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Whether Archbishop Fitz Ralph translated the New Testament into Irish or not, there can be no doubt as to the estimation in which he held the Holy Scriptures. Nothing is more remarkable than the use he makes of his Bible in the "Defensorium Curatorum." On every point his great appeal is "to the law and to the testimony," to the teaching and practice of our Lord Jesus Christ. Of him it is well said by the St. Albans chronicler, *Constat veraciter, quod erat probatissimus scriba in regno ecclorū,* "A right well-approved scribe in the kingdom of heaven."

Richard Fitz Ralph, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland, has no monument: his burial-place is almost forgotten; but whilst his "Defensorium Curatorum" exists, he will be venerated as a bishop, a Christian, and a man: as a bishop, for the watchful care of his flock against friar and Pope; as a Christian, for his simple faith and excellent knowledge of the Scriptures; and as a man, not merely for his learning, but because in an age of heroes he was remarkable for his stubborn independence, undaunted courage, and constancy even unto the death—a man indeed "worthy of his Christian zeal of immortal commendation."

CHARLES SCOTT.

NOTE.—The following list of authorities, which refer to this obscure period and are quoted above, may be useful to the inquirer:—Rymer's *Federa*; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, Cattley's ed.; *Defensorium Curatorum* in Brown's *Fasciculus*; Capgrave's *Chronicle* and *Chronicon Angliae* in Rolls Series; Reeves' *Down and Connor*; Mant's *Church of Ireland*; Townsend's *Biblical Literature*; Cave's *Historia Literaria*; Stuart's *Armagh*; Monck Mason's *Religion of the Ancient Irish Saints*; and the indispensable *Notes and Queries*.



ART. III.—ON EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS IN INDIA.

1. *Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D.* By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D., &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1879.
2. *Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S.* By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D., &c. Second Edition. London: Murray. 1879.
3. *Memoir of Geo. Ed. Lynch Cotton, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan.* London: Longmans. 1872.

BIOGRAHY furnishes an agreeable means for imparting knowledge. A carefully compiled Blue-Book, teeming with facts, figures, and supporting documents, may be of rare value, but it wants that display of motives and principles necessary for the

correct and comprehensive appreciation of a great subject. Men turn with weariness from reports and returns, while they linger with delight over the pages enshrining the memories of great and good men. It is fortunate that, in attempting to discuss the place of educational missions in the dissemination of Christianity, we can approach the subject through a retrospect of the lives of champions foremost in maintaining the importance of this mode of inculcating Christian truth. Most assuredly the cause did not suffer in their hands.

But we are English Churchmen. What have we to do with

our brethren of the north,
(Seeing) Samaria finds her likeness there ?

Surely it cannot be that amongst those

Whose fathers sinned and who have lost the grace
Which seals the holy apostolic line
Israel has seers—to whom the word is nigh
(From whom) that word runs forth and gladness gives ?

Some may think so, but we feel assured that English Churchmen in general have perused with delight the lives of Dr. Duff and Dr. Wilson, recognizing in them faithful brethren in Christ and rejoicing greatly in their testimony of the truth.

For ourselves, we believe in the “love of Christ overflowing bounds” of Churchmanship, and, in many practical matters, such as the conversion of the heathen to Christianity, effacing lines of demarcation. It is amongst the silliest of the many silly objections urged against Christian missions that our ecclesiastical differences at home are really hindrances to the effectual propagation of the Gospel in heathendom. Now and again native testimony to this effect is produced, just as Dr. Colenso paraded his Zulu, but this is merely a parrot cry caught up from English infidelity or ignorance. Very different was the feeling of the founders of the Church Missionary Society. They decreed it as a fundamental principle that “friendly intercourse shall be maintained with other Protestant societies engaged in the same benevolent design of propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ.” Accordingly they have never had the smallest misgiving about giving the right hand of fellowship to men of the stamp of Duff and Wilson, seeing the grace that was given unto them.

Dr. Smith has done his share well in the biographies prefixed to this article. It has been to him throughout a labour of love. There were marked differences in Dr. Duff and Dr. Wilson, but there is none in his admiration for them. He embalms the memories of both with all the resources at his disposal. The reader is left to judge between the fervent orator and the

profound orientalist. As they both followed their Lord and Master with equal fidelity, we too may be pardoned for leaving the question undetermined. Dr. Smith is enthusiastic in his support of their educational policy. He is disposed to attribute to it, if not all that has been wrought in India for the spread of the Gospel, yet all that is most important. Indeed, it would be impossible to state the case for it with more genuine conviction or under more favourable circumstances. Every student of Christian missions will gain light and knowledge from these most interesting volumes. He will understand what can be done in this particular department, when men are raised up of the calibre of Duff and Wilson. The churches of Scotland have sent forth other mighty men, some of whom have done many acts and been honourable, whom we have ourselves formerly known and prized highly, yet it is no derogation to them to say that they attained not to the first two. They may have been equal in the spirit of self-devotion and love for the Lord Jesus Christ, but they did not wield the same commanding influence, nor had they the same pre-eminent gifts.

