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133 e. 79

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY,

COMPRISING
AN ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIETY; BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES
OF SOME OF ITS FOUNDERS AND MISSIONARIES; WITH A RECORD
OF ITS PROGRESS AT HOME AND ITS OPERATIONS ABROAD.

COMPILED FROM
Original Documents in the Possession of the Society.

BY
WILLIAM ELLIS,
Late Foreign Secretary of the Society, and Author of "Polynesian Researches," &c.

VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

AN authentic History of the London Missionary Society has long been desired by the friends of missions ; and it is deeply to be regretted that no one among the eminent men who were instrumental in its formation has prepared a record of the events which led to its establishment, and of the varied occurrences which have marked its progress. Those honoured men have nearly all been gathered to their fathers ; and, in a few years, the generation which witnessed the commencement of the Society, and watched and sustained it through the difficulties of its earliest efforts, will have passed entirely away.

To secure the assistance of the few who still remained to afford encouragement to those now engaged in the work, and to extend the feeling in favour of missions among all classes of society, the Author was recommended and encouraged by the directors of the Society, and other friends of missions, to undertake the work now offered to the public.

The use of the papers belonging to the Society, and of many valuable documents in the possession of the survivors of its founders, has been readily granted, and it is hoped that the volume will commend itself to the members and the friends of the Society, as a faithful record of the origin and progress of an institution whose instrumentality has been extensively employed in the aggressive movements of the church upon the heathen world during the last fifty years.

When the preparation of the following pages was commenced, the Author had the honour of being connected with the Society as its Foreign Secretary ; but a protracted affliction, which for a long time prevented all mental application, incapacitated him for the duties of the office which he held, and postponed the completion of the work in which he was engaged. A measure of restoration has been mercifully vouchsafed ; and he is grateful to be able at this auspicious period—the commencement of the Society's jubilee, to offer to its friends the First Volume of its history.

The length of time that has elapsed since the Author's intention was first announced is less to be regretted, as in the interval two valuable works intimately connected with the subject—viz., Dr. Campbell's "Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions," and Dr. Morison's "Fathers and Founders of the London Missionary Society"—

have appeared. These works, more especially the latter, have narrowed the range of subjects originally contemplated, by superseding the necessity for those biographical details which would otherwise have been essential to the completeness of the present work.

No efforts have been spared to secure accuracy throughout the following pages; references are generally given to the authorities for the facts recorded, but for the opinions expressed the Author alone is responsible.

Besides the notice of the events which led to the formation of the Society, and of the proceedings connected with its establishment and early movements at home, the first volume records the progress and results of its labours in the South Sea Islands, and among the Ultra-Ganges nations, from their commencement to the present time; thus completing the first era in the history of these important missions. The recent events, which in the arrangements of Divine providence have changed the political relations of both those countries with European nations, will impart a character to future missionary operations amongst them, as altered from the past as they are in aspect different from each other. The second volume will contain an account of the operations of the Society in Africa, India, and other parts of the world, with a view of the indirect effects of its labours, and the collateral advantages it has conferred on the cause of

civilization and civil liberty abroad, as well as on the public opinion, literature, science, and commerce of our country.

The whole will exemplify the broad principles of Christian charity on which the Society was founded, and will show that while those churches at home which have identified themselves most intimately with the missionary cause have been enriched with a large amount of spiritual prosperity, the circulation of the sacred Scriptures in the languages of all the great families of mankind, the preparations for communicating unadulterated Christianity to China, the security of the Christian teacher, and the discontinued support of idolatry in the East, the freedom of the slave in the West, the recognition of the rights of the African, and the revival of one of the distinctive features of primitive Christianity in our own churches, as well as most of the foundations of hope for the social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual benefit of our race, are connected with the unostentatious, and often despised efforts of the church, during the last fifty years, to propagate the Gospel in the world.

HODDESDON,
September, 1844.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Peculiarity of the times in which modern missions were commenced—Reference to the labours of the Moravians and other denominations of Christians—The labours of Whitfield and Wesley—British influence in India—Voyages of discovery—Impressions on the minds of the Rev. Dr. Haweis and the Countess of Huntingdon—Appointment of two students in the college at Trevecca as missionaries to Tahiti—Passages obtained for them in a ship commanded by Captain Bligh—Their refusal to embark—Influence of Keats' account of the Pelew Islands on the mind of a lady at Gosport—Publication of Dr. Carey's Inquiry on the subject of Missions—Dr. Carey's sermon at Nottingham—Dr. Bogue's sermon at Salters' Hall—Establishment and influence of the *Evangelical Magazine*—Recognition of the duty of missionary efforts by associations of ministers in the country—Proceedings of the Warwickshire Association of Ministers—Of the Worcestershire Association—Publication of the Rev. Melville Horne's "Letters on Missions"—Their character and influence—Dr. Haweis's offer of £500 towards a mission to Tahiti—Conversation of ministers at the Red Cross-street library—Meetings of Messrs. Eyre, Wilks, and others, for prayer—Dr. Bogue's visit to Bristol—Intercourse with Dr. Ryland—Dr. Bogue's appeal in the *Evangelical Magazine*—Meeting of ministers in London with a view to the formation of a Missionary Society—Periodical meeting of ministers at the Castle and Falcon for deliberation and prayer—Publication of addresses—Appointment of a general meeting to be held in London in September, 1794—Recapitulation of the principal events which led to the formation of the Society . . . 1

CHAPTER II.

Public meetings in September, 1795—Strong and general feeling in favour of the object contemplated—Sermons by the Revs. Dr. Haweis, G. Burder, S. Greathead, Rowland Hill, and Dr. Bogue—Plan of the Institution—Mission to the South Sea Islands—Dr. Carey's views of the South Sea Islands—Recommendation of monthly meetings for prayer—Notice

colonial possessions, and had laid the foundations of an empire, which, as antagonist or ally, would influence her destiny in all future ages. The French revolution, bursting forth in appalling and destructive violence, and developing, in rapid succession, increasingly terrific spectacles of anarchy and crime, had spread a panic through surrounding nations, diffusing, at the same time, principles which threatened the annihilation of every social institution, and ultimately involving all Europe in a war on which the hopes and the liberties of the civilized world seemed dependent.

It is scarcely possible to imagine a period less favourable to any extensive enterprise of Christian philanthropy than that now under review, and yet it was at this time that the spirit of modern missions first appeared in our country, rising, like an angel of mercy, above the troubled elements of social and political disorganization, the harbinger of a new era in the history of the church, and the dawn of a brighter day upon the world.

The energies put forth by England in the struggle on which she then entered, and the laurels she has since entwined around her brow, have neither been "unsung by poets, nor by senators unpraised;" and the page of history will inform future generations of the achievements of her patriotism and valour. The annals of subsequent years, less exciting, but more grateful to the humane and refined feelings of the nation, record her progress in literature, science, and the arts,—in invention, industry, and commerce,—pursuits highly conducive to the happiness of her own population, and the extension of her social influence; but a record of efforts of a different order, made for the purpose of diffusing a knowledge of the truths of Christianity among heathen nations, is still wanting to a complete history of the last fifty years. The

following pages are devoted to the narration of a part of these exertions, put forth in furtherance of an object worthy of the noblest efforts of a wise and powerful nation, most congenial to the best feelings of a Christian people, and incalculably more advantageous to the world than all our discoveries in science and art, or our achievements in war.

On the continent, the Moravians had exhibited a bright example of noble devotedness to the cause of missions; and prior to the close of the eighteenth century England had not overlooked the subject. Societies for propagating the Gospel had been organized; their endeavours, however, were few and feeble, and had been confined chiefly to the support of foreign missionaries in India, or ministers and teachers among the Indians of North America; and it was not until almost within the last fifty years that the efforts of the religious bodies by whom Christian missions are now most vigorously supported were commenced. The Wesleyan Missionary Society was formed in 1817, but the first Wesleyan missionaries that went out, under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr. Coke, entered the British colonies in 1786.* The Baptist Missionary Society was established in 1792; the (London) Missionary Society in 1795; and the Edinburgh or Scottish, and the Glasgow Missionary Societies in 1796. The subject also engaged the attention of many pious persons belonging to the Established Church, besides those connected with the Missionary Society, and by members of that communion the Church Missionary Society was organized in the first year of the present century.

But although at the time already adverted to there was nothing in the political state of the continent or of England favourable to any great exertions for the conversion of the Heathen, the very darkness and tribulation that

* Coke's Journals, p. 49.

everywhere prevailed drew the attention of a number of devoted ministers of Christ to those parts of the sacred writings which predict the ultimate diffusion of Christianity throughout the earth. "The revival of religion at home, and the universal spread of the Gospel, were regarded by many as events which might be expected to flow from existing calamities." To the Christians of that day "the prospects of the future triumphs of the church spread a mildness over existing gloom, and cheered them amidst the miseries and wickedness which distressed the nations and distracted the world."* They remembered that "amidst the desolating strife of mortals God had often appeared in his glory," and "the recent shaking of the nations led not a few to anticipate those glorious days when the knowledge of the Lord should cover the whole earth."†

The labours of Whitfield and Wesley, and their associates, besides awakening an extraordinary degree of attention to religion throughout the country, restored to the profession of Christianity its true and comprehensive character, teaching its adherents to seek a wider range for their sympathies and efforts than the narrow exclusiveness of individual benefits, or mere local or denominational advantage. These effects, particularly those of a missionary character, though considered by many as the offspring of visionary enthusiasm, or intemperate zeal, have produced and sustained most of the great religious institutions which constitute the glory of our age and nation.

The extraordinary success of our arms and diplomacy in the East having established the supremacy of England in India, one of the most astonishing events of modern

* Sermon of the Rev. J. Barrett, of Kidderminster, before the Worcestershire Association at Stourbridge, March, 1794.

† Introduction to *Missionary Sermons*, p. xii.

times, it was felt by many Christian men that this vast accession of wealth and power was attended with the most sacred obligations to attempt the propagation of the Christian faith among the millions who had thus become our fellow subjects.

The spirit of maritime discovery and scientific research in which the voyages of Cook and others originated, followed by the glowing descriptions of the countries they visited and the tribes they discovered, together with Keats' fascinating, but, to a great extent, fictitious account of the Pelew Islands and of Prince Leboo, published in 1788, excited among all classes throughout Europe feelings of the most romantic interest. The accounts of society in those remote regions were eagerly seized by the philosophers of that age, and exultingly held up to the admiration of the civilised world, as evidence of the fallacy of many of the unpalatable truths of Divine revelation, and examples of the compatibility of a course of life condemned by the Bible with a high and enviable degree of happiness.

At the same time, there were not a few, who, while they shared in much of the romantic feeling which these accounts of scenes so novel and enchanting excited, were guided by a surer light than philosophy, falsely so called, and regarding the untaught islanders as needing the enlightening and purifying principles of true religion, longed for the means of conveying it to their distant abodes. These, together with a sense of the obligation, devolved by the Saviour on all his disciples, to make his Gospel known unto others, were among the chief causes which operated in originating the several missionary institutions already noticed.

Different circumstances, in all probability, led to the formation of each society; and however satisfactory it

might be in entering upon the history of any one of them, to trace the first idea of such an institution to some individual mind, and to mark with exactness the particular events which led to its establishment, it is but seldom that this can be accomplished.

Among the circumstances which contributed more or less directly to the formation of the Missionary Society, the effect of Captain Cook's voyages to the South Sea Islands on the mind of the late Rev. Dr. Haweis, rector of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, and chaplain to the Countess of Huntingdon, is one of the earliest of which any record has been found. According to a letter in the Doctor's handwriting, supposed to be addressed to the late Ambrose Serle, Esq.,* the accounts of Cook's voyages, published between 1771 and 1782, excited in his mind a strong desire that efforts might be made to send missionaries to Tahiti. In the year 1787, or, as he observes, perhaps a year earlier, he brought the subject under the notice of Lady Huntingdon, who expressed her willingness that two students in the college in Wales should proceed to the islands, on the Doctor's undertaking to furnish them with the requisite instruction, and to defray the expense of their equipment and passage. Two young men, of the names of Waugh and Price, offered themselves for the work, and removed to Bath, where they remained for some time under the joint tuition of Dr. Haweis and another clergyman. They were subsequently placed for a year under the care of the Rev. Mr. Spencer, rector of Wingfield, in Wiltshire, who reported favourably of their progress.

Soon after this, Dr. Haweis being in London, and hearing that Captain Bligh, who had recently arrived in Eng-

* Author of "The Christian Remembrancer," "Horæ Paulinæ," &c.

land after his perilous voyage consequent upon the mutiny in the *Bounty*, was about to proceed a second time to Tahiti, for the purpose of conveying the bread-fruit plant to the West Indies, applied to him for passages for the missionaries, which the Captain generously offered to give, provided the consent of the Government could be obtained. Mr. Wilberforce and Sir Joseph Banks were then applied to by Dr. Haweis, and the sanction of the Government having been obtained, through the representations of Mr. Wilberforce, who interested himself much in the object, the Captain promised to do everything in his power to see them comfortably settled at Tahiti.

The young men came to London to prepare for embarkation, but objected to proceed unless a pension were secured to them, in the event of their being obliged to return after three years. This was accordingly provided by Dr. Haweis, and they then required episcopal ordination. In order to obtain this, the Doctor applied, through the medium of the Rev. W. Romaine, to Dr. Porteus, bishop of London, by whom he was referred to Dr. More, archbishop of Canterbury. Application was made to the archbishop through his brother-in-law, Sir James Wright, and afterwards in a personal interview at Lambeth; but his grace politely declined acceding to the Doctor's request, because the young men had not been at either of the universities. As their wishes in regard to ordination could not be complied with, the young men refused to go, and the Doctor adds, in reference to their subsequent conduct, "the event left me no cause for regret." Another student, Mr. Lewis, offered to go alone, and came to London to prepare for embarkation; but it was deemed inexpedient to send only one, and Captain Bligh sailed in 1791, before a suitable companion could be found.*

* MS. Letters.

In 1789 Dr. Haweis remarked in one of his letters, "For many years I have planned, prayed for, and sought for an opening for a mission among the heathen. My dear Lady Huntingdon has concurred with me in attempting it;" and in a letter dated January 20th, 1790, her ladyship writes to him, "I shall be happy to see my dear and kind friend's plan for the heathen mission. It charms me to hear; and suffer me only to fulfil your meaning in all I can do. The barrel of meal and the cruse of oil fail not."

In the same year Dr. Haweis published a small volume on the evidences, doctrines, and influences of Christianity, in which he distinctly refers to the subject of missions.*

About this time a lady and her family, residing at Gosport, were so much interested in Keats' account of the Pelew islanders, as to desire that some means might be employed for conveying a knowledge of the Gospel to a people who were represented as so amiable as to render its reception by them certain, could they only be made acquainted with it. The subject was mentioned to Dr. Bogue by the lady who was the widow of his predecessor, but it was deemed by him impracticable on account of the expense and other difficulties, and no steps were at that time taken for its accomplishment.†

Early in 1792, Dr. Carey, the founder of the Baptist Missionary Society, published a valuable essay, entitled

* "How much nobler and more truly genuine exercise of charity would it be to endeavour the diffusion of the glorious Gospel of Christ to the ends of the earth, and to seek, by every instituted means of Divine appointment, to bring the heathen lands out of darkness into his marvellous light. A plan for this purpose the author of the foregoing Essays has long drawn up, and earnestly desires to carry into execution. Could he but succeed in so desirable an event he would think he had not lived in vain."—*Essays, &c.*, p. 204.

† Letter from Mrs. Voke, of Gosport, to Thomas Kingsbury, Esq.

“An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use means for the Conversion of the Heathen.” In the month of June, in the same year, in a sermon preached from Isa. liv. 2, 3, preached before an association of ministers at Nottingham, he exhibited the justness of his long-cherished views on this subject, while he urged his hearers to “attempt great things for God, and expect great things from God.” There is a grandeur and a simplicity in these sentiments, which appear in beautiful harmony with the character of one who was called to achieve no inferior service in the missionary field, and render them worthy of being adopted as the motto of all who may be honoured to follow in his steps. These and other endeavours to arouse public feeling, together with the establishment of the Baptist Missionary Society in October, 1792,* could scarcely fail to excite attention to the claims of the heathen in the minds of many beyond the limits of the Baptist denomination.

In this year also the Rev. Dr. Bogue preached a sermon at Salters' Hall, London, before the Corresponding Committee of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Highlands and Islands.† In this discourse the duty of communicating the knowledge of the Gospel to the heathen is exhibited in some of its most solemn and impressive forms, and the obligations to immediate and generous exertions urged with extraordinary perspicuity and force. This sermon shows very clearly the extent to which the subject had engaged the attention of the preacher's capacious mind, as well as the holy ardour with which it had fired his soul, and must have pointed him out as one who would be found among the foremost to arrange and carry forward any vigorous

* Memoir of Dr. Carey, p. 75. † Bennett's Life of Dr. Bogue, p. 169.

and comprehensive efforts in behalf of the millions of his species for whom he was so eloquently pleading.

Early in 1793 an event occurred which, if it did not at the time embrace the object, demonstrated the practicability and advantage of fraternal association and combined effort on the comprehensive principles on which the Society was afterwards established. A meeting of ministers was convened at the Three Crowns coffee-house in the Borough, for the purpose of establishing a periodical publication, "with a view to arouse the Christian public from its prevailing torpor, and excite to a more close and serious consideration of their obligations to use means for advancing the Redeemer's kingdom. At this meeting it was determined to commence the *Evangelical Magazine*, of which the Rev. John Eyre was the principal editor."* The friends of missions are under deep and lasting obligations to this publication for a medium of regular communication with the wise and good throughout the land. It was essentially instrumental in the formation of the Missionary Society,—was among the most efficient means of forwarding its early movements—has at all times given extensive circulation to intelligence of its proceedings, while it has ably and uniformly advocated its claims.

This periodical was commenced in July, 1793; and the editors, in introducing it to the public, state that they "are composed of Churchmen and Dissenters of different denominations, uniting their efforts in one common cause, and will endeavour to diffuse liberal sentiments wherever the providence of God may direct this little confluence of doctrine and catholicism to wind its peaceful course."† The venerated men who thus, imbued with disinterested

* MSS. of the late Rev. J. Townsend.

† *Evangelical Magazine*, vol. i., preface, p. 3.

benevolence* and zeal, rose superior to the exclusiveness and bigotry of their age, were among the first to unite on the same broad platform for the still higher object of sending preachers of the Gospel to the most distant nations. The Rev. John Eyre, an episcopal clergyman at Homerton, and the Rev. Matthew Wilks, of the Tabernacle, with a few other friends, were the chief projectors of the work,† and every one of those by whom it was established, excepting the members of the Baptist denomination,‡ were among the founders of the Missionary Society.

It is highly instructive to mark the progressive preparation of the minds of men for the efforts on behalf of the heathen which the British churches, in the arrangements of Divine Providence, were about to be called upon to make. The subject was first alluded to by individual ministers at distant intervals on public occasions, then more frequently, and afterwards considered by numbers united in their respective localities for general purposes connected with the interests of religion.

In the year 1793, the duty and privilege of attempting to communicate the Gospel to the heathen was distinctly recognised by the associated ministers of the Congregational order in different parts of the kingdom. At a meeting of the Warwickshire Association, held at Warwick on the 27th of June, resolutions were passed, declaring it to be the duty of all churches to promote this object, recommending the establishment of a fund for defraying

* From the establishment of the Magazine to the present time, whatever profits have accrued from the publication have been devoted to charitable purposes, chiefly to the relief of the widows of ministers of the Gospel.

† Memoir of Rev. G. Burder, p. 156.

‡ The Baptist ministers who united in supporting the *Evangelical Magazine* were already among the chief promoters of the Baptist Missionary Society.

the expenses, and appointing meetings for prayer in relation thereto. At their next meeting, held in August of the same year, a circular letter, prepared at the request of the Association by the Rev. Dr. Williams, minister of Carr's-lane, Birmingham, was ordered to be printed, and sent not only to the churches of the county, but to others in different parts of the kingdom.* The Association was in fact a Home and Foreign Missionary Society, and the co-operation of ministers in other parts of the country was sought chiefly in aid of the foreign objects: hence, in the postscript they observe, "We now conclude our solicitations for your fraternal agreement with us, by calling your attention to one particular more, which we think by no means the least important, viz., the sending of missionaries to the heathen."

The ministers in Worcestershire associated this year for similar purposes, and recognised the duty of aiding in furthering the same great object; while, in reference to the means to be employed, it is declared in a sermon preached before the Association by the Rev. G. Osborn, of Worcester, and afterwards published, that "the only effectual instrument to be employed was the Gospel of Christ," that "science might expand the mind, arts and manufactures provide for present support, commerce enrich, and humanity liberate the enslaved, but the religion of Jesus Christ alone could save immortal souls."

In the following year, 1794, the Rev. Melville Horne, a clergyman of the Established Church, who had been chaplain to the colony of Sierra Leone, published his "Letters on Missions, addressed to the Protestant Ministers of the British Churches." This excellent work, written with uncommon vigour and spirit, by one who, in addition to

* Memoir of Rev. G. Burder, p. 157.

clear views and strong feelings, had been an eyewitness of the state of those on whose behalf he appealed, must have startled many from their dreams in the lap of indolence and ease. "At the bar of Scripture and of conscience," the writer thus fearlessly prefers his indictment, "fathers, brethren, ministers of Christ, in the presence of God I charge you, I charge myself, with betraying the grand interests of our Master, by refusing to propagate *His* Gospel. I charge you with the habitual, open violation of Christ's command, 'Go, preach the Gospel to every creature.' I charge you with the unspeakable guilt of burying in a napkin those unsearchable riches which the apostle St. Paul thought it the honour of his life to preach to the Gentiles. Lastly, I charge you with doing this without shame, and almost without an effort to do the contrary. What monies have we subscribed? What associations have we formed? What prayers have we offered up? What animated exhortations have we given to our flocks, and to one another, on the subject of missions?"

Melville Horne was no bigot. In stimulating to efforts more corresponding with the nature and extent of the work than any before made, he strongly urges the principle of affectionate and fraternal co-operation which was afterwards exemplified at the formation of the Missionary Society. After showing how completely this would deprive the infidel of one of his favourite weapons, and that "missions would civilize the savage," he exhibits the following bold outline of his plans and agents. "I require them to form associations for collecting money, obtaining information, procuring missionaries, and transacting all the variety of concerns that fall under the consideration of missions. I would have the Association to be actuated by a true missionary spirit. Any minister

who is not warmly affected to missions should be excluded from the acting committee: what these gentlemen are their missions will be. Let our object be to evangelize the islands of the South Sea; or to obtain for Christianity a *firm footing* and *extensive spread* in India, China, Tibet, Borneo, Persia, Tartary, or other great kingdoms."

In describing the kind of men required, he afterwards observes, "We must be prepared to take the field in the very boldest line of service.—Men who are not disposed to run all chances, and to undergo sufferings, which, in the recital, might freeze the blood of those who hear them quietly by their firesides, have no business in missions. And, if missionaries of this cast are not to be had, we may, without any detriment to the Christian cause, wait with patience till such men appear in the world. Men of other dispositions will do as little as has been done."

Mr. Horne then adds the following straightforward description of the object of every true missionary. "It is not," he remarks, "Calvinism, it is not Arminianism, but Christianity that he is to teach; it is not the hierarchy of the Church of England, it is not the principles of Protestant Dissenters that he has in view to propagate; his object is to serve the church universal. It is not latitudinarianism of principle, but largeness of affection, which I recommend to the missionary. He should be infinitely more concerned to make men Christians, than to make them Church of England men, Dissenters, or Methodists. Would to God this were more attended to among us; and then, instead of observing with jealousy the prosperity of any other denomination of Christians, and considering it an obstacle to the success of our own party, we should rejoice in hearing that Christ is preached, and souls are saved."

These letters could not fail to be cordially welcomed by many whose minds were already deeply interested in the

subject. The late venerable and benevolent John Townsend "was struck with shame and remorse, and powerfully stimulated to desire that some measure might be adopted to procure a simultaneous movement of British Christians in this honourable service."* Dr. Haweis, speaking of an interview with Mr. Eyre, in June this year, says, "I was going to Brighton for the summer; he begged me to take with me Horne's 'Letters on Missions,' to review for them. This kindled afresh the missionary flame in my heart, and with the review I empowered him to insert an offer of £500 for the equipment of the first missionaries who should be sent on this blessed service." In another letter, written in 1794, Dr. H. observes, "My former experience had convinced me that only by a general union of all denominations could a broad basis be laid for a mission."†

Mr. Eyre's own mind appears to have been deeply affected by these letters, and at a meeting held at the Dissenters' Library, Red Cross-street, he entered into conversation with the Rev. Messrs. Waugh, Love, and Steven, on the book. "Mr. Eyre on his return from the Library, called on the Rev. Matthew Wilks, minister of the Tabernacle, Moorfields, and communicated to him the conversation, with the powerful effect which the subject had produced. These two ministers resolved to meet again, when each was to bring a friend with him. Their number having augmented to seven or nine persons, it was agreed to meet once a fortnight at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate, for prayer and reading of the Scriptures. After several meetings they determined to give publicity to the affair, and to invite leading men in the several counties of the kingdom to co-operate. It is needless to say that Mr. Bogue was addressed on this subject."‡

* Memoirs of Rev. J. Townsend. † MS. Letters of Dr. Haweis.

‡ Bennett's Life of Bogue.

In the month of August, this year, Dr. Bogue paid a visit to Bristol, preaching at the Tabernacle during his stay in the city. While he was there, Dr. Ryland received the first letters, from Messrs. Carey and Thomas, who had gone as missionaries to India. Dr. Ryland was so delighted with these letters, that he invited Dr. Bogue and Mr. Steven, his colleague at the Tabernacle, and other friends, to hear them read. The visitors expressed an earnest desire that something might be done in their own connexion, and at a meeting subsequently held in the parlour of the Tabernacle-house, it was determined further to attempt to excite public attention to the subject.* With this view Dr. Bogue inserted an eloquent and able appeal in the *Evangelical Magazine* for the ensuing month, addressed "to the Evangelical Dissenters, who practise infant baptism."

This address strengthened the previously cherished hopes of some, and excited the attention of others; and when the review of Horne's Letters appeared two months afterwards, besides the offer of 500*l.* from Dr. Haweis, the editors announced the promise of 100*l.* from another individual.†

The meetings of Messrs. Eyre and Wilks, first with a friend of each, and afterwards with a larger number, have been already noticed. About the beginning of November, 1794, Dr. Bogue was called to London for a few days, and during his stay, namely, on the 4th, a meeting was held with a view to the ultimate formation of a society on a comprehensive scale for sending missions to the heathen. On this memorable occasion, the Rev. Messrs. Bogue, Brooksbank, Eyre, Love, Reynolds, Steven, Wilks,

* Cox's History of the Baptist Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 103.

† Rev. Sam. Greathead.

and Townsend, met at Baker's Coffee House,* in Change-alley, Cornhill. "It was a small but glowing and harmonious circle of ministers of various denominations, drawn together by kindred sympathies, and uniting in prayer and deliberation on behalf of millions of their race suffering from sin, and debased by idolatry." At this meeting it was agreed to invite other ministers to their meetings, and for the purpose of greater convenience a suitable room was engaged at the Castle and Falcon Inn, Aldersgate-street. †

The meetings, which continued to be held at this place until the Society was formed, were highly instructive and edifying to the parties attending them, as well as peculiarly favourable to the accomplishment of their transcendently glorious object. A large portion of the time, one hour at least, was occupied in prayer, especially for the influence of the Holy Spirit. The founders of the Society were in an eminent degree men of prayer, and evidently contemplated the work under a deep sense of solemn obligation, associated with a full conviction that it was not by might nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord, that it must be accomplished. Frequently three, oftener four or five individuals engaged in prayer at intervals during the meeting. With their supplications for Divine guidance they connected the reading and serious examination

* The Dissenting ministers in London and its vicinity were at this period in the habit of meeting at Baker's Coffee House for an hour or two every Tuesday forenoon, for general conversation on any public question. As many as twenty were frequently present, and sometimes a much larger number.—*MSS. of Rev. J. Townsend.*

† The Castle and Falcon was probably selected for this purpose, in consequence of its being kept at the time by Mr. Dupont, who, with his family, were religious persons, and regular attendants at the Tabernacle, or Spafields Chapel. There is also reason to believe that the house had long before this period been resorted to by ministers and religious persons visiting London, as mention is made of Dr. Doddridge and other ministers remaining there when in town.

of those parts of the Holy Scriptures which relate to the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom on the earth.

The minutes of these meetings commence with January, 1795. On the 8th of that month, the Rev. Messrs. Eyre, of Homerton; Wilks, of the Tabernacle; Steven, of Crown-court; Simpson, tutor of Hoxton Academy; Love, of Artillery-street; Williams, of Rose-lane; Nicholson, of Cheshunt; and Cockin, of Halifax, assembled.* At the next meeting, a fortnight afterwards, these devoted men pledged themselves to each other, and agreed to attach their names to a declaration of their desire to promote the organization of a missionary society. They appointed a committee of their own number, to invite the co-operation of zealous ministers of different denominations in England and Scotland, and requested the Rev. John Love to act as their secretary. The first effort of the committee was to issue an address to their brethren throughout the United Kingdom. This was soon after followed by another address, written by the Rev. G. Burder, then of Coventry, of which 15,000 copies were printed, and sent for distribution to different parts of the country.

At the meeting on the 17th of February, the declaration of the object for which they had united was approved and signed by the ministers present. These were, the Rev. Messrs. Easton, Love, Brooksbank, Joel Abraham Knight, Wilks, Williams, Radford, Towers, J. Townsend, Edwards, Steven, Roby, Waugh, and Weston. The remaining signatures were subsequently added.

The great object contemplated by these holy men is thus expressed in the original minutes of the Society, accompanied by the signatures of those by whom it was adopted: "We whose names are here subscribed, declare

* Ministers from the country who might be in London at the time were usually invited to attend these meetings, and take part in the proceedings.

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

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

JAMES KNIGHT,
GEORGE JERMENT,
JONATHAN SCOTT,
JOHN REYNOLDS,
SAMUEL GREATHEAD,
WILLIAM MOORE,
WILLIAM LOVE,
ROBERT SIMPSON,
THOMAS BECK,
WILLIAM GRAHAM,
ANDREW DUNCANSON,
GEORGE TOWNSEND,
THOMAS BEST
HENRY ATLEY,
T. PRIESTLY,
T. HAWEIS,
JOHN HUMPHREYS.”

Encouraged by the most gratifying assurances of readiness to co-operate in the great undertaking, from an increasing number of their brethren in England and Scotland,* the ministers in London directed their attention to

* Besides the communications from the Rev. Messrs. Bogue, Burder, and Haweis; the Rev. Messrs. Lambert, of Hull, Alliott, of Nottingham, on behalf of the associated churches of Nottingham and Derby; Small, of Axminster, on behalf of the Western Association; Mends, of Plymouth; Oliver, of Chester; Greathead, of Newport Pagnell; Grove, of Walsal; Lavington, of Bideford; Woburn, of Shields; Boden, of Hanley; Parsons, of Leeds; the associations of Kent, Worcestershire, Northamptonshire, friends in Glasgow, and the Synod of the Burgher Seceders, were among the earliest to encourage the brethren in their noble exertions.

the outlines of the constitution of a society on the most comprehensive scale, and decided on holding a public meeting in the following September. In a circular letter, inviting the attendance and co-operation of those ministers who were considered favourable to the object, the provisional committee remark: "In prospect of this solemn assembly, we address you, dear brother, as one who we trust feels no less interested than any of us in the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour. We now apply to you for assistance; we put the cause into your hands, yours, as much as any man's, trusting that it will not fail for want of your support, and that, if it should stop short of its great end, it will be as far beyond your station as your unwearied endeavours can advance it. What your hands find to do, dear brother, do it with all your might. Millions of immortal souls call upon us for the word of salvation. The honour of the holy and blessed Redeemer is bleeding in every climate, through the crimes of wicked men who assume the Christian name. What ought to be our feelings and exertions!"

