr. Duff had been able to persevere, though at the same time he had done so, unconsciously to himself, not only at the risk of permanent injury out of premature death. "You are not at all in a fit state to return to India," said Dr. Macwhirter. "You must have months of perfect quiet under proper medical treatment with a view to recruiting. If you can really submit to this, since you are still but young in years and evidently have a singularly wiry and iron constitution, my medical judgment is that, after a reasonable time you will be so far recruited as to warrant you to return. My earnest advice to you, therefore, is at once to return to your quiet Highland home, where by correspondence I can perfectly regulate, from day to day if need be, your regimen and medical treatment; there you
will have the tender, nursing care of the members of your own family about you." Thus most of the autumn, and a considerable part of the winter of 1838-39, was spent at Edradour.

In that quiet and beautiful retreat Dr. Duff only exchanged the voice for the pen. From all parts of the kingdom and from other lands he was applied to for counsel or information or help on the most catholic grounds. Among others whom his earliest addresses had roused were "a few friends of the missionary enterprise in Scotland,"* as they described themselves, who offered two prizes, of two hundred and fifty guineas in all, for the best essays on "The Duty, Privilege, and Encouragement of Christians to send the Gospel of Salvation to the Unenlightened Nations of the Earth." Dr. Duff, with whom Dr. Chalmers and Professor M'Gill, of Glasgow, were associated as promoters of the philanthropic enterprise, conducted a remarkable correspondence on the subject, declaring that if he had the means he would himself supply the money. This is the first illustration in Scotland of what we have seen in Bengal—his conviction that for foreign missions, as for all good objects, the press is an agency, not so powerful as the pulpit in the spiritual region, but more extensive and effective in its influence on the mass of mankind. To the last he complained that it was far too much neglected by the Church as a weapon of good. The adjudicators, who were Professor Welsh, Dr. Wardlaw, the Rev. Henry Melvill, Dr. Jabez Bunting, and the Rev. T. S. Crisp, representing all the evangelical Churches,

* Mr. R. A. Macbie, of Dreghorn, who subsequently organized the Liverpool Conference of Missionaries, informs us that these friends were his father; Mr. John Wright, jun., father-in-law of the Rev. Charles Brown, D.D.; and the late Thomas Fairnie, of Greenock, etc.
awarded the prizes to Dr. Harris, the president of Cheshunt College, and to Dr. R. Winter Hamilton, of Leeds. The essays were published, but not in a cheap form which would have sent them into every house; several thousands of both were sold. A catholic narrative and exposition of the foreign missionary movement from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present day, popular, accurate, condensed, and including Romish missions, is still a desideratum.

When fairly restored to health, towards the summer of 1839, Dr. Duff prepared himself for the consolidation of all the work he had been doing during the previous four years towards making the Kirk of Scotland permanently for the future a Missionary Church. He sent out a third missionary in addition to Mr. John Macdonald and Dr. Murray Mitchell; he broadened the movement for female education in the East; he spoke his farewell counsels to the country through the General Assembly; he left his lectures on "India and India Missions," to quicken the missionary spirit in his absence; and he made the final arrangements for giving Bengal a central college worthy of the higher Christian education. In all he had the constant support of Dr. Chalmers, and the friendly hospitality of Dr. Brunton alike in the university and at Bilstane Brae. Of the former we find him thus writing to Sir Andrew Agnew, on the 17th September, 1838: "What triumph attends Dr. Chalmers's career! How ought we to bless and praise our Heavenly Father for having raised up so mighty a champion of truth in troublous times! Truly it is the duty of every one that fears the Lord to lift up his arms as for battle, when the enemy is coming in on every side like a flood. What ineffable consolation in the assurance, 'the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!'" By this time it had
become evident that the spiritual rights of the Kirk, guaranteed by Scottish Parliament, Union Treaty and Revolution Settlement, were in danger. In May, 1839, Lords Brougham and Cottenham gave the sanction of the highest appellate court to the aggression of a majority of the Scottish judges on these rights. Dr. Duff began to see the purely spiritual work for which a Church exists, which he had done side by side with Chalmers and Guthrie in kirk extension, threatened. In 1839 the revenue of the Church of Scotland for missionary purposes of all kinds was fourteen times greater than it had been in 1834, so that Chalmers exclaimed: “We are planting schools, we are multiplying chapels, we are sending forth missionaries to distant parts of the world, we have purified the discipline, we are extending the Church and rallying our population around its venerable standard.”* All this foreign colonial, and home missionary work was to be extended far more largely than fourteen times, by the very ecclesiastical cataclysm which in 1843 seemed certain to extinguish it.