As many reviews have already noticed these volumes, we do not detail afresh the chief incidents of the lives of these distinguished men. Both Duff and Wilson sprang, like so many eminent Scotchmen, from the ranks. By untiring devotion to the service of Christ, with a single eye to His glory, they attained the utmost elevation in the power of their fellow-countrymen to bestow. Never were honours more worthily awarded. It was mainly through the heroic efforts of these great men that Scotland was aroused to a consciousness that, as God had given them light, it was their duty to communicate it to those who were sitting in darkness. When we peruse the struggles of the Indian Evangelists to waken up manses and presbyteries and kirk sessions and general assemblies, we feel that their home work was little behind their foreign work. If neither of them had ever converted a native of India, they would still have been means of incalculable blessing. Again, these biographies prove indisputably that men of the highest natural powers, who could have won fame and wealth in any public career, cheerfully consecrated all their abilities to unwearied missionary toil, turning their "blind eye, like Nelson," to all offers of earthly advancement, but proving themselves, by loyal and disinterested service, most invaluable denizens and upholders of our Indian empire.¹ The craze that missionaries

¹ Lord Elphinstone, when he quitted India, declared that to no man was he so indebted (and this was all through the Indian Mutiny) for public and private services as to Dr. Wilson, on whom he could not prevail to accept so much as the value of a shoe-latchet. "Let them send me the

are, like the conies, but a feeble folk, is not yet wholly dispelled. The great men commemorated in these volumes were statesmen, scholars, orators, philanthropists, but, above and beyond all—missionaries. The world usually reverses this collocation. Furthermore, if there are any who, unlike the late Lord Lawrence, think that the natives of India are hostile to those who undertake openly and avowedly to do “Christian things in a Christian way,” we once more recommend the perusal of these lives. No men ever set themselves more deliberately and unweariedly to undermine Hindu superstition than did these Scotch missionaries. In season and out of season, in Calcutta and Bombay, in native states almost beyond the reach of English power, in out-of-the-way villages, they (Dr. Wilson especially) proclaimed Christ as the Saviour of a lost world. Yet, although many of their proceedings must have been distasteful, particularly when successes in conversion crowned their efforts, few were more popular with the native community, or received more genuine tokens of their regard. When parents brought their children to the schools of the Scotch missionaries there was no kind of disguise as to what the tenor of the teaching would be. Still, the risk was run; nor were the Hindus so ungenerous as to quarrel with those who had turned the hearts of their children from the worship of dumb idols to the service of the living and true God. In educational matters, as in all other things, honesty is the best policy. Again, the lives of Wilson and Duff are most instructive in exhibiting the pertinacious manner in which English infidelity battles against Christianity in India. It is in reality the most formidable enemy that educational missions have to encounter; it is with the help of European and American agency that Satan now fights for the retention of his strongholds.

The great work to which Wilson and Duff consecrated all their noble powers was mainly, although not quite exclusively, the inculcation of Christianity through the medium of education. This method had not been previously neglected by missionaries belonging to other churches. But it received such magnificent development in the hands of the Church of Scotland that it has been, not unnaturally, identified with it. Its missionaries were the grandest exponents of the system; so much so, that they gave a most powerful impulse to all educational effort, including that of Government. “Education saturated with the Bible” was the means which they deliberately adopted for exploding and tearing up Hindu superstition from its lowest depths. It was their

Christian,” was the demand of Hyder Ali, when Madras was in danger, “he will not deceive me.” With his catechist Sattyanâdan, Schwartz went to Seringapatam: strange ambassadors from England in an hour of peril to her empire !