The events, so far as any record of them has been found, which contributed directly or indirectly to the formation of the Society, have now been noticed, with the most careful attention to correctness in statement, and with a degree of minuteness that can only be justified by their relation to the commencement of those operations which yet remain to be traced. The reader will form his own judgment as to whether or not the Society, in the form it assumed, arose out of one or more of the circumstances described, and whether or not it can be said to have originated in any individual mind.

The first idea of sending out missionaries by any of the parties who formed the Society appears to have been cherished by Dr. Haweis, and by him the first effort was

made ; but from our ignorance of the details of the plan, referred to in his essays, we are uncertain whether his views resembled most those on which he endeavoured to send out missionaries with Captain Bligh, or those in which he afterwards joined with his Dissenting brethren. In the first attempt, he appears to have sought only the co-operation of clergymen of his own communion, and the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, though in his letter of 1794 he expresses his conviction, as the result of his former experience, "that it was only by a general union of all denominations that a broad basis for a mission could be laid." The several county associations of Independent or Congregational ministers, by whom the subject was entertained, do not seem to have contemplated any combination beyond a union of the members of their own denomination, on a plan similar to that of the Baptist Missionary Society. They scarcely ventured to hope, however ardently they desired it, that a more comprehensive union was at that time attainable.

Dr. Bogue, in his sermon at Founders' Hall, appears to have sought extended support for the Scottish Society, rather than the formation of a new institution, and his appeal in September 1794, was addressed to evangelical Dissenters.

The outlines of a plan on the broad and catholic principles on which the Society was established are clearly sketched in "Horne's Letters ;" but whether similar views had not been previously entertained by Messrs. Eyre and Wilks, who were the first that agreed to meet for prayer and deliberation on the subject, and who had been chiefly instrumental in carrying out the same principle of holy and paternal association among ministers of different denominations in the establishment of the *Evangelical Magazine*, or by others who afterwards joined them prior to the

meeting in Nov. 1794, we have now no means of ascertaining, and after the lapse of half a century it would not probably answer any valuable end further to pursue the inquiry.

Could we, as in reference to the Baptist Missionary Society, or any other similarly originated institution, point out any one as its founder; or could we name with precision and certainty the individuals by whom similar views had been simultaneously held, they would have nearly all passed beyond the sphere in which the knowledge of the fact could be of any use in adding to their influence, or affording them encouragement in their work on earth; and were they still here, they would be among the last to allow of any distinction to themselves on that account, and the first to ascribe the earliest suggestion, as well as the subsequent processes of thought on the subject, to Him from whom every good and perfect gift proceeds.

It is evident that a sense of the duty of sending missionaries to the heathen, a desire to make the attempt, and a conviction that this could be done most effectually by united efforts, were cherished by several Christian ministers of different denominations before the close of 1794. It is equally evident, that by whosoever these views might be first or most clearly entertained, the events, which in the course of Divine Providence led a number of those who held them to combine for the accomplishment of one common object, originated the Society. And whatever uncertainty may attach to the origin of this Institution, its progress may be distinctly marked, as, in nature, the course of some of the most gigantic rivers of the world may be satisfactorily followed, though they cannot be traced back to any single fountain, but are formed by a confluence of separate rills, issuing from different points, but uniting in one magnificent, expanding, and fertilizing stream.

CHAPTER II.

Public meetings in September, 1795—Strong and general feeling in favour of the object contemplated—Sermons by the Revs. Dr. Haweis, G. Burder, S. Greathead, Rowland Hill, and Dr. Bogue—Plan of the Institution—Mission to the South Sea Islands—Dr. Carey's views of the South Sea Islands—Recommendation of monthly meetings for prayer—Notice of previous arrangements for prayer, in connexion with the spread of the Gospel—Amount of contributions—Union, harmony, and affection of those engaged in the establishment of the Society—Captain Wilson—First general meeting in May, 1796—Fundamental principle of the Society—Co-operation of Christians in Scotland—Equipment of the *Duff*—Favour from several departments of the Government, the East India Company, the Commissioners of Customs, Royal Humane Society, ship-builders, underwriters, and others—Public designation of the missionaries and farewell services—Attentions of Dr. Haweis—Voyage of the *Duff*—Arrival at Tahiti.

As the time fixed by the provisional committee for the general meeting approached, the greatest anxiety was felt for the success of the institution, not only in London, but throughout the country. Ministers and laymen from different parts, delegated by the congregations or associations to which they belonged, or influenced by their own deep interest in the enterprise, repaired to the metropolis, to share in the proceedings, or encourage the servants of the Lord in their holy undertaking.

A preliminary meeting was held on Monday evening, the 21st of September, 1795, in the large room at the Castle and Falcon, at which Sir Egerton Leigh, Bart., presided. At this meeting a short account of the steps taken by the ministers in London was given to the numerous friends then assembled. Letters from various parts of England and Scotland, encouraging the intended efforts, and from several persons offering themselves as missionaries, were

also read, as well as the plan and constitution of the proposed society, which was cordially approved.

The most hallowed emotions appeared to pervade the meeting, and to be shared alike by speakers and hearers. So intense were these feelings, that when, after the unanimous adoption of the resolution for the formation of the Society, the Rev. John Eyre was requested to read the outline or plan, it was some minutes before the excitement would allow him to proceed. Subscriptions in favour of the objects were then commenced, and among the earliest donations was one from the family at Gosport already adverted to, who sent either ten or fifteen guineas by the hand of Dr. Bogue.

The following are among the recorded names of those who were present: the Rev. Messrs. Boden, Bogue, Brooksbank, Burder, Eyre, Greathead, Hill, Haweis, Hey, Lambert, Platt, Parsons, Ray, Reynolds, Saltern, Steven, Waugh, Wilks, with many other ministers and gentlemen in town and from the country.*

The public solemnities commenced in the forenoon of the following day, at the Countess of Huntingdon's chapel, Spafields, or, as it was then called, Northampton chapel. The state of public feeling on the subject was delightfully manifest in the early attendance of the multitudes who thronged the place, and the intense interest visible in every countenance. Before the services commenced, many of the ministers assembled in the chapel house, or in the vestry, and there those who had often conversed and prayed together in small companies, and had cheered each other onward in the prospect of the most formidable difficulties, exchanged their mutual congratulations on the tokens for good which the aspect of the gathering multitudes supplied; and others who had been united only by

* MS. Minutes.

their advocacy of the same great cause, now met for the first time under new but gladdening circumstances. The ordinary modes of salutation were too cold for the exuberance of joy which all seemed to share: the Revs. David Bogue and John Eyre, when they met at the chapel house, rushed into each other's arms, under the influence of feelings which, in the present day, when we are become so familiar with missionary services and far larger meetings, it is difficult to conceive. On entering the chapel, the vastness of the congregation excited new feelings of astonishment and joy. So large an assembly, convened for such a purpose, had perhaps never been witnessed in England before. About two hundred clergymen and Dissenting ministers were present, while the chapel was so thronged that multitudes returned unable to gain admittance. After the Liturgy had been read, the first sermon was preached by a clergyman of the Church of England, the Rev. Dr. Haweis. In the sermon, which was from Mark xvi. 15, 16, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature," &c., he endeavoured with great fervour and eloquence to impress upon his auditory their solemn obligation to enter upon the work.

The grand objects contemplated are thus noticed in the introduction to the sermon:—

“No scheme of worldly advantage, no projects of vain ambition, no selfish ends or aims, contaminate our views. Nor will the confused noise of the warrior, or garments rolled in blood, mark our progress. We meet under the conduct of the Prince of Peace; and unfurling the banner of his cross, desire to carry the glad tidings of his salvation to the distant lands sunk in heathen darkness, and covered with the shadow of death. The petty distinctions among us, of names and forms, the diversities of administrations, and modes of church order, we agree shall this day all be

merged in the greater, nobler, characteristic name of Christians; and our one ambition be, to promote no partial interests, since Christ is not divided, but with united efforts to make known abroad the glory of his person, the perfection of his work, the wonders of his grace, and the transcendent blessings of his redemption,—where his adorable name hath never yet been heard.” *

During the service it was attempted to sing the hymn commencing,

“ O'er those gloomy hills of darkness,
Look, my soul, be still, and gaze;”

which, it is believed, was now for the first time heard by many present; but such was the state of feeling, that it was interrupted more than once by the sobs and tears of the numerous assembly. At the conclusion of the sermon, those desirous of forming a missionary society were requested to assemble in the body of the chapel; but the crowd, who seemed unwilling to retire, scarcely allowed of any change of places. The Rev. Thomas Kingsbury, of Southampton, being called upon to preside, implored the Divine guidance and blessing; the Rev. George Burder was elected secretary for the day. The plan† of the proposed institution was read by the Rev. J. Eyre, and, after

* Missionary Sermons, vol. I., pp. 5, 6.

† The following is the Plan of the Society adopted on this occasion :—
I.—The Name.‡—The Missionary Society.

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

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

‡ 14th May, 1818.—Resolved, That the title of the Society be in future, The Missionary Society, usually called, The London Missionary Society.

a few alterations by a committee appointed at the time, was unanimously approved by the meeting.

In the evening of the same day, the Rev. George Burder preached, at the Presbyterian chapel, Crown-court, an instructive and useful sermon from Jonah iii. 2: "Arise, and go unto Nineveh, that great city, and preach unto it the preaching that I bid thee." At the close of this service, a meeting was held, the plan was again read, and the

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

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

VI.—The Funds—arising from donations, legacies, subscriptions, collections, &c., shall be lodged, as soon as collected, in the hands of the treasurer. The directors shall place in the public funds all monies so paid, whenever they exceed 300*l.*, until they are required for the use of the mission, except it appears to them prejudicial to the interests of the Society.

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

gentlemen who had prepared it were requested to nominate the directors of the Society. On Wednesday morning, a sermon was preached at the Independent meeting, Haberdashers' Hall, by the Rev. Samuel Greathead, of Woburn, in Bedfordshire, from Luke x. 29: "But he, willing to justify himself, said unto Jesus, And who is my neighbour?" After this service, the Rev. Dr. Hunter, minister of the Scots church, London-wall, presided at the meeting for business. Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., a merchant of London, distinguished by urbanity, intelligence, benevolence, and piety, was proposed as treasurer, and twenty-five gentlemen were nominated as directors. In the evening of the same day, the Rev. J. Hey, of Bristol, preached an able discourse in the Tabernacle, from Ephesians i. 10: "That in the dispensation of the fulness of time he might gather together in one all things in Christ both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him." After the service, the names of the directors were read, with those of seven others who were added to the list.

At eight o'clock the next morning, the ministers met by appointment in the vestry of Surrey chapel. At this meeting it was proposed by the Rev. Matthew Wilks, minister of the Tabernacle, that the first efforts of the Society should be to send missionaries to the South Sea Islands. Dr. Haweis, who was requested to state the views of his brethren to the Society after the next public service, mentioned one individual who had offered his services for the projected mission. Dr. Bogue mentioned another; and before the meeting closed not fewer than seven applications had been received. In the forenoon, the Rev. Rowland Hill preached to a crowded audience in Surrey chapel, from Matt. xxiv. 14: "And this Gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in all the world, for a witness unto all nations."

After the service, Dr. Haweis from the pulpit submitted at considerable length for the consideration of the assembly the proposal that the first mission of the Society should be to the islands of the Pacific,* representing this as a field which presented the fewest difficulties and the greatest prospect of success. The salubrity of the climate of the South Seas, as favourable to the health of Europeans, the facility with which the means of subsistence might be obtained, the favourable light in which the native government regarded Europeans, the comparatively inartificial state of society, and the supposed ease with which the language might be acquired, were among the principal reasons for the choice. In reference to the means of conveying the missionaries to these remote islands, what was then, and ever must be, regarded as a remarkable coincidence, encouraging the conclusion that they were acting under the guidance of Divine Providence, he referred to the offer of service from Capt. James Wilson, who had accompanied the Rev. John Griffin, of Portsea, to the meetings, and to the hope they cherished of seeing "the vessel on the bosom of the deep, such as, perhaps, it had never borne since the day of its creation."†

In the evening an able discourse was preached by the Rev. David Bogue, of Gosport, before a crowded assembly at Tottenham-court-road chapel. This was the most valuable sermon that had been delivered, and was founded on Haggai i. 2: "Thus speaketh the Lord of hosts,

* It is worthy of remark, that almost ever since the discovery of the South Sea Islands, they had been regarded as among the most promising fields for the commencement of missionary operations. So early as 1787 Dr. Carey stated, that "if he had the means, he would go to the South Seas and commence a mission at Otaheiti."—*Cox's History of the Baptist Missionary Society*, vol. i. p. 7.

† Memoir on the most eligible Part to begin a Mission, published with the sermons preached at the formation of the Society.

saying, This people say, The time is not come, the time that the Lord's house should be built ;" and it was directed to the removal of the chief objections that had been brought against the Society, and must have tended powerfully to confirm the views of those who were favourable to the object, and to remove the difficulty felt by some, and show the groundlessness of the objections of others.

The preacher thus refers to the broad principles on which the Society was formed : " Some former associations have accepted donations from men of different denominations, but the government was confined to one ; but here are Episcopalians, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Independents, all united in one Society, all joining to form its laws, to regulate its institutions, and to manage its various concerns. Behold us here assembled with one accord, to attend the funeral of bigotry ; and may she be buried so deep, that not a particle of her dust may ever be thrown up on the face of the earth. Do ye think, ye men of literature and philosophy, that the chief design is to gratify your curiosity ; to make your maps more full, your systems of geography more complete, your histories of man, in his various forms and institutions, more perfect ? Do ye suppose, ye men of commerce, that the great end of God in this dispensation is, that the manufactures of England might find a more extensive and profitable market, and that the commodities furnished by these distant lands might minister to our convenience, luxury, and affluence ? No ! these are the false imaginations of worldly men, who see objects through a distorted medium. The true state of the case is this : God, in his providence, has discovered these nations to us, and given us intercourse with them, that a door might thereby be opened for the entrance of the Gospel, and that messengers might be sent to them with the joyful tidings of salvation by the

cross of Christ." "Success, in God's place, and time, and way, I do look for on our efforts. O how delightful the prospect which rises to our view! Idolatrous pagans changed into Christians, who worship God in spirit and in truth. Churches formed of worshippers of stocks and stones, and prayers and praises ascending to God and to the Lamb in lands where the voice of Jehovah was never known before. When we left our homes, we expected to see a day of small things, which it was our design not to despise, but to cherish with fond solicitude; but God has, beyond measure, exceeded our utmost expectations. He has made a little one a thousand, and has inspired us with the most exalted hopes. Now we do not think ourselves in danger of being mistaken, when we say that we shall account it through eternity a distinguished favour, and the highest honour conferred on us during our pilgrimage on earth, that we appeared here and gave our names among the *Founders of the Missionary Society.*" *

The last general meeting of the Society was held on the morning of Friday, at the Castle and Falcon, when the Rev. W. Percy, of Greenwich, presided. At this meeting a treasurer was appointed, and thirty gentlemen, twenty ministers, and ten laymen, were elected as directors. The mission to the South Sea was then formally determined upon, and it was also resolved, that missions be attempted to the Pelew Islands, to Sumatra, and to the Coromandel coast, to Surat in India, to Tartary, and to the West coast of Africa. The grateful acknowledgments of the Society were also, among others, voted to the Rev. Melville Horne, the Moravians, Baptists, and to the editors of the *Evangelical Magazine*. The Rev. James Knight, minister of the Independent chapel, Collier's Bents, Southwark, "suggested the propriety of recommending a prayer-meeting, in reference to the important concerns of

* *Missionary Sermons*, vol. i. pp. 146, 157, 158.

this Society, to be holden once a month."* This proposal was cordially approved; and He, who is the Hearer and Answerer of prayer, was honoured by its being thus connected with the formation of the Society, and recommended to all who might seek its prosperity. †

Though no collections were made after any of the services, the donations spontaneously offered were liberal, and on the evening of the third day the annual subscriptions amounted to £500, and in less than a fortnight the treasurer reported the receipt of nearly £1200, besides the promise of additional sums, equal to half that amount.

* MS. Minutes, p. 31.

† Prayer for the revival of religion in the churches, and the promotion of the kingdom of Christ in the world, had frequently occupied the attention of Christians during the previous fifty years. In 1744 a number of ministers in Scotland, after special prayer for the effusion of the Spirit, and the spread of the Gospel, agreed to appropriate, for the space of two years, part of Saturday evening and sabbath morning, and some portion of the first Tuesday in every quarter of the year, for simultaneous prayer, either in private society or more public meetings. The advantages of this sacred engagement were so highly encouraging to the several parties, that, in 1746, these ministers published a memorial of their proceedings, and invited others of different denominations to join them in their concert for prayer, extending the period to seven years. Besides the circulation of their proposal at home, nearly 500 copies were sent across the Atlantic, and widely distributed in New England. This was followed by the publication, in Jan. 1747, of President Edwards's "Humble attempt to promote explicit agreement and visible union of God's people in extraordinary prayer for the revival of religion and the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the earth." In this appeal, among other reasons, he observes, "It would be beautiful, and of good tendency, for multitudes of Christians, in various parts of the world, by special agreement, to unite in such prayers." This was recommended by five of the ministers resident in Boston, and widely circulated in America.

In 1784 the associated Baptist ministers in Nottinghamshire resolved to establish a meeting for prayer throughout the country for the revival of religion, to be held on the first Monday in every calendar month. In 1789 Mr. Sutcliff republished President Edwards's treatise, with a short preface, and the practice was afterwards more generally adopted by the Independents, as well as the Baptists and other denominations.

Such are some of the circumstances attending an event which, while it formed an epoch in the history of the church, was, in the arrangements of Him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will, but a preparatory step towards the formation of other institutions,* embodying the same broad catholic principles as this Society, yet far surpassing it in the number of their adherents, and the ever widening range of their operations, and in process of time furnishing ample and effective assistance in the prosecution of its most important objects.

The extent to which the religious portion of the community was roused on the subject; the numbers who repaired to the metropolis on the occasion; the character, talents, and influence of those who stood before the public as the projectors and advocates of the contemplated efforts,—while they show the judgment and industry of those by whom the unseen but important preliminary arrangements had been carried forward, confirmed the hopes so generally entertained, that the time to favour the nations, the set time, was fully come. The broad basis on which the Society was founded; the magnitude of the operations it contemplated; the numbers, diversity, and yet unprecedented unanimity of those who enrolled themselves among its supporters; their enthusiasm, and their liberality, excited astonishment and admiration, and inspired the most sanguine expectations. A new principle of vitality appears to have been given to the churches, as delightful as it was effective; and it might have been expected that all who professed the Christian name would have hailed with gratitude the formation of this institution. It had, however, to sustain the indifference and hostility of a number of the leading ministers

* The British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Religious Tract Society.

of the day, both in the Establishment and among the Dissenters. The feelings of the clergy in general in regard to the heathen are set forth with painful distinctness by Melville Horne, and those who united in the object were stigmatised as enemies to the Church for associating with Dissenters. It is also a fact, that a number of the Congregational ministers in London took no part in the formation of the Society; and some of their brethren who joined in the enterprise almost lost caste for engaging in proceedings so *irregular*.

Among the objectors some represented the undertaking as wild and visionary in the extreme, or reviled it as the effect of arrogance and self-sufficiency. Some complained of the principle on which the Society was founded, as destitute of every element of adhesion. Others condemned the proceedings, and predicted their certain failure. To difficulties from this source the Rev. G. Lambert, of Hull, thus alludes in his sermon before the first annual meeting: "Oh, it grieves, it oppresses my spirit much, when I observe the cold reserve, the apparent indifference, the half-expressed disapprobation, discovered by some of my brethren, I had almost said fathers, in the ministry! In the decline of life, may I be permitted to speak freely? Surely the winter of age has not frozen our zeal for God, or benumbed the tender feeling of our hearts for the souls of men."*

The early projectors and chief supporters of the Society, in London, were at first found among the Calvinistic Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and a few of the Independents. Some zealous, gifted, and amiable men among the clergymen of the Establishment, and the Independent ministers very generally throughout the country, welcomed its for-

* *Missionary Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 41.

mation with devout gratitude, and were its first, as they have ever since been its chief and best supporters.

The catholic principle of the Society, as novel as it was attractive, and the cordial unanimity of the ministers and members of the different sections of the church, a union comprehending men of strong minds and time-matured opinions, differing also on points of church polity, and being in many instances, until this time, personally strangers to each other, produced the most hallowed effect on the minds of all engaged, and could scarcely fail to be regarded as a ground of hope, that the prayer of the Saviour would be answered, that his disciples would all be one, and the world believe that his mission was divine. Each party seemed to feel that they were united to holy men of kindred spirit in other denominations, by a stronger tie than could possibly bind them to those of doubtful piety and opposite feelings in their own. When Dr. Bogue, in the course of his sermon, observed, "We are called together this evening to the funeral of Bigotry," and he hoped it would be buried so deep as never to rise again, the whole vast body of people manifested their concurrence, and could scarcely refrain from one general shout of joy: perhaps such a scene was never before beheld in our world.* All present seem to have been wrought upon in an extraordinary manner. Something, doubtless, must be ascribed to the novelty of the subject and the proceedings; but many pious and judicious men regarded the season as one in which the Divine presence was powerfully felt. Referring to the first public service, one of these holy men observes, more than twenty years afterwards, "There might be some human passion, some weakness of the creature; but surely God was that day in the

* Evangelical Magazine, vol. ii. p. 425.

midst of the congregation, and mercifully excited a flame of holy union and zeal that will never be extinguished.”*

A gentleman from Edinburgh, a member of the Baptist denomination, writing at the end of the week to his friend, described the season as exceeded by none since the day of Pentecost.† After the public services, the ministers from the country returned, many of them, under new and peculiar feelings.‡ On reaching their respective homes, they reported the proceedings in the metropolis to multitudes who had followed them with their prayers, and waited their return with eager expectations. The feelings excited in London were by these means widely diffused, and the directors received the most gratifying assurances of willingness to assist in the work from every part of the United Kingdom.

On the Monday after the public services the directors held their first meeting, when the Rev. Rowland Hill presided, the Rev. John Love, was elected foreign secre-

* MSS. of Rev. J. Townsend.

† “It seemed as if the Christian world had waked out of a long slumber, amazed at their former stupor. None concerned spoke of it but in terms of admiration. ‘Surely God is in this place. This is none other than the gate of heaven. If God shall work, who can let it?’ Never did my eyes behold such a sight, and never shall they again, but in heaven. A glorious day, exceeded by none, since the day of Pentecost, the blessed effects of which, we hope, will extend themselves to distant lands, and to future generations. Such was the language of spectators, under the warm impression of the scenes before them. A poor girl gave sixpence, and a poor labouring man ninepence. Who knows but this spirit may spread, and introduce a new period in the history of the church? Much may be expected when we see such a union among the friends of truth.”—*M.S. letter from Mr. J. Hervey to the Rev. J. Campbell.*

‡ The Rev. G. Burder thus refers to his own impressions on leaving London at this time: “It was a most memorable season,—to me the most memorable and interesting occasion of my life. The public services appeared to me to be favoured with an uncommon degree of Divine influence. A set of feelings partly new, or new in their degree, was experienced by me, and very many.”—*Memoir of Rev. G. Burder*, p. 169.

tary, and William Shrubsole, Esq., of the Bank of England, was also chosen secretary, chiefly with a view to the home correspondence.

The offer of Captain Wilson to take charge of any ship they might employ was gratefully accepted, and arrangements were made for the most efficient discharge of their duties by forming themselves into committees, viz., the committee of correspondence, of examination, of reports, of provision and conveyance. An account of the public services at the formation of the Society was published by the directors on the 19th of October, and it was determined that the general communications of the Society should be made through the medium of the *Evangelical Magazine*.

Much of the attention and time of the directors was at this season given to considering the requisite qualifications for missionaries, among which they ever regarded satisfactory evidence of personal piety indispensable. On the 9th of November the committee of examination recommended four individuals as suitable for missionaries, three of whom, viz., Mr. Lewis, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Bicknell, afterwards sailed in the *Duff*, to Tahiti.

As the time for holding the general annual meeting in May approached, ministers and friends from various parts of the country repaired to the metropolis in greater numbers than at the formation of the Society. Sermons were preached on this occasion by the Rev. Thomas Pentycross, vicar of St. Mary's, Wallingford; the Rev. George Lambert, of Hull; the Rev. William Jay, of Bath; and the Rev. David Jones, of Llangan, in Wales. At the public meeting, which was at Spafields chapel, the Rev. Dr. Bogue presided, and the Rev. Walter Buchanan, of Edinburgh, who had been delegated by the Glasgow Missionary Society, to attend on their be-

half at the meetings in London, was very cordially welcomed by the meeting. The report of the directors was read, and the public acknowledgments of the Society rendered to Captain Wilson for his generous offer to navigate the missionary ship.

Letters expressive of the devout gratitude with which ministers and people in many parts of Scotland hailed the formation of the Society, and of their willingness to enlist in the great enterprise, were read, and the desire for union and fraternal co-operation cordially reciprocated. The feelings of delight were greatly increased when the Rev. Dr. Hunter, alluding to the manner in which the meeting had responded to the friendly wishes of the brethren in the North, observed, with a glow of affection which pervaded every mind, that it was nearly ninety years since the legislature of this country passed the Act of Union, whereby both kingdoms became one in a political and commercial sense; but, said he, "it was not till this night, and by this resolution, that the Act was perfected: the union is now complete; a *spiritual* union has taken place, far more important and glorious than the former."

The unanimity which had characterized the proceedings of the directors was largely shared by the meeting, and when the fundamental principle of the Society was proposed it was received with the utmost demonstrations of gladness. The great principle on which the Society was founded is thus stated: "As the union of Christians of various denominations, in carrying on this great work, is a most desirable object; so to prevent, if possible, any cause of future dissension, it is declared to be a fundamental principle of the Missionary Society, that its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of church order and government, (about which

* Report of Missionary Society, 1796, p. 21.

there may be difference of opinion among serious persons,) but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God to the heathen; and that it shall be left (as it ought to be left) to the minds of the persons whom God may call into the fellowship of his Son from among them, to assume for themselves such form of church government as to them shall appear most agreeable to the word of God.”*

Memorials from different individuals, recommending missions to India and the West Indies, to Madagascar, and the northern shores of the Caspian Sea, were presented to the general meeting. The chief attention of the directors was given to the selection and equipment of the missionaries for the South Seas, the purchase of a suitable vessel, and the collection of such information, as might assist their arrangements for the support and government of the projected mission. Dr. Haweis and Mr. Eyre obtained much valuable information from Sir J. Banks, Captain Vancouver, Captain New, and others, who had visited the isles of the Pacific, as well as from the late Mr. Latrobe, who was connected with the missionary operations of the United Brethren.

Earnestly desiring to co-operate in the work, the Glasgow Missionary Society proposed to send out several missionaries with those from London, to be settled in the Pelew Islands; but on account of their inability at the time to engage suitably qualified men, the first missionaries were provided by the London Society alone; and such was the zeal manifested in the different parts of the country, that a far greater number offered than it would have been

* The form of the declaration was penned by the Rev. Dr. Waugh, whose sentiments and conduct so uniformly and beautifully exemplified the great principle it avowed, and whose whole life afforded the strongest practical evidence that the love of Christ in the heart, and the holiness of the Gospel in the life, were vastly more important than all other distinctions in his estimation.

proper to accept. The directors endeavoured, and not without success, to obtain some who possessed the advantage of a liberal education. Four were ordained ministers; the others were men who, besides instructing the natives in Christianity, were able to teach them some of the most useful mechanic arts.

A ship of 300 tons burden, according to the register, was purchased by the Society on the 1st of July, for the sum of 4,800*l.* and the most vigorous efforts were made to have the vessel ready for sea by the beginning of the following month. Application was made to the friends of the Society for stores for the ship, and articles required for the use of the missionaries. These applications were responded to with a degree of promptitude and liberality as unprecedented as it was encouraging; and a valuable collection of articles of clothing, of books, printing apparatus, and useful tools, was also furnished, as soon as it was known that a ship was engaged. The Apothecaries' Company also granted a supply of medicine. Some individuals gave articles to the amount of 200*l.* Among the presents was one somewhat singular in its character. Two ladies presented a brass plate, on which was engraved the following inscription: "See that ye fall not out by the way," Gen. xlv. 24. "Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity," Psa. cxxxiii. 1. "Fear thou not, for I am with thee: be not dismayed: for I am thy God," Isa. xli. 10.

The benevolent object of the enterprise seemed to excite the astonishment and admiration of all classes. The members of the Government, and the several public officers, seemed equally disposed to favour the object. Lord Hawkesbury* waived in favour of the Society the laws then in force against the removal of any handicraftsmen from the country. The Board of Trade and the Com-

* Afterwards Earl of Liverpool.

missioners of Customs, to whom application was made by Dr. Haweis on behalf of the Society, offered every requisite facility for clearing the vessel. Admiral Gambier released a seaman who, having ventured on shore, was impressed for the navy; and the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty granted protection against impressment for all the crew of the *Duff*. The license of the East India Company for vessels to navigate certain parts of the ocean being necessary at that time, this was granted to the *Duff*, which the Company, on the representations of Mr. Grant* and others favourable to the object, engaged to freight from Bengal or China to England at the rate of 46*l.* per ton. Mr. Searle, of the Transport-office, and the officers at the Custom-house, also seemed to vie with each other in expressing their interest in this enterprise of philanthropy and piety; and, as if with one consent, every individual refused the customary fees of his office in favour of the Society.

The Royal Humane Society presented, through the medium of Dr. Hamilton, a complete set of their apparatus. Application was also made to Mons. Cherittier, the diplomatic representative of the French government in London, who promised to endeavour to obtain from the French Directory security for the *Duff* from molestation by any ships of that nation; and Messrs. Cox and Co., in whose dock the necessary repairs to the ship, to a considerable amount, had been made, refused to receive any payment. It was deemed desirable to insure the vessel to the extent of 6,000*l.*, and by the liberality of friends, insurance to the amount of 3,000*l.* was effected at the nominal rate of 1*d.* per cent. This secured the larger portion of the sum embarked; the total amount of expense incurred, beyond the supplies furnished by the friends of the mission, was 11,904*l.* 9*s.* 10½*d.*

* Father of Lord Glenelg.

On the 27th of July the missionaries were publicly set apart for the sacred work at Zion chapel, in the presence of a large congregation. Ten ministers of different denominations engaged in the service. The charge to the missionaries was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Williams, of Rotherham; five ministers, viz., an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, a Seceder, an Independent, and a Methodist, united in "the solemn designation of the missionaries to their work,"* addressing them severally in these words: "Go, our beloved brethren, and live agreeably to this word," (putting a Bible into his hand,) "and publish the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the heathen, according to your calling, gifts, and abilities, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." To which each missionary replied: "I will, God being my helper."

On the 9th of August a solemn valedictory service was held, in which the missionaries, thirty in number, six of whom were married, were affectionately commended to the gracious care of the Most High. During the services the directors, and most of the members of the Society, the captain, and missionaries, united in the commemoration of the dying love of Christ, under deep and hallowed feelings. "We may truly say, if ever God was present in the assemblies of his saints, he was present upon that occasion. It was surely a little specimen of what the church in the latter days will be, when love, like death, will level all distinctions; it was even a foretaste of heaven."†

"Early the next morning the missionaries embarked at Blackwall, multitudes flocking around them to take their leave; and as they sailed down the river, singing the praises of God, the scene became still more deeply affecting." Three of the directors, the Rev. Dr. Haweis, Messrs. Wilks and Brooksbank, went with them to the

* Missionary Report, 1797, p. 18.