So greatly had the Bengal Mission been extended under Mackay and Ewart, working out Dr. Duff’s system with his careful and constant support from home, that they were not satisfied with the addition of a third colleague in the person of Mr. Macdonald. The three clamoured for a fourth to help them to overtake the special field in which no other mission had then followed them. To their demands Dr. Duff sent this among other replies:—

“Edinburgh College, January 15th, 1839.

“My Dear Ewart,—To your last letter I purposely delayed replying till I might have it in my power to

Vol. ii. chap. 27.
communicate something of a definite nature on the main practical point therein referred to. The instant it was received I wrote most urgently to Dr. Brunton, pressing the necessity of immediately appointing a new labourer to support you. Something was spoken on the subject. But let us and hindrances seemed to threaten to retard indefinitely. In December, my own health having much improved, I resolved to visit Edinburgh—first, to consult in person with my medical advisers as to my fitness for immediately returning to Calcutta; and second, in the event of that not being allowed, to enforce the appointment of another. As to the first point,—though satisfied with the progress made on the whole, it was deemed utterly inadvisable to attempt to return till next summer. But, if the Lord will, I have now the certain prospect of turning my face eastward in June or July next. Meanwhile, I have laboured incessantly in pressing the second point, the immediate appointment of another. And I am sure you will rejoice to learn that yesterday, at a meeting of the general committee, not only was it resolved to appoint one, but the individual was actually nominated—and he will lose no time in setting sail to join you. The new colleague is Mr. Thomas Smith, lately licensed to preach the gospel—one who has long pondered the subject of personal engagement in the missionary cause, though young in years. He has a fine missionary spirit, and in mathematics and natural philosophy was one of the most distinguished students of the session in Edinburgh. He will at once, therefore, be able to lend you effective aid, by taking up any of your own or Mr. Mackay's departments in the scientific part of the course. He will thus relieve you of some of those most onerous duties that have devolved on you in consequence of Mr. Mackay's lamented illness. We have given Mr. Smith to under-
stand that he may be called on by you to take up the very subjects which constituted Mr. Mackay’s share of instruction in the Institution. And I am happy to say that he will be prepared, if deemed proper by you, to do so cheerfully.

"It will not do for a single moment to abate one iota of the educational course. The committee, the General Assembly, the entire Church of Scotland is publicly committed to it. If the Institution at Calcutta be allowed to drop, the sinews of war at home will be cut off, and all the missionaries must either return, or support themselves the best way they can on the voluntary system. At this moment nothing would reconcile the people of Scotland to any measure that would weaken the strength of the Institution. And henceforward, such is the public feeling of intelligent thoughtful people on the subject, that the committee dare not send a missionary who will not pledge himself to join in conducting any department of the educational course which may devolve upon him, either by the judgment of his brethren or the exigency of unforseen contingencies. This does not infringe on the grand design of effecting a thorough division of labour when the number of labourers is complete—each having that department allotted to him in which he is known and acknowledged most to excel—or that which may be his forte. But this is not to be understood as limiting one so exclusively to one particular department as to exonerate him from taking some share in conducting any other when a vacancy may temporarily occur.

"I do not altogether relish the idea of a total separation or chasm being effected between the strictly spiritual and what is called the secular department. Rather, I should say, there ought to be no exclusively secular department. In other words,
branch of literature and science, a spiritually-minded man must see it so taught as not only to prove subservient to a general design, but be more or less saturated with religious sentiment, or reflection, or deduction, or application. In this way, incidentally and indirectly it may be, yet most effectually, may religious impression be conveyed even when engaged in teaching literature and science. But besides this incorporation of what is religious with what is secular or scientific, there ought no doubt always to be regular systematic instruction in what is biblical and religious. And if in this department any one should be allowed to excel, it would, on the principle of division of labour, be well to allot it to him, but not in such sense as that any other was precluded from teaching religion, or that he was exempted from taking a share in the literary and scientific departments, in case of necessity arising from temporary illness or absence.