impression that as "against the Brahminized Hindus the prevailing missionary method (of preaching and personal intercourse) had failed, both in immediate results and in self-developing power." Still, it is acknowledged that the non-Brahminized tribes in the south had been evangelized by these usual means. How great and extensive these successes have been need not be chronicled here. It was, however, with Brahminism that the Scotch missionaries, Duff especially, prepared to grapple. His programme was "to teach every variety of useful knowledge, first in elementary forms, and, as the pupils advanced, in the higher branches, which might ultimately embrace the most advanced and improved studies in history, civil and sacred, sound literature, logic, mental and moral philosophy after the Baconian method, mathematics in all departments, with natural history, natural philosophy and higher sciences." These in Calcutta were to be taught through the medium of English and in inseparable combination with the Christian faith and its doctrines, precepts, and evidences with a view to the practical regulation of life and conduct." The scheme was glorious ; it was, moreover, no fanciful ideal. It was not a splendid failure like Bishop's College, of which a Church of England missionary, who had shared the dream, said, "Sure I am that, if sainted spirits can weep, Bishop Middleton is now weeping in heaven over the idol of his heart." The Scotch institutions were instinct with life of the highest kind. No one who ever listened to the exhortations of Duff in Calcutta, or to the impassioned addresses of John Anderson in Madras, could refrain from exclaiming

"Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella."

Nor were they without admirable results. Many highly intelligent and accomplished natives, under the influence of this teaching, discarded their ancestral superstitions. Pointing to the institutions, they could say that when the Lord writeth up the people it will be made mention that "these men were born there." Multitudes, too, were shaken out of their ancient beliefs, though they did not openly embrace Christianity. Many of these converts were precisely from those classes which Duff sought to influence. In spite of themselves, Koolin Brahmins became Christians. The effect produced upon the European antagonists of Christianity in India was marked. It is Christian charity not to reproduce the names of some conspicuous men among these assailants, one of whom, when castigated by Duff in a pamphlet worthy of Junius, "was anxious to challenge the missionary to fight a duel!" The result was that, as is stated in "Bishop Cotton's Life," "Calcutta presented the nearest parallel which the Christian Church has ever seen to what

Alexandria was in the second and third centuries." To this remark we shall have occasion to revert again.

The fact, however, must not be ignored, that there has been considerable divergence of opinion as to whether educational missions are the most genuine and the most legitimate means of propagating Christianity. Dr. Smith alludes repeatedly to this divergence, but it is to depreciate it. It would be unfair either to him or to Dr. Duff to say that they do not value what is ordinarily termed preaching the Gospel to the heathen; but certainly both consider the educational as the more excellent way. And yet one would not have to go very far to find testimony of another character. Dr. Wilson was himself eminent as an educationist, yet in his memorable speech when, as President, he was opening the Allahabad Conference, he declared emphatically, "Preaching . . . is the instrument which can be most generally used in India; and it should be employed with reference to every class of the people to whom we can find access, from the prince on the throne to the sage and pilgrim at the sacred tirtha, to the peasant in the field and to the beggar on the heap of ashes. While the intercommunion of different classes of Indian society is so limited, and where readers are comparatively so few, an extensive and varied ministration by the voice of the living preacher, or herald, is most desirable and needful:"—

To no part of my missionary labours, continued now for nearly forty-four years, do I look back with more interest than to my lengthened tour in the provinces of the Maharashtra, Gujerat, Bérár, Rájpootana, Sindh and Central India, &c. During their continuance I gained access to all classes of the people. . . . A considerable number of the converts of the mission to which I belong I came first in contact with during these itinerations.¹

It would be easy to accumulate evidence of a similar description, but we will only add one more testimony, that of another missionary of the Free Church, the Rev. W. Miller. "Missionary education," he says, "is not and cannot be a substitute for the simple proclamation of a crucified Redeemer. . . . It is not the kind of effort in which the man of the most devoted, most apostolic spirit will find his fittest sphere."

Obviously there is a discrepancy between these views and those so unhesitatingly urged both by Dr. Duff and his biographer. They do not, however, proceed from the moderatism of the Established Church, from home theorists, or even "the pious conductors of other evangelizing measures," but from those associated with Dr. Duff himself in his mighty work.

¹ Report of the General Missionary Conference at Allahabad, 1872-3.

In the half-century which has elapsed since Dr. Duff began his labours, there has sprung up a change of circumstances in India emphatically deserving the most serious consideration of the whole Christian Church. Previous to the era of Dr. Duff, the action of Government in the matter of education had been feeble and desultory. It had inclined in the direction of learned orientalism¹ rather than of vernacular or English teaching. The beneficial instruction of the masses, so far as it was attempted at all, was mostly in the hands of missionaries. There had always been a system of native education attempted by the people themselves, but it was most limited in extent;² deplorably mismanaged through the inefficiency of native school-masters, it had little regard to anything beyond the most ordinary business of life. It was a compound of barbarous discipline and ignorant routine. To Dr. Duff and the Scotch missionaries is largely due the wonderful impetus given to rational education and the direction in which it developed itself. The school of orientalists had to yield to those who were determined that India should have access to the riches of Western science and learning through that which is becoming the imperial tongue of the world.