† Ibid., p. 22.

ship, and accompanied them down the Channel. On the 4th, which was the sabbath, the Rev. Dr. Haweis preached on deck in the forenoon, the Rev. Mr. Brooksbank in the afternoon, and the Rev. Mr. Wilks in the evening. On the 16th they reached Spithead in safety, but found that the fleet with which they expected to sail had gone five days before their arrival; this caused a detention till the 23rd of September. During their stay the ship was visited by many friends from Portsmouth and Gosport, as well as from London.

On the first sabbath in September, Dr. Haweis preached an excellent sermon on board, and afterwards united with the missionaries, the captain, and such of the crew as were members of churches, in commemorating the dying love of Him, the tidings of whose salvation they were bearing to the utmost ends of the earth. The missionaries have uniformly spoken of this as one of the most encouraging and impressive services connected with their departure. The directors and friends had used every means to provide for their comfort, especially Dr. Haweis; nothing could exceed the anxious solicitude, the attention, the affectionate and unceasing exertions, of this truly amiable and benevolent man on their behalf. He was justly regarded by the missionaries as a father, and those still surviving hold his memory in grateful and deserved veneration. From the first determination of the Society to send out missionaries to the South Seas he had cheerfully devoted his time and energies to the furtherance of the object, and after the *Duff* had been engaged, he spared no labour till the arrangements for the voyage and the comfort of the missionaries were as complete as it was possible to render them.

The mission to the South Seas had been one of the great objects of his life; it lay deeply on his heart, and

as he gazed on the vessel while she was passing through the Needles, he expressed peculiarly grateful feelings, and cherished the hope that he had not lived in vain. He was on shore when the signal for sailing was made, but hastening on board, he observes: "Every heart welcomed me, and every hand. We now felt the propitious gale, and trusted, after long patience, that the Lord's time was come." Afterwards the missionaries, and as many of the seamen as could be spared from the calls of the ship, came to the quarter-deck. "I spoke to them from the first versè of the third chapter of Hebrews, and uniting in praise, we closed with prayer and solemn dedication of ourselves to God. Our tears of joy and sorrow mingled, every heart appeared full; but the glory of God our Saviour, and the great object we had in view, seemed to absorb every other consideration; we believed we should meet and pray no more together, but we vowed to remember each other before the throne daily, and knew we should shortly unite in that kingdom where our prayers should be exchanged for everlasting praises. The boat was waiting to convey me to the shore, the evening approached, our distance was considerable, but the day was beautifully fair; I stepped down the side of the ship, cast many a mingled look of joy and reluctance behind me, till the ship faded from my view, and mingling with the multitude of masts around her, was no longer distinctly visible."*

The time was one of war, and even in their way down the Channel the captain was warned by the British cruisers of danger from the French vessels; but they were mercifully preserved, and, after sailing under convoy until the 30th of September, when they found themselves in lat. 44° 50' W., long. 11° 17' W., they left the fleet, and committing themselves more especially to the Divine pro-

* Evangelical Magazine, 1796, p. 472.

tection, pursued their voyage, and, after touching at the Cape de Verd Islands, reached Rio Janeiro in safety on the 12th of November. Here they remained about a week, recruited their store of water and provisions, and were glad to find an opportunity of writing to the directors and many of their friends. In the letter to the former they observe : " Dear brethren, the whole body of missionaries, as the heart of one man, present their Christian love to the body of the Society, and all true lovers of Christ and his Gospel : we pray the continuance of an interest in your fervent prayers for us and for our undertaking."

On the 20th of November they resumed their voyage, steering towards Cape Horn ; but when they had proceeded as far as 36° S. lat., the weather became so tempestuous, and the sea so rough, that the captain deemed it best to alter his course, and by crossing the Atlantic and Indian Oceans to the south of the Cape of Good Hope, to enter the Pacific from the west instead of from the east, though this increased the distance to be traversed by at least seven thousand miles.

This course was pursued, and after having been fourteen weeks without seeing land, and having sailed thirteen thousand eighteen hundred and twenty miles, their eyes were gladdened by the sight of the green and elevated hills of Tubuai, a small island about three hundred miles south of Tahiti. It was a gratifying and impressive sight, and on the morning of the 1st of March were descried in the distance the lofty summits of Tahiti, rising to the clouds. The day closed before they were sufficiently near the shore to hold any intercourse with the people.

During the night they lay-to off the land ; but imagination was busy, and feeling intense and solemn. Their experience of the Divine faithfulness and care inspired them with confidence in his protection, and irradiated the

future with hope. The season was one of extreme solicitude, especially to the pious and excellent captain, who now felt more than ever the weight of responsibilities such as few men have been called to bear; but at this deeply interesting period he and his companions were graciously sustained by Him who is the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are afar off upon the sea.

The morning of the next day, which was the sabbath, unveiled to their view the lovely islands of Tahiti and Eimeo; and as they sailed along between them towards the harbour, the natives crowded the ship with fruits, and hogs, and other productions, for barter, and manifested considerable surprise when informed, chiefly by signs, that it was a Tabu, or sacred day, and that barter must be deferred. Many returned to the shore, but a number continued, and kept themselves in evident restraint during a greater part of the time of public worship on board.

The hymn commencing, "O'er those gloomy hills of darkness," which the missionaries had sung as they departed from England, being now repeated, they sailed along the shores of Tahiti under feelings inspired by memory and hope intensely blended. During a part of the service the natives appeared exceedingly astonished and delighted.

Among the visitors was Hamancmane, the high priest of the island, who selected the captain for his friend; and though a man of great cunning and intrigue, and of depraved habits, rendered important services to the missionaries.

About noon of the following day, the 6th of March, they terminated their voyage, the first of the kind ever made from Britain, and anchored safely in Matavai Bay.

CHAPTER III.

Landing and reception of the missionaries—Captain Cook's picture—Individuals composing the mission to Tahiti—First sabbath on shore—Departure of the *Duff* for the Friendly Islands—Intercourse with the chiefs—Landing of the missionaries at Tongatabu—Voyage to the Marquesas—Discovery of Gambier's Islands—Landing of Messrs. Crook and Harris at the Marquesas—Return of the former to Tahiti—Voyage to Tongatabu, and final departure for China—Tidings of the voyage received in England—Return of the ship—Special services for the grateful acknowledgment of the Divine goodness—Notice of Captain Wilson—Preparations for a second voyage—Liberality of the friends of missions—Appointment and departure of missionaries—Capture of the ship by a French privateer—Alarm and distress of the missionaries—Conduct of the French officers—Letter of instructions to Captain Robson—Arrival at Monte Video—Departure for Rio Janeiro—Capture by the Portuguese—Voyage to Lisbon, and return to England—Termination of the mission to the Marquesas—Arrival of Mr. Crook in England.

In the afternoon of the 6th of March, 1795, the captain and several of the missionaries, accompanied by the high priest and two Swedes, who had been some time on the islands, and acted as interpreters, proceeded to the shore, where they were met by Paitea, the aged chief of the district, who welcomed the strangers, and offered for their use a large house, recently erected, near the spot where Captain Cook's tents had been pitched, for Captain Bligh, who had promised to return and dwell among them. The old chief brought out the picture of Captain Cook, on the back of which was written the name of every king's ship that had visited the islands since Captain Cook's departure. When the missionaries went on shore the next day, they were met on the beach by the king and his queen, riding on men's shoulders. The young rulers at once dissipated their fears by welcoming them to the island, and on being made acquainted with their object, promised

them protection, with as much land as they needed for buildings or cultivation. Cheered by these tokens of favour from Him by whom all hearts and all events are controlled, the missionaries left the ship the following day, and surrounded by throngs of clamorous natives, took up their abode in the house which had been so auspiciously provided for them. Many of the natives assisted in fitting it up; and others, mistaking the taste of their new friends, formed a ring, and commenced boxing and wrestling for their amusement. In the evening, at the request of the missionaries, the natives retired, and, under feelings of intense excitement and holy gratitude, the former rendered their united acknowledgments to Him who, in answer to many prayers, had borne them over the vast ocean, and given them favour in the eyes of the heathen.

During the voyage it had been arranged, that "to the four ordained ministers and fourteen of the unmarried brethren should be confided the establishment and prosecution of the mission in Tahiti; that ten should endeavour to settle at Tongatabu, in the Friendly Islands, and two should proceed to the Marquesas.* According to this arrangement, the Tahitian mission was composed of the Rev. Messrs. J. F. Cover, John Eyre, John Jefferson, and Thomas Lewis; Messrs. Henry Bicknell, Benjamin Broomhal, John Cock, Samuel Clode, John H. Gilham, surgeon, William Henry, Peter Hodges, Rowland Hassal, Edward Main, Henry Nott, Francis Oakes, James Puckey, William Puckey, and William Smith.

On the 11th of March the wives and children of the missionaries went on shore. The natives, who had never before seen European females or children, appeared extremely pleased, and for many days multitudes continued to arrive for the sole purpose of seeing the English women

* Missionary Records, Tahiti, p. 35.

and children. On the eve of the first sabbath which they spent on shore, the natives were informed that the next day was tabu, or sacred to their God, that all labour must be avoided, and the time spent in religious employments. In the afternoon an attempt was made, through the medium of the Swede, as interpreter, to address the people on the great subject of religion; and though it is probable that they scarcely understood anything that was said, the advantage of beginning by the hallowed observance of the sabbath, as well as by regular attention to morning and evening devotion, cannot be too highly commended, and was of great benefit afterwards, when the practice as well as teaching of the missionaries became the rule of conduct to the people.

Pomare, the father of the young king, and actual sovereign of the islands, visited the missionaries soon after; he confirmed the promises of his son, and made a personal, though in fact only nominal, cession of the district of Matavai to Captain Wilson for the use of the missionaries.

On the 19th of March, the king, with many of the chiefs and people, attended public worship, which was held under the shelter of a cluster of umbrageous trees near the house. On this occasion, two of the missionaries about to proceed to other islands were ordained, and the ordinance of the Lord's supper was celebrated; the fruit of the bread-fruit tree being used in the commemoration.

Having by the signal blessing of the Most High seen, in less than a fortnight, the missionaries selected for Tahiti settled, under circumstances apparently the most auspicious, Captain Wilson left Matavai for the Friendly and Marquesas Islands, and on the 10th of April anchored in the bay in the centre of the northern shore of Tongatabu. The canoes of the Friendly islanders appeared greatly supe-

rior to those of Tahiti, and the natives a less agreeable and more formidable race, and they deemed it prudent to admit but few on board at a time.

Soon after their arrival they were visited by two seamen, who gave their names as Ambler and Conelly, the first a native of London, the other of Cork ; they had been about eighteen months on the island, and they informed the captain of the names, rank, and power of the chiefs, and expressed their belief that the missionaries would be favourably received. The physiognomy of these men was not such as to prepossess the missionaries in their favour, but the necessities of the latter rendered their services as interpreters acceptable.

Several chiefs came on board and readily offered to receive the brethren, who at length determined to place themselves under the protection of Finau Tugahowe, a powerful chief residing at Aheefo, in the western part of the island ; and on the 13th, Messrs. Bowell, Buchanan, Gaulton, Harper, Shelly, Veeson, and Wilkinson, accompanied Ambler in a large canoe to the residence of this chief. On the following day they returned ; and having reported the favourable reception they had met with, and the protection the chiefs had extended to the property, sent on shore another load of goods. On the 14th the canoe returned, and having taken the remainder of their supplies from the ship, the missionaries proceeded to Aheefo ; but the captain, after endeavouring to remain till the following day, was obliged by stress of weather to sail for the Marquesas.

On the 23rd of May the captain discovered two small islands, which he named Gambier's Islands, in compliment to the worthy admiral of that name, who in his department had favoured the voyage. On the 5th of June, having escaped the treacherous reefs among the Friendly

Islands, and the perils of their comparatively untraversed way through the dangerous Achipelago, they anchored safely in Resolution Bay, in the island of Santa Christina. Among the visitors the next day was a chief named Tenae, who observing a musket on the quarter deck, brought it very carefully to the captain and requested him "to put it to sleep." On being made acquainted with the object of their visit, by means chiefly of interpreters who accompanied them, the chief expressed his willingness to receive the missionaries, to grant them protection, and such provision as the island afforded. Messrs. Harris and Crook went on shore, accompanied the chief to his house, surveyed the district, and returned to the vessel.

In conference afterwards with the captain, Mr. Crook expressed his willingness to remain, though it was evident the means of support were less abundant than at the islands they had visited. On the 7th Mr. Crook landed; he was treated with the utmost kindness by all, and after committing himself to the gracious care of his heavenly Father, slept unmolested. The chief afterwards adopted him as his son, and spared no pains to promote his comfort. On the 14th Mr. Harris landed, and was treated with respect, but returned on board on the 24th, leaving Mr. Crook alone on the island. On the 27th the *Duff* weighed anchor, and departed for Tahiti. By the ceaseless care of a watchful Providence, the ship made her way through the intricate passages between the reefs and shoals of the Paumotu Islands, and anchored safely in Matavai Bay on the 6th of July. The missionaries hastened to the ship; and having exchanged tidings of each other's welfare, they united in grateful acknowledgments of the Divine goodness, and contemplated the future with increased confidence and hope. The remainder of iron, tools, and other articles were now divided, and those appropriated to

the use of the missionaries in Tahiti taken on shore, and supplies for the ship cheerfully furnished in abundance by the natives.

Captain Wilson having assisted the missionaries with his advice and influence, in their negotiations with the king and chiefs, and having, by the Divine favour, accomplished all the great objects of his voyage, as far as the mission to Tahiti was concerned, to an extent far surpassing his most sanguine expectations, and having enjoyed most delightful and spiritual fellowship with the missionaries, they bade each other farewell and parted, in relation to most of them, until they should meet at the last great day. Mr. Gillham, the surgeon, having expressed a wish to return, was received on board, and on the 4th of August the ship stood out to sea. The missionaries watched her as she receded from the shore and lessened to their view, with varied and mingled emotions, till only her uppermost sails could be seen; and when at last nothing but the unbroken line of the horizon met their gaze, they returned to commit themselves afresh to the keeping of the Almighty, and the *Duff* pursued her way to the Friendly Islands.

Here the captain arrived on the 10th of August, and had the great satisfaction of learning that the missionaries had been preserved in safety, though they had deemed it necessary to separate and place themselves under the protection of different chiefs. The missionaries had suffered much insult and annoyance from the seamen already mentioned; and another, named Morgan Bryant, who afterwards arrived from the adjacent islands, and was, if possible, more depraved than the rest. These abandoned men, who surpassed the natives in profligacy, threatened the lives of the missionaries more than once; but as the chiefs promised protection, they all, with the exception of Mr. Nobbs, who had been ill almost ever since landing, ex-

pressed their willingness to remain in the islands, especially as Captain Wilson took one of these seamen, Conelly, away in the ship.

On the 7th of September the *Duff*, having Mr. Nobbs on board, left Tongatabu, on her voyage to China, touching on her way at the Carolines and the Pelew Islands. Captain Wilson intended to stay for a short time at the latter, but was prevented by the unfavourable state of the weather, and his inability to find a secure anchorage.

On the 21st of November he reached Macao, and had the high gratification of receiving letters from England, and of writing the Society an account of his progress.* After remaining a short time at Canton, the *Duff* was freighted with tea, and commenced her homeward voyage. The order and morality observed on board attracted the attention of officers and crew of other vessels in the port, and secured for the ship the designation of "The Ten Commandments." Captain Wilson left China on the 2nd of January, 1798, and touching at the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena, reached Cork on the 24th of June. After waiting a few days for convoy, he crossed the channel, and anchored in the Thames on the 11th of July. He had forwarded an account of the chief transactions of the voyage from Canton, which had been received soon after the general meetings in London; and having been extensively circulated through the country† excited the deepest solicitude for his return.

* The letter announcing the safe arrival of the *Duff* in Canton reached London during the period of holding the annual meetings in May, 1798. A large assembly was convened in the spacious church at Spitalfields, when the letter was brought to one of the directors. The tidings were communicated to the congregation, and produced indescribable sensations of gratitude and joy.

† Copies of the account of the voyage which Captain Wilson sent from Canton had been forwarded to Sir Charles Middleton, (afterwards Lord Barham,) one of the lords of the admiralty, to Sir Joseph Banks, Admiral

As soon as the directors heard that the ship had reached Ireland, after devout acknowledgments of Divine goodness, a committee was appointed to be in readiness to welcome the arrival of the captain, whenever he might come, and endeavour to procure the liberation of any of the seamen that might be impressed on coming into port. On the 18th of July, the vessel being in the Downs, the captain came to London, where he received the most joyous welcome of his brethren, and briefly stated the wonderful tokens of Divine favour which had distinguished the voyage; especially, on their entering the port, where, though some men were seized from almost every other ship, to serve in the navy, no one was taken from the *Duff*.

So deeply were all impressed with a sense of the Divine favour, that it was deemed suitable to appoint a day for public thanksgiving, and the 6th of August following, being the first Monday in the month, when the missionary prayer meetings would be held throughout the country, was fixed on for that purpose. In London a sermon was preached in the forenoon at Surrey Chapel, by the Rev. John Griffin, captain Wilson's pastor; and in the evening, at Zion Chapel, by the Rev. Dr. Haweis. Such was the ardour of feeling among the friends of missions, that these commodious places were filled at an early hour, and seldom if ever was holy joy more intense or general. Mr. Griffin, in his able discourse, founded on Ephesians iii. 20, 21, regarded the favour shown as an answer to special prayer, and asks, "Who ever heard or read of such a general and fervent spirit of prayer, for the same object, as we have recently witnessed?" and deduces from the favourable close of the first attempt, encouragement for renewed and

Gambier, Mr. Latrobe, and others, who gratefully acknowledged their obligations to the directors for the information, and expressed their deep interest in the success of the mission.

more extended efforts. Dr. Haweis, who appears to have engaged in the services with almost enthusiastic fervour, in setting forth the grounds for thanksgiving, and after noticing the swiftness of the passage, asks, "Shall we not with thankfulness admire the safety of the conveyance! not a mast sprung, not a sail split, not an anchor left behind! To traverse more than twice the circumference of the globe, especially amongst lurking shoals, hidden rocks, and the low islands of the Pacific ocean, must, it is well known, be full of danger. Few vessels have ever been so long without touching for refreshment, or performed so vast a run as 13,800 miles without the sight of land; but except the common effects of the sea, or the indisposition of an individual, not a scorbutic complaint appeared; no fever, no infectious disorder, no accident."*

On the following day a general meeting was convened in Haberdashers' Hall, at which Dr. Waugh presided. A report was read by the Rev. Mr. Greathead; the gracious care of Divine Providence over the vessel and those on board was deeply felt; the acknowledgments of the Society were presented to Captain Wilson; and it was unanimously resolved, "That the directors be authorised to prepare for another voyage to the South Seas, to reinforce the existing mission, and to establish others if practicable." The public services on this occasion were deeply interesting; mingled feelings of astonishment and gratitude seemed to pervade the minds of all present. The Divine approval appeared to be affixed to the sacred enterprise in the success which had attended the voyage; and no part of the proceedings was more affecting than the touching and impressive manner in which the Rev. Dr. Waugh, the chairman of the meeting, with a pathos and eloquence peculiarly his own, tendered to Captain Wilson, as an

* *Missionary Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 50, 51.

instrument in the hand of the Most High, the grateful acknowledgments of the Society for the judicious and faithful services he had rendered.

The connexion of Captain Wilson with the first effort of the Society is one of the most remarkable circumstances attending its formation, and presents one of those peculiar and striking instances of a long series of unusual events issuing in the introduction of an individual to a position connected with duties for the efficient discharge of which, if not essentially prerequisite, they rendered him eminently qualified.

The son of a sea captain, and brought up to the sea from his youth, Captain Wilson at an early age proceeded to America, and was engaged in the battles of Bunkers' Hill, and Long Island. He afterwards went to Bengal as officer in an Indiaman, and remaining in that country rendered, by his skill and bravery, most important services in conveying supplies to the British forces engaged with Hyder Ali's army in the Carnatic. While thus employed he was taken prisoner by the French, and afterwards, by one of the most inhuman acts that have disgraced the annals of modern warfare, ordered to be delivered over to Hyder Ali, who paid to the French Admiral Suffrein 300,000 rupees to obtain possession of his prisoners. To avert a doom so fearful, he escaped from his prison; but was again captured, after perils and exertions almost incredible, in traversing the jungle and swimming across the rivers, some of them so infested with alligators, that the Mahometan chief before whom he was taken declared it impossible, and when convinced of the fact, exclaimed, "This is God's man!" During a journey of 500 miles to Seringapatam, and afterwards in prison, his treatment was such that death seemed inevitable; and when the success of the British arms brought him deliverance, this

had nearly proved fatal to him before he reached the abode of his friends, where he appeared to the domestics more like an insane than a rational being. In the ship in which he returned to England the Rev. Mr. Thomas, one of the first Baptist missionaries to India, was his fellow-passenger, but so far was Captain Wilson from entertaining favourable views of missionary exertions, that in conversation with that excellent man he made no secret of his disbelief in revealed religion; and continued to avow sceptical principles on the subject of religion, until he became acquainted with the late Rev. J. Griffin, of Portsea, whose conversation and preaching were the means of his becoming a sincere and humble believer in the once despised Redeemer.

Soon after this, reading in the *Evangelical Magazine* the proposal for the formation of the Missionary Society, and the probability that missionaries might be sent to the South Seas, he was led to consider whether, if called upon, he should be willing to undertake the command of the missionary ship; and, though discouraged by his friends, he resolved, in dependence on the Divine favour, to undertake the duty, if required. Captain Wilson accompanied Mr. Griffin to the first general meeting in London, and was so impressed by what he heard, that in an interview with the Rev. Dr. Haweis, he, with evident diffidence, but with great firmness, declared his readiness, if no more suitable person could be found, to conduct the missionaries to their appointed stations. His station in society, his age, being about thirty-four, his character, experience, and skill, combined to render him, in the opinion of the Society, an instrument eminently qualified by the great Head of the church for the sacred enterprise, and his offer was gratefully accepted. The most entire confidence was placed in his judgment and zeal; and every arrangement connected with the purchase, fitting, and navigating

of the vessel, with the distribution and settlement of the missionaries, was accomplished in a manner highly satisfactory to all parties. Abundant evidence of this is supplied not only in the public testimony of gratitude rendered by the Society,* and the honourable regard in which he was held by all classes of Christians, but in the letters of the missionaries, and in the affectionate manner in which for years afterwards many of them delighted to speak of his attention and care. After the return of the ship, he resided at Walworth, in the neighbourhood of London, and assisted the directors with his judgment and advice, whenever these could forward the great objects of the Society. He died on the 12th of August, 1814, in the 54th year of his age.†

The directors took immediate measures for sending forth a second mission without delay. Offers of service were numerous, and the most suitable individuals were selected. An appeal was made to the friends of the Society throughout the kingdom for supplies for the ship, and equipment for the missionaries, and it was met with cheerfulness and liberality. From Birmingham various clergy-

* A large painting by Smirke, representing the cession of the district of Matavai, in the island of Tahiti, to Captain Wilson, for the Society, was afterwards presented by the directors to Captain Wilson, as a memorial of the event, and a token of the high estimation in which his disinterested services were held by the Society. A beautiful engraving of this picture was executed by Bartolozzi, and extensively sold for the benefit of the Society.

His friend Dr. Haweis presented the captain with a diamond ring of considerable value, accompanied with the following note:

“ My dear Captain,

“ Anxious for your arrival, I had prepared the following little token. I wish to couple my name with yours. The circle is the emblem of the eternity I hope to spend with you; the brilliant is not brighter than my affection, nor the gold purer than my friendship. Wear me on your heart: whilst mine beats it will remember you, and bless God for you.

“ Yours ever, T. HAWEIS.”

† Griffin's Memoir of Captain Wilson, an instructive and deeply interesting book.

men and dissenting ministers forwarded the liberal contributions of their people in valuable articles, manufactured there, to a considerable amount. Sheffield, and other places, also contributed liberally. The necessary alterations in the ship were soon effected; in three months she was ready for sea, and a mission consisting of twenty single and ten married persons was appointed.

The directors had not invited others to engage in a service the difficulties and dangers of which they avoided themselves: it appeared to them desirable that one of their own number should accompany the brethren, to assist in their settlement, and return in the *Duff*. Application was made to several, among whom was Dr. Bogue;* but still cherishing the hope of proceeding to India, he declined. Others felt it necessary to decline also. Attention was next directed to Dr. Waugh, who was willing to undertake the service; but when Mr. Aldey, one of the elders of the church under his care, appeared before the directors and stated that in the opinion of the elders of the church their beloved pastor could not undertake the important service, they recorded their deep regret, on account of their sense of his peculiar fitness for the engagement, and their conviction that the lasting gratitude of the Society was due to him for the willingness he had manifested to consecrate himself to the arduous service.†

Application was next made to Mr. Wilks, who communicated the tidings to his family, and the people among whom he laboured, but was ultimately under the necessity of informing his brethren, that, after taking every step in his power, it was impossible for him to go out as superintendent of the mission. On this occasion he parted with his daughter, who accompanied her husband, the Rev.

* Memoir of Dr. Waugh, p. 220.

† Minutes of the directors' proceedings.

Mr. Vardy, formerly a pupil of the Rev. J. Eyre. The Rev. William Howell, of Knaresborough, in Yorkshire, was finally appointed superintendent of the mission. On the 10th of November four of the missionaries, Messrs. Gregory, Hill, Levesque, and Vardy, were ordained in Surrey chapel. The ordination prayer was offered by Mr. Howell; Mr. Hill gave the charge; and Dr. Waugh preached from Phil. i. 18. On the 13th of November the whole body of missionaries, among whom were not fewer than seven medical students, or practitioners, were solemnly designated to the important work at Spafields chapel, when a charge was delivered to them by Mr. Eyre.

On the following evening, in Haberdashers' Hall chapel, the directors, the missionaries, and friends, united in commemorating the dying love of the Lord Jesus. Dr. Vanderkemp and the other missionaries appointed to South Africa united with them in the deeply interesting service. The ship having already passed down the Thames, the single missionaries went on board on the 27th of November, and a convoy having been appointed for the fleet then waiting at Portsmouth, the other missionaries left London on the 5th of December, joined the vessel in the Downs, and proceeding to Spithead, sailed with the fleet on the 20th of December, under convoy of the *Amphyon* frigate.

The Christian friends at Woolwich, Gravesend, and different ports, went on board as the vessel passed, carrying some present for the missionaries, and appearing to derive much enjoyment from the privilege of testifying their affectionate concern for the welfare of these brethren. The same generous anxiety on their behalf was evinced at Portsmouth and Gosport; and the friends of the Rev. W. Kingsbury, of Southampton, one of the earliest friends of the Society, sent a sloop freighted with live stock, provisions, clothing, medicines, and other supplies. To the

minds of the missionaries these expressions of lively interest and generous liberality were peculiarly gratifying, as encouraging the belief, that though there was less novelty than attended the first voyage, there was equal attachment to the cause.

The following are the names of the missionaries, twenty-nine in number, who embarked on this occasion, of whom four were from Edinburgh, sent by the Society there to form part of the mission under the direction of the London Society : John Beattie, Clark Bentom, Spence Broughton, Joseph Cooper, Thomas Fitzgibbon, William Gregory, George Greig, John Guard, Walter Hawkins, James Hayward, John Hill, Robert Hughes, John Jerrard, James Jones, John Levesque, Peter Levesque, John Macdonald, Daniel Miller, John Mitchell, Griffith Parry, James Read, James Smith, Joseph Smith, William Soddy, Samuel Turner, Thomas Watters, Charles Wilson, Rev. Joseph Lambert Vardy, John Youl. Of the above number nine were married, and some were accompanied by their children.

The voyage now commenced forms one of the most remarkable events in the history of the Society, and apart from its immediate effects on the minds of friends or enemies, the strange and varied occurrences by which it was distinguished, the development of human character and of the Divine government, and events of deep and soul-exciting interest by which it was attended, though of a totally different character from others of the first voyage, were equally important and instructive. If the former voyage encouraged confidence in God, the latter taught the danger of reposing it in man, and imparted lessons, painful indeed, beyond any that have since been learned in the missionary field, but permanently valuable.

Followed by the prayers and anxious solicitude of multitudes, among whom the recently published narrative of

the first voyage of the *Duff* was extensively circulated, the missionaries pursued their course, and, with the exception of the apprehension which the sight of several ships occasioned, their voyage was prosperous till they approached the shores of South America.

On the 18th of July, 1799, when within sight of Cape Frio, and scarcely a day's sail from Rio Janeiro, where they intended to touch for refreshments, they discovered a strange sail near the shore. A calm prevailed, and the vessel remained in sight through the day; no alarm was felt, and preparations for going on shore and sending letters to England occupied all on board the *Duff* till late in the evening, when a squall of wind and rain sent most of them to the cabin below. The squall brought the strange ship near them, and about eleven o'clock the report of a gun aroused them to a consciousness of danger. Captain Robson ordered the *Duff* to be laid to; but as this was not done expeditiously enough for the strangers, a second gun was fired and a third threatened. On coming alongside, the strangers, hailing them through a speaking trumpet, demanded in English whence they came, and whither they were bound.

As soon as an answer was returned, they were ordered to send the first officer, with the ship's papers, on board the stranger; the officer had scarcely reached the ship when all the passengers in the *Duff* were ordered to follow. A boat now came to the *Duff*; and although many of the men spoke English, and said their ship was the "Spitfire," from Ireland, their language and behaviour gave evidence, but too conclusive, of their real character. The *Duff* was then taken possession of by armed men, and the captain, officers, crew, and missionaries, driven at the point of the sword into the boats, without a moment's notice, to be conveyed to the other ship.

The French sailors, impatient for plunder, hurried them in crowded boats at midnight from what had been their floating home and sanctuary to their future prison. On reaching the ship they found themselves prisoners on board the *Buonaparte*, a French privateer. The humane captain of the *Duff* requested that the married missionaries might be allowed to return to their wives, and remain prisoners on board the *Duff*; and though this was peremptorily refused, Dr. Turner, a medical gentleman belonging to the mission, was allowed to proceed thither, to the relief and comfort of the females: these he found in great consternation and alarm, on account of the violent proceedings of their captors, who had entered every cabin but their own, eagerly plundering them of everything valuable, and thrusting their swords under every bed to discover if any one was concealed there. When the officer in command of the prize became acquainted with the nature of their errand, they were secured from all molestation, and though it excited strange feelings to see their husbands' clothes worn by the officers and sailors, such was the confidence of the latter, that one of them intrusted his money to the keeping of a missionary's wife. After suffering much distress of mind they arrived safely at Monte Video, a Spanish settlement on the northern shore of the river La Plata, in South America, where they remained on board the *Duff* till the arrival of their captors with the rest of the prisoners.

How painful, and yet how instructive, the events of those days! Few of the disciples of the Saviour, even in the most eventful periods of missionary enterprise, have, in an equally short period of time, experienced changes more afflictive than those who were so suddenly and unexpectedly hurried from what had been an ark on the waters, to what, to use their own terms, seemed more like a float-

ing hell than anything else. When the day closed, peace and joy filled their hearts, and they looked forward to the morrow elate with hopes of landing on a friendly shore ; but almost before they were conscious of danger, they found themselves in a state of captivity, surrounded by men of infidel principles, of blasphemous and filthy tongues, robbers and murderers by profession, delighting in bloodshed, and mocking at their sufferings ; themselves plundered of every article they possessed, and crowded together with the reckless and depraved in one of the most unwholesome parts of the ship ; their vessel the prize of pirates, the great object of their mission defeated, and their own destiny involved in uncertainty and gloom.