"Now, my dear Ewart, there is at my disposal something above £1,000 in all. Do then send me by the first steamer a complete list of all your desiderata as to books, philosophical apparatus, etc., and I shall endeavour to have all supplied. Do not miss a steamer in sending me as complete a list as you can furnish, that it may reach in time to enable me to avail myself of it before returning to join you. My affectionate regards to Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald, Mr. Charles, Mr. Meiklejohn, etc. I hope to reply to the old pundit ere long. In haste, affectionately yours,

"ALEXANDER DUFF."

In St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, on the 7th March, 1839, Dr. Duff himself presided at the ordination of his young colleague, now the Rev. Thomas Smith, D.D., and the only survivor of the pre-Mutiny band. Dedicated to all students of divinity in Scot-
land, "with many of whom the author has enjoyed much general converse," the discourse and the charge to the youthful missionary still form not only the most remarkable as it has been the most popular of Dr. Duff's writings, but a model to be studied by all candidates of theology of whatever Church. The missionary apostle himself described it as "a plain letter of instructions which might prove really useful to a young and inexperienced but beloved brother." The epistle has just enough of an autobiographic element to give it a fascination which every year will increase as the events of the decade ending 1839 are thrown farther back in the history of India and of its Church. "Missions the Chief End of the Christian Church; also the Qualifications, Duties and Trials of an Indian Missionary," as the publication of 1839 was entitled, should be edited for republication in its completeness. The latest reprint is sorely mutilated. Many a missionary has that little epistle and charge sent to India, China and Africa from other Churches.

The education of the women of India was begun by young ladies of Eurasian extraction, in Calcutta, under the Baptist missionaries so early as April, 1819. Mrs. Wilson followed, in the same city, in 1822. But Bombay, if later, soon distanced the rest of India, because of the absence of caste among the Parsees, the greater freedom of the social life of the Marathas than that of the Bengalees, and the readiness of Mrs. Margaret Wilson to take advantage of both. Hence, in 1837, a Bombay officer, Major Jameson, began in Scotland, the formation of the Ladies' Society for Female Education in the East. Still it was not until any part of India, it was possible to bring respectable and caste-bound families under even secular instruction, with the exception of these ladies. On his first visit to England Dr. Duff appealed to
supply the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel with information, which the preacher published as an appendix to his sermon preached for the Society in London for promoting female education in China, India and the East. He heartily supported Major Jameson's movement in Scotland. On a recent visit to Penicuik we found in a state of active prosperity the first Ladies' Society seen in Scotland for combined prayer and work for female education in India. That society is the result of an address by Dr. Duff, of which there is no other trace. In the forty years since, it has kept up an intelligent interest in, and has called forth annually increasing work and subscriptions for the evangelization of the women of India, from some of the best families of Midlothian and not a few of the cottages and farms of Penicuik.

Dr. Duff's address at the first annual meeting of the Scottish Ladies' Society, now more vigorous than ever in two bands, not only sketched the position of women in the East under Hindoo and Muhammadan law and practice, but outlined a policy, applicable to Calcutta and Bengal, which he lived long enough to see in full fruition. That has before been sketched in the account of the discussion in Bengalee debating societies, and as an integral part of his missionary educational system. It is most tersely put in these sentences of his appendix to Baptist Noel's sermon.

"From the unnatural constitution of Hindoo society, the education of females, in a national point of view, cannot possibly precede, cannot even be contemporaneous with the education of males. The education of the former, on any great national scale, must, from the very nature of their position which those only who have been in India can at all adequately comprehend, follow in the wake of the enlightened education of the latter. In a word, a
generation of educated males, i.e. educated after the European model, must be the precursor of a generation of educated females."

Should nothing, then, be done? On the contrary, elementary education among the few who may be induced to attend a public school, and during the brief time before marriage and re-absorption into their own idolatrous system, should be zealously prosecuted. Christian philanthropy will care especially for the outcast and the orphan, and the growing class of native Christians must be provided for. "But there is another and far more rapidly increasing one, that must annually swell the aggregate of those friendly to female improvement; the multiform class that aims at the acquisition of European literature and science, through the medium of the English language. From various concurrent causes thousands of native youth have now begun to flock to Government and Missionary Institutions, there to enter on the career of English education; and, if the future keep pace proportionately with the past, these thousands will ere long be multiplied tenfold, and ultimately a hundredfold. Now, it may safely be laid down as an undoubted axiom, that every individual who receives a thorough English education, whether he become a convert to Christianity or not, will, with it, imbibe much of the English spirit, i.e. become intellectually Anglicised; and hence, will inevitably enrol himself in the catalogue of those who assert the right of females to be emancipated from the bondage of ignorance. This is not a legitimate inference only, it is a statement of the results of past experience."