The result has been extensive dissemination among the more intelligent classes in India of far more correct ideas, especially in scientific matters, than ever could have been gathered from native teachers. These ideas are, of course, utterly subversive of a religious system which is intimately bound up with the most monstrous figments that have ever degraded the human intellect. So far, we cannot wonder that Dr. Duff was filled with enthusiasm at the triumph of his great attempt at the emancipation of the intelligence of India from barbarous superstition. Although not altogether blind to contingent evils, he was reluctant to anticipate them. He had great and well-merited confidence in himself and in the colleagues with whom he was surrounded. In one battle-field he swept all before him; but, like Parthians, the enemy only yielded to form again on another, for a fresh and dangerous attack. Originally native

¹ The system of education pursued in the Madrasseh founded by Warren Hastings was "precisely the same as the one which was in vogue in Europe during the darkest ages, and productive of the same results."—Evidence of Principal Lee's "Report on Public Instruction," 1858, pp. 11, 12.

² In 1835, according to Mr. Adam's report on existing vernacular schools in Bengal, 92½ out of every hundred children of school-going age (six millions) were destitute of all kinds and degrees of instruction. Twenty-two years elapsed before this was remedied. Nothing was done for Upper India, save by the missionaries, till Lord Dalhousie's Government.—*Life of Duff*, vol. i. p. 226.

superstition had found auxiliaries in European infidelity ; so the strength of the opposition to sound and healing knowledge arose in European infidelity once more. This important fact should never be lost sight of. Dr. Smith claims, with considerable justice, the substantial authorship of the celebrated Educational Despatch of 1854 for Dr. Duff and Mr. Marshman. The purport of this, the great educational charter of the people of India, was that there should be—

Government inspectors of secular instruction ; universities on the model of that of London, but with professorships in physical science ; secondary schools, English and Anglo-vernaular, in every city and county ; primary and indigenous schools carefully improved ; grants in aid of all ; like university degrees to all who work up to certain uniform standards ; normal schools, schoolbooks, scholarships, public appointments ; medical, engineering, and art colleges ; and, finally, female schools. As to religion, Lords Halifax and Northbrook put into the mouth of the directors sentiments similar to those which Lord Derby afterwards expressed on behalf of the Queen in the Proclamation of 1858 : “The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the colleges and schools, and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be, and, moreover, we have no desire to prevent or to discourage any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from their masters on the subject of the Christian religion, provided that such information be given out of school hours.” But of this voluntary instruction “no notice shall be taken by the inspectors in their periodical visits.”

This is probably as much as could be expected from a Government ruling over a vast heathen population and not seeking conversion to its religion by bribery, by violence, or any other kind of unworthy inducement. Had it been honourably and consistently carried out, it would have satisfied the longings of Christian philanthropists ; it would also, we believe, have been satisfactory to the more right-minded of the native population. But what has been the actual working ? Dr. Smith replies :—

So long as he (Dr. Duff) remained in Calcutta, he secured fair-play for the liberal and self-developing principles of the Education Despatch in 1854. When he and Dr. Wilson ceased to influence affairs and rulers, the public instruction of India began to fall back into the bureaucratic, anti-moral, and politically dangerous system from which Lord Halifax thought he had for ever rescued it. In all the presidencies great state departments of secular educationalists have been formed, which are permanent compared with the governments they influence, and are powerful from their control of the press. Every year recently has seen the design of Parliament and the Crown —of both the Whig and the Conservative Ministries in 1854 to 1860—farther and farther departed from, as it is expressed in this keynote of the great Despatch : “We confidently expect that the introduction of

the system of grants in aid will very largely increase the number of schools of a superior order; and we hope that, before long, sufficient provision may be found to exist in many parts of the country for the education of the middle and higher classes independent of the Government institutions, which may then be closed." The departure of the local governments from this healthy principle grieved Dr. Duff even in his dying hours, because of all its consequences in undiluted secularism, amounting, in the case of individual officials in Bengal and Bombay, to the propagation of atheism more subtle than that which he had overthrown in 1830.

From 1860 to the present hour this system has been steadily pursued, "of giving a high English education without religion," a system which, in his own fervid but truthful language, Dr. Duff denounced as "blind and suicidal." When his strong hand upon the helm was torn away by death, the vessel speedily drifted upon dangerous rocks. The hoarse sound of impending destruction is now only too audible. Dr. Smith is right in his observation that the blame of this rests equally upon both Whig and Conservative Ministries, but the recent Governor-General and some of his advisers sounded an alarm. To Sir George Campbell praise is also due for having made some efforts to reduce the expenditure in colleges for the wealthy classes within more narrow limits.