As the officers on board the *Buonaparte* became acquainted with the object of the voyage in which the *Duff* was engaged, the prisoners were treated with greater kindness ; and when the instructions of the directors of the Society to Captain Robson were read, M. Carbonelle, the captain, said that if he had known who they were, and in what they were engaged, he would sooner have given five hundred pounds from his own pocket than have fallen in with them, but that under existing circumstances he could not act otherwise.

Captain Carbonelle and his officers appear to have possessed humane and generous feelings, not often found among the leaders of the crews of pirates or privateers, and contrasting strongly with the coarse and unfeeling conduct recently pursued by a French admiral towards the queen of Tahiti ; and it is not surprising that he should have been concerned on discovering the character and objects of the enterprise, which his capture of the *Duff* had frustrated. In addition to the ample instructions of the directors respecting the settlement of the missionaries Captain Robson received the following truly admi-

nable letter from the benevolent and noble-minded treasurer of the Society. The perusal of this letter, which might almost seem to have been written with special reference to the circumstances of the voyagers in the *Duff* at this time, could scarcely fail to touch the French commander's heart.

'CAPTAIN ROBSON,—Having appointed you to the command of the ship *Duff*, you are to proceed with the passengers you have on board, to the South Seas, manifesting every kind attention to them during their voyage, and your utmost discretion in the selection of the places of their settlement. You are not undertaking a voyage connected with commerce or political interests. Yours is an enterprise solely of benevolence. The individuals who accompany you are relinquishing the ties of affinity, the comforts of society, and whatever is thought estimable in life, and their only desire is to be the instructors of the ignorant, and to lead the untutored natives out of their darkness and barbarism to the useful institutions of civilized society. Other nations and individuals have traversed the globe from the same benevolent impulse, and some have become the victims of their humanity. It is possible you may meet with the adventurous Prowse, or some of his companions, or some other unfortunate Europeans in these solitary islands, to whom you will be glad to impart all the protection and assistance their situation requires. Should you meet with a privateer, or hostile squadron, the benevolence of the object of your voyage will be your passport, for no enlightened nation has yet declared war against measures of humanity, or the civilization and improvement of the human race.

“By order of the directors of the Society for instructing the untutored nations of the earth,

“*London, 20th Nov. 1798.* JOSEPH HARDCASTLE.”

During the remainder of the voyage, the captain manifested the greatest solicitude for the comfort of the missionaries, and they had every reason to believe he was sincere in his professions of willingness to serve them : he even shortened his cruise, that those on board might be more speedily restored to their companions in the *Duff*. He regretted that he had allowed the married missionaries to be separated from their wives, and promised to let some follow them in every ship he took. This promise in the hurry of capture was forgotten on one occasion, but the vessel then taken was afterwards lost. On another occasion, one of the missionaries went on board a prize, but found his situation more intolerable than in the vessel he had left. The prize was a slave ship, with 180 wretched Africans on board, cramming the ship almost to suffocation, parched with fever, and almost destitute of water ; and bad as the *Buonaparte* was, the missionary was glad to be permitted to return. On the 12th of March, the missionaries entered the River Plate, and soon after had the happiness of learning that the *Duff* had arrived in safety, and that their wives and children were well. Permission was granted them to land ; this indulgence was also extended to the seamen, whose chains were taken off before they went on shore. The stores on board the *Duff* were sold by the captors, and as most of the missionaries were desirous of prosecuting the voyage, Captain Robson offered to purchase the *Duff*, by giving bills on the Treasurer of the Society in payment ; but as the sums obtained by the sale of prizes were divided amongst the officers and men, before embarking in another cruise, nothing but money could be taken in payment, and the *Duff* was sold to other parties.

The missionaries landed in a state of abject destitution, even of decent apparel, having been plundered of

almost everything. They were treated with civility by the people of the place. Mr. Campbell, an agent for a merchant's house in Baltimore, supplied Mr. Howell with apparel and linen, generously offering to advance as much money as he needed, and Captain Carbonelle furnished him with a hat from his own head. Accommodation, about a mile from the town, was obtained for the married missionaries and their wives; the others slept on board the privateer.

The whole party were detained at Monte Video nearly two months, during which time, several were, from their own imprudence in wandering from the town, in danger of thieves, and of the lasso of the natives. While in captivity here, two of the wives of the missionaries became mothers, but were mercifully preserved in the hour of trial. They also enjoyed many seasons for spiritual improvement, and occasionally repaired to a mountain, to unite in the worship of God.

At length, after having been threatened with the horrors of a Spanish prison by the Viceroy, or captivity in the French settlements at Cayenne, they embarked on the 9th of May, on board a small packet, bound for Rio Janeiro, Captain Carbonelle generously advancing money to procure necessaries for the voyage. After a stormy passage, they drew near their destination, when, on the morning of the 5th of June, they discovered a fleet of ships, one of which bore down upon them, and made them prisoners a second time. Their captors were Portuguese, and were bound for Europe, whither they took the missionaries, officers, and crew of the *Duff*. Mr. Howell and some of the party were taken on board the commodore's ship, others were sent on board a frigate, and the rest went in a packet under convoy.

Portugal was at that time in alliance with England,

and they expected to be treated as friends ; but those on board the *Medusa*, the commodore's ship, fared even worse than when prisoners in the French privateer. Those in the frigate met with the greatest kindness, and before they left the ship conveyed to Captain Garcao, the commander, the assurance of their grateful sense of his kind and generous treatment. After enduring many privations, and suffering much from the repeated preparations for action as often as a superior sail appeared, they reached Lisbon in safety, on the 21st of September. On the 3rd of October, 1799, some of the party embarked in a packet for England, and in ten days reached Falmouth, whence they proceeded to London, and were shortly afterwards joined by the companions they had left.

The friends of the mission welcomed them to their native land, and united in grateful acknowledgments of the goodness and care of the Most High, while they mourned over the afflictions that had befallen them, disappointing the fondly cherished hopes which their embarkation less than twelve months before had inspired.

In the meantime, calamities unexpected and distressing had befallen the establishments already formed. The mission to the Marquesas soon terminated. The natives, indeed, treated Mr. Crook with kindness, and shared with him their scanty supply of food, often little more than a small portion of sour mahe, or preserved bread-fruit ; but manifested no inclination to adopt the creed, the worship, or the morality of the Gospel.

After remaining about twelve months at Santa Christina, an American vessel, on board of which Mr. Crook was at the time, was blown off the island, and he was put on shore at Nukuhiva, an island about sixty miles distant. The people, who seemed more numerous than at his former station, treated him with favour, and he

remained among them about seven months, when two vessels bound for England arrived. He embarked in one of these for the purpose of conferring with the directors of the Society upon the best means of establishing an efficient mission, and reached England on the 19th of May, 1799. In a short period he expected to return; but the capture of the *Duff*, and the disasters that befell the Tahitian mission, prevented any further efforts being made on behalf of the Marquesas until within a comparatively recent period.

CHAPTER IV.

The mission in the Friendly Islands—Defection of one of the missionaries—Injurious influence of foreign sailors—Plunder and ill-treatment of the missionaries by the natives—Assassination of the chief ruler of Tonga—Commencement of general war—Missionaries required to advance with the fighting men—Escape from the scene of conflict—Their place of concealment discovered, their clothes plundered, their gratitude and confidence in God—Murder of three of the missionaries—Sabbath among the rocks of Eleegoo—Barbarous and sanguinary character of the war—Cannibalism of the Friendly islanders—Proposal to destroy the whole of the missionaries—Treatment they received from the victors—Burial of the bodies of the murdered missionaries—The observance of the sabbath resumed—Ravages of a tempest—Renewal of hostilities—The missionaries' boat launched—Arrival of two vessels off the island—The departure of the missionaries from Tonga, and arrival at New South Wales—Reflections on the termination of the mission.

THE mission to the Friendly Islands, though commenced under apparently favourable circumstances, and continued longer than that in the Marquesas, ultimately experienced a far more disastrous termination.

The missionaries, when the *Duff* sailed finally from Tonga, no longer formed one united community, as at Tahiti, but dwelt, either singly, or two or three together, under the protection of individual chiefs, in different parts of the island. Messrs. Shelly, Kelso, and Wilkinson, resided in Aheefo, with the king or principal chief; Messrs. Bowell and Harper in Ardeo; Messrs. Buchanan and Gaulton at Mooa, with the chiefs of these districts; Cooper and Veesson abode one at Ahogee, and the other at Mooa; but the residences of all were afterwards frequently changed.*

* Although the objects of the missionaries in proposing to reside on the island had, in the first instance, been repeatedly explained to the chiefs,

Two of the Englishmen found on the islands on their arrival, who appear to have been runaway convicts from the then recently formed penal settlement in New South Wales; men who seemed ripe for every crime, and in whom the depraved and ferocious passions exhibited a maturity only to be attained in a state of the most savage society, had already greatly annoyed them, and furnished just ground for more serious apprehension.

Besides this, the ship had scarcely left them a week, when they experienced a severer trial, in the defection of one of their own number, Veeson, who first manifested a disinclination to the society and religious engagements of the missionaries, adopted the dress and habits of the heathen, and attached himself to a native woman. His departure from their society and degradation by wickedness greatly afflicted the missionaries, who faithfully and affectionately expostulated with him, and for a long time offered special prayer on his behalf, but perceiving no indication of a better state of mind, were at length under the necessity of excluding him from their fellowship. As he was anxious to receive all the sanction to his connexion with the native woman which the performance of the marriage ceremony by the missionaries could give, they agreed to his wishes in this respect; but when they explained to her the nature and extent of the obligation, she refused to

so far as this could be done, through the medium of the only interpreters they could employ,* it is scarcely probable that through such mediums they would receive any correct ideas of those objects; but they knew the value of iron and other European articles, which they saw the missionaries possessed in great abundance, and the desire for these things, together with the advantage of the missionary's skill, and the importance which his residence under their authority would give them, were undoubtedly the motives which prompted the chiefs to invite the missionaries to place themselves under their protection.

* Ambler and Conelly.

enter into the engagement, but continued to live with him as his wife.

Veeseon now alienated himself from the missionaries, associated with the heathen in all their pursuits and vices, and if he did not actually become an idolater, he surpassed those who were such in deeds of hardihood and cruelty.* After a course of fearful apostasy, vice, and peril, during the latter part of which he seems to have been exceedingly wretched, he was providentially removed from the islands in the *Royal Admiral*, in August, 1801.†

A month after the departure of the *Duff*, in 1797, the *Mercury*, an American vessel, arrived, and left seven of her crew, the greater part of whom associated with the seamen already on the island; and seeming, if possible, even more abandoned and vicious, added greatly to the distress of the missionaries. One of their number, of the name of Beak, a smith by trade, whom the captain had brought from New Zealand, left his former companions; and though he made no profession of religion, he attached himself to the missionaries, proved faithful to their interests, worked cheerfully for their subsistence, and fully shared all their privations and perils. The others took every occasion to extort or steal from them their tools or clothing,‡ fabricated and spread the most false and malicious reports against them amongst the chiefs, and more than once sought their destruction.

Early in the year 1798, an aged chief woman died, and amidst the orgies of frantic barbarism, and wickedness of every kind, which such an event formerly occasioned amongst the South Sea islanders, the missionaries were informed that her death was ascribed to their prayers.§

* Authentic Narrative of a Four Years' Residence in Tongataboo, p. 173.

† Ibid, p. 199.

‡ MS. Journal.

§ Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 267.

Some of the most powerful chiefs were so far influenced by the misrepresentations of the foreigners, or their own superstitions, as to request the missionaries to discontinue the practice; and though the latter did not comply with the request, and were allowed to hold their religious meetings as heretofore, they were often greatly annoyed and interrupted.

An attempt was shortly afterwards made on the life of Beak, the smith; and in the month of July of this year the missionaries heard that a number of the chiefs had requested from the king permission to put them to death, avowedly, on account of the evil influence of their prayers, but, actually, in order to obtain the articles of iron and clothing which they possessed. Through the care of Divine Providence they escaped the threatened destruction, though not without abuse and plunder.

On the 21st of the same month, about three o'clock in the morning, ten or a dozen men entered the dwelling of one of the missionaries, stripped him, and, giving him a scanty covering of native cloth, drove him out of the house, threatening to kill him if he made the least noise whilst they were employed in carrying away whatever they could find.* A short time afterwards, part of the roof of another of their dwellings was taken off, and a quantity of provision stolen, though the robbers were disturbed before further depredations had been committed.

Under these discouragements, the missionaries entered upon the year 1799. The defection of one of their own number had proved more painfully afflictive than all their perils among the heathen; their behaviour towards him had been truly exemplary, and while they deeply mourned over his apostasy, they still hoped and prayed for his

* Missionary Transactions, p. 271.

recovery. Their fraternal intercourse, their meetings for devotion and religious improvement, had only suffered occasional interruption, and had afforded much consolation and support; and, cheerless as their prospects were, keeping the great objects of their mission steadily in view, they laboured diligently to acquire the language, that they might engage more effectually in teaching the people, though they could not persuade even the children to attend to their instructions, and for want of a knowledge of the language could scarcely converse on religious or spiritual subjects. The depravity and ferocity of the adults, especially as exhibited on occasion of a public funeral which had occurred during the year, excited almost equally feelings of commiseration and horror, and impressed deeply on their minds the conviction, that whatever means they might ever be able to employ, nothing less than the mighty operations of the Divine Spirit could produce any satisfactory change upon hearts in which prejudice was so strong, superstition so blind, and vice so mature, malignant, and inveterate.

On the night of the 21st of April, the king of the islands was assassinated while asleep in his house by a chief, called Finau Loogalala, his brother,* and a civil war commenced, which threatened the entire depopulation of the island. The missionaries at Ahefo were requested to arm themselves and accompany the chiefs with whom they resided, and refusing to do so were told that no further protection would be afforded them.

As the report of the murder of the king spread through the island, all order and subordination ceased; the domestic es-

* The darkness of the night, while it concealed the conspirators, prevented their distinguishing their victim from others sleeping around him, and he was at length only discovered by the odour of the sandal-wood-scented oil with which his hair was perfumed.—*Authentic Narrative*, p. 161.

tablishments of the chiefs were broken up, and the missionaries, having refused to join the fighting men, found themselves exposed to all the horrors of war in its most appalling and barbarous forms. Though for a time the influence of some of the chiefs afforded protection to the missionaries, their houses were ultimately plundered, their persons stripped of every article of clothing, some of their number being able to secure only a covering of native cloth, and their lives endangered, as much from the violence of the followers of the chiefs, who had hitherto protected them, as from their enemies.

After a slight skirmish, Finau and his adherents fled to their canoes, leaving one of their party a prisoner in the hands of the victors, by whom the unfortunate wretch was cut up and eaten raw.* During the absence of Finau the missionaries at Aheefo and the nearest stations were enabled to communicate with each other, and on one occasion united, under deep solemnity of feeling, in imploring the Divine protection, and commending each other to the keeping of their heavenly Father. This occurred on the 29th of April, and was the last time they ever met. Feeling their lives to be in jeopardy every hour, they were anxious to launch a boat which they had nearly finished, hoping it might prove an ark of safety; but, greatly to their distress, it was so far inland that they were unable of themselves to convey it to the sea, and could obtain no assistance from the natives.

On the 10th of May, 1799, the season when their friends were assembled in London to attend the anniversary services of the Society, the missionaries were required to join the army of the Aheefoans, in whose district they resided, and who, before it was light, marched to

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 283.

attack the insurgents. Knowing that, humanly speaking, their safety depended on the influence of the chiefs, they followed with the rear of their forces. About day-break the conflict began, and the enemy soon fled, pursued by the Ahefoans, who, they were informed, cut up alive, and ate on the spot, the first prisoner they took. Shortly afterwards the missionaries saw an old man roasting part of one of the bodies of the slain, apparently with a view of eating it. Even the women, who mingled in the rear with the missionaries, dipped their hands in the blood of those of their enemies who lay dead by the road side, and afterwards licked them as they walked along.* At first, the natives seemed pleased at beholding the missionaries in their ranks, and even their dog was complimented as having contributed to their success; but when they saw that they took no part in the conflict, their presence was evidently obnoxious, and about eight o'clock in the forenoon the missionaries left the fighting men, and deeming it impossible to join their brethren at Ardeo, returned to their former habitations, which they found stripped of most of the articles they had left. Shortly after, beholding a hostile party approach the place, they fled for shelter to the rocks of Eleegoo, on the western shore, where they remained undiscovered during the rest of the day.†

Towards evening, when they had somewhat recovered from the effects of the perils, confusion, and bloodshed of the day, two of their party visited their former residence, and finding the neighbourhood quiet, the missionaries returned thither, deeming it safer than spending the night in the unfrequented place to which they had fled. In this they soon found that they were mistaken, and again removed to the adjacent house of a native, who

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 288.

† Ibid, vol. i. p. 289.

professed great kindness for them, whilst he treacherously, as they were afterwards informed, intended to have murdered them during the night. By the merciful care of Him by whom the wrath of man is restrained, and the intentions of the wicked frustrated, they were preserved, and, on the following morning at day-break, went once more to their former dwelling, in the hope of meeting with the smith, who had been separated from them on the previous evening. Hearing no tidings of their companion, feeling themselves also equally in danger from the treachery of professed friends and the ferocity of avowed enemies, they deemed the perils of the wilderness fewer than those of their present abode, and retiring again to the unfrequented part of Eleegoo, sought concealment in a wood near the rocks among which they had taken shelter on the previous day.

About noon the same day, they were surprised by hearing a native call one of their party by name, and on leaving their concealment, perceived numbers of the natives fleeing like the broken ranks of a vanquished army; one of them, who led the dog belonging to the missionaries in his hand, informed them that the Aheefoans were beaten, and many of their friends killed; and that the principal surviving chief had repaired to a place further along the shore, where he requested to see them. They immediately joined the fugitives, but having lost their guide, judged it safest to follow with the crowd, with whom they continued till they met a party of armed men, who demanded their clothes, but spared their lives, though one, not so well clothed as the rest, was in danger of his life on that account. Having provided themselves with portions of native cloth, they still continued with the fugitives, many of whom it was evident regarded them with unfriendly feelings, until they reached a thick wood,

beyond which a range of craggy rocks stretching along towards the beach seemed to afford a place of concealment, in which they were glad to take shelter. Here, in the seclusion, and comparative quiet, which their retreat afforded, they were led to review the eventful scenes through which they had passed, and in the journal which narrates their proceedings at this time, they thus record their experience of the Divine faithfulness and care: "We still found abundant cause to bless the name of the Lord, who had given so much, and taken away so little, of what was essentially necessary for our real happiness. Though stripped of every worldly good, without so much as a garment to cover us, yet our heavenly inheritance remained inviolate and inviolable; though at a distance from friends and exposed to enemies on all sides, we might yet rejoice in the presence of our heavenly Father, our best Friend, and his promised protection; and, though life seemed more than ever uncertain, and death impending, yet neither could separate us from the enjoyment, and the latter, we had cause to hope, would but hasten to the closer embraces of his love."

"We could not be insensible to the loss we had sustained, whereof we esteemed the word of God* and other books, of which we enjoyed a great number and variety, the most considerable part; but we still had access to the throne of his grace, and oh, what a difference had his distinguishing grace made between us and the many thousands around us, who never heard of his word, nor the salvation it reveals."†

Men who, at such a time, thus realized the genuine fruits of the faith they professed, when it works by love,

* The only Bible they had saved from the plunder of the natives had been lost in the hurry of their flight from Eleegoo in the morning.

† Missionary Transactions, vol. i. page 29.

and brings its possessor under the influence "of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen," were not destitute of some of the highest of missionary qualifications. Such experience constitutes the surest evidence of the Divine faithfulness, and the most certain earnest of final victory, causing its subjects to feel, though "in perils among the heathen" and "in the wilderness," and even "in deaths oft," that these are but light afflictions, working out for them "a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory."

Although exposed to hunger and thirst, as well as fatigue and anxiety, they were as destitute of all means of subsistence as of dwelling-place and clothes, and hailed as a most welcome refreshment a quantity of fresh water, which, during the afternoon, they found in a hole among the rocks. Impelled by hunger, two of their number left their retreat about sunset in search of food, and returned soon afterwards with a single bread-fruit and some unripe bananas, which they had obtained from a company of men whom they met in the neighbourhood, and who informed them of the death of their brethren at Ardeo. After eating part of their scanty supply of food they sought, under solemn and mournful feelings, shelter for the night in a cave among the rocks, which was so small as to afford but partial covering from the rain.

Disastrous as the past two days had been to the missionaries in Aheefo, they had proved more so to those in Ardeo. Vaarjee, the chief of this district, who had given many proofs of sincere friendship for the missionaries, had joined the insurgents, and when the forces of Finau, under the command of Mulkaamair, advanced to attack the Aheefoans, on the morning of the 10th, they halted for refreshment in Ardeo, near the dwelling of the missionaries. Veeson, who resided in the district of Mul-

kaamair, was among the fighting men, wearing a maro, or girdle, round his loins, the only article of dress the islanders usually wore on going to battle. He saw the missionaries, formerly his affectionate companions and friends, but shame, and conscious guilt, and degradation, induced him to shun their notice, and to pass on with the savage and infuriated multitude whose feet were swift to shed blood. Relying on the good will of the natives, the missionaries remained at their station, and in the early part of the following day the Aheefoans, after defeating the division of the forces led on by Mulkaamair, killing the chief himself, and most of the devoted adherents who surrounded his person, proceeded, elate with savage triumph, towards Ardeo. Vaarjee, the faithful friend of the missionaries, though himself in peril, hastened to warn them of their danger, and remained so long, vainly urging them to flee, that he was scarcely able to effect his own escape.*

When the victors approached their dwelling, the missionaries came out, unconscious of danger, and expecting security, as they had taken no part with either side in the war. Whether, as the friends of the already vanquished chief of the district, they would have been plundered and ill-treated, or not, is uncertain, but among the Aheefoans was a man who had once requested from them some article which they had refused to give. Exulting in the occasion now offered for revenge, he rushed upon them, and was joined by others; three of the party, Messrs. Bowell, Harper, and a seaman, named Burnham, who resided with them, were struck to the ground and instantly

* It does not appear whether the missionaries were ignorant or not of the custom among the islanders in war, which dooms to destruction the relations and friends of a hostile chief, who may remain at home, as well as those who arm themselves and accompany him to battle.

murdered. Gaulton fled at first, but looking back, and seeing his companions fall, he returned, probably in the hope of saving them, and immediately shared their fate. The savages, leaving the mangled bodies on the ground, hastened to the mission house, which they plundered of everything, and then hurried again to the fight.*

The slaughtered missionaries were eminently pious, industrious, and devoted men. They had laboured diligently to acquire the language of the people, and to introduce among them, in subordination to the higher objects of their mission, the arts and comforts of civilised life. Their course, though brief, was irreproachable and honourable; they were faithful unto death, and though the early and violent termination of their lives was permitted, in accordance with the will of Him whose ways to us are past finding out, there is reason for hope that for them to die was gain, that it was to depart and to be with Christ. They were the first martyrs among the missionaries of modern times, the forerunners of those who in the recent movements of the church have since been called to part with life in this sacred cause; and their sudden and unexpected removal, though afflictive in the extreme, was, there is reason to believe, beneficial in its influence on survivors in the field and on the churches at home. Bowell was twenty-five years of age, and Harper twenty-nine at the time of death; Gaulton was a younger man, and when the *Duff* left England was so anxious to join the mission, that he preferred a very inferior situation on board the ship to remaining at home, and so commended himself to the captain and the missionaries during the voyage that, on reaching their destination, they unanimously elected him a member of the mission to the Friendly Islands.†

* Authentic Narrative, 169.

† Ibid. p. 170.

The next morning was the sabbath, and the remaining missionaries arose at daybreak, grateful for their safety. Perceiving a path near the cave in which they had passed the night, they proceeded further among the rocks in search of a place of greater seclusion, and on their way rejoiced to find that the rain during the night had replenished the water in the hole of the rock whence they had been supplied on the previous day. After reaching a spot which appeared favourable to concealment, they finished the small remainder of the previous evening's meal, and spent the day in exercises of devotion, and in solemn and deeply affecting conference on the privileges of those who, amidst all the disappointments and desolations of this world, could rejoice in the Lord as their refuge and strength. In the afternoon they were surprised by a native, armed with a club and spear, appearing suddenly before them, and poising his spear as if intending to attack them; but, as he seemed to hesitate, on account of their number and the dog which was with them, they spoke to him; and he, pretending to have been sent to seek them by a friendly chief, left them with a request that they would await his return. They waited for some time, but, doubting his intentions, took occasion of his second absence to escape to the sea beach, where they soon met with a party of natives, who informed them of the defeat of their friends, and conducted them to the rendezvous of a number of the Aheefoans, by one of whom they were kindly entertained.

The scenes presented this day in other parts of Tonga, appear in awful contrast with the quiet solitude and devotional engagements of the missionaries among the rocks of Eleegoo. The conflict which had closed on the previous day with the defeat of the Aheefoans, was renewed on the following morning with increased barbarity, and maintained with obstinate and destructive ferocity,

until the Aheefoans were again beaten and dispersed. A number of their chiefs, too old to march with the fighting men, had each, according to the custom of the country, been carried to the battle in a sort of litter, borne on men's shoulders. These chiefs, amidst the havoc and consternation attending the defeat and flight of their own forces, fell into the hands of their enemies, by whom they were every one put to death.* The victors then collected a number of the bodies of their enemies, and after treating them in the most inhuman manner, baked and devoured them. While Finau and his adherents were thus gratifying their infuriated passions, and feasting in imagined security at their revolting banquet, they were surprised and furiously attacked by the Aheefoans, who had rallied and returned to avenge their recent losses. The former were thrown into great confusion, and many of them killed before they could reach their canoes, in which those who escaped put out to sea, and steered to the island of Atatai, where they landed at midnight, and being detained some days by a violent storm, traversed the island, which belonged to the Aheefoans, putting to death every individual they found; neither man, woman, nor child was spared. †

Finau's departure suspended actual hostilities, but diminished in no degree the dangers and sufferings of the missionaries; and though befriended by some of the natives, others seemed bent on taking their lives, some insulting them with accounts of the part they had taken in the death of their beloved companions, others exulting in the expectation of their speedy destruction.

* It was on this occasion that a party of Aheefoans took shelter in the sacred house and burying-place of their kings, from which they were dislodged by the flames kindled by Veeson, who appears to have mingled in all the cruelty and bloodshed of the day.—*Authentic Narrative*, p. 173.

† *Ibid.* 176.

Three days after leaving their concealment among the rocks, one of the missionaries was stopped by a chief, who was only dissuaded from killing him by some of his followers suggesting that it would be better to destroy them all together ; and when they reached on this occasion the Aheefoan camp, they learned that the death of their whole number was already determined, and would probably be speedily inflicted on those present. Some of the chiefs concerned for their preservation interceded for them, and their lives were spared.

While the missionaries remained in the encampment, they were exposed to the insults and reproaches of the living, who seemed impatient for their destruction, and to the noxious state of the atmosphere, arising from the unburied bodies of the slain that lay around ; and when they left the encampment, spectacles of desolation and wretchedness, such as war in its most barbarous forms alone could produce, everywhere appeared. In the adjacent district, the fruits of the earth, which had been most abundant, especially the crops of yams, were already destroyed ; the houses were either demolished or deserted, while the roads and adjacent fields for several miles were strewn with dead bodies, in such a state of putrescence, as to threaten a pestilence.*

On the 29th of May, they were required, as the only means of their preservation, to follow the Aheefoans in their march to oppose the invaders, who had returned. At the place of rendezvous, they were taken to one of the houses of the native idols, where the wives and children of the chiefs were lodged for safety. The wretched multitudes that were crowded into these houses spent the night in loud and ceaseless invocations to their idols ; and in the morning, when the enemy was expected to land, the principal chiefs and others came with

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 296.

offerings and presents to the idols. The chiefs urged the missionaries to remain, assuring them the gods of Tonga would protect them; but the missionaries deeming it derogatory to their own character, and to the honour of the true God, in whom alone they had, before the natives, so often professed to trust, left the spirits' house, and, thus foregoing the protection which its imagined sacredness would have ensured, returned to their own habitation. Here, amidst solitude and desolation, they remained until the next day, when, on receiving tidings of the entire defeat of the Aheefoans, they followed the fugitives to Mafanga, a sort of privileged district; its inhabitants having taken no part in the war on either side. After great fatigue and many apprehensions from the treachery of the natives, they reached the place in safety. In the course of a few days, Finau arrived, sent for the missionaries, expressed himself favourably towards them, and informed them that, before landing, he had given orders to his people not to injure them, and that, on reaching the shore, he had sent Veeson with a party of men to find and protect them.

The termination of the war produced but little amelioration of the circumstances of the missionaries; the people of Mafanga were scarcely more friendly than those of Aheefo had been, and the chief appeared to protect them only for the purpose of enriching himself. With this view, he requested them to proceed to Ardeo, to search for some articles which he had been informed the murdered missionaries had buried on the first breaking out of the war. They readily complied with his request, hoping to render the last sad offices of friendship to their beloved companions. On the 8th of June, they set out, accompanied by about a dozen men, and on their arrival found the mission premises a perfect desolation; the fences

were broken down, the houses in ruins, and the produce of the gardens almost entirely destroyed. They were then conducted to some distance from the premises, where the bodies of two of their former companions, Messrs. *Bowell* and *Gaulton*, lay unburied by the road side, and near each other. About fifty yards nearer the house, the body of *Harper* lay in a field or inclosure: all were so much disfigured, that the missionaries would not have recognised them, had they not been pointed out by the natives who were with them, who knew them personally, and had often seen them since their death. The body of *Burnham*, the seaman, who had lived with them, apparently much respected, and who shared their fate, they found in a sort of ditch not far off, and as it could not be removed, they covered it over with earth where it lay. Assisted by the natives, they afterwards dug one large grave, into which, with some difficulty, they removed the bodies of their slaughtered brethren, "and thus buried them without either coffin or shroud," not having, as they state in their own affecting account of the melancholy proceeding, so much as a change of native cloth for their own use.*

Little did those Christian friends who had so liberally furnished the missionaries before leaving England with every thing that seemed likely to contribute to their comfort for many years, and with the means of introducing civilization and comfort among the untutored tribes to whom they were sent, imagine that their bodies would lie for nearly a month exposed to the elements of heaven and the insults of relentless savages, and be at last interred without a remnant of cloth to surround, or a few boards to inclose them. Happily for the departed it made no difference, their dust was as precious in the eyes of Him who will watch over it till the morning of the resurrec-

* *Missionary Transactions*, vol. i. p. 300.

tion, as if deposited in its last resting-place with the most costly rites of sepulture; and the survivors who performed these sad offices over their remains, appear, in the melancholy satisfaction they derived from rendering this last tribute of affection and esteem, to have found a mitigation of the desolateness of their own circumstances.*

Though the missionaries do not on this occasion appear to have discovered any articles of property, they afterwards received a number of tools, books, and some wearing apparel from the chiefs in different parts of the island, especially from Vaajee, the friendly chief of Ardeo, who took them to his house, showed them all he possessed, and told them to take whatever they chose. On this occasion, they recovered with great joy a Bible, some writing paper, pens and ink, besides other useful articles. The chief bewailed the death of the missionaries in the most affectionate manner, intimating his intention of removing their bodies to a less public and more suitable place of interment, and erecting over them a tomb or fiatooka. He afterwards fulfilled his intention, and on the 16th

* Dr. Martin, in his ingenious and eloquent account of the Tonga Islands, derived from the recollections of Mr. Mariner, a seaman, who was spared when the *Port-au-Prince*, an English ship, was seized by the natives and most of her crew murdered, leaves his readers to suppose that, according to the accounts of the natives, three other missionaries were killed in consequence of the imagined witchcraft or baneful influence of their reading, and writing, singing, and praying.—*Mariner's Tonga Islands*, vol. i. p. 62, 63. It is to be regretted that Dr. Martin did not correct Mr. Mariner's memory, or the accounts of the natives on this subject. He was not unacquainted with the means of doing so, which the journals of the missionaries supply, as he refers in connexion with this subject to the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," in which they were published. In consequence of the misrepresentations of Ambler, Morgan, and other foreigners, the religious engagements of the missionaries were exceedingly displeasing to the natives, but certainly none of the missionaries were killed on that account.

of September sent for one of the missionaries to witness their removal to the spot he had selected for them. This delicate and generous token of respect, the most disinterested ever shown to the missionaries on the islands, appears to have deeply affected them, especially as the chief of Mafanga, under whose authority most of them at that time resided, treated them with great harshness, required them to labour at the forge for his benefit, and, listening to the groundless falsehoods of some abandoned Europeans in the island, exposed them to frequent insult, and often to more serious injury.