The elementary or direct method only rescued thousands of girls from despairing Government in famines and providence for Christian homes; but it has, on the
method, trained devoted vernacular teachers who were ready to enter the zananas, and to teach the select caste schools, the moment that the indirect influence had prepared the next generation of women to be taught. What Dr. Duff predicted in 1829–1839 came to pass twenty years afterwards. We shall see how this policy has led to the caste school and the zanana instruction till at least one Bengalee lady has passed the matriculation examination of the University of Calcutta.

When residing with Dr. Gordon, on the occasion of Mr. T. Smith's ordination, that zealous secretary of the committee suggested to him the delivering of a series of popular lectures in so central a place as St. Andrew's church. Having devoted two or three weeks to the arrangement of his materials, Dr. Duff attracted overflowing crowds in the four weeks of April to hear those gorgeous descriptions, novel expositions, and thrilling narratives which he published for the benefit of the funds of the committee, to whom the book was dedicated, under the title of "India and India Missions: including Sketches of the Gigantic System of Hindooism both in Theory and Practice." The work soon reached a second edition, and has still a historical value, although it may be said that oriental scholarship has come to exist only since the translations of Sir William Jones and the essays of Jolebrooke were followed, chiefly after 1839, by the publication of the researches of Burnouf and Lassen, Porson and John Wilson, H. H. Wilson and Weber, Maspero and the brothers Muir. Nor were Duff's lectures confined to Edinburgh. We have traces of him in Liverpool, both in the Philanthropic Hall and the Collegiate Institution, where Dean, then Principal, Howson induced him to deliver one described as a critic as "of remarkable brilliance and power."
The General Assembly of 1839 brought with it, for Dr. Duff, the solemn but not sad duty of saying farewell to the country and the Church. As a member for his native presbytery of Dunkeld he spoke again, but with fresh power and new facts, "on the subject of your great missionary enterprise." The contrast between the past and the present in the highest court of the Kirk was so striking that he recalled the time when the venerable Erskine cried out, "Rax me the Bible," that he might prove to his brethren in the ministry the duty of preaching the gospel to the heathen. Against that memorable incident, only a generation past, he set the record of converts and Hindoos about to become themselves missionaries, as given in the latest report of the India mission. Saddened for the moment that he was leaving no eyewitness behind him to witness and appeals the home machinery he has to do so be said, "Public meetings alone will never stand. We must descend to the mass and replenish its vitality its humblest and most distant home. Without this all our missionary, educational, extension schemes must flag and fail. You are the young on your side," he said; "give me the schools and the schoolmasters of a country, and other else make not only its songs and literature, sciences and philosophy to us, has made Brahmanism the hoary power. What are Shasters? What has sustained the force of Islam for centuries but the Koran? school and college from Gibraltar to the Strait of Malacca? So must Christians use the outburst on which he referred to his own words:

"Already is it the boast of our country, that it has unshaken the service of our sovereign with will of statesmen; supplied every civilized nation with
in learned professions; filled the exchanges of every metropolis in the globe with enterprising capitalists; sent intrepid adventurers to explore the most barbarous and inhospitable climes. But let us, through the medium of works for the young, and especially of school books universally adopted, only saturate the juvenile mind of the nation with evangelistic principles, duties, and motives, and our country may be destined to earn yet greater and more lasting fame. Our parochial schools may become the rudimental nurseries, and our colleges, and especially our divinity halls, the finishing gymnasia of a race of men who shall aim at earning higher trophies than flags and standards rolled in blood—nobler badges than mimic stars of glittering dust;—a race of men, on whom shall fall the mantle of the Eliots and the Brainerds of the West, and the Martyns and Carcys of the East.