We now proceed to point out wherein the present danger both to the stability of our Indian empire and to the progress of Christianity consists; furthermore, we would at least try to indicate how it should be met.

Upon the duty and advantage of communicating sound rudimentary instruction to the masses of India as to all the other millions of the human race there is probably no difference of opinion, except among those who prefer darkness to light. In this number we have no wish to be confounded. If this instruction could be religious as well as secular, we would prefer it; but if the exigencies of the case render the teaching of religion by Government an impossibility, secular teaching is better than none. Nor can there be any sufficient objection to granting university degrees to all coming up to a sufficient standard, irrespective of their religious creeds. From this properly follows the consequence that they can be employed in the service of the State, which has always been the case. The point really in dispute is, whether Government should maintain an expensive system of colleges for the education of the wealthier classes at a nominal cost, or leave it to voluntary effort to make provision.

Now, unquestionably considerable benefits have resulted to many from this college education. When there was comparative ignorance of the value and mode of attaining high education, an

impulse might fairly have been given to it through State intervention in the first instance. But there are weighty and preponderating arguments on the other side. It is unquestionable that youths are trained in these colleges quite able to pay for their own education, and that instead of elevating the *élite* of the lower classes the education of the superior classes tends only to subjugate these latter more hopelessly to the former. Dr. Dyson, late Principal of the Cathedral Mission College in Calcutta, affirms that the "native educational officers are, to a man, of the higher castes, and have no sympathy with the lower orders." It is also a fact that, from the undue stimulus that has been given, the supply of educated natives now exceeds the demand for them. They will not dig; to beg they would not be ashamed, but the beggars are too numerous. A most highly discontented class is thus multiplied. Thousands of educated men are being thrown upon the country for whom there is no possible means of providing, all considering that they have a claim to posts under Government. Long ago Dr. Duff remarked upon "the enormous influence for good or for evil that a single able and well-educated man may exercise in Christian India, where the millions are in a state of dense but inflammable ignorance." We are scattering them by thousands over the country.¹ Most justly did he characterize this as a "tremendous experiment for the State to undertake." Still we fanatically persevere. Vernacular education of the masses is stinted to find the means of profuse expenditure upon these high class institutions. When the Despatch of 1854 was promulgated, these colleges were only to be temporary. Even then Dr. Duff maintained that the native community had acquired sufficient experience and aptitude to carry on the management of the necessary preparatory seminaries.

¹ The *Calcutta Inquirer* first drew my attention to the evil of a merely intellectual and scientific education, apart from the necessity of a right direction being given to it. . . . Krishna Mohun Banerjea was the editor of that newspaper. He had been educated partly, I believe, in one of the Government institutions at Calcutta. He was a sceptic and also a most thorough Radical. . . . In that paper he preserved, for a very considerable time, a strain of invective against the Government which it was perfectly painful to read. Almost suddenly there was a remarkable change. He then sounded to his countrymen and to the Government the alarm on the danger of imparting a merely intellectual education, as inevitably leading a large mass of the population into a state of hostility to the Government. He gives his own experience, and that of a vast number of native friends of his own, in proof of it. . . . His scepticism had been shaken (by Dr. Duff). He embraced the Christian truth, and his Radicalism and opposition to the Government were thrown to the winds, and he then declared his conviction that both politically and morally the Government would do well not to exclude Christianity from their schools.—Evidence of Lieut.-Col. W. Jacob, Bombay Artillery, before the House of Commons, Aug. 4, 1853. Compare "Life of Duff," vol. i. p. 153, &c.

How much more must this be the case now? But, as Dr. Smith truly asserts, the attitude of the educational department in India has been one of continual hostility to the Despatch of 1854. A multitude of vested interests has sprung up. A formidable danger has thus been created in India.

"I have been appalled," said the late Professor Henderson, "by discovering the extent to which atheistical and deistical writings, together with disaffection to the British Government, have spread and are spreading among those who have been educated in Government schools or are now in the service of Government. The direction of the Government system of education is rapidly falling into the hands of astute Brahmins, while the European gentlemen nominally at the head of the system know nothing of the under-currents which pervade the whole. The testimony of Mr. Gubbins is:—‘Too frequently the Hindu scholar leaves the Government school an infidel; too frequently he repays the liberal instruction of Government with disloyalty and disaffection.’ According to a more recent witness, Professor Monier Williams, the result of the present mistaken system of Government education ‘floods India with conceited and half-educated persons who despise and neglect their own languages and their own political and religious systems without becoming good English scholars, good Christians, or good subjects of the Queen.’"