On the 15th of July, having obtained a habitation to themselves, they resumed the observance of social prayer, a privilege they had not enjoyed since the sabbath they spent in concealment among the rocks; but this practice was so displeasing to the chiefs and people, whose superstitious fears had been wrought upon by the foreigners, that they judged it expedient to discontinue the practice, except when they could adopt it unnoticed by the natives, which they often did around the forge where they had assembled for labour. Several times they were told that permission, or orders, had been given by the principal chiefs for their destruction; and on one occasion, one of their number overheard his own death, by a most barbarous process,* planned by a chief and his companions, who, it was expected, would put it into execution before the next day. But, throughout the long season of anarchy, alarm, and suffering, under which the year closed upon them, they cherished the liveliest feelings of commiseration for the infatuated and deluded people around them; whose extreme

* By a practice they called loome loome, in which they beat a jagged piece of cocoa-nut shell into the skull of their victim with a club.

wretchedness and strong delusion, with the impossibility of ameliorating the one or removing the other, added to the poignancy of their own sufferings. And, notwithstanding their lives being often given to them for a prey, and their being in perils among the heathen, imminent and protracted, beyond what few, if any, modern missionaries have been exposed to, they maintained unshaken confidence in the Divine protection; and, often in seasons of extremity, both in relation to danger and want, experienced such marked interpositions of Providence in their favour, as caused them to feel that, though persecuted, they were indeed not forsaken.

The year 1800 brought fresh sources of dissatisfaction to the natives, and distress to the missionaries. In addition to the ravages of war, the miseries of famine, and the charge of having been instrumental by their prayers in bringing upon the people all the calamities they had suffered, they were now charged with more directly attempting the destruction of the people, by having brought into the country a plant,* which had caused the death of a native who had eaten of it. The seeds of the plant had been brought and sown by others, but this was added to charges that were to be preferred against them, as soon as Finau, who was shortly expected, should return to the island.

Their cup of affliction was not yet full; besides the disorder, bloodshed, and famine which the war had occasioned, the island had several times been rocked by an earthquake, and now the sea and the stormy wind were the means of increasing their calamities. On the 17th of January, a violent storm or hurricane, accompanied with torrents of rain, blew down vast numbers of the bread-fruit and banana trees; and the sea, rising to an unusual height, overflowed

* The capsicum.

all the low land on the north side of the island, destroying the little produce which the devastations of war had spared. The prospects of the missionaries were now more desolate than ever, and perceiving no signs of usefulness among the people, destitute, as they were, of raiment and nearly of necessary food ; positively assured that Finau had determined to put some of them to death on his arrival, and apprehensive of the destitution of food which the late hurricane would produce, they entertained serious thoughts of escaping from the island, and attempting to reach New Holland in the boat which had been repaired since the war. But having no means of navigating their boat, nor of providing the requisite provisions for the voyage, such a step seemed to threaten certain death, and was consequently abandoned.

While Finau was absent the Aheefoans and others rebelled against his authority, and put to death, in a most barbarous manner, all who adhered to his interests. Tidings of this no sooner reached him than he hastened to take vengeance ; and on landing, beheld the horrid spectacle of the bodies of the slain, laid transversely over each other, and piled up in heaps as trophies of victory. In one place, a woman was seated with an infant at her breast, as if in the act of giving it nourishment, but on approaching nearer, it was discovered that both were dead, the enemy having with inhuman levity placed them in that position after life had been destroyed. The conflict that ensued was as obstinate and bloody as any during the war, and Finau's forces were at length driven off the island ; but though unable to attack openly, his adherents made several descents on different parts of the coast, destroying the inhabitants, killing their cocoa-nut trees, and cutting down their banana plantations, till the miserable remnant of the inhabitants were exposed to

death from starvation. * The wars of the islanders were wars of extermination, and it was by means such as these that islands once populous and fertile were rendered desolate and without inhabitant.

Before these latter calamities overtook the miserable islanders, the missionaries were mercifully favoured with the means of removal. On the 21st of January, three days after the storm had ceased, the report of cannon announced the arrival of a ship in the bay. The next day they launched their boat, and on getting out to sea perceived two vessels, which they reached about midnight, and found one to be an English letter of marque, bound for Port Jackson with a Spanish vessel as her prize. Mr. Harris, one of their former companions, and who since his return from the Marquesas had resided at Tahiti, was on board, having undertaken the voyage chiefly for the sake of visiting them, and the missionaries at Port Jackson. The arrival of the ship at this time afforded a fresh instance of the watchful care of Divine Providence. The captain before leaving Tahiti had relinquished his intention of touching at Tongatabu on his way to New South Wales, † and the violent storm which had occasioned such devastation on shore, had drifted the vessel far to the leeward of the island; but the storm was followed by an entire calm, during which a strong current carried the vessel back to the island, and thus unexpectedly afforded the means of deliverance to those whose preservation amid so many dangers could only be ascribed to the watchfulness of the Almighty.

As soon as the captain was made acquainted with the circumstances of the missionaries, he generously offered them a passage to Port Jackson, with the best accommodation that his own cabin would afford. Considering their

* Authentic Narrative, p. 131. † MS. Journal of Tahitian Mission.

abject destitution, their entire dependence on the chiefs for even such means of subsistence as the island afforded, the absence of all prospect of usefulness among the people, even should their lives be preserved, and the probability that the latter would not be long spared, they deemed it their duty to take advantage of the means thus afforded for leaving the island, and accordingly sent a note to Mr. Shelly requesting him to join them, which he did the next day, having been furnished with a canoe by Atta, the chief with whom they had resided, and who strongly urged them to depart, although his own life might be endangered by his permitting them to do so.

On the 24th of January, 1800, the ship weighed anchor and stood out to sea. As they approached the northern part of the island where they had formerly resided, Atta, their friend, and another chief, came off with a few coconuts as a present. The chief took leave of them in a most affectionate manner, and with many tears; and the missionaries themselves were deeply affected, not more on account of their own circumstances, than that they were leaving so many thousands subject to all the degradation and wretchedness of idolatry, without having been able effectually to accomplish any one of the great objects of their mission. They were, however, cheered by the conviction that the time would arrive when the people should embrace the religion of the cross, and by the hope that to this end their residence among them might be made in some degree subservient. *

In the middle of February the missionaries reached the colony of New South Wales, and were welcomed by their brethren, who had fled thither from Tahiti, and treated with great kindness by the governor, and Mr. Johnston, the chaplain of the colony. Mr. Shelly, after a short residence

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 315.

at Port Jackson, returned to the islands and joined the mission in Tahiti; the others proceeded to England, where the greater part of them arrived in safety in the month of September following, after an absence of four years. They were received with affectionate sympathy by the Christian friends and directors of the Society, by whom their departure from the island, though deeply deplored, was, under existing circumstances, entirely approved.

Abortive, disastrous, and fatal to so great an extent as the issue of the mission to the Friendly Islands had proved; and requiring, as it was felt to do, on the part of the friends and supporters of the Society, reverent submission to the will of Him in obedience to whose command, and in dependence on whose favour it had been undertaken, it furnished no just ground for the censure of those by whom it had been devised and attempted, and was not allowed to deter them from the vigorous prosecution of the great enterprise in which they had been led to embark, as they had reason to believe, by the influence of the Spirit of God. At the same time it was peculiarly adapted to impart lessons of most important practical benefit.

The commencement, progress, and issue of the Tonga mission, taught with fearful distinctness and force, what every subsequent effort among tribes in similar circumstances has amply, and, as in the recent tragical occurrence at Erromanga fatally confirmed, that the greatest difficulties and dangers arise from the baneful influence of abandoned men from civilised countries. Those in the Friendly Islands, by reason of the length of time they had been there, and the extent to which they had identified themselves with the people, revelling in all the vices to which they were addicted, had become acquainted to some extent with the language, views, and feelings of the natives, and had acquired an influence among them which they were not slow to employ in furtherance of their

own evil purposes. It was their false representations of the object of the missionaries, and the nature and design of their devotional exercises, that first poisoned the minds of the chiefs and people against them;* their covetousness, that inflamed the eagerness of the chiefs after the property of the missionaries; and their brutal conduct, that more than once threatened their lives. The most notorious among them came, as most of the same class and character in the South Sea Islands have done, to a violent and untimely end, being put to death by the natives; one, for his brutal conduct towards a chief's daughter; the other, for disrespect towards a chief. † There were no societies for the moral and religious improvement of seamen in those days; and it affords cause for grateful satisfaction to the friends of missions that they exist now, while the history of the first mission to the Friendly Islands furnishes painfully conclusive evidence of their necessity and their claims to encouragement and support.

It has been supposed that the quantity of European articles, especially iron and cloth, left with the missionaries at Tonga, contributed to the failure of their mission, by exhibiting to the natives a booty too tempting to allow of their admitting anything, even the lives of the missionaries, to stand in the way of obtaining it. There is no reason to conclude that they would have been treated better had they been destitute of the articles they possessed, while it is certain, that, in many instances, this, with their skill in working iron, induced the chiefs to seek in the first instance, and to desire afterwards, their residence near them. It is also probable that the missionaries themselves, as well as some of those by whom they were supplied, were not exempt from the erroneous opinion which, though less prevalent than formerly, is still re-

* Duff's Voyage, p. 262.

† Authentic Narrative, p. 90

tained by some, viz., that a sort of civilising process must prepare the uncivilised heathen for the reception of the truths of the Gospel. The efficacy of this process was tried at Tonga, for the missionaries spent as much of their time in the cultivation of the ground, and in working at the forge, as in any other occupation, and their labours in these respects excited at first as much admiration as at Tahiti and other islands, but certainly without producing the slightest desire on the part of the natives to receive instruction, or rendering the missionaries better qualified to impart it.

It could not fail to be perceived by all who were led to reflect attentively on the subject, that, next to the effects of the sanguinary conflicts among the people, the mission was enfeebled, if not destroyed, by the dispersion of the missionaries over different parts of the island; to them, at the time, the state and feeling of the people seemed to admit of no alternative. There was one chief who was acknowledged as superior to the rest, but his authority over the Island was, except in cases of war, scarcely more than nominal. Each district was governed by its own chief or chiefs, who, in all that concerned that district, were independent of the rest. These chiefs were jealous of the monopoly of the advantages arising from the residence of the missionaries by one chief, though that chief was their supreme ruler. A desire to remove all cause for such feelings, to secure the favour of as many of these powerful men as possible, as well as to obviate the difficulty of obtaining food for all in one place, during the seasons of scarcity, when even rats were a dainty, and to acquire more speedily the native language, prompted the missionaries to this step.

But what, humanly speaking, seemed to contribute more than anything else to the failure of the mission, was

the length of time the missionaries were left on the island without being visited by any of their countrymen. Had it been possible to have arranged for their being visited at short intervals during the first years of their settlement by an English ship, they would have felt more secure themselves, and would have occupied a very different position in the eyes of the natives. The prospect of advantage from the visit of the ship, would, of itself, have procured more respectful treatment from the latter, and would have operated as a salutary restraint upon the foreigners; for it appears by the journals of the missionaries, that one of the seamen on shore refused to join in a plan laid at the time for their destruction, for fear of the consequences whenever a ship should arrive.*

The inability of the missionaries to communicate intelligibly with the natives must have proved increasingly detrimental to their influence with the people. Though the difficulties of acquiring an unwritten language are now better understood than formerly, it may, at the present day, appear strange that they should have been nearly three years on the island, in habits of daily intercourse with the natives, without acquiring so much of the language as to be able to convey some correct ideas to the minds of the latter relative to the primary objects of their mission. But it ought not to be forgotten, that, in addition to the great portion of their time spent in mechanical labour, they were destitute of all those facilities which have been multiplying ever since for diminishing the labour and expediting the success of the modern missionary in acquiring this indispensable qualification for all efficient labour.

They were, though not illiterate men, as their journals and other communications show, in all probability un-

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 306.

accustomed to philological studies, and had no examples to follow, no rules to guide them, but were forced by necessity in this important part of their labour to feel their way, groping, as it were, in the dark, after that knowledge, without which, as far as the chief ends of their mission were concerned, they might as well have remained at home. Mariner represents the natives as having been left by the missionaries without the slightest knowledge of what their real objects were in going to the island, and as expressing surprise when informed that it had been to teach them their religion.* But however much the missionaries themselves might deplore the slow progress they made, and the difficulty they found in conveying correct ideas on religious subjects to the minds of the people, justice to their memory requires that such an imputation should not be allowed to remain.† And while great credit is due, especially to some of their number, for the efforts they made to overcome this diffi-

* Mariner, vol. i. Introduction, p. xxx.

† Veeson states, in relation to this subject,—“Our first resolution was to learn the native tongue. We also availed ourselves of every suitable opportunity to perform our daily worship, to sing and pray, when the natives were present. We endeavoured to impress them with sacred ideas of our sabbath, and invited them to attend our religious services; but informed them we were restrained from showing them our goods, and from doing any work on that day, because it was ‘taboo,’ or sacred; during which time we were tabooed, or prohibited from all kinds of business. Their attention was attracted by nothing but our singing. From this circumstance, we took occasion to mské them comprehend that we sang hymns and praises to the Deity, because of his great mercy and goodness, and because of his compassion in suffering and dying for us, to deliver us from the greatest misery in the world beyond death, and to bring us to a state of the greatest happiness. We so far succeeded as to excite their curiosity, by informing them we had come so far over the sea to tell them of Him, that they might love and fear Him, and attain to his region of happiness. But we found it impossible to interest them in such a manner as to produce any good effect till we became familiar in the native tongue.”—*Authentic Narrative*, pp. 166, 167.

culty,* yet the manifold disadvantages under which they all laboured on this account could not fail to impress on the minds of those employed in the management of missions to the heathen, the important place which a knowledge of the language of the people to whom he was sent must ever hold among the qualifications of an efficient missionary, the necessity of affording every possible aid for its attainment, and the desirableness of sending forth as missionaries only such as evinced an aptitude for acquiring a foreign language, and a readiness in using it for the instruction of the people.

* The lamented missionaries who were murdered maintained several natives in their houses for the sole purpose of learning from them the language of their country.

CHAPTER V.

The Mission to Tahiti the first of the kind in modern times—Brief notice of the moral, social, and civil state of the people—Prevalence of war and idolatry—Population of the islands at the time of their discovery, and at the commencement of the mission—Early efforts of the missionaries to acquaint the people with the moral and spiritual objects of their mission—Efforts to prevent infanticide—Influence of the skill and labours of the mechanics upon the natives—Attention to the sick—Danger of the mission from the frequent wars among the natives—Arrival of the first ship after the departure of the *Duff*—Desertion of some of the seamen—Plunder and ill-treatment of the missionaries by the natives—Departure of the majority of the former from the islands—Letter to the directors—Review of their conduct on this occasion—Their arrival in New South Wales—Tragical end of Mr. Clode—Robbery of Mr. Hassal.

THE mission to Tahiti was the first, and almost the only experiment of the kind in modern times. In scarcely any other instance, if we except the subsequent missions to New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, have a number of families, equally destitute of all practical acquaintance with the work on which they were entering, cast themselves, after a few days' intercourse, upon a remote, isolated, and uncivilized race, where they were deprived of the security of organized society and civil government; not with a view of establishing themselves as a distinct community or colony, but for the purpose of attempting to change the opinions, habits, institutions, and entire character of the people. Missions are now usually commenced by a much smaller number of individuals; and should the mode of procedure in the efforts the church may yet put forth approximate more towards the planting of small colonies of Christian families among the heathen, in connexion with the introduction of the Gospel, they

could scarcely enter their respective fields under circumstances similar to those attending the commencement of the mission in Tahiti. There are few parts of the world to which missionaries could go, without being able to obtain some previous knowledge of the language of the people, or finding some means of preparatory intercourse with them, and fewer still in which they would not find that some report of their character and objects had preceded them. They might go to regions where they would be liable to more personal hardships, but to few where the character and habits of the people would oppose greater barriers to the attainment of the great moral and spiritual objects of their mission.

There is no reason for supposing the Tahitians were insincere in the cordial welcome which they gave to the missionaries. They have always proved exceedingly fickle, acting rather from impulse than reflection, and were also most likely mistaken in the opinions they at first formed of the character and objects of the missionaries. Nothing appeared more inexplicable to the Tahitians than the moral deportment of those who arrived in the *Duff*, and they were not slow to express their surprise at the difference between their behaviour and that of their countrymen by whom they had been previously visited. Sometimes they expressed their doubts, whether the strangers really were Englishmen, and at other times declared that Englishmen never before spoke and acted as they did.* It was not to be expected that they should comprehend the benevolent and disinterested motives of the missionaries, however anxious the latter might be to explain them; and though they might understand that the communication of the knowledge of their creed was their chief object, they in all probability expected that with this other

* *Missionary Voyage*, p. 57—61, 173—175.

purposes were combined. It was evident that the natives were, to some extent, disappointed in their own expectations by the remark of the high-priest, who observed, after one of the religious services, that the missionaries gave them plenty of talk, but very few axes and knives, razors, scissors, or cloth.

The commendable traits in the character of the people were those which would most readily prepossess the mind of a stranger in their favour; an easy frankness of manner, habitual cheerfulness and good nature, often accompanied by a playfulness of wit, a quickness of perception, and an aptitude for imitation, which evinced considerable ability to observe and discriminate. Their intercourse with foreigners was also characterised by a free and generous hospitality, which could not fail to recommend them to their visitors, though, in general, arising from the force of custom, or the hope of gain.

The moral depravity of the islanders forced itself upon the notice of the most transient visitors, but it was scarcely possible to imagine the impurity and degradation actually prevailing among them. Truth was seldom regarded, especially in their intercourse with foreigners, except when it accorded with their inclination or interest. Honesty was scarcely esteemed as a virtue; and, among themselves, they seem to have been coerced to the measure of respect it received more by a fear of the certain and speedy punishment which followed the detection of theft, than by any sense of moral wrong. In regard to foreigners, all ranks regarded the successful thief with approbation, and no individual, on being convicted, seemed to suffer in general estimation, but was rather pitied than censured.

Many days had not passed after the landing of the missionaries before they found that the natives about their dwelling were robbing them of everything they

could lay their hands on, and that the opportunity of doing so was considered a privilege to be coveted.*

The social aspect of Tahitian society was not more encouraging than its moral. The ties which held its several parts together were loose and brittle; and severed without hesitation or compunction, as inclination, convenience, or caprice might dictate. Natural affection, in the most endearing relations of life, existed only during transient intervals, as something alien rather than inherent, while the dreadful state of a community in which it was so nearly destroyed appeared with horrible distinctness in the universal perpetration of enormities until then but seldom found in the annals of human wretchedness and crime. Rank was always, and office frequently, hereditary. No law or custom prevented females holding the highest station in society: the island was governed by a queen when discovered; and yet in no part of the world was the sex subjected to more invidious humiliation. The conjugal bond was nothing better than a name or badge of rank and station. Parental affection was almost unknown; the purest and kindest emotion that ever thrills a human heart, a mother's love, was often extinguished at a time when every element of her nature would, under other circumstances, combine to render it most deep and tender; and infanticide, the most unnatural of all crimes that ever inflicted their curse on human society, was practised to such an extent, that at that time, in all probability, few if any females could be found in the entire community, who

* On one occasion, the king sent the missionaries a message, informing them that their servants were great thieves, advising them to dismiss them, and engage others whom he recommended. The latter were notorious throughout the neighbourhood as great adepts in stealing, and it was supposed that the object of the king in recommending them was to secure for himself a larger portion of the plunder than he had hitherto received.—*Missionary Voyage*, p. 177.

had been mothers, and had not been guilty of it. By the majority of those who had been mothers it had been perpetrated more frequently than avoided; and by many to an extent which, but for the most unequivocal evidence, that of the perpetrators themselves, would be deemed incredible.

In such a community domestic happiness could never exist, fraternal attachments were not to be expected, and filial love was unknown. The parents who heartlessly consigned to an untimely grave their own offspring were themselves frequently, in seasons of sickness or old age, more cruelly destroyed by their children. The father was at times buried alive by the son, or thrust through with a spear, or placed where the lingering pangs of hunger and thirst would, by a more protracted and painful, but equally certain process, terminate his life.

Among a people where such frightfully barbarous practices were not simply tolerated, but openly perpetrated with impunity, exposing the guilty parties to neither punishment nor reproach, domestic order and subordination, parental authority, and filial obedience and affection, were alike unknown; and nothing since the abolition of idolatry has proved a greater barrier to the improvement of the people, than the influence of former habits, in perpetuating a want of parental government and filial obedience among all classes.

In its civil aspect, society appeared more organized; and considerable progress had been made towards the establishment of a regular system of government. Gradations of rank were universally acknowledged, clearly defined, and scrupulously guarded. The form of government was monarchical and arbitrary; the power of life and death was vested, or considered to rest, in the head of the family over his wife and children, in the chief over all the inhabitants of his district, and in the king over the

whole population. There was no regular code of laws; but certain usages and customs, originally enjoined either by the kings or the priests, in the name of the gods, had all the force of law. The whole system was exceedingly oppressive towards the poor and the dependent classes, who continually felt not only that their lives were at the mercy of their superiors, but that their very industry and skill exposed them to more frequent or exorbitant exactions. The supplies for the chiefs and the king were furnished by coerced and unrequited labour, or forcibly seized by the vassals of the chief, against whom the plundered parties dare not, on pain of death, complain. Destructive as such a state of things must have proved to the energy and enterprise of the people, and formidable as was the barrier it opposed against all improvement, it was, perhaps, more favourable, upon the whole, than that which prevailed among some of the islands where the government was shared by a number of chiefs, each absolute in his own district, and independent of all the rest. The concentration of power in the hands of one individual, while it secured the protection of the strangers, so long as that individual was willing to befriend them, was at the same time more favourable to their endeavours to operate on the entire mass, rather than on detached portions of society. It also exempted them from the sense of insecurity and constant alarm, inseparable from the perpetual quarrels which occurred between rival clans or chieftains, under a less compact form of government; and the missionaries in Tahiti, as well as those among the Friendly Islands, had painfully convincing experience of these evils during the intestine wars that occurred between the king and a large portion of the inhabitants of the island on which they resided.

Among the Tahitians, prior to their reception of Chris-

tianity, the great objects of life seem to have been indolent and luxurious indulgence, superstitious observances, and sanguinary warfare. Occasions of war were seldom wanting among themselves, when one party felt itself strong enough to overpower another; or the whole people deemed themselves able to plunder and destroy the inhabitants of an adjacent island. The excitement arising from the prospect of war, and the preparation for actual conflict, seemed to change the entire nature of the Tahitians; the mere animal indulgence and lethargic indolence, which at other times constituted so large a part of their happiness, gave place to an animation, vigour, and ceaseless activity that seemed to render them a different race. Their passions were wrought up to the most infuriated state by persons appointed for the purpose, acting in the name and under the express sanction of their imagined deities. Their conflicts were sometimes maintained with determined obstinacy; they were not in general carried on with that sort of chivalrous feeling which is supposed to arise from a contempt of death, or a pride in subduing an equal and a worthy antagonist, but from an apparent delight in shedding the blood of their fellow creatures; a mean, low, savage, and often almost malignant delight in attempting to surpass each other in the most cold-blooded and inhuman butchery. On this account, they seemed to find most satisfaction in battering the heads of their enemies, and otherwise maltreating their bodies after they had killed them; hence, also, the eagerness and apparent complacency with which they hastened to destroy the aged relatives, the wives and the children of the vanquished. The plumed and armed warriors of Tahiti seemed to find more gratification in thrusting their spears through the bodies of helpless infants, or stringing a number of them together on a cord, and dragging them after them in triumph to

their encampment, than in contending with the parents, their equals, in the battle.

The evil passions of human nature were often exhibited among the Tahitians in an appalling manner under other circumstances; but it was in times of war that they were developed with a prominence, a power, and a malignity rendering the subjects of them more like fiends than human beings. They did not, like the inhabitants of many of the islands of the Pacific, finish their murderous conflicts by banqueting on the bodies of the slain; indeed, there is but little, if any, evidence that they were cannibals at any time, but often nothing short of the entire extermination of their enemies, and the desolation of their country, would satisfy their vengeful feelings, so that the region over which the ravages of war had passed remained afterwards more like a desert than a place of human habitation.

Their social and civil state, their government in peace, their conflicts in war, were all intimately and inseparably connected with that system of idolatry which it was the great object of the mission, under the Divine blessing, to destroy. War was never either declared or commenced without the sanction of their gods, and all the acts of the king were believed to be approved, and most of them expressly enjoined by the idols; while, on many occasions, the king personated the idol, and appeared before his subjects, in some cases of human sacrifice, as the representative of the deity. By this means, the influence of the priests and the superstitious fears of the people combined to augment the power of the sovereign, and the abject submission of the people.

Their system of superstition was one of the most absurd and sanguinary that ever prevailed among mankind. Their objects of religious veneration were either the creations of their own fancies, the personifications of their

own passions, or the spirits of their departed men. The influence of this religious belief was greatly increased by the extensive and rigid system of tabu, or prohibition, which rendered whatever it was applied to sacred or forbidden, and was always enforced under the sanction and authority of the gods.

The idols, or visible representations of their gods, were sometimes coarse and grotesque, often hideous and offensively repulsive imitations of the human figure, rudely carved in wood; generally the casuarina or toa, the most durable kind of wood which the islands produced. Some of their idols were singular fabrications of closely interwoven cinet or braided cord, made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk. The largest of these did not exceed three or four feet in length, were cylindrical in form, and tapering towards one end. On the upper parts of them rude projections, to represent the features of the human countenance, were fixed; at other times, they were plain and uniform throughout, and frequently ornamented with the red feathers of a small bird, a species of paroquet, found in some of the adjacent islands.

Superstitious homage was also rendered to some kinds of fishes, to birds, and to reptiles, under the idea that though not supernatural beings themselves, they were the medium through which the gods made known or accomplished their purposes. By the priests, and those most deeply interested in upholding the system of delusion and crime, these were said to be regarded merely as symbols of the presence and powers of their deities; but by the mass of the people they were regarded as the gods, and were feared and worshipped as such. Their system of idolatry was remarkably complicated and extensive, pervading by its influence all ranks of society and every transaction of life.

The priests were frequently persons of great political influence, and on some occasions the king officiated, thus uniting in his person the offices of supreme ruler and priest. Sometimes the priest was supposed to be inspired, and to act and speak not of himself, but entirely under the influence of the supposed indwelling deity; at other times, the gods made their requirements known in dreams, which the priest was commanded to enforce upon the people. The fearful extent to which such a system was capable of being used as an engine of oppression and despotism, as well as of mental and moral degradation, was very prominently shown in the terrors and the miseries to which it subjected the Tahitians. It sanctioned, and in some instances, as in the murder of all their children by the Areois, enjoined the most revolting and barbarous of their customs. It exacted contributions of all that was valuable among the people, with a rapacity surpassing that exercised by the extravagance and wantonness of the favourites of their rulers. It was founded and fostered by a reckless destruction of human life unparalleled, in an equally limited population, among all the systems of false religion that have prevailed in ancient or in modern times.

The frequency and the cruelty with which the sacrifice of human victims were required, often on the most trivial occasions, were the darkest features of Tahitian idolatry. The foundations of their rude temples were sometimes laid on the bodies of men who had been killed and offered in sacrifice to the idol for whose worship the building was reared; or the pillars supporting the houses to which the spirits they feared and worshipped resorted were planted on the bodies of human victims. Men were slain as sacrifices on all the great idolatrous festivals, and in order to propitiate the favour of the gods, in the commencement of every important transaction of life; on the declaration

of war ; at the commencement and the close of hostilities ; at the inauguration, and almost every other event of importance in the life of the sovereign. In the event of the illness of the king or any members of his family, human victims were offered for the sake of appeasing the anger of the gods, by whom the malady was supposed to be inflicted. Every trespass on the sacred precincts of the temple, every neglect of the required homage or service to the idol, every violation of the tabu, or prohibition, imposed in its name, exposed the delinquent to certain death. Nor did the consequences of failure or offence terminate with the death of the offender ; but the family and posterity of any one offered in sacrifice were considered as devoted to the gods, and from among them, though themselves guiltless of any crime, victims were first sought whenever sacrifices were afterwards required.

Some of the servants of the missionaries, notwithstanding all the influence of the latter, fell victims to this custom ; and on one occasion, one of the king's own domestics was killed for a sacrifice, and brought and laid down bleeding and scarcely dead by the king's house, where one of the missionaries was standing at the time.* The same missionary† relates, in connexion with a circumstance of frequent occurrence among the islanders, viz., the dispersion of a fleet of canoes on their voyage from one group of islands to another, the remarkable manner in which the first acquaintance of the natives with iron was associated with the preservation of an intended human victim.

Tetoofa, the king or principal chief of the south-west end of Tahiti, took a voyage to Huahine, Raiatea, and the Leeward Islands, not many years before the arrival of the

* *Missionary Chronicle*, January, 1837, p. 3.

† Rev. H. Nott.

ship *Duff*; and in returning was overtaken by a gale of wind, by which the fleet was scattered and all lost, excepting Tetoofa and his crew. After some days had elapsed, to their no small joy they discovered an island, now called Howe's Island; but well aware that they must run upon it from the windward side, they feared the loss of their canoe, which was broken to pieces, though all on board reached the shore in safety.

The difficulty of repairing their canoe, so as to be able to return to Tahiti, was well understood by one part of the crew, though perhaps not by the other. They had lost their stone adzes, and had no fao, or instrument to bore or make holes with in the planks of the canoe, so as to tie them together. This fao was always made of the leg-bone of a man, and in order to obtain a hard bone, they always chose a rough curly-headed man, as in their opinion his bones were harder than those of others. A person of this description was marked out, and it was intended that he should be sacrificed, not only for the purpose of obtaining a bone suitable for a gouge or chisel, but also to propitiate their god, that he might give them a safe passage. While they were expecting orders to despatch the appointed victim, they saw some pieces of wood lying on the reef, and on examination, found they were parts of the wreck of a foreign ship. In one of the planks they discovered a bolt, or large spike-nail, and on separating it from the wood, soon perceived that it was sufficiently hard to answer the purpose of a gouge, without killing one of the party to obtain such an instrument. This was immediately reported to the chief, and all now rejoiced in the prospect of being able to return home, whenever the westerly wind should set in.