"... Often, when wearied and exhausted under the debilitating influences of a vertical sun and a burning atmosphere: often, when depressed and drooping in spirit, amid the never-ending ebullitions of a rampant heathenism: often, when thus made, in some measure, to realize the feelings of the exiles of old, who by the streams of Babel did hang their harps upon the willows, and wept when they remembered Zion—often, often I have retired to the chamber of meditation, on a table of which constantly lay a copy of 'the Cloud of Witnesses,' and after perusing some of the scrapie squarrances of our Fenwicks and Guthries, from the dungeons and the scaffold of martyrdom, often have I fallen down before the divine footstool, ashamed and confounded on account of my faint-heartedness and cowardice; and rising up, new-braced and invigorated in the faith, as often have I been made to live, through grace, to be so faint-hearted and cowardly no more. But little did I then think of the fresh impulse and enjoyment that awaited me, when subsequently privileged to visit those regions of our native land, that may well be termed the Judea and Jerusalem of persecuting times. I have been in the temples of the most gorgeous magnificence; I have been in palaces decorated with the glittering splendours of art; I have been in bowers gladdened with perpetual summer, and cloathed with never-dying verdure;—but never, never among them all have I experienced the same pure and elevated and ecstatic emotion as within the last two years,
when traversing dreary upland moors, and barren mountain fastnesses, often constituted the only home of those whom the world was not worthy—that have stood in the eyes of posterity as their birthplace; and over every moss, and rock, and dell waved the banner emblazoned, as if in reason and blasphemy of latter days, with the

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"Now, these are the many called upon to imitate point more than another in emphatic example, it is in the demission to deny offices. Can we, except in derision, be said prepared and resolved to submit like others with them? If all were here present this glory in being the members of and cemented by the blood of and been washed not demanding..!

'What substantial proof or pledge ye are really prepared and resolved to profess to imitate their example? you are called upon, like them, the more effectually to advance the

"In the spirit of this resolution, of the Lord to heathen lands. And though sudden afflictive visitation of Providence, over which the spirit of that resolution still abideth; will, therefore, my unaltered and unshaken is, to return to the scene of my former labours, so determinedly to this purpose, I am myself I feel and confess that I am nothing more than nothing, and vanity; I must, for the sake of vindicating my office, be permitted to assert and vindicate these motives. I would return to the land of
not because, in the gross and carnalizing judgment of some worldlings, I could not do better at home. No; if the earnest and reiterated entreaties of friends; if the most alluring offers, on the part of some of ‘the men’ and the noble; if the most tempting invitations to share of honour and responsibility, from not a few of the Christian people of this land,—could have availed aught, I might, in the low, vulgar and drivelling sense of the expression, have done better at home. I would go, not from the restless spirit of wild, roving adventure. If the animating principle had flowed from that source, sure enough it ought to this time to have been cured, in the case of one who twice suffered shipwreck, barely escaping with life; who, more than once, was well-nigh foundered amid the gales and hurricanes of the deep; and who was thrice brought to the very brink of the grave by the noxious influences of an unirrigated estaminet, from any exaggerated estimations of the pomp and luxuries of the East. No. Dire experience constrains me to say, that, for comfort, I would rather, infinitely rather, be the occupant of the poorest hut, with its homeliest fare, in the coldest and bleakest girt that flank the sides of the Schehallion or Ben Nevis, than be the possessor of the stateliest palace, with its royal appendances, in the plains of Bengal. I would go, not from any freak of fancy respecting the strangeness of foreign lands, and the exciting novelty of labour among the dwellers there. There I have been already; and can only testify that the state of the heathen is far too sad and awful a reality to be a setting theme for story or for song,—unless it be one in which hell would rejoice, and heaven weep. I would go from any unpatriotic dislike of my native land, or misanthropic aversion from its people, or its institutions. No: for its very ruggedness, as the land of ‘the mountain and the flood,’ I cherish more than ordinary fondness. How could it be otherwise? Nestled and nursed, as it were, from earliest infancy, amid its wildest and sublimest scenes:—no pastime half sufficient as the attempt to outrival the wild goat in clamber from crag to crag, or to outstrip the eagle in soaring to the loftiest summits; no music half so sweet as the roar of the cataract among the beetling precipices of some dark frowning ravine or solitary dell; no chariot and equipage
half so much
or curled their strange and
fantastic shapes
like every other; it
For oft as I have
studded with the
voluntary ejaculation
barren woods, poor
always cherished the
vastly augmented by
mainland of Orkney, to
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city or district in which
personal friends, in who
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Christ, any more than any ot
folds of the everlasting covenant
my hands, I cannot see how a so
ically more precious than a soul i
Hindostan, or any other region of
Bible in my hands, I cannot see that
Church of Scotland are identical with the
kingdom; or that the Lord Jesus, per
persons, is the Redeemer of Scotland re
realm included in the emphatic and
of
all the world,' and 'all nations.'"