There have been admirable officers engaged in the Education Department who have discharged their duties with impartiality and advantage to the State; but there have also been unworthy Englishmen who have engaged actively in infidel propagandism, in some recent instances so offensively as to bring down upon themselves most justly merited official rebuke. Even in 1853 Mr. Marshman, in his evidence given before the House of Commons, distinctly stated that the Government had, while excluding Christianity from their colleges, placed in influential situations in them men "avowedly indifferent to Christianity, and some who openly avowed the principles of infidelity." These gentlemen, he added, if appealed to by the students "with regard to any of the principles of Christianity, would very likely give such an answer as would impair the value of those truths in the minds of the natives." It is difficult to avoid coming to the conclusion that, although there are some honourable exceptions, the secular training in our Government colleges, without the restraining and enlightening influence of Christianity, has been to raise up a large crop of flippant unbelievers in any creed, who have not really studied literature, philosophy, or science, but have acquired a miscellaneous mass of imperfect knowledge of little use to them in life. At the same time, as a class, they are thoroughly disaffected to our rule. The opinion

of the late Governor-General of India is, that the over-education in the presidency of Bengal is of a kind which will not sufficiently ensure those who pursue it from making their object beneficial to themselves or their fellow creatures. In point of fact it consists too much in what Lord Bacon terms "cobwebs admirable for the fineness of thread and work, but of no substance or profit." In Bengal "vermiculate questions" are in high honour.

What is the corrective for this? Dr. Smith, an enthusiast in the cause of education, would answer unhesitatingly, "the Christian college." "This," he says, "stands alone in the breach which the rising flood-tide is threatening, while Church and State look on apathetically" (vol. i. p. 440). We wish we could put equal confidence in this with him. Even in the Christian college, under the most favourable circumstances, there are serious drawbacks. Dr. Duff himself would frankly have admitted that the main object of the students who thronged his halls was neither desire to understand Christianity nor to obtain education for its own sake. Their anxiety was to obtain lucrative stations under Government or in mercantile employment, to which English education was the passport. The lightnings of Dr. Duff's impassioned appeals had not merely to blast external superstition, but to penetrate the whole armour of sordid self-interest in which his pupils were clothed from head to foot. He had, too, in his earlier period, the field comparatively to himself. In the midst of all the "ologies" he could find space and time for assiduous inculcation of Christian truth, and his pupils had leisure to attend to him. The case is now very different. The standard of university requirement has been highly raised.¹ Consequently, the demands upon the teachers are much heavier; the minds of the taught, also, are more pre-occupied. Even in 1853 Mr. Marshman, in the evidence already referred to, stated that "no inconsiderable number of the students who had received instruction in the missionary schools and have been regularly taught the Bible, have little reverence for it; and some of them are, I fear, quite as much opposed to the missionaries in after-life as the students of the Hindu college." When we remember the motives actuating them, this is not marvellous. Very recent evidence of a similar kind may be found in the statements of the Rev. R. Rajahgopaul,

¹ On this point Dr. Murray Mitchell made some important remarks in the *Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, 1871. He describes "the purely intellectual work as much increased," also the burden on the students preparing for university examinations as very heavy, but he would from the bottom of his heart deplore the abandoning of the colleges by missionary bodies. The strain is more severe now; the struggle more hopeless.

of the Free Church Mission, Madras.¹ While highly extolling the value of Christian education in missionary institutions, and producing instances of spiritual benefit resulting, he declares that the "case of the majority of those who go out of our mission institutions is sad in the extreme." He explains the reason of this. He then asserts that "the majority live false hypocritical lives. The struggle between their convictions and self-interest, between light and darkness, will be more easily understood than expressed. It tends to terrible searing of conscience, deadening of all high thoughts and aspirations, and as a final resort they sink into Deism or Neo-Vedantism." His witness is too true, also, that "a very small minority" are beneficially affected by the higher education even in missionary colleges. Probably even Dr. Duff or Dr. Wilson would now have found it a terrible strain on their gigantic powers to place Christianity first and foremost in the minds of their pupils, distracted as they now are. Again, it is not easy for any section of the Christian Church to recruit their staff with Duffs and Wilsons. As a fact, the struggle is a difficult one to maintain competent rivals to the Government professors, skilled proficients in their own departments of knowledge. It is no impeachment of the high attainments of missionaries to admit this. The Government professor in his way is *homo unius libri*; the missionary has to ply many trades. Occasionally men are found, such as Duff and Wilson, like Saul, from their shoulders and upward higher than Government professors, but they must be rare. Dr. Smith's theories and glowing periods must be corrected with these matter-of-fact considerations.