After sharpening the spike-nail, they accomplished their work; and ultimately, a favourable wind springing up,

they launched their canoe and reached Tahiti in safety.* The man condemned to be sacrificed was thus unexpectedly allowed to live, and the spike used instead of the bone of his leg was the first piece of iron the natives ever saw."†

The baneful influence of this sanguinary system of imposture was greatly increased by the almost universal prevalence of incantation and sorcery, which exposed the deluded inhabitants to the perpetual apprehension of the direct tormenting and fatal influence of malignant spirits. In every district there were men whose reputed influence with evil spirits was supposed sufficient to induce the latter to inflict the most excruciating agony of body and mind, and ultimately to destroy the lives of those against whom their powers were invoked. The sorcerers were always ready to employ their supposed influence with the evil spirits according to the directions of any who were willing to furnish the remuneration demanded, and against those towards whom the latter might cherish vindictive feelings. The only safety of the party thus threatened was supposed to exist in the employment of a mightier spell, or in securing the protecting influence of a more powerful demon. Under the influence of these delusions, when the sufferings of any one afflicted have been supposed to arise from the employment of sorcery, every article possessed by the relatives of the sufferer was often taken, to engage the incantation of an opposing sorcerer. The belief in sorcery was universal, and the dread of evil spirits so great that the excited imaginations and morbid feelings of the victims of the practice undoubtedly contributed very materially to produce the dreadful and

* Missionary Chronicle, January, 1837, p. 3.

† This large nail was afterwards taken to the temple consecrated to the god of Tetoofa, and brought no small revenue to the owners of the temple, in articles paid for its use by parties to whom it was lent for the purpose of building canoes.

convulsive agonies that were often endured, and always terminated fatally.*

The whole machinery of their sorcery was a fearful mystery of iniquity, too complicated to be considered now at large, but of too frequent application and too dreadfully efficient in gratifying the implacable and vindictive passions, to be altogether unnoticed. It appears in gloomy unison with that system of superstition of which it formed so essential a part, which invested the objects of its homage with no attributes but those of power and vengeance, and appealed only to the weakness and the fears of its votaries ; presented no object which could be regarded with complacency by the most devoted worshipper, and maintained its influence over the enslaved minds of its vassals by the constant apprehension of vindictive punishment, from unseen but powerful and malignant beings. So universal and absolute was the dominion of this system, that prior to the reception of Christianity the natives did not believe that any individual died from natural causes ; every one who did not die by some violent means was supposed to be destroyed by the gods, or to perish from the effects of sorcery.

The state of society, as it existed in Tahiti and the adjacent islands at the commencement of the mission, to the more prominent features of which a brief reference has thus been made, has now for ever passed away ; but justice to the Society, by the instrumentality of whose agents this entire change has been effected, seemed to require some notice of the former state of the people, in order to the completeness of its history.

How long, previous to the discovery of the islands, or

* It has been reported by some, who were sorcerers, that poisonous substances were employed.

the arrival of the *Duff*, these evils had prevailed, it is not easy to ascertain; many of the most revolting practices are noticed by Captain Cook and his companions, and the visits of foreigners added to the vices and sufferings of a people who already seemed sunk to the lowest possible depth of moral degradation.

It is probable that the general corruption and consequent causes of depopulation had been rapidly increasing during the period immediately preceding the earlier visits of Europeans to this country; for had the causes of depopulation which existed then been in operation from a remote era of their history, it seems improbable that the amount of population could ever have been so much greater as, by the relics of former inhabitants, it evidently was, at a period not many generations anterior to the arrival of the missionaries. Captain Cook estimated the population at 200,000; this was, certainly, far too high. Forster estimated them at 121,500;* this was also probably far more than the island contained. But the causes of depopulation already noticed had, in the interval, operated with appalling force; and when the missionaries landed, the whole inhabitants of Tahiti did not exceed 16,000.†

After the arrival of the missionaries, the same causes continued to operate until the total number of inhabitants in Tahiti was reduced to between 6000 and 7000 persons.‡ Many of the more intelligent and reflecting among the natives were deeply sensible of this diminution of their numbers, and often spoke of themselves as "the remnant of the men, and the end of the people," and seemed to apprehend that in a short time their race would become extinct. It was thus among what the people called the

* Forster's Observations, p. 222. † First voyage of the ship *Duff*, p. 215.

‡ Missionary Transactions, vol. ii. p. 144.

small remainder of their race, fast verging to annihilation, that the missionaries arrived, and commenced those labours, which, though so long, dreary, and apparently vain, were ultimately crowned with such distinguished success.

Amidst the new and strange and strongly exciting circumstances, under which the missionaries had landed at Tahiti, the great moral and spiritual objects of their mission appear to have been among the first to which their attention was directed. The zeal which had induced them to leave their native land, urged them to seize the earliest opportunities that offered for making known to the people the nature of the instruction they had come to impart. This they could only attempt through the medium of interpreters, a mode of procedure, even under the most favourable circumstances, exceedingly uncertain and inefficient, and in the present instance peculiarly so, as the interpreters were natives of Sweden, who had been a short time before shipwrecked among the islands, and had necessarily a very imperfect acquaintance with the language, both of the missionaries and the natives, and needed perhaps almost as much instruction on religious subjects as the people themselves. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the missionaries deemed it their duty to address the people publicly, especially on the Lord's day. It was probably satisfactory to their own minds to make the attempt. The natives generally appeared pleased; affirmed, in courtesy, that they understood what was said, and that it was very good; though they gave painfully conclusive evidence, that if understood, it was utterly disregarded.

This was very clearly shown in the strenuous, though futile, efforts which were made to impress the minds of the natives with a sense of the cruelty and wickedness of destroying their infants, and to dissuade from the practice those who frequented their dwelling and professed to

value their friendship. The missionaries offered, in order to relieve the parents from all charge of such children as they intended to destroy, to receive them as soon as they were born, to bring them up tenderly, and to instruct them as they grew up in the most useful arts. They used all their influence with the queen, who was expecting shortly to become a mother, and had avowed her intention to destroy her infant; endeavouring to show her that the practice was contrary to every feeling of nature, as well as displeasing to the true God; and must produce unfavourable impressions in the minds of her friends in England if persisted in, while it would give them the greatest satisfaction to learn that she had discontinued it.

The friends of some of the missionaries promised to spare their infants, though they afterwards destroyed them. Pomare seemed affected by the representations of the missionaries, said Captain Cook had expressed his disapprobation of the practice, and promised to use his own influence to prevent it. But on Idia his wife no favourable impression was made; she justified her intention by observing that the father of her expected infant was a man of inferior rank, and walked sullenly away. A day or two afterwards, the infant was born and instantly murdered; and on the missionaries expressing their disapprobation of her conduct, the next time she came to their dwelling, she was highly offended, said she had a right to do with her children as she pleased, and should observe the customs of her country without regarding their displeasure.* Her son, who was nominally king at the time, did not inspire more favourable hopes in the minds of the missionaries, who, in speaking of him after one of their addresses to the people, at which he had been present, observed, that, according to human

* Voyage of the *Duff*, p. 157.

judgment, he seemed the last on whom any favourable impression could be made;* yet, he afterwards became the first convert to Christianity in the island, and was, throughout the greater part of his subsequent life, their steady and sincere friend.

However little the people might comprehend the addresses of the missionaries, and however averse they might feel to what they did understand, they could not fail to perceive that whatever views might have brought other strangers to their shores, the objects of their present visitors were peculiarly religious. The regular and exemplary attention paid by the missionaries ever since their first landing in Tahiti, to the private, social, and public observances of religion could not be concealed from the natives, and must have inspired feelings of respect for their characters, while it produced a deep and subsequently a salutary impression on the minds of the observers.

The missionaries were equally active in employing other means with a view of prepossessing the natives in their favour, and gaining influence with them, while they were contributing to their own convenience. Some went over to Eimeo to assist in finishing a small vessel belonging to the high priest of the island; others erected the forge and begun to work in iron, while others sawed trees into boards, for the purpose of building a boat, and flooring the apartments of their dwelling.

The natives could understand the value of these attainments, and appreciate their superiority to all that they could achieve. The forge was the great centre of attraction to all classes. With the uses of iron the natives had but recently become acquainted; next to red feathers, which were sacred to the gods, it was the most valuable article any one could possess; and the facility with which

* Voyage of the *Duff*, p. 71.

they now saw it, under the hand of the smith, made to assume the various forms required, excited equally their astonishment and delight. Hour after hour they thronged around the place, scarcely knowing which most to admire, the wealth of the people possessing so much iron, or the skill that could so easily render it subservient to their wishes. It was at this period that the king coming into the shop one day when they were at work, was so delighted that he could not refrain from throwing his arms round the smith, embracing him, and saluting him according to the custom of the country, by touching noses.* To these labours were added the attempt, but without much success, to teach some of the native youth the letters of the English alphabet.

The missionaries had been subject to petty thefts ever since their arrival in the island, but the day after the *Duff's* departure they were alarmed by a conversation which some of them overheard, relating to the quantity of property they possessed, and the propriety of plundering them on the sabbath day while they were engaged in public worship. The king's mother, on being made acquainted with the cause of their alarm, denied all evil intentions towards them, and if such had been entertained they were abandoned, at least for the time. The minds of the missionaries were deeply affected by the ravages of diseases, partly of European origin, among the people around them; and anxious to show the natives that they were desirous of healing their physical as well as their moral maladies, they erected an hospital in the neighbourhood of their own dwelling for the reception of the sick, and intimated their desire to administer medicine to such as needed it. But few of the natives were willing to place themselves under their care.

* Voyage of the *Duff*, p. 159.

Attention to the sick from humane feelings, and without advantage in some shape or other, was so inexplicable to the natives that they doubted the sincerity of the missionaries in their professions of sympathy. The efficacy of the few and simple medicinal remedies which their own practitioners were in the habit of applying was supposed to depend so much more upon the power of the gods, in dependence on whose favour they were employed, than on any internal properties of the remedies themselves, that, supposing the medicine of the missionaries was to be applied on the same principle, they were afraid of placing themselves in the power of the God of the foreigners, lest they should thereby offend their own deities and expose themselves to still greater sufferings.

So far also did they carry their ideas of conferring some advantage on the missionaries even by receiving their kindness, that some expected a present before they took the medicine, others required it to be sweet to secure their confidence, and all were impatient, expecting to be cured as by miracle rather than medicine. The good intentions of the missionaries were by these means entirely frustrated; while the ignorance and superstitious views of the people, who supposed all pain produced by the malediction of the gods, exposed the missionaries to great misapprehension if not to some peril, in consequence of the temporary suffering which the remedies they employed had produced. It is generally and justly supposed that a knowledge of the healing art is of great value to a missionary labouring among an uncivilized people, and it is unquestionably amongst the most important of all secular qualifications; but the history of the Tahitian mission furnishes repeated instances of the necessity of caution in its use, even in cases of the greatest urgency.

The excitement and wonder produced by the arrival of

the missionaries soon subsided, and as the people became more occupied with their own affairs, the former began to understand better the actual state of the people as well as their own position; and the knowledge thus obtained afforded but little confirmation of the pleasing hopes of security and speedy success which first appearances had inspired.

The feebleness of Pomare's government, the strength and rancorous feelings of hostile parties, the frequent acts of violence and bloodshed among the natives, and the more frequent rumours of war, convinced them that their tranquillity was constantly liable to sudden and perilous interruption, and forced upon them the consideration of the course which, in the event of war around them, or of an attack upon their own premises, it would be their duty to pursue. They had brought fire-arms from the ship as a means of intimidation and of self-defence, to be resorted to in the last extremity; and they wisely determined that they could take no part whatever in any war amongst the people, and would only use their fire-arms in the event of their habitation being attacked by the natives. At the same time they deemed it requisite to surround their dwelling with a strong paling or fence, as a means of greater security against hostile violence and individual depredations.

The missionaries before the close of the year began the erection of a better house, influenced by a hope, pleasing though fallacious, that besides promoting their own comfort, the exhibition of their skill, the superiority of their workmanship, their willingness to instruct the natives in the same arts, might divert their thoughts, to some extent at least, from projects of war to pursuits of peace, or induce them to employ some portion of the time squandered in idleness, revelry, and vice, in industrious and useful pur-

suits. At the same time, and while endeavouring to prepare themselves for the more direct instruction of the people they employed, on every suitable occasion, all the influence they possessed with the rulers of the land, to diminish the crimes and miseries of the people. With this view, they presented, through the medium of an interpreter, an address to the king and chiefs, when convened on the occasion of a great festival in the district of Matavai, on the 1st of February, 1798, urging upon them the discontinuance of human sacrifices, and the prohibition of infant murder. The chiefs listened attentively to their representations, and promised, though they adopted no means for fulfilling their promise, that the murder of infants should be discontinued.

In the course of the following month, these labours suffered an unexpected and disastrous interruption. On the 6th of March, 1798, exactly twelve months from the day of the *Duff's* arrival, a ship arrived at Matavai. The missionaries, on proceeding on board, found that the vessel was the *Nautilus*, from Macao, originally bound for the north-west coast of America, for furs, but so damaged by tempestuous weather, as to be obliged to put into harbour.

All on board were in great distress, being destitute of most of the necessaries of life, and the captain and supercargo had nothing with which to barter with the natives for provisions, but muskets and ammunition. These were the articles which, under the existing state of things on shore, the chiefs were most anxious to obtain; but which the missionaries, desirous of diminishing rather than multiplying the incentives to war, were unwilling to see increased among them. The latter, therefore, offered to supply the vessel, as far as their own means would admit, with the needed refreshments, if the

captain would not furnish the natives with muskets and powder. During the night, five Sandwich islanders absconded from the vessel; and as but few men remained on board, the captain, declaring his intention not to sail without them, solicited the aid of the missionaries in recovering them. By the exertions of some natives belonging to the missionary settlement, one of the deserters was apprehended, and sent on board, but the others being protected by the king, remained on the island.

The missionaries furnished a considerable quantity of fruits and hogs, and on the 10th of March, the vessel sailed for Masuerfero, but returned in about a fortnight, having been so injured by a storm as to be under the necessity of abandoning the voyage, and returning to obtain supplies requisite for proceeding to Port Jackson. The missionaries promised to obtain supplies, but were prevented by restrictions which Pomare had imposed on all productions of the island.

On the second day after the return of the ship, two of the seamen deserted, and placed themselves under the king's protection. The captain and supercargo sent a note to the missionaries, declaring their determination to recover the men, cost what it would, and again soliciting their assistance.

Sympathizing with the captain in his distress, and anxious to prevent the increase of dissolute seamen on the island, the missionaries sent four of their own number to the king and chiefs at Pare, with a view of endeavouring to persuade them to send the deserters back to their ship. On reaching the house of the king, the customary salutations were exchanged, but deeming it best to make the object of their visit known to the

chiefs unitedly, they left the king to go in search of Pomare, his father. They had not proceeded above three quarters of a mile, when they were seized by a number of the natives, who had accompanied them; their clothes were forcibly torn from their bodies, one was dragged through the river, on the margin of which they were seized, others were treated with violence, and all expected to be murdered. The natives, however, at their request, led them, stripped as they were, except a small girdle of native cloth, to Pomare, who, with Idia, expressed the utmost distress at the calamity that had befallen them, gave them native cloth, assured them of protection, and then sent them home in a double canoe.

When the missionaries reached Matavai, they found their companions under arms, and in a state of great alarm. Reports of the assault upon their brethren at Pare had reached them, accompanied with vague rumours of an intention to attack their own dwelling. There does not seem to have been any serious intention of the kind; for though two of the missionaries who had been so violently treated heard the natives around saying, "We have four of them in our possession now; there are only fourteen remaining, we will go and take them also,"* the people generally appeared to sympathize with those who had been plundered.

Muskets, bayonets, and gunpowder, were at this time most eagerly desired by every chief in Tahiti. These being the only disposable articles on board the *Nautilus*, the king and his ally, the chief of Papara, expected a valuable supply in return for the provisions of which they saw the captain was so much in need. They also hoped to decoy some of the seamen from the

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 37.

ship, to enable them to oppose Pomare on more equal terms, if not to deprive him of all share in the government. The missionaries, by supplying the ship with provisions, had disappointed their hopes of obtaining arms; and as they had interested themselves to obtain the return of the Sandwich islanders to the ship, the king surmised the object of their visit, and allowed, if he did not order, his followers to plunder them.

The greater part of the missionaries, regarding the events of the day as a sample of the treatment they might expect whenever their conduct should be displeasing to the chiefs, considered themselves no longer safe from personal violence and plunder, and so forcibly were their minds impressed with this belief, that eleven of their number, four married, and seven single missionaries, felt themselves justified in abandoning the work, and departing from the island. The captain and supercargo of the vessel having, on learning their views, offered them a passage to New South Wales, they determined to leave without delay. The preparations for embarkation soon informed the natives of their intentions, and the tidings, as they rapidly spread through the island, excited very general feelings of regret. Two days after the assault, the articles taken from the missionaries were restored; the high priest was also sent with a plantain and a chicken, as a peace offering and an atonement; and Pomare, who was greatly distressed, gave them the strongest assurances of protection, and used every effort to induce them to remain.

On the 29th of March, 1798, the missionaries who intended to leave the island embarked, and during the night of the day following sailed from the island. The six who remained sent a brief account of their views and

feelings on this melancholy occasion, which could not fail deeply to interest in their behalf those to whom it was addressed.*

* The missionaries on the island of Otaheite, or King George's Island, in the Great South Sea, to the directors of the Missionary Society, who, under the great Prince of all missionaries, for the preaching of his gospel in all parts of the world, were instrumental in commissioning us to go forth and teach the heathen in these seas, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Dearly beloved brethren,—Time and circumstances will not admit us at this present to enter upon particulars. The change that has taken place in our situation, by the sudden resolution of the major part of the society of missionaries to depart from this island of Otaheite for Port Jackson, in New Holland, we trust will nothing hinder that work which first induced us to offer our services to the directors of the Missionary Society, supported us under the heavy trial of forsaking parents, brothers, sisters, friends, &c. &c., and still encourages us to abide the will of God on this island. We can only assure the directors of the Society, that our confidence is the strength of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose aid we depend upon, and whose servants we desire to manifest ourselves to be. We also humbly request the directors of the Society not to forget us either in their prayers or re-visiting us, if any opportunity for so doing should occur. We do not expect or solicit that the Society should put themselves to any further expense on our account; but if the directors should judge it prudent, and find it convenient, to send out a few presents for those who showed themselves most friendly to us, such as knives, scissors, axes, and such articles, they will be gratefully received. Experience has taught us the more we are encumbered about worldly things, the less concern we have for the conversion of the heathen; and the more we are detached from secular employments, the more, we trust, our minds will be attached to the propagation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Otaheite affords food and raiment suitable to its climate, and sufficient to answer the great end of Providence in granting us these blessings; and having these things, we hope the Lord will teach us to be content.

We deem it needful to inform the directors of the Society, that it appears to us, at present, a reinforcement of this island with a body of missionaries, consisting of men, women, and children, and furnished after the manner of ourselves, when we quitted our native country in the ship *Duff*, would nothing forward the work of God on Otaheite or the adjacents island; but if four or six Christian men, void of wordly encumbrances, will be willing to hazard their lives for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ in the salvation of the heathen, and, led by the eternal Spirit, forsake all and follow us, we shall rejoice, if spared, to give them the right hand of Christian brotherly

The hurried departure of so many of the missionaries from the field on which only twelve months before they had entered with such high satisfaction appears to indicate a degree of alarm unwarranted by the real or apparent danger. If they were disappointed and dissatisfied with the actual state of things among the people, and discouraged by the prospects around them, it is not surprising that they should have deemed the outrage at Pare, a sufficient reason for departing. But if they had attentively considered the dangers and difficulties inseparable on account of the known character and habits of the people from the work on which they had entered,—if they had entered upon that work under a firm conviction, that under the Divine blessing its ultimate success was certain, and with a determination, in dependence on Divine aid, to persevere, and sacrifice in its pursuit everything short of life, then it scarcely seems probable that the ill-treatment they had met with would have occasioned such an instantaneous retreat.

It is not, however, necessary to conclude from their conduct on this occasion that all who retired had engaged in the work without duly counting the cost. The church had not then the experience it possesses now of the extent to which, under alarming appearances, intercourse might be safely maintained by the Christian missionary with uncivilized men. The missionaries also had,

fellowship. We conclude with our prayers to our God and your God, our Lord and your Lord, for his blessings on your labours for spreading abroad the savour of the grace of Christ throughout the world.

We remain,

Dearly beloved brethren,

Your brethren in the gospel of Jesus Christ,

H. BICKNELL,

J. HARRIS,

T. LEWIS,

J. EYRE,

J. JEFFERSON,

H. NOTT.

Otaheite, Matavai District,

March 29th, 1798.

in all probability, other reasons for apprehension beyond the violence experienced by some of their number, and the rumours which threatened all. Those who remained were afterwards told by the late king, that at that period he was often instigated by the profligate seamen on the island to murder the missionaries, and seize upon their property, which he was told could easily be accomplished on the sabbath day, or at other times when they were engaged in religious services.

The event which led to the breaking up of the mission as at first established, viz., the endeavour of the missionaries to obtain the return of some sailors who had deserted from their ship, was trivial, but its consequences, and the practical lessons it taught, were most important. It was one of the earliest among the many facts of modern missions which show the difficulty of the missionary's position when the views and interests of foreigners, even his own countrymen, interfere with or oppose those of the people among whom he dwells, and which point out the extreme caution necessary to be observed by him in identifying himself with either one or the other. Besides this, the missionaries could not fail to be deeply convinced by this occurrence, that in attempting to accomplish any object in which the people were concerned, however commendable in itself, and beneficial in its consequences, they must act in concert with, and not in opposition to the natives; that they could only advantageously employ persuasion and example, and that these would only be effectual in proportion to the influence they had previously acquired. They certainly committed an error, though for the best motives, in sending men to arrest those who in the first instance absconded from the ship. They invaded the province of the chiefs of the country, to whom their application should have been made, if they judged it

right to interfere at all, further than becoming the medium of communication between the captains and the chiefs; and if their representations failed to induce the rulers to send the men back, they should have remained satisfied with having done all that it was suitable for them to attempt.

It is also worthy of notice, that the earliest of the disasters which destroyed one, and crippled the remaining mission in the South Seas, arose from the visits of shipping, and the conduct of deserters from foreign vessels, a class of men who, with some few exceptions, have been the cause of incalculable evil to the native communities in which they have settled, and have produced deeper distress, and inflicted greater injury on the missionaries than the most uncivilized of the natives; while they have raised greater difficulties in the way of the missionary's success than all the superstition, degradation, and barbarism of the most ignorant and idolatrous tribes.

The missionaries who left in the *Nautilus* were Messrs. Cover, Henry, Hassel, Oakes, Main, Hodges, James and William Puckey, Clode, Cock, and Smith, four of whom were married. They reached Port Jackson on the 14th of May, and were kindly treated by the governor, and the Rev. Messrs. Johnson and Marsden, chaplains of the settlement. The conduct of some was afterwards such as to prevent any regret that they had left the island; and others, on taking up their abode in New South Wales, found that they had rushed upon the very evils from which they fled at Tahiti.

Mr. Hassel was robbed of nearly all he possessed, and dangerously wounded, by six armed ruffians, who broke into his house near Paramatta;* and Mr. Clode, whose

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 321.

humane, benevolent, and exemplary conduct, had secured for him the sincere respect of the principal persons in the colony, was most barbarously murdered by a man named Jones, to whom, having come from the same town, he had lent a small sum of money. Mr. Clode was preparing to proceed to England, having taken his passage on board a vessel then in the harbour, and in the course of arranging his affairs applied to Jones for the money he had lent him. This was promised, and a time fixed for its payment; in the meantime preparations were made for destroying him; and when he came, the ungrateful wretch whom he had so generously befriended split open his head in several places with a large axe, and then cut his throat so as almost to sever the battered head from the body. Assisted by an accomplice, the corpse was removed; saw-dust spread over the blood on the floor; and in the same house the murderers entertained some of their friends with feasting and mirth until midnight. They were discovered the next day, apprehended, tried, and convicted, and the house having been by the governor's order reduced to ashes, they were finally executed on the spot, and their bodies afterwards hung in chains.* Mr. Hassel filled for many years a responsible situation under the government of New South Wales; Mr. Cover proceeded to England; and Mr. Henry returned to the islands.

* Evangelical Magazine, vol. viii. p. 298.

CHAPTER VI.

Punishment of the inhabitants of Pare for the outrage committed on the missionaries—Determination of the latter to take no part in the native wars—Death of the high priest—Separation of Mr. Lewis from the mission—Affecting circumstances of his death—Melancholy tidings of the capture of the *Duff*, and destruction of the Friendly Island mission—Letter and present from the governor of New South Wales to Pomare—Commencement of commercial intercourse between New South Wales and Tahiti—Arrival of the *Royal Admiral* with missionaries from England—Departure of Mr. Broomhall—His subsequent career—Introduction of valuable seeds and fruits—Extent of traffic between the islands and New South Wales—Correspondence between the missionaries and the Rev. Samuel Marsden—First sermons in the native language—Wreck of the *Norfolk*—Journeys of the missionaries among the people—War between the king and the people of Atehurn—Peril of the missionaries—Their efforts to mitigate the calamities of the war—Sufferings of the missionaries in consequence of the war—Influence of the medical knowledge of the missionaries—Preaching of the missionaries, and discouraging conduct of the natives—Rapid depopulation of the island—Mortality in the king's family—Death of Pomare 1st.

BEFORE the *Nautilus* sailed, the missionaries who intended to remain sent all their fire-arms on board the ship except two, which they gave to the chiefs; and justly deeming themselves too feeble to oppose any hostile attack from the natives, delivered over to Pomare the smith's-shop, and all the contents of their public storeroom, offering, at the same time, whatever articles of value might be in their individual possession. The chief accepted the former, but told them they were at perfect liberty to appropriate to their own use at any time whatever they might want; while he entirely declined taking anything that belonged to them individually.

Pomare, whose friendship for the missionaries there is every reason to believe was sincere, punished the people

of Pare for the outrage they had committed, by destroying some of their houses, and killing two of the natives, to the great distress of the missionaries. In retaliation, the inhabitants of the district declared war against Pomare, who came to the missionaries requesting their assistance, and inquiring how many of them "knew how to make war." They replied, with great firmness, "We know nothing of war;" and, when the chief had left, resolved, after further deliberation, that, whatever the consequences might be, they would take no part in any wars among the natives. The inhabitants of Pare having rejected the terms of peace offered by Pomare, were attacked by him and his son, and a number of them slain, which increased the sorrow of the missionaries, and afforded a melancholy proof of the treachery of the king, who, though he had allowed, if not ordered the people to plunder the missionaries, yet, to prevent suspicion, joined with his father in punishing them.

Five months after the departure of the *Nautilus*, the natives were thrown into great consternation, by the approach of two large vessels, under English colours. These the people apprehended had come to avenge the treatment the missionaries had received: and numbers who were preparing for immediate flight to the mountains were only detained in the settlement by the assurances of the missionaries, and the deportment of the commanders of the vessels when they landed. Among the presents which the chiefs received from these vessels was a large quantity of gunpowder, which through their carelessness was ignited a few days afterwards; and, besides injuring several of the natives, so wounded one of the principal chiefs, that he died very shortly after. Otu joining with the chief priest soon after, made war upon the district of Matavai, burning a number of houses, and killing

several of the people. The mission house on this occasion was surrounded by the infuriated men who had ravaged and plundered the neighbourhood, but its inmates were not molested. Pomare, who was absent from Tahiti at the time, sent instructions to Idia, to have the priest, who had long been as deeply involved in political intrigue as in superstitious cruelty, put to death; and the king with whom the latter was at the time in closest alliance, having, in compliance with his mother's repeated solicitations, agreed to his destruction, he was murdered by one of Idia's men, at the foot of One Tree Hill, on the 3rd of December, 1798.

After this event amity was nominally established between Pomare and his son; and many of the natives of the district, leaving their hiding places among the mountains, returned to their former abodes, not however without evident suspicions of the king's sincerity, which his recent treachery, in punishing the inhabitants of Pare for what he himself had authorized or ordered, and consenting to the death of the priest, who was his ally and friend, amply justified.

Heavy as the trials of the year had proved, the missionaries were called to experience another still more severe; this was the separation from their work and exclusion from their Christian fellowship of one of their own number, Mr. Lewis, who on the 1st of August intimated to the brethren his intention of taking one of the native women as his wife. This communication was exceedingly distressing though not unexpected, as he had frequently spoken on the subject of marrying a native. The missionaries could not but regard the course Mr. Lewis intended to pursue as directly opposed to the word of God, and consequently sinful; especially as the subject had been maturely considered by their entire number, soon after their settlement in the

island, and it had then been unanimously agreed, "that if any missionary be connected with a heathen woman, he should no longer be considered a missionary or a member of the church."*

On the following day, when the missionaries proceeded to consider the subject, the ordained ministers declared they could take no part in performing the ceremony of such marriage, and the majority united in excommunicating Mr. Lewis from the fellowship of the church, and consequently from the missionary office. This act will doubtless appear precipitate and severe; and as Mr. Lewis had not consummated his marriage, it would certainly have been more in accordance with their desire for his welfare, as well as the maintenance of the purity of their profession, by which they were actuated, if some time had been allowed for expostulation and affectionate counsel, before visiting him with the heaviest punishment they could inflict. Mr. Lewis had a short time before this gone to reside at Ahonu, a place near the missionary settlement, for the purpose of acquiring more speedily the native language, and after this act of the missionaries he continued to reside there with the woman he had taken as his wife, devoted much of his time to the cultivation of his garden, and endeavoured to render himself useful, by working for the chiefs and people. He continued the reading of scriptures and prayer in his house, and regularly attended public worship in the place appointed for that purpose by the missionaries, that being the only part of the premises to which he was ultimately allowed access. Thus excluded from all social intercourse with the missionaries, who at last restricted their intercourse to official written communication,† Mr. Lewis continued

* *Missionary Transactions*, vol. i. p. 58.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 128.

among the natives until his death, which took place on the 27th of November, 1799. When the tidings of this melancholy event were brought to the missionaries on the following morning, they proceeded to the house in which he had resided, and found marks of evident violence on the body, which the woman he had lived with affirmed to have been inflicted by himself, but which there was more ground to suspect had been caused by others, by whom there was afterwards every reason to believe the unhappy man had been murdered.* On the following day, the missionaries conveyed his remains to a spot near his dwelling, on the northern side of the bay, which had been selected as a place of interment. Messrs. Nott and Bicknell, with the assistance of the natives, dug a grave, and when his body was committed to the earth, Mr. Harris read the ninetyeth psalm, and offered appropriate supplication unto God.

The circumstances of this the first death and burial that had taken place among the missionaries were deeply and painfully affecting, and it is but just to the memory of the survivors to record their regret, that after his excommunication from their fellowship, that friendly intercourse was not kept up, which, without sanctioning his conduct, or compromising their own character, might have been maintained, and might possibly have prevented the melancholy catastrophe which they so deeply deplored. Pomare, by whom, as well as the other chiefs, Mr. Lewis appears to have been much respected, expressed sorrow at his death, and proposed, if the missionaries thought he had been murdered, to destroy the inhabitants of the place, a punishment so much apprehended, that many of the latter fled to the mountains. The missionaries un-

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 217.

willing to encourage any vindictive feelings, much less to involve the innocent with the guilty, prevailed upon Pomare to spare the district, whatever penalty he might inflict upon the perpetrators of the crime should they be discovered.