While thus entitled to be ex
interest and their own, toward
he was not sparing of himself, the

generous in his acknowledgment of those who did their duty. Mr. Baptist Noel had shown that in the year 1834, when the whole income of the United Kingdom was estimated at about 34 millions sterling, the proportion assigned to mission and Bible societies of all kinds was only one seventeenth part, or £300,000. Dr. Duff told of individuals, and especially Christian ladies, who had become his fellowhelpers in the gospel. One lady in London raised £500; her example led two at Inverness to collect £1,000 in pennies, every one of which meant so much intelligence, prayer and faith; and another aided the new colonial scheme by supplying with four ministers the thirty thousand Scotsmen then in the island of Cape Breton. Still another sent him £100 in an anonymous note, as "from one who, having felt the consolations of the gospel, is most anxious those should be imparted to the perishing heathen." Thus was the Government price of the site (£1,600) for the new college in Cornwallis Square contributed; thus was the building raised; and thus, as we have seen from the letter to Dr. Ewart, were a library and philosophical apparatus supplied for the use of its students. Into this college building and equipment fund, destined to an unexpected fate—the disruption of 1843—Dr. Duff poured a sum which many would have been blessèd offered him in vain as a personal gift for his family. All that he would

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*Thus described by Dr. Duff: "One of the most peculiar attempts was..." which originated with the Misses MacIntosh, of Raigmone Hill, Inverness. Their father had been the founder of one of the great commercial and banking-houses in Calcutta. The scheme was to interest parties in every parish in Scotland so as to realise pennies the sum of £1,000. Through indefatigable exertions, at length the object was really accomplished, and in carrying it on, no doubt a vast deal of fresh interest in the mission was infused throughout the membership of the Church."
consent to, of a Mr. Duff, was the publication of his portrait.

William Cowen, and Reynolds. The original is now in Calcutta.

He who had seen eight other missions in India all worked up with an enthusiasm fired by his own, and had not stopped there. Dr. Guthrie had been in the church of Old Greyfriars in Edinburgh, himself had refused, and had been there only once. When he wrote: "I had Duff and some others with me the other day. Duff was keen for me to..." Dunlop declared that Lord Medway..." put a prize warrant, seeing that he is..." six hundred pounds in the new church... John... the understanding that I was to be..." The years after, when Guthrie broke..." thus wrote to him from... your remarkable career during... ye have been following with interest... our... scheme and Ragged School had... mind's eye in a way to fill not... devout gratitude to the God... extraordinarily blessed your... I experience I find that a season of... humiliation usually precedes... spiritual energy in advancing the... Puzzled by his refusal of any personal services at home, friends on both... politics begged that Dr. Duff would accept... at a public dinner or banquet. With... who have been victims on such occasions in giving and receiving honour, will symp... "Farewell dinners," he said, "were never... I have always shunned them in the case...
I will not myself be the object of honour. They are generally attended by a mass of stereotyped phrases intended to be flatteries but without honest meaning. But hold a religious service, I ask Dr. Chalmers to give me his fatherly counsel and admonition." And so it came about that, though the great preacher’s ordination charge to Duff hamot seen the light, we have his matured opinion on the Scottish missionary system, from the economics which he received many a hint for his own Free Church creation three years after. Dr. Hanna has repeated the farewell charge of 1839 in the “Sermons illustrative of different stages in his ministry,” by the man whom Mr. Gladstone has pronounced the grandest of all preachers he has heard, in spite of a distasteful sent, although John Henry Newman was one of those preachers.