Most assuredly, therefore, it should be the object of all Christian philanthropists, without regard to party considerations, to exert themselves in the new Parliament to call attention to a very serious danger affecting both the internal tranquillity of our Indian empire and also the progress of the Gospel. While we would urge, in the interest of the millions of India, the wide extension of elementary education, and would retain the universities as examining bodies in the hands of the State, with also special schools for medicine, law, and civil engineering, so far as may be requisite, we must earnestly advocate "free trade" in the question of colleges. This might or might not be helped with grants in aid.² It is sometimes supposed that there would

¹ "The Attitude of Educated Natives towards their own Religion and Christianity," by the Rev. R. Rajahgopal. Madras: Addison. 1879.

² At a meeting of the syndicate of the university I (Bishop Cotton, an old schoolmaster and enthusiast for educational policy) expressed my hope that in time all the Government colleges, except the professional colleges, might be abolished, and the money devoted to a great enlargement of the grant-in-aid system, and to the development of the univer-

be great risk in this. But this is very doubtful. Education has made progress in India, but there are few who value it so highly that they will found colleges. They will squander lacs of rupees on stupid idolatry, but that is a different matter. When Dr. Duff's institution was in its full career the orthodox Hindus in alarm undertook to get up an anti-missionary college, to be free of charge, where the Hindu Shastras should be taught instead of the Bible. Those who spent annually £20,000 or £30,000 in religious festivals, after a twelvemonth's canvassing, could not raise £3,000 for the college; eventually it never was established. Where and from whom has the money come for the Mohammedan institution at Allygurh which, with a great flourish of trumpets, was announced some time ago? Will the Brahmins sacrifice a portion of their endowments and diminish their troops of harlots in order to found professorships in colleges? If, however, we are mistaken in this opinion, the institution of such colleges must be met like any other difficulty. It would be less in this respect, that they would lack the scale of Government prestige, now ostentatiously lent to secularity and infidelity. For our own part, unless there were overpowering means in the treasury of missionary societies, and an ample supply of highly gifted men of no ordinary stamp, we much doubt the efficacy of the Christian college. It can at best be but a clumsy and a costly instrument for the dissemination of Christianity. Corrupt motives of personal aggrandizement too frequently attract the students to the feet of the missionary; the attention of the missionary professor is distracted; an undue portion of his energies must be expended upon secular work.

We assert once more, then, that in the new Parliament just assembled it should be the business of all who have the welfare of our empire in India at heart to urge, upon grounds of policy and honesty, that the Education Despatch of 1854 should be carried out in the spirit intended by its authors. Sufficient impetus has already been given to high English education. There should be systematic withdrawal from colleges where, at a ridiculously small rate of payment, wealthy natives qualify themselves for Government situations. If they care for rank, power, influence, a share in the Government of their country, they know now how to attain it, and should qualify themselves as Englishmen do for corresponding functions at home and abroad. If, by the reversal of the "blind suicidal policy" too long persevered in, a way can be made for Christian colleges in fair competition with other similar institutions established by

sity, as the two legitimate (because at once central and indirect) organs of Government education. One member announced his entire acquiescence: another said, 'The time has not yet come' (1861).—*Life of Bishop Cotton*, p. 283.

native munificence, well and good. The balance among them all might be held impartially by Government, and the most worthy in due course advanced. In that case there might be wisdom in maintaining the Christian college as the antidote to the native foundation. But however this might be, what is the duty of the Christian Church? How are the funds at the disposal of missionary societies to be most effectively employed? What should be the aim and the business of the Christian missionary? Dr. Wilson at the Allahabad Conference referred to the example of St. Paul. At Philippi Paul spoke "unto the women" by the river side. He "reasoned out of the Scriptures," in the synagogues at Thessalonica and Corinth, concerning Christ. He disputed with the Jews and others in the market at Athens, and delivered a remarkable discourse before the Areopagus at Athens. "Preaching," as Dr. Wilson observes, "in the senses just referred to, is the instrumentality which can be most generally used in India." Is it not also that which should be used? Confessedly the means for the evangelization of India are limited and inadequate. Should they not be concentrated on that which, so far as we can gather from the New Testament, is the one work of the heralds of the Cross, at any rate until churches are gathered out which should develop themselves as other churches have done? Even the splendid successes of Dr. Duff and kindred spirits under circumstances far more favourable than are now available should not confuse by their glamour. The failures, such as those of Bishop's College, are pitiable even to think of. Allusion has already been made to Bishop Cotton's statement, that Calcutta, under the influence of Dr. Duff's system, was much in the condition of Alexandria in the third century. Dr. Smith seems disposed to endorse this.¹ We think it was. But what says Canon Robertson upon this point? "In this period we find that Christianity and heathen philosophy, in preparing for a continuation of their struggle, adopt something of each other's armour;² and Alexandria—a city of which the intellectual character in connection with the origin of Gnosticism becomes the chief seat both of philosophical Christianity and reformed Paganism." Clement, who succeeded Pantænus in the catechetical school, held that "all learning may be sanctified and turned to good; that the cultivation of it is necessary in order to confute the sophistries of false philosophy." A study of the history of the catechetical school in Alexandria shows that while it flourished it was a very doubtful gain to Christianity. The history of the Brahma Somaj, corresponding in many points with the Neo-Platonism taught by Ammonius, once a Christian, in antagonism to the

¹ "Life of Duff," vol. i. p. 459.