This year, so disastrous and destructive of the strength of the mission, had scarcely closed, before a still further reduction of their numbers took place, by the removal of Mr. Harris, who sailed on the 1st of January, 1800, in a vessel bound for New South Wales, whence he removed to Norfolk Island, and finally returned to England. His loss, however, was made up by the return of Mr. and Mrs. Henry within a few days after Mr. Harris's departure.

Under their multiplied discouragements the missionaries had steadily kept the great object of the mission in view, and in a letter which they sent by the vessel in which Mr. Harris departed, they express their belief that although the force of superstition and the depravity of the people prevented their attending to instruction, few of those around them were ignorant of the great differences between heathenism and Christianity. It was with them a subject of regret that no one of their number was yet able publicly to preach the gospel to the people, though they endeavoured on all suitable occasions to make known to them some of the simplest of the great truths of revelation. The most formidable barrier to their labours in this department was the native language; as their knowledge of this increased, their endeavours to teach the people were more frequent, and the latter often inquired how it was the Captains Cook and Clark, Bligh, Vancouver, and others, never told them about Jesus Christ, and other things which the missionaries taught?*

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 116.

labours were attended with no manifest advantage, still the missionaries felt grateful to be able to engage in them, and with a view to their own convenience as well as to afford greater facilities for instructing the natives, they commenced, on the 5th of March, 1800, the erection of a chapel near the spot where Mr. Lewis was interred. Pomare supplied them with timber, rendered them all the aid in his power, and when the building was nearly finished, sent them a fish, which he requested might be hung up in the chapel, as an offering to Jesus Christ. He was surprised, and did not seem pleased when the missionaries told him they could not accept it for such a purpose.* Ever since the return of Mr. Henry, the missionaries had been indulging the pleasing hope of a second visit from the ship *Duff*, with a reinforcement of the mission; but these anticipations were destroyed by the arrival of the *Albion* from London, by way of New South Wales, on the 29th of December, in this year. The captain informed them of the capture of the *Duff*, and letters from Norfolk Island conveyed the melancholy tidings of the murder of some of the missionaries in the Friendly Islands and the departure of the rest.

By this conveyance the governor of New South Wales sent a small present to Pomare, accompanied by a letter, expressing his hopes that the natives would profit by the instructions and example of his countrymen the missionaries, and desired to hear from him by the return of the vessel. The interchange of friendly communication thus opened by Governor King has been uninterruptedly continued between the rulers of the Society Islands, and successive governors of New South Wales, down to the present time, and has been a source of encouragement to

* Missionary Transactions, vol. i. p. 123.

the missionaries and benefit to the people, while the supplies of fresh provisions which at some periods were obtained in the islands proved highly serviceable to the colony.

Dark as were the prospects of the missionaries at this time, and greatly as the tidings they now received added to their distress, they felt no desire to retire from the field, but intimated, in a letter which they sent to the directors by this conveyance, their conviction of the greater facilities that would attend their attempts to establish the Gospel in Tahiti, and extend it to the islands around, if they were joined by an experienced director of the Society, and a number of devoted men, including a surgeon, and some who were acquainted with the most useful mechanic arts. In a subsequent letter they suggested the desirableness of attempting to establish a mission in New Zealand.

Though the persons of the missionaries had been safe, and their habitations exempt from open plunder, they had been kept in a state of constant alarm by rumours of war or actual hostilities, and the *Albion* had scarcely departed when a large fleet of canoes, filled with fighting men from different parts of the island, having also human sacrifices on board, arrived at Matavai, and afterwards proceeded to Pare, where the chiefs of the island assembled. The greatest consternation prevailed among the people, who expected that the feelings of hatred and jealousy which the parties were known to cherish towards each other would issue in a general war.

At this critical period a king's ship arrived from New South Wales, with letters and presents for Pomare. The friendly communication from the governor, and the presents to Pomare, especially as the latter included half a dozen muskets, and a quantity of ammunition which he had requested by the captain of the *Albion*, together with

the attentions of the captain, tended at this time to confirm the supremacy of Pomare and his son, and to preserve peace by intimidating any who might otherwise have been disposed to dispute it by force. At the same time, the missionaries were cheered by the tidings of a ship being on her way to the islands, with supplies from England and a reinforcement of missionaries.

On the 10th of July, 1801, the *Royal Admiral*, having a number of missionaries on board, anchored in Matavai, bringing also supplies and a number of letters for the missionaries from the Society and their friends in England, from whom they had heard only once during the four years they had been upon the island.

Distressed as the directors of the Society were by the capture of the *Duff*, and the intelligence of the departure of so many of the missionaries from Tahiti, the motives which influenced them to attempt the mission forbade their abandoning it; and considering the fidelity of those who remained, and their own solemn assurance never to forget, neglect, or desert them, they had resolved before the end of 1799 to send out an additional number of missionaries as soon as possible. The missionaries now arrived had left England in May, 1800, in the *Royal Admiral*, a ship engaged by the government for the conveyance of convicts to New South Wales. The voyage had been disastrous, on account of the prevalence of fever and other diseases, which, besides destroying a number of the unhappy prisoners, had proved fatal to one of the missionaries, and to Mr. Turner, the surgeon, a truly pious man, who had been associated with the missionaries on board the *Duff*, and had by his attentions and piety cheered the gloom, and mitigated the severity of their captivity. All the missionaries had suffered more or less from the fever contracted by their commendable endeavours to render themselves

useful whenever the captain deemed it safe to allow them access to the prisoners. *

After leaving Port Jackson, the captain had visited New Zealand, whereby more than twelve months elapsed between their departure from England and their arrival at Tahiti. The missionaries now on board,—Messrs. Davies, Elder, Hayward, Read, Scott, Tessier, Waters, Wilson, and Youl, were accompanied by Mr. Shelly, formerly connected with the Friendly Island mission, who relinquished his design of proceeding to England, and after returning to Port Jackson, joined the missionaries in Tahiti.

On the 13th of July, the captain, Mr. Wilson, nephew to the commander of the *Duff*, and formerly chief officer of that vessel, landed with the missionaries, who were introduced to Pomare, the king, and other chiefs. Their object was explained to the rulers of the land, and they were asked whether it was agreeable to them that they should reside on the island to assist those already there.

Pomare replied, that they were well pleased with their coming, and that others, if they desired it, might join them. Captain Wilson referred to the gift of the district of Matavai, and Pomare said that he still considered it as belonging to the missionaries, and asked if they wished the natives to remove; to which they replied, that they did not want their land, only a residence upon it.

Before the captain left, Pomare inquired whether any of the newly arrived missionaries would assist him in his wars; and on being told by the former, that they would

* When off the coast of Brasil, and near the place where the *Duff* was captured, the *Royal Admiral* came in sight of three French frigates, and the missionaries, under Divine Providence, escaped captivity, in consequence of the commodore and the captains of some of the other ships deciding to proceed to Rio Janeiro. Two of the frigates were taken by the ships in company with the *Royal Admiral*.

not fight, except to defend themselves if attacked, he appeared satisfied, and said if they would not fight for him, he would fight to protect them ; but he thought it strange that King George having so many fighting men, should send none to his assistance.*

Having aided the missionaries in framing regulations for their future proceedings, Captain Wilson departed on the 1st of August, calling at the Friendly Islands, rescuing the unhappy Veeson from his perilous situation among the natives, and then pursuing his voyage to China. Mr. Read, one of the missionaries originally intended for the South Seas, departed with Captain Wilson, and subsequently entered upon missionary labours in connexion with Dr. Vanderkemp, at the Cape of Good Hope.

By the same conveyance, also, Mr. Broomhall left the islands. He was an active intelligent young man, had been about four years on the island, and was highly respected by his brethren and the natives, until about twelve months previous to the arrival of the *Royal Admiral*, when he became subject to doubts as to the reality of Divine influence on the mind, and the immortality of the soul. His companions treated him with great kindness, endeavoured, but in vain, to remove the scepticism from his mind, and were ultimately obliged to separate him from their communion and all office in the mission, as he had on several occasions avowed deistical sentiments. He afterwards lived for some time with a native female as his wife, and on the arrival of Captain Wilson requested permission to leave in his ship. His departure, though desirable on account of the baneful influence of his opinions and conduct upon the natives, was peculiarly distressing to those whom he left. They followed him with their

* Letter from Captain Wilson, *Evangelical Magazine*, vol. x. p. 283.

prayers and compassionate regards, and after many years, heard from the Baptist missionaries in India, that during a long season he suffered great distress of mind, and ultimately renouncing his deistical opinions, expressed his belief in Divine revelation, and before his death cherished again the hopes which the Gospel alone can inspire.

After quitting the *Royal Admiral* he proceeded to India, and was engaged for some years in navigating the Indian Seas. Several alarming circumstances, the breaking of a limb at Madras, and a severe illness at Calcutta, seem to have aroused him to a sense of his danger. He corresponded with several pious friends, but studiously concealed his name and former character, until at length having described the anguish of his mind in a letter to the missionaries at Serampore, he obtained an interview with Dr. Marshman and Mr. Ward.*

Soon after this event he undertook another voyage, purposing on his return to dispose of his vessel, and devote the residue of his life to that cause which he had abandoned: from that voyage, however, he never returned; the vessel was never afterwards heard of; it is supposed that it foundered at sea, and all on board perished. It would have afforded consolation to his friends and the

* At the time appointed, he called on brother Marshman, at brother Carey's house, and, after a little conversation on the state of his soul, he added, "You now behold an apostate missionary: I am —, who left his brethren nine years ago. Is it possible you can behold me without despising me?" The effect which this discovery of Divine mercy, displayed to a backslider, had on brother Marshman's mind, can better be conceived than described. It, for a moment, took away the anguish occasioned by a note that instant received from Serampore, saying that brother Carey was at the point of death. Brother Marshman entreated this returning prodigal to be assured of the utmost love on our part; encouraged him in his determination to return to his missionary brethren; and promised to intercede on his behalf, both with his brethren, and those who sent him out. — *Circular Letters of Baptist Missionary Society, May, 1809.*

friends of the mission, had it seemed fit to the Supreme Disposer of all events to have allowed them to receive the evidence of the sincerity of his repentance, which the fruits thereof for a period more protracted might have supplied. But in infinite wisdom it was otherwise ordered, and the survivors were grateful for any ground of hope that he had found mercy before his days were numbered.

In perfect harmony with the higher objects of their mission, the missionaries had endeavoured by every means in their power to increase the resources of the islands by introducing useful animals, seeds, and plants. Those who arrived in the *Royal Admiral* had brought a number of these, including the vine, peach, and fig-tree, together with water-melons and pine-apples; the latter kinds flourished remarkably well, and have ever since been abundant in the islands. The peach did not thrive, but the figs seemed to flourish, though they were afterwards destroyed by the natives; the vine might probably have been successfully cultivated, but the impatience of the natives did not allow the fruit to remain till ripe, and its exceeding acidity when green caused them to destroy the plants as worthless. Besides those which they brought, the missionaries solicited and received seeds of valuable plants that were cultivated in New South Wales, or brought from India. Great attention was paid to the mission garden, in the hopes of adding to the already valuable productions of the islands, by distributing among the people whatever the missionaries were able to raise for themselves, and showing them practically the appropriate methods of culture. Cotton of a superior quality, and maize, were about this time introduced, and still grow luxuriantly in all the islands. The *Porpoise*, the king's ship, which had arrived about a fortnight before the *Royal Admiral*, sailed on the 14th of August, having fully accomplished the object of

her voyage, by procuring a number of hogs, which were killed and salted on the islands for New South Wales.

The traffic thus commenced was continued for a number of years, except when interrupted by the civil wars among the natives. It proved advantageous to the people, and at times in the early history of the colony, when provisions were scarce, highly important to the settlement. At this time the supply must have been exceedingly abundant, as the natives carried daily more hogs than could be taken on board; and although the *Royal Admiral* in the space of three weeks took between 400 and 500 on board, no diminution was apparent in the number taken for sale to the king's ship.*

The captains of these ships, having received instructions from the governor of New South Wales, removed three of the most abandoned of the runaway seamen from the island, at which Pomare, in a letter to the governor, sent by the same ship, expressed himself much pleased. In the same letter the chief expressed a strong desire to see the governor, and proposed to make a visit to Sidney for that purpose. The missionaries availed themselves of this opportunity to write to the Rev. Samuel Marsden, and received in return an affectionate and judicious letter; thus commencing that correspondence which was maintained without interruption, and greatly to the advantage and encouragement of the missionaries, until Mr. Marsden's death.

The arrival of so large a number of fellow-labourers enabled the missionaries to resume those plans of operation which had been interrupted by the departure of so many from the islands. In the meantime, some of those who had arrived in the ship *Duff*, had made such proficiency in the language as to be able to address the natives

* MS. Letter, dated August 10th, 1801.

without an interpreter on the great subjects of religion ; and in the forenoon of the Lord's day, August 16th, this year, Mr. Nott preached to between 40 and 50 natives, assembled by invitation in the large room of the mission house, in which the missionaries were accustomed to hold their meetings for religious worship. The natives behaved with great propriety, and listened with attention to this the first discourse ever delivered by a Christian teacher in their own language. And he who was thus first enabled to make known to the Tahitians the glad tidings of salvation, is honoured to be one of the last so employed, having survived in the islands, with one exception,* all those who arrived at the same time with himself, and still preaching the same glorious Gospel which he first attempted, now nearly fifty years ago. Few among modern missionaries have been privileged to preach to any people for an equal length of time, while many, very many, have finished their labours with their lives before being fully qualified even to commence this great duty of missionary life.

A fortnight afterwards, Mr. Jefferson preached his first sermon in the native language, and others subsequently engaged in this important department of missionary labour. With their ability their desire increased to make the great objects of their mission known as extensively as possible among the people, and for this purpose very soon after they began to preach to the people at their own station : they went on the sabbath-day to the villages in the neighbourhood for the same purpose. The village in which they commenced these labours was Ahonu, the place where Mr. Lewis had been murdered ; where, on the 20th of September, 1801, Mr. Nott preached to about 100 of the natives, who not only listened with attention, but requested that they might be visited again on the next sabbath-day. †

* Rev. W. Henry.

† MS. Journal.

On the 8th of October following, the missionaries completed a small catechism, comprising, in 32 questions and answers, the first principles of religious truth, in the most simple form. This they intended to teach the children to commit to memory, as they had hitherto failed in all attempts to persuade them even to attempt to learn to read. On the 15th of the same month, Mr. Eyre commenced teaching the catechism to about 30 of the children residing in the neighbourhood; some of the other missionaries afterwards engaged in similar labours among the children of different parts of Matavai and the adjacent districts, encouraged on the whole by the attention and progress of their pupils.

The commencement of the following year, 1802, brought to the assistance of the missionaries Mr. Shelly and his wife. Mr. Shelly, after escaping with his fellow-labourers from Tongatabu, had remained in New South Wales until the arrival of the *Royal Admiral*, when he embarked, intending to visit England for the purpose of conferring with the directors of the Society respecting the renewal of the mission to the Friendly Islands; but on arriving at Tahiti he relinquished his plan of going to England, united himself with the missionaries, and having revisited Port Jackson, returned to co-operate with them in their important work. Besides welcome letters from England, Mr. Shelly was the bearer of a truly valuable letter from Mr. Marsden, combining the most judicious counsels, with affectionate encouragement, evincing the deep solicitude he felt for their security and success, and intimating his occasional thoughts that at some future period he might visit them, or even take up his abode amongst them.

The *Norfolk*, the vessel in which Mr. Shelly had arrived, was a small armed vessel belonging to the Government of New South Wales, sent to procure pork for the supply of the colony. The disaffection of the people towards the govern-

ment, and the recent declaration of war, which the inhabitants of Atehuru had made by slinging a stone across a river, towards Pomare's encampment, were unfavourable to the object; but the assurances of friendship from the governor, and the presents sent to the king and chiefs effectually secured their co-operation. The presents to the king included a watch, with which Otu seemed to be greatly delighted; though he was at a loss to imagine what object the governor could have in view in sending, as in a letter he informed him he had done, "a young man to draw faces, trees, and birds."

The governor had authorised the commander of the *Norfolk*, to invest Mr. Jefferson, the president of the missionary body on the island, with the office of a magistrate, the objects of which were stated in a letter from his Excellency's aide-de-camp addressed to Mr. Jefferson, and in one from the governor himself to the king.* The *Norfolk* arrived on the 19th of January, and on the 8th of February following, Mr. Jefferson received the appointment in the presence of the missionaries, the captains and officers of the ships in the harbour.

A few days after the *Norfolk* had reached Tahiti, another

* Governor King wrote to Pomare: "To prevent any more seamen coming to your island, or those who are now there, being troublesome to your subjects, I have given Mr. Jefferson an authority to punish all such persons as shall molest you or your subjects." His aide-de-camp thus wrote to Mr. Jefferson: "His Excellency desires me to inform you that he has judged it expedient to invest you with the authority of a magistrate, within the limits of this territory. He, at the same time trusts, that you will not abuse this power by interfering with the inhabitants, only in case of absolute necessity; but that you will exercise it particularly against any runaway seamen, whom you are, in case they should prove troublesome in the island, to secure, and send them on board any vessel that may touch there. The master of the vessel having previously given his consent to their being sent on board, without expense to the government. All commanders of vessels from this port will be directed to receive such seamen on board."—*MS. Journal.*

vessel, the *Venus*, arrived on the same errand, commanded by Messrs. Bishop and Bass. The former with five of his men remained at Tahiti, to procure and salt hogs, while the latter, the discoverer of the straits that bears his name, and separates Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales, proceeded in the vessel to the Sandwich Islands.

While the missionaries were employed in directing the minds of the suffering natives to the only true source of happiness and peace, Pomare was increasing their alarm and distress by requiring human sacrifices in still greater numbers, to propitiate the favour of his imaginary deity. Even on the sabbath, while the missionary was preaching, Pomare directed his attendants to seize and murder a native, whom he pointed out, for a sacrifice. The unhappy victim was thrust through the body with a sword, and thus borne away to be offered to Oro. Mr. Bicknell met Pomare returning from the place where the victim had been killed, looking as well satisfied as if he had performed a most meritorious action, and appearing displeased when spoken to on the wickedness and cruelty of the deed.

An event occurred soon after, which, though in itself deeply affecting to the missionaries, was of far greater importance to them during subsequent events, than any one perceived at the time. During the night of the 24th of March, a heavy gale of wind blew from the north-west, and between nine and ten o'clock on the following day, the *Norfolk* was driven from her anchors, and forced on the beach near the mouth of the river at point Venus. The captain and crew reached the shore in safety, and the greater part of the stores of the ship, including the arms and ammunition, were saved; but the vessel itself was too much damaged to be repaired.

On the 5th of April, Messrs. Nott and Elder returned to Matavai. They had travelled round the island, visited

most of the villages, and Mr. Nott had preached to about 3000 of the people.* They had been treated with kindness and hospitality by the people, and many had listened with apparent attention and interest to their message; some of the natives said they would willingly pray to Jesus Christ, but were afraid the gods of Tahiti would be angry and destroy them if they did. Others observed, that if the *Duff* had been among the first of the ships that arrived at Tahiti, the gods of feathers would have been already destroyed; and one of the principal chiefs observed that he believed the missionaries possessed the true foundation of knowledge.

On the 30th of March, the missionaries had reached the district of Atehuru, where the king, chiefs, and fighting men of the island, were assembled. Near the large temple they saw a number of hogs on the altar, and of human bodies, sacrifices, on the trees around; and, on arriving at the place where the chiefs were assembled, they found Pomare engaged in offering a number of large hogs in sacrifice to Oro. They could not refrain from telling him that Jehovah was the true God; that pigs were not acceptable sacrifices to him; that Jesus Christ had become the only atonement for the sins of men, and that God was angry with them for killing men. The chief seemed unwilling to listen to what they said, but some of his followers appearing interested, and asking a number of questions, he said he would himself attend to the religion of the missionaries.

On the following day the king, chiefs, and people assembled in the great marae. The king and his father requested the Atehurians to deliver Oro into their hands, that they might take him to Tairabu, whither it was pretended the god desired to be conveyed; but the Atehurians refused to surrender the idol.

Hitherto the conference had been conducted by the

* MS. Journal.

orators of the respective parties; but the king now spoke, demanding the idol, and being repeatedly refused, rose in anger and broke up the council by ordering his people to withdraw. A part of his adherents instantly rushed upon the canoes of the Atehurians, which they plundered and broke to pieces, others violently seizing the image of Oro, wrested it from the Atehurians and carried it to the beach. The Atehurians fled to their strongholds in the mountains, whither the king's forces were with difficulty restrained from pursuing them. The idol was taken on board the fleet, and conveyed to the king's encampment, where, as soon as they landed, one of the king's servants was killed, and offered in sacrifice to avert the effects of any displeasure Oro might feel at the violence with which he had been treated.

The king's party, satisfied with the possession of the idol, sailed the next day on their voyage to Tairabu, while the Atehurians deliberated on the most effectual means of taking vengeance and recovering their god. Four days after the seizure of the idol, the king sent a messenger to the missionaries, to inform them of a report that his enemies intended to attack their settlement, and they remained in a state of painful suspense for nearly a month; when the volumes of smoke ascending from the burning houses in the adjacent district of Pare, and the number of fugitives, especially women and children, which during the after part of the day flocked to their settlement for protection, convinced them that the Atehurians had commenced the work of destruction, and were proceeding towards Matavai. There were at this time, connected with the mission settlement, forty-two Englishmen, including the captain and crew of the vessel recently wrecked in the bay,* and as all were equally exposed to a common enemy, they united in preparations for defence.

* MS. Journal.

The insurgents having ravaged the adjacent country, burned the houses, and destroyed all the inhabitants who had been unable to escape by flight, returned to their own district, without entering Matavai. But though thus relieved from the apprehension of immediate peril, the missionaries and their companies deemed it needful to maintain a constant watch day and night, as they found it difficult to obtain correct information of the position and movements of the insurgents.

On the 7th of May, a number of canoes arrived from Eimeo, containing between two or three hundred fighting men, who had come over to assist Pomare. They encamped, with many of the king's friends, in the northern part of the adjoining district of Pare, where they were more than once attacked, and finally, on the 19th of May, driven in confusion from the shore to a small island at some distance from the main land. The same day, the victors sent a message to the English, offering them peace and the occupancy of Matavai, and the two districts to the southward, which they had plundered. If this was not accepted, they demanded a passage through the district; and, if this was refused, declared their intention to attack the English, and force their way through. The missionaries and their companions cheerfully accepted the offered peace, and sent the messenger back the next morning with two small pigs in token of the same.

In the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Bicknell proceeded to the hostile camp, which was at Pare, for the purpose of confirming the treaty, and interceding for the inhabitants of the invaded districts. On landing, he was met by several hundred men, and conducted to their chiefs, who assured him they were sincere in the offer of peace they had made, and wished it to be permanent. They then inquired whether the missionaries would not

join the king against them, and were informed that they wished to live in peace, and would take no part in their wars. The chiefs then repeated the offer of the districts of Pare and Faa, but were told that the English did not want their land, only the peaceable possession of so much as their houses and garden occupied. After receiving a promise from the chiefs that in three days they would retire to their own lands, and that any inhabitants of the conquered districts who might choose to return to their former dwellings should not be molested, Mr. Bicknell left them, bringing with him a small pig,—by the giving of which the treaty was ratified on the part of the insurgents.

The security which these negotiations promised was of short duration; for, soon after midnight, a messenger arrived with intelligence of the intention of the Atehuruans to surround and attack the mission house before daybreak. Every preparation for defence was immediately made, and plantations of cotton and of Indian corn were destroyed to prevent their sheltering the enemy, or allowing them to approach unperceived.* Many of the native women and children fled, while the men went forth to meet their expected invaders. Before daybreak, a party of Eimeoans confirmed the report of the messenger, but no enemy appeared during the night.

At sunrise, however, they had a melancholy proof of the little reliance that could be placed on the engagements of the natives, in the columns of smoke which they saw rising in the next district, from the houses which had been fired by the Atehuruans. The latter denied all intention of attacking the missionaries, but offered no explanation of their reasons for burning the houses.

So long as the missionaries could collect any of the

* MS. Journal.

children together, they had continued to instruct them, and had perseveringly visited the encampment of the warriors, and the hiding-places of the fugitives, to preach unto them the Gospel of peace; but these labours were now confined to those immediately connected with their dwelling, as the fugitives had sought places of greater security, and the fighting men were at their respective encampments.

The latter were repeatedly visited by the missionaries with a view of mitigating the violence of hostile feeling, or diminishing the cruelty and bloodshed, by which the wretched inhabitants seemed doomed to annihilation. These errands of mercy were often unproductive of any apparent benefit, and not always exempt from imminent peril to the individuals engaged; not from the chiefs themselves,—even those of the insurgents treated the missionaries with kindness,—but from their lawless adherents, who would have murdered the missionaries without any hesitation, for the sake of gratifying their vindictive feelings against the party with whom the English were identified, or even for the sake of plundering them of their apparel.

The king and the greater part of his adherents had been in Tairarabu, ever since the seizure of Oro, offering human and other sacrifices to the idol. These rites, cruel and bloody as they were, were accompanied by orgies of debauchery and crime, scarcely less horrible to contemplate than the savage butcheries of actual war. While thus employed, the king's party were unexpectedly attacked by the rebels on the 3rd of June. One of Otu's principal friends, the chief of Raiatea was slain, the image of Oro was retaken, and the whole party driven to their canoes and forced to flee. On landing at Matavai, four days after their defeat, they were met by Captain Bishop and his men under arms; and when Pomare saw the pre-

parations which the English had made for defending themselves if attacked, and was assured by the captain and his companions that if *he* was conquered *they* were not, and that they would assist in the restoration of his government, his spirits revived.

Long as the war had already continued, the missionaries had never been more exposed; rumours were continually heard of the intention of the rebels to attack their dwelling, the only point that now offered any obstacle to their possession of the whole island; and as there was no impediment to their direct approach to the mission premises, either from the east or the west, every means was taken to render the building as secure as possible. All plantations in the neighbourhood were destroyed, the chapel was pulled down, lest it should be used as a cover to the rebels in accomplishing their avowed intention of setting fire to the dwelling. Trees in the neighbourhood were cut down and planted so as to form a strong paling or stockade around the mission house, which was converted into a fortress, and garrisoned by the officers and seamen, who now left their respective dwellings to unite in the only position deemed capable of defence.

The cannons saved from the wreck of the ship being mounted in the upper rooms of the mission house; every precaution was taken to prevent surprise, and to render the forcible entry difficult, while the missionaries took their turns with the seamen in keeping watch night and day, and went in and out among the people to obtain native provisions, which were at times exceedingly scarce.

Under the influence of cruel and vindictive feeling, Pomare soon after his arrival at Matavai sent a number of men to destroy the wives, children, and aged men left at home by the Atehurians, who were still in Tairarabu. The missionaries, as soon as they heard of it, expostulated

with him ; but he only answered, that such was the custom of the country. The expedition reaching Atehuru in the night, killed before daybreak nearly two hundred of the defenceless inhabitants. In the first house they found, and put to death five men, whom the chief in command took to the marae, and offered in sacrifice to the god, while his companions were destroying the rest.* This act of cowardice and cruelty so exasperated the insurgents, that they vowed the entire destruction of Pomare and every member of his family.

It is scarcely possible to conceive of circumstances more distressing than those in which the mission family remained during the whole of this month, pent up with the captains and their men, between whom and themselves there was no other tie than the sense of common danger, often finding it difficult to obtain necessary provisions, and in almost continual apprehension of a violent assault, or more insidious attempts to set fire to their dwelling.

The king and his adherents were encamped along the beach, at a short distance, where the fleet amounted to nearly 100 canoes, and the army to between 1,400 and 1,500 men,—a force far superior in number to any the insurgents could raise ; yet such was the intrepidity with which the belief of Oro's favour inspired the latter, and the abject fear with which a sense of his displeasure filled the former, that, but for the support and encouragement of the English, they would undoubtedly have fled to Eimeo, and left the island in the possession of their enemies.

To increase these calamities, the inhabitants of Eimeo, unfavourable to Pomare, attacked his friends during the absence of those who had come to his assistance, and put

* MS. Journal.

a number of them to death. A party was sent to quell this rebellion, and a canoe arrived from Eimeo soon after with four human bodies, sent over to Pomare, by whom they were offered to Oro.* About this time the *Nautilus* touched at Tahiti on her way to the Sandwich Islands, and Pomare persuaded the captain to allow his first officer and a boat's crew, armed, to accompany him to the great marae to present an offering to his idol; the rebels allowed him to place his offering on the beach without molestation.

On his return, he solicited the assistance of the English against his enemies, and on the 2nd of July, Captain Bishop, the first officer of the ship, and twenty-three Europeans, well supplied with ammunition, arms, and a small cannon, accompanied Pomare's forces to Atehuru; one of the missionaries accompanied Captain Bishop, at his request, as surgeon.

The insurgents on the approach of the king's forces took shelter in the natural fortreas, which the assailants were unable to force, and after spending the day in useless endeavours to draw them out were about to retire, when the daring challenges of an active and fearless young man called *To-morrow Morning*, and his companion, together with the fall of a heavy shower of rain, which they had been told would prevent the English from using their muskets, induced them to sally forth and attack the king's forces, part of whom were already in their canoes. They were repulsed and pursued; seventeen, including two of their principal chiefs, were killed, and the rest driven to the strongholds in the mountains. The bodies of the slain, especially of the wife of a chief, were treated in the most brutal manner, and then taken to the marae, where

* MS. Journal, June 28, 1802.

the effluvia arising from the unburied bodies was almost intolerable.

Hostilities, which had raged without intermission for more than three months, desolating a great part of the country and destroying many lives, now ceased, leaving both parties in the same relative position as when it commenced. On the king's part it was what might be called a religious war. The possession of the idol Oro, and the security of his favour, seem to have been the objects of Pomare, rather than the defeat of his refractory subjects; hence, the reckless prodigality with which human victims had been offered during the war, and still continued to be furnished by the king, who, within a week after his return from Atehuru, killed a man who lived near the mission house, and sent his body to the marae to be offered to Oro, who was still in the possession of the Atehuruans.

On the 2nd of August, Captain Bass returned in the *Venus* from the Sandwich Islands, bringing messages of friendship and presents from Temehameha, the sovereign of the Sandwich Islands, for the king and chiefs of Tahiti, the latter being regarded as the parent country of the inhabitants of the former. On the 19th of the same month, Captain Bishop and his men left Tahiti. In the mean time, the *Porpoise*, from New South Wales, arrived with presents from the governor for Otu and the chiefs, and letters for the missionaries. Pomare applied to the captain of the *Porpoise* to aid him in reducing the insurgents to submission; but the captain very properly refused to deviate from his instructions, or take any part in the war, though he readily offered to proceed to Atehuru, and endeavour in person to negotiate peace between the contending parties. Pomare declined the offer, observing, that there was nobody to make peace with, that they were all common people, and

that he would never recognise them as anything but his hog-feeders.*

Finding all his endeavours to effect a reconciliation were unavailing, and apprehending that, as part of the Europeans on the island during the late season of actual warfare had left, and the remainder would depart in his own ship, the missionaries might find themselves exposed to great danger should hostilities be renewed, which was exceedingly probable, he kindly offered to remove the mission families and property to any island in which they might deem themselves more secure. Depending on that merciful care which had watched over and preserved them amidst so many perils, the missionaries assured the captain of the grateful sense they entertained of his concern for their safety, but informed him of their determination to remain among the people; at the same time, as the departure of the Europeans would leave them without any means of defence, they solicited, and the captain of the ship supplied them with eight muskets, and a quantity of ammunition. The knowledge of their possessing these they supposed might prevent the natives from attacking their habitation, and it was only in the event of such an attack that they intended to use them.