"Ten years ago," said the divinity professor of sixty to the already experienced missionary of thirty-three who stood before him above a vast crowd in St. George’s, Edinburgh, "in the work of setting you apart to your office, I expatiated on the nature and evidence of conversion to God. ‘As we have heard, we have seen the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God: God will establish it for ever.’ Christians, the manifestation of truth by the Spirit to the conscience. It is on some such moral evidence that the Philosophy of missions is based. As we have heard, so have we seen: then may it be understood how, without a sensible miracle, there may arise in the mind a well-founded belief in the truth of Christianity.” He had the first missionary of the Church of Scotland advised his plan and carried out the divine policy—“for cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”

"By a degree of admirable skillfulness and correspondent success, you have brought many of the most influential families
of Hindostan. You have instituted no deceit upon the natives, for all is known; it is universally known that the volume which contains the text and substratum of your scholarship is the religion of Christians. But you, at the same time, have multiplied the attractions of this school; you have instituted a lectureship on the evidence and utility of it, for the purpose of engaging the attention of the higher classes, you have pressed into this school of physical and the mathematical sciences, to startle some, have superadded the doctrines of many, and all that the votaries of science may do in the precincts of sacredness. It is thus that many have passed through your seminary in succession, familiarized with the language and seasoned with the exact manner of inspiration. It is thus that many have been disarmed, and at least been disarmed, and some of these, many, have been converted, and become the disloyalty of conversions of faith. It delights me, sir, to be a part of the intimate converse and of my actual and your thoughts, that when you obtain an extensive hearing in the most likely and promising, you are at the same time fully high and external quarter is where and that unless a blessing, to be evoked descend from the sanctuary above upon the labour you have bestowed upon it when and empty parade. Let me earnestly request in the continuance of this sacred and fruitful union, the diligence of ever-working hands and the ever-praying hearts. Men of various moods and tastes and different tastes of spirituality and intellect, are simultaneously affected by the spectacle. Those of shrewdness of secular intelligence, will think lightly of you and your actions, perhaps even speak contemptuously of the Spirit on which, I trust, you will ever watch.
with humble expectancy.
weak and drivelling piety,
and perhaps even speak with your economics, and your sophic nomenclature, as cast of heathenish innov.
cause incongruous with amid these reproaches persevere as you have they be the cold rati.
tempt, or, on the other who look on you wit.
of sense and of sa
at length reap the justifi.

matur on the system in Dr. Duff's when the mis-
gelism alike against "the sm" and "the bigotry of
spoke with an almost pre-
coming scheme of Free Church ec.

he said, "You were the first, I believe, parish, and your own n only needs to be so carried forward on other causes as to fill the whole length of the land, in order to reap a tenfold abundant harvest from the liberalities of the people than has ever yet been realized." Re-
erring to as special work of home missions as not a competing but a co-operating cause, he utter a truth which is successors have generally though not always remembered: "Our two causes, our two com-
mittees, might work into each other's hands. Should the first take the precedence and traverse for collections the whole of Scotland, the second would only find the ground more softened and prepared for an

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abundant produce to itself. It acts not by exhaustion—it acts by fermentation." And with this glimmering of the certain gla\v, he a second time sent forth his favourite disciple a now beloved brother; referring to "the singularly prophetic aspect, not merely of the days in which we live, but both of Christendom, that region you are about to leave, and of Eastern Asia, that region of ancient idolatry whither you are going; for we can notice on that distant horizon the faint breakings of evangelical light which, like the dawn of early morn, may perhaps increase more and more till the drying up of the Euphrates that the way of the kings of the East may be prepared."

We find this note written to Dr. Chalmers before the address:—

"Bilstane by Roanhead, Tuesday, 8th.

"My Dear Sir,—I thank you with all my heart for your very kind note of this morning. To receive from you anew in any form the address of ten years ago—the material of which became food for the white ants of Bengal, but the moral of which had been previously incorporated into my mental constitution—will be to me an invaluable boon.

"I am grieved to say that I had an engagement for breakfast on Thursday mornings such a nature that I cannot suspend it. But, if possible, I shall endeavour to call on you between ten and eleven o'clock, a.m. I cannot express the gratification, the comfort, the invigoration of spirit which I have experienced in the very prospect of your giving me a parting address on Thursday, for to you I feel more indebted, as an instrument in the hands of God, for the impulse that carried me to heathen lands, than to any other in the form of mere man. With grateful, affectionate regards,

"Alexander Duff."
Dr. Duff preached his farewell to his own people, in the Moulin from the text, "Farewell." The services, Gaelic and English, were for five hours, and the crowded audience was present. On the subsequent Monday evening, the minister met them again, and, after a short address, in the name of all the people, who had flocked in from the vale and from Athole. Then the living memory of Indian exile, the mother and father and brother, from their four children, only a few months separated, a source of new joy and pleasure. Parents and children seven long years.