² 1 Sam. xvii. 38, 39.

catechetical school, is most striking. In this Alexandrian Neo-Platonism the Gospel found "the most subtle and formidable of its adversaries." It had strong attractions for disputatious persons rejoicing in the controversies of Christians with pagans, of orthodox with heterodox; but did it increase faith?

But Dr. Smith maintains, on the high authority of Mr. Burnell, that Brahminism remains untouched by missionary effort in South India to the present day. He holds, also, that the first fact forced on Dr. Duff was that, as against the Brahminism of Hindus, the prevailing missionary method (*i.e.*, preaching in chapels, in streets and villages; also, of course, in conversation and by tract and Bible distribution) had failed both in immediate results and self-developing power. This proves more than Dr. Duff would have cared to urge. It certainly is not in accordance with Dr. Wilson's experience. Some consideration may not be amiss. Now, it may be admitted as perfectly true that hitherto little impression has been made upon Brahminized Hinduism, which, of course, comprises the whole priesthood of India and all under their influence—generally speaking, the upper and dominant classes of the country as contrasted with the lower and subject races. But was it otherwise in the earliest annals of Christianity? The sign of the Lord Jesus Christ was "the poor have the Gospel preached to them." The experience of St. Paul was that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, were called." Have we reason to believe that it is or will be otherwise in the nineteenth century? "Have any of the rulers believed on Him?" is no new taunt in the history of Christianity. We might, too, ask whether what Dr. Smith aptly terms and condemns the "filtration process" of education from above to below is likely to be efficacious in the work of evangelization. It would be a reversal of the progress of the Gospel (unless we adduce such cases as the forcible conversions of Clovis and Charlemagne) if purely heathen nations are not permeated by it rather from below than from above, by the plain and simple preaching of the Gospel rather than by any more complicated machinery.

How, then, is Christianity to be successfully inculcated in India? We know of no other weapon than the "sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God." It was wielded fearlessly and ably by Dr. Duff and his compeers after their fashion. They arose and smote with it till their hands clave unto it. But can this be done now? On this point we have great doubts. Unless a speedy and efficacious remedy can be applied, we see nothing for it but reversion to the appointed Gospel means which are for all times and adapted to all circumstances. Colleges, like other human devices, may or may not occasionally be convenient methods for helping forward the Gospel, but "preaching," using

the term in its widest sense, never fails. "Faith comes by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God." Beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace and bring glad tidings of good things. These tidings may be accepted by multitudes in one day, or may be brought home to individual souls intent upon the Scriptures. They may sink deep into the hearts of simple women, or, as in the case of Justin Martyr, may come home with power from some unknown teacher after all forms of philosophy have been tried in succession and in vain. In all cases, alike out of the Prophets and the New Testament, through the medium of prayer "the gates of light are opened." They yield to no other touch. It is with extreme reluctance, and contrary to our hopes, that we have come to the conclusion that it is useless for missionary bodies, unless there is a change of Government policy, to struggle against the overwhelming influence of Government wielding the resources of the empire. The "blind suicidal policy" now in full operation cannot be resisted by their efforts. If redress cannot be obtained by the force of public opinion in England, we can only conclude that the check which the college system in India has confessedly experienced after its brilliant outset has been providentially ordered to throw the churches of God back more exclusively upon His own appointed means of salvation. It was the dictum of the late Rev. H. Venn that missionary societies have in view "the conversion of adults and not the education of the heathen masses. " Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." Preaching may be apparently foolishness ; it may seem to be utterly in vain. Yet the seed is the Word of God. There is profound spiritual import in the parable of the sower, more than we can ever probably fathom, who scattered so much of it in such unpromising places and with no kind of results. Yet is not the function of the missionary the function of the sower ? All we know is, that God's Word doth not return to Him void ; that it accomplishes that which He pleases : and that it prospers in that whereto He sends it. The end cometh when the "Gospel of the Kingdom has been preached in all the world for a witness unto the nations."

GEORGE KNOX.