The annoyance from association with the seamen, many of whom had been convicts, distress on account of the miseries of the people, and personal danger, were not the only trials which the war brought upon the missionaries; they suffered much at this period for want of provisions, which had hitherto been amply furnished by the natives or their own labour; and were thankful to obtain from the captain of the *Porpoise*, a small quantity of wheat, the only article of food he could part with.

* MS. Journal.

The neglect of culture, the extravagant consumption of all kinds of provisions by the natives, at the commencement of the war, and the subsequent destruction of the plantations and bread-fruit trees, rendered food exceedingly scarce; and the famine was so great among the insurgents, whose numbers were reduced to between four and five hundred, and whom the king's party kept in a state of siege, that, in the beginning of September, they were obliged to sue for peace, which being granted, they hastened in search of food, leaving the conditions of peace to be settled in a public conference, which was soon after to be held.

Steadily keeping the great object of their mission, the spiritual benefit of the people, in view, the missionaries, amidst all the confusion and unsettlement of actual warfare, had not only regularly preached to the people at the mission station, but had gone into the encampments in the neighbourhood, where they sometimes addressed several hundreds at a time. They had also visited the adjacent villages for the purpose of directing the minds of the people, now experiencing all the miseries of war, to the only sources of abiding security and peace. And though at times the missionaries were heard with seeming attention and interest, more frequently the people cavilled at their discourses, or ridiculed their statements; ascribing all the evils they suffered, to the supposed malign influence of the God of the missionaries, and avowing their determination never to acknowledge his claims to their belief and obedience.

During their journey the missionaries preached the Gospel to nearly 4000 of the inhabitants, which they express their belief to have been more than half the entire population of the island. Many of the people they found suffering from disease, as well as want, occasioned by the

war ; the melancholy effects of which were visible in every district ; scarce a house, they observe, is now left that was standing before the war. The inland parts of the country once inhabited, having been for many months deserted, were overgrown with long grass and weeds ; and, the people acknowledging themselves unable to resume their cultivation, had built themselves temporary huts along the sea shore, equally unfavourable to cleanliness, comfort, or health.

Scarcely more encouraging were the effects of their endeavours to mitigate the physical sufferings of the natives, and heal their diseases. Notwithstanding their prejudices against the use of European medicine, and their firm belief that the efficacy of whatever remedies were applied depended upon the favour of the gods, the natives now very frequently sought the aid of the missionaries in their seasons of illness ; and although the latter had not succeeded in establishing a sort of hospital for the former, which they attempted soon after their arrival, they had invariably and promptly visited the sick in their neighbourhood, and administered so far as their stock enabled them, the most suitable remedies ; even those who, being considered incurable by their relatives, had been abandoned to the slowly consuming pangs of hunger and thirst, had been brought by the missionaries within their own premises, fed and covered ; and had received the best medical aid they could bestow.

During the war too, the missionaries had at times exposed themselves to danger, in order to attend to the wounded, and many of the latter belonging to the king's party, were brought as soon as possible after their battles, and placed under the care of the missionaries till they recovered. In several instances, particularly those of a surgical kind, the mode of treatment adopted

by the missionaries had been so successful that their assistance was more frequently sought than during the first years of their residence on the island.

It is generally and justly supposed that medical knowledge is one of the most valuable qualifications a missionary can possess; that its skilful and successful application is one of the best means of gaining influence among the people and predisposing them to regard with favour his endeavours to direct their minds to the heavenly Physician, and the means of healing and life to the soul. It has proved so in many countries, and can scarcely be too highly estimated, especially by those who labour among uncivilized tribes. But even the encouragement which this generally affords was not enjoyed by the missionaries in Tahiti, and though their attention to the sick and the destitute was always promptly and perseveringly given, often at great personal inconvenience, it rarely, if ever rendered its recipient more willing to listen to instruction on spiritual subjects, or more desirous to be prepared for the world to come. This was peculiarly distressing to the missionaries, who beheld the population rapidly diminishing under the combined influence of vices and diseases of European origin, incessant wars, and a debasing and murderous superstition, yet aggravating their own misery by perpetuating its cause, and rejecting the only means of amelioration for the present, or hope for the future. Their journals for this period contain frequent reference to the melancholy state of the minds of the people on this subject, even when the natives seemed affected by their disinterested solicitude on their behalf.

In the month of October, this year, when Pomare was ill and sent for them, after they had attended to his bodily malady, they spoke to him on spiritual subjects, especially of the light in which the true God must regard

the frequent murders he committed to obtain human victims for sacrifices to his idols. He listened with apparent indifference to their observations, but appeared unusually and deeply affected when they informed him that they would pray for him that he might recover. In reference to their visits to another chief who was not likely long to survive, they remark that, "Speaking to the sick the word of life, is frequently attended with pain to the speaker, for the salvation of the soul is a thing neither understood nor desired by them. If recovery from sickness does not follow what has been said, they think our word is nothing worth."* On another occasion they observe, "Neither the mortality that prevails, nor the statements we address to them in relation to the world beyond the grave, seem to affect them. We find it impossible to make them sensible of the value of the soul, and sometimes even what it is. The generality of them conceive it to be something distinct from themselves, that resides in the *Po*,† and only comes to them occasionally, when they dream, &c.; and when we speak of the hidden man of the heart, its nature, qualities, defilements, exposure to the wrath of God, and the only means of deliverance from the same, they seldom fail to laugh and treat it as an idle tale."‡

These were not the only trials to which the missionaries were exposed; they were frequently charged with preventing the natives obtaining from the ships, articles which they most earnestly desired; and when the captains or traders refused to give whatever they asked in exchange for the provisions they offered, especially if they did not supply them with muskets and gunpowder, it was often

* MS. Journal, Oct. 10th, 1802. † Invisible state or world of spirits.

‡ Missionary Transactions, vol. ii. p. 126.

ascribed to the interference of the missionaries. Conscious of having avoided all interference except when solicited by the natives themselves, or the Europeans, they endeavoured to convince the people of their innocence, and through evil report as well as good report, to pursue the great objects of their mission.

On the 23rd of September, this year, the *Margaret*, a vessel from New South Wales, commanded by Captain Byers, arrived at Tahiti. The missionaries had received no supplies since the departure of the *Royal Admiral*, beyond a small quantity of flour, brought by Mr. Shelly from Port Jackson, and such was their desire to relieve the Society of all possible expense on their account, that they had only written for medicines to administer to the sick, and a few articles of barter to present to the people in return for the hospitality they might receive when journeying among them. They were however glad to obtain a few supplies from the *Margaret*, though not without regret on account of the expense; and anxious to avoid drawing bills on the Society, sent a small quantity of the produce of the island to the Rev. S. Marsden, at New South Wales, to be sold, and the proceeds to be appropriated to the payment of the amount of goods they had received.

The appointing of rulers over the conquered districts and other arrangements, consequent on the close of the war,* occupied the chiefs during the remainder of the year,

* Among the usages observed at the termination of hostilities was the sending the body of one of those slain in the war, to each district favourable to the king, and distributing the several parts of the body among the inferior chiefs. The sending and receiving part of a human body on such occasions, was regarded as a pledge of the amity subsisting between the respective parties, and was at this time extended to those districts that had favoured the king in the late disturbances.

and the missionaries gladly availed themselves of the prolonged season of tranquillity, not only to continue their accustomed labours in Matavai, but to extend them to other parts of Tahiti, and the island of Eimeo. In these journeys they endured great fatigue, and suffered many privations, as they contented themselves with such accommodations and provisions as the natives could supply, cheerfully paying for these, inferior as they were. They were also at times exposed to considerable danger, especially in Tairabu, either in the fragile canoes in which they put to sea, or in traversing the rocky paths along which the sure-footed natives themselves did not always pass with safety.

In these labours they met with but little to cheer, and much to discourage, during this and many subsequent years. Sometimes a few of those whom they addressed either in familiar conversation or more public discourse, would listen with attention, and express their belief that their statements were true, but far more frequently the natives evinced a degree of aversion almost amounting to hatred against their instructions. Sometimes when their arrival in a village had been cordially welcomed, as soon as the inhabitants ascertained the object of their visit, some immediately left them, and others indicated in no equivocal manner their desire for their departure; at other times, when with great labour they had gone to every house, and personally invited the people to come, they found only four or five at the place appointed. Sometimes the natives would bring a number of deformed and diseased persons, set them before the missionaries, and tell them to preach to them; at other times they would endeavour to irritate them by ascribing their coming among them to the most unworthy motives, frequently telling them they did not want their instructions, and that as their own

country produced no bread-fruit, or cocoa-nuts, or plantains, or arrow-root, it must be a poor country, and that the missionaries had in reality come for the sake of the provisions Tahiti afforded. Frequently they would ridicule every sentence they uttered, or bring their dogs or their cocks, and set them to fighting close by the place where the missionaries were preaching, and occasionally a number of areois would commence their pantomimic games in the immediate vicinity, when those who had stood around the missionary only to ridicule or insult him, would turn with avidity to the areois, deriving interest and pleasure from their exhibitions of wickedness and folly.

The missionaries had indulged the hope that long continued afflictions and sufferings would soften the hearts of the people, render them susceptible of impression from the disinterested endeavours of those who sought to diminish their temporal wants, as well as to induce them to seek spiritual benefits, and more willing to listen, at least, to instructions; but in this they were speedily and painfully undeceived. So far from rendering them more willing, the calamities of the people seemed to increase their aversion to everything relating to the claims of the Almighty, or the welfare of the soul; and, judging of the missionaries by themselves, they often blasphemously ascribed to their prayers, and to the malignant disposition of their god, all the evils they endured. The depressing circumstances under which the missionaries pursued, with fidelity and zeal, their self-denying labours, were repeatedly noticed by transient visitors, or occasional residents on the island.*

* Turnbull, who resided in the islands as a trader for several months, observes, "From the first arrival of the Missionaries, they were exposed to the greatest hardships and dangers from their own countrymen. Some desperadoes of Europe, at that time residing among the natives, instead of

The discouragements of the missionaries at this season arose not only from the apparent failure of all attempts to induce the natives to receive religious instruction, or to adopt any of the arts, comforts, and conveniences of social life, which they had so constantly endeavoured to introduce amongst them, but from the increasing wretchedness of the people, and rapid depopulation of the island. War, human sacrifices, infanticide, quarrels, and diseases of European origin, spreading unmitigated their destructive ravages, carried alarm and suffering and death into almost every family, threatening their speedy and complete annihilation. After traversing the island, making the circuit of both peninsulas, and visiting in some districts every dwelling, the missionaries were forced to the conclusion, that the entire population did not amount to one half the number at which it had been estimated on their arrival, scarcely more than six years before.*

Despondency seemed to prey upon the minds of chiefs and people; and regarding their sufferings as the effects of the displeasure of their gods, human sacrifices were offered with increasing frequency, as the most effectual means of appeasing that anger, and averting consequent destruction. The missionaries became painfully familiar with these deeds of idolatrous murder, from the frequency with which victims were taken from Matavai and the adjacent districts, or slaughtered in the very place where they

assisting these worthy men in their forlorn situation, took a malicious pleasure in counteracting their efforts on all occasions, misrepresenting their views, and endeavouring to stir up the natives to outrage and violence.

"They (*viz.* the missionaries,) apparently lived together in the greatest love and harmony, and all of them present an example of industry. Their situation, however, is by no means so comfortable as many of our countrymen may be inclined to imagine. Their life is a life of contest, hardship, and disappointment; like their holy Master, they have to preach to the deaf, and exhibit their works to the blind."—*Turnbull's Voyage*, vol. i. pp. 68, 165.

* Missionary Transactions, vol. ii. p. 138.

were when journeying in the island. In their own district, one man stole a trifling article from another, when the man who had been robbed taking a hatchet almost severed the thief's head from his body, and after repeating his blows till his victim was dreadfully mangled, walked about with indifference, and answered with insolence when spoken to about it. The circumstance was mentioned to Pomare, but no displeasure was expressed by him against the murderer.

At another place where the missionaries were, a pig strayed from an inland village to the sea shore; the people residing on the shore, supposing it was a wild one from the mountains, killed it; on hearing which, the people of the inland village came armed, killed one man and wounded another, and plundered them of all their hogs. The murdered man left a wife, and a child only six days old. While such was the vindictive fury with which they punished theft among themselves, the missionaries were plundered without hesitation, whenever opportunity offered. The natives never were admitted to their houses without pilfering whatever they could lay their hands on. The missionaries had bestowed great labour on their gardens, but the fruits of their industry were plundered before they were ripe; and the robberies of the natives often left them destitute of necessary food. In little more than a year and a half, after the departure of the *Royal Admiral*, they were robbed of nearly 200 pigs, besides poultry, and the produce of their gardens.* On one occasion, having repeatedly detected a native in stealing, they complained to the king, who ordered one of his servants publicly to punish the offender; but in other instances they forebore to complain, as the king, had he thought fit to interfere, would have sent

* *Missionary Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 144.

a body of armed men to plunder the district, thereby punishing the innocent with the guilty, and provoking, in all probability, the real offenders to retaliate by greater depredations afterwards.

The missionaries had endeavoured to raise a number of truly valuable plants and fruits, which they hoped to multiply, so as to place them within the reach of all the inhabitants. But few were allowed to come to perfection, the plants as well as the fruit being often destroyed. They had cultivated, with great care, several valuable kinds of sweet potatoes, which they had received from New Zealand and the Sandwich Islands, besides a number of vegetables from the coast of South America. They had introduced the fig, which promised to thrive well, also the papaya, or papaw apple, which had been brought in 1802 from the Sandwich Islands, by Captain Simpson, besides the pineapple, and the vine; but the depredations of the natives were so destructive that they at times despaired not only of adding to their own comfort by these labours, but even of preserving the kinds that seemed suited to the soil and climate. This was felt to be more discouraging as they had been long without receiving any supplies from England or New South Wales, and yet had to pay for most of their provisions, which they purchased of the native chiefs, with hatchets, fish hooks, and other implements of iron, manufactured by themselves.

The family of Otu, whose frightful debaucheries, impious and prodigal destruction of human life, and direct promotion of drunkenness, profligacy, and theft, seemed almost to challenge the forbearance of the Almighty, were not exempt from the calamities which threatened the destruction of their race. The health of his mother and other relatives was frequently affected by the vices to which they were addicted. His brother, the young prince of

Taiarabu, died on the 19th of June, 1803, under circumstances peculiarly afflictive to his family. As his death was supposed to be caused by the destructive influence of a malignant spirit, invoked against him by a notorious sorcerer, human sacrifices were offered, and every means that hope or despair suggested were employed, but without avail; the prince languished and died almost before attaining the age of manhood.

The missionaries had paid him every possible attention, and sought to mitigate, as far as practicable, his bodily sufferings, but lamented chiefly their inability to interest his mind on the realities of the world to come. During the whole of his illness, they noticed with pain the fatal power which the sanguinary superstition of the country exercised over its victims, depriving them of all hope in itself, and excluding it from every other source. The young man himself, as well as the members of his family, seemed unwilling that anything should be said on the state and prospects of the soul, or even that prayer should be offered to the true God on his behalf, lest that should render ineffectual the means employed to counteract the incantations, which it was supposed had been used for his destruction.

On the 3rd of September, this year, the king's father died suddenly. He had, from their first landing, been the uniform and sincere friend of the missionaries, had laudably endeavoured, by directing the attention of the natives to the cultivation of the soil, to increase the resources of the country and the comfort of the people, and was not known to be addicted to the abominations which at this time disgraced his son; yet he had ever been one of the most uncompromising and devoted supporters of the native idolatry, in its most repulsive and sanguinary features, and the influence of his name, and the circumstances of his

death, were used by his family to strengthen and perpetuate its power over the native mind.

Deeply as the missionaries deplored the failure of their often repeated endeavours to interest Pomare in spiritual things, they felt that by his death they had lost a steady and powerful friend. They could not but regard it as a token of the favour of Divine Providence, that Pomare had, as they afterwards learned, a short time before his death, which was sudden and unexpected, particularly commended the missionaries to the favourable regard of his son.

CHAPTER VII.

Origin of the regal name of the sovereigns of Tahiti—Eagerness of the natives after fire-arms and gunpowder—Extreme moral debasement—Attempts of the missionaries to introduce the art of ship-building among the people—Attention of the king to instruction—Difficulties attending the acquisition of the native language—Methods employed by the missionaries for this purpose—Character and extent of the native language—Effects of the observance of the sabbath by the missionaries—Opening of a school for natives on the mission premises—Preparation of elementary books—Relief of the missionaries by the arrival of supplies from New South Wales—Pomare's letter to the Missionary Society—Increase of crime and wretchedness among the people—Distillation of ardent spirits in Tahiti—Arrival of a medical missionary—Civil war in the island—Visit of Messrs. Hayward and Nott to the Society Islands—Death of Mr. Jefferson—Perseverance of the missionaries under increasing discouragements—Attempts to teach the natives English—Departure of Mr. Bicknell—Insurrection among the people—Flight of the missionaries—Destruction of the mission premises—Seizure of English vessels—Apparent termination of the mission.

THE king now assumed his father's name, which though originating in an exceedingly simple occurrence, has since been perpetuated as the regal name of the rulers of Tahiti.*

Though after the death of his father, the king manifested greater concern for the safety and comfort of the missionaries, he became more zealously devoted than ever to the superstitions of his country.

Towards the end of June, the *Harrington*, a brig of 14 guns and 50 men, from Port Jackson, on a privateering

* The name of the king's father was originally *Vairaatoa*, but travelling on one occasion among the mountains, and sleeping in an exposed situation, he felt cold, and was affected with coughing. One of his companions remarked in the morning, that it had been a night of cough, *Po mare; po, night, and mare, cough*; the chief was pleased with the combination, and adopted it as his name.

voyage to the coast of South America, arrived at the islands, having on board a Mr. Caw, sent out to assist the missionaries as a shipwright. He had left England in the early part of the previous year on board the *Ocean*, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Crook; but the character of the latest accounts from the islands at the time of their arrival in New South Wales, had induced the latter to wait for further intelligence before joining the mission.

After remaining a short time among the islands, during which they were supplied with religious tracts, and a Bible and Prayer-book, the ship proceeded on her voyage, and returned to Tahiti on the 10th of November, followed by a Spanish vessel as her prize. The *Harrington* remained at the island till the close of the year, purchasing provisions for the colony of New South Wales. The king and chiefs would receive nothing in exchange for the produce of the islands but fire-arms and powder; even the wretched females whom the king sent off to the ship for the vilest of purposes, were ordered to take nothing as the price of their debasement and vice but gunpowder, which they were strictly enjoined to bring to the king. Such was the eagerness of the people to obtain arms and ammunition, that hogs to the value of 15*l.* or 20*l.* were given for a musket not worth more than 10*s.** Besides arms, it was reported that more than 3 cwt. of gunpowder was bartered from

* The exorbitant price which they paid arose from their determination to obtain at any cost the implements of war, and not from their undervaluing their own property. They thought the productions of their country superior to those of any other, and their pigs beyond all comparison better than those of other countries; and from the increasing number of vessels which came to trade for hogs, and the anxiety of the traders to salt and take them away, they had often asked whether any of the pork from Tahiti had been taken to England, and whether King George had tasted it, for if he had, they wondered that he had not yet made a voyage to the island. — *M.S. Journal*, September 20, 1807.

the ship; and some idea may be formed of the awfully degraded state of the people, and of the baneful effects of visits from ships, especially of the *Harrington's* description, from the circumstance of its being reported that property to the amount of 700*l.* was expended for purposes of prostitution while the vessel remained at Tahiti.*

The vessel sailed on the 29th of December, having on board Mr. Waters, who had arrived with the missionaries in the *Royal Admiral*, but had soon after his arrival exhibited painful symptoms of mental aberration. The missionaries had watched over him with great solicitude, and treated him with the utmost kindness; but as no indications of amendment appeared, they were glad to accept Captain Campbell's liberal offer of a free passage for him to Port Jackson, with a view to his being sent by Mr. Maraden by the earliest conveyance to England. Captain Campbell appropriated a comfortable cabin to his use, and promised to show him all needful attention. In the course of the following year he reached his native land in safety, but without having experienced any mitigation of the mournful affliction which had required his return.†

Willing to oblige the king, to encourage habits of industry among the people, interest them in commercial pursuits, and, if possible, divert them from the one great object on which all seemed equally bent, viz., the accumulation of fire-arms and ammunition, the missionaries, early in the year, agreed to superintend and aid in building a ship of about 60 tons burden for the king. In the month of August they commenced their labour, two of their number working with the natives and others employed, while the rest pursued their ordinary missionary avocations. The king's servants furnished timber; but the labour chiefly devolved

* *Missionary Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 41.

† *MS. Letter*, Feb. 6, 1806.

on the missionaries, who, after working at intervals for more than twelve months, were obliged to relinquish the undertaking.

Others of their number, with a commendable perseverance, pursued their more appropriate missionary duties, especially their endeavours to instil into the minds of the children and young persons the first principles of religious truth as contained in the catechism, and to teach them the use of letters. Towards the close of the year the missionaries were encouraged by reports of the king's attention to his book, and pen, and by receiving several short notes written by Pomare, who was still at Eimeo. The missionaries commending the king's diligence and success, urged him to persevere, as they did not doubt but that his example would be followed by others, and the way thus prepared for the more general instruction of the people.

In the efforts they had hitherto made to instruct the young, they had been more successful in persuading them to commit to memory the native catechism, than to attempt to acquire a knowledge of the use of letters. Still they hoped, though it was often almost against hope, that they might so far interest some as to induce them to persevere long enough to read and write their own language. Besides the attention each missionary gave to the study of the native language, two evenings in the week had been devoted to the same, when an intelligent native had been hired to attend, and assist in fixing the pronunciation and meaning of the words they had acquired. On the 9th of March, 1805, after having tried many combinations, they decided on the letters of the Tahitian alphabet, and adopted those which are now used throughout all the islands.

The acquisition of the native language had from the first been a difficult task. It was entirely oral. The peo-

ple possessed neither hieroglyphics, picture-writing, nor any other symbols of sounds or things, or means of communicating ideas. The missionaries derived but little assistance from the seamen they found at Tahiti, or the published accounts of those voyagers by whom the islands had been visited, and often had to unlearn much they had acquired from these sources, as well as from the natives, who in their earlier intercourse with them used a mixed sort of jargon, composed of foreign words Tahitianized by themselves, or combinations of native words which they had heard foreigners use, and which they supposed the missionaries would understand. Frequent notices occur in their journals of the disappointment they felt on discovering the mistakes into which they had thus been led, and the extra labour it required to rectify them.

They had not only to acquire a knowledge of the meaning of the words the natives used, but to adopt letters by which these words could be easily and correctly expressed, and then to teach the natives how to associate the sounds of which the words of their own language was composed with the letters, so as to be able to comprehend it when written as well as spoken. In this pursuit they endeavoured to note down the words which they heard the natives use, attaching to them their supposed meaning, and then repeating to the natives the words they had written till they pronounced them correctly; but when able to do this, only the smallest part of their labour was accomplished: they had not a sufficient command of the native language to acquire the exact meaning of the words, and the natives could use no other in explaining their own meaning; so that it was only by a long course of attentive observation of the words the natives used, and the connexion in which they were used, that they arrived at any satisfactory conclusions. Each missionary employed the best means which

his circumstances allowed for collecting native words and phrases, and at appointed seasons all assisted in correcting and arranging the fruits of their united labours. The greatest difficulties were experienced at the beginning, for every word, the correct meaning of which they acquired, added to their means of acquiring others; yet the oldest missionary on the island,* who is as well acquainted with the language as any of his companions, has repeatedly declared that he was ten years among the people before he understood correctly the meaning of one word, which he was in the habit of hearing perhaps many times in a day. In the prosecution of this part of their labours the missionaries found, as they often state in their early journals, the language much more copious and capable of conveying ideas with far greater precision than they had expected. In selecting the letters which they ultimately adopted as its alphabet, in fixing its orthography, and arranging its several parts in grammatical order, their aim was to render it simple and perspicuous. And it may be adduced in proof of their success, that a native acquainted with the letters of their alphabet will find no difficulty in spelling any word that is correctly pronounced: every letter used in writing a word being pronounced in speaking it.

Proceeding on the principle of avoiding all superfluous letters, and spelling the words exactly as pronounced by the people, the missionaries found themselves under the necessity of deviating from the orthography employed by earlier visitors to the islands, in designating the places and persons most familiarly known to the civilized world. They did this reluctantly, and in opposition to their own predilections and earlier usage.

It may be thought by some, that with ordinary capacity

* Mr. Nott.

and equal application, the missionaries might have adopted their alphabet, and arranged the language in a written form at an earlier period. But it should be remembered, that the Tahitian was the first Polynesian language reduced to writing, that in this difficult task the missionaries had to advance alone in an unbeaten path. Philological studies were more rare, and the philosophy of language less generally understood than now. The acquirement of an uncouth and unwritten language, spoken by a race so remote and isolated, as to be expected to have but few ideas in common with the civilized world, the application of letters to such a language, and the arrangement of the parts of which it might be found to exist, upon grammatical principles, with the view of teaching it in this form to those by whom it was used, was, with rare exceptions, an unassayed achievement. Few of the languages of barbarous races were at that time known beyond the tribes by whom they were used, and our acquaintance with the affinities of the languages of uncivilized communities was limited, and defective in comparison with that which may now be acquired by means of the abundant materials for aiding such inquiries, which have been collected within the last fifty years from every quarter of the globe.

While these and other similar considerations should shield the missionaries in the South Seas from blame on account of the slowness of their progress, the very caution with which they proceeded until they had thoroughly mastered the subject, will commend itself to the approval of those qualified to form a correct opinion. Their labours are appreciated by those who have subsequently engaged in the same arduous enterprise, and who have constructed the orthography and grammar of other dialects spoken by the islanders of the Pacific, from

New Zealand to Hawai, upon the principles established by the missionaries in Tahiti.

The next work of this kind which engaged the attention of the missionaries was the compilation of a vocabulary; to this object they now devoted two evenings every week, when they met together and were assisted by some of the most intelligent natives. In the course of twelve months they had arranged nearly 3000 words, but still felt that their task was far from its close. The radical parts, or simple words of the language, they observe, though few in number, are capable of being, by prefixes and affixes, multiplied to 5000 to 6000, so as to express with much precision any idea occurring to a native's mind.*

In the month of June, 1805, two vessels from Port Jackson visited the islands, one on her way to England, the other to the coast of America. The former had sailed from London about twelve months previously, with letters and supplies for the missionaries; but not expecting to call at the islands had left them at Port Jackson. From the latter vessel they were able to procure a few useful articles, of which they were much in want, having received no supplies since the year 1801.

The relentless cruelty and augmenting misery of all classes of the inhabitants excited the missionaries to increased exertions. In the month of October, a young man who had been for some time ill, and had been sheltered and provided for by them during the early part of his illness, was removed by an acquaintance, residing at a short distance, by whom he was soon afterwards buried alive as a means of relief from the trouble of taking care of him.† Another unhappy sufferer at the same time under their care, had but recently, it was reported, escaped a

* *Missionary Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 179.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 158.

similar end. The heartless barbarity of this practice appears the more painfully affecting when considered in relation to the mode of interment, if such it could be called, ordinarily adopted by the common people. The bodies of the principal chiefs were preserved by a process of embalming and drying, by which they could be kept for a long time; inferior chiefs were interred in their family maraes or temples; but the bodies of the common people were placed in a shallow grave, often dug in the sand near the beach, and barely covered over, so that they became, if not before the day was over, before the following morning, food for voracious dogs and hogs, who were frequently seen ravenously devouring or fiercely contending for their prey.*

The mission-house was still the asylum of the friendless and afflicted; yet the missionaries were uncheered by any tokens of gratitude, or any cessation of depredations from the people. In the month of September, a large enclosure, which during the past two years some of their number had cultivated with great labour, stocked with nearly 600 valuable plants, and watched with pleasing hopes of deriving from it increased means of subsistence and comfort, was destroyed by some of their neighbours setting fire to the dry grass around it, by which the fence was consumed, and the plants destroyed. Deeply as they deplored their loss, and the state of the people's minds towards them which it indicated, they deemed it most prudent not to complain to the king.

On the 16th of January, 1806, the king returned to Tahiti, † and a few days afterwards paid them a visit. The idol Oro, and some others were brought in their sacred canoes to Matavai at the same time, together with five human

* MS. Journal, January 7, 1807.

† MS. Journal.

bodies, three from Eimeo, and two from Tahiti, which had been offered in sacrifice, and were suspended on the trees around. The king renewed his assurance of friendship for the missionaries, and expressed a wish that they would appropriate an apartment in their house to his use, or build a small house for him in which he might devote his attention to reading and writing without interruption. In no other way did he express himself favourable to their objects, yet there were evidences at this time, amidst all the depravity, suffering, and cruelty everywhere apparent, that the precepts and practice of the missionaries were producing some impression on the native mind. Pomare deferred his visit to Matavai till after the sabbath, assigning as his reason, that he knew the missionaries did not like to be disturbed on that day, and the people frequently suspended their sports and amusements, or the preparation of large quantities of food on that day, out of regard to the missionaries.* The natives also became increasingly anxious to conceal from the missionaries the knowledge of the human sacrifices that were either killed in the neighbourhood, or carried through the district to be offered to Oro. Soon after the king left, he ordered a man to be killed for a sacrifice, and the missionaries were informed that it was his intention to have taken one from Matavai for that purpose, but he deferred it till he had left the district, rather than incur their displeasure. The encouragement which these circumstances afforded was indeed but trifling, but it was all, and was received, together with the evidence of a more correct knowledge of Christianity, as an omen for good. On the 9th of March, this year, the number of labourers was diminished by the departure of Mr. and Mrs. Shelly, who, relinquish-

* MS. Journal.

† Missionary Transactions, vol. iii. p. 182.

ing the missionary work, left the islands in a vessel bound to Port Jackson.

The reigning family continued to suffer in common with the people at large in the calamities that seemed to threaten the depopulation of the country. Since the death of the king's father, his uncle and several near relations had been removed by death, and on the 21st of July, this year, the queen died in the prime of life, being 23 or 24 years of age. Pomare was left a widower and childless, all the children of the late queen having been destroyed. Her death was supposed to have been occasioned by a cruel and unnatural practice, a species of infanticide practised occasionally by the higher classes, and often issuing, as was believed to be the case in the present instance, in the death of the mother. Deeply mourning over the apparent inefficiency of all their endeavours, and more than ever convinced that the power of God alone could favourably affect the hearts of the people, the 9th of May, this year, the season when they supposed their friends in England would be holding the annual meetings of the Society, was observed by them as a season of solemn fasting and prayer, to humble themselves on account of the little success that had attended their efforts, and to seek the Divine favour and blessing on their future labours.* In a letter to the directors written in the month of August, they observe in relation to the people: "No success has attended our labours, so as to terminate in the conversion of any; and there is no apparent desire after instruction in the blessed truths of the Gospel: the news of salvation is an idle tale to them, and though they are visited as a nation with sore afflictions, they still reject and despise our message."

Anxious to interest the minds of the young, and having

* Missionary Transactions, vol. iii. p. 181.

experienced almost insurmountable difficulties on account of their volatile dispositions, vagrant habits, and the aversion of the parents to have their children taught; Mr. Davies proposed in the month of October to open a school, and endeavour in an evening to teach the youth who were employed by the mission families in domestic services. The proposal was acceded to, and on Mr. Davies's suggestion, it was deemed desirable to compile a short account of the leading events recorded in the Bible, in the form of a Scripture history, which Mr. Nott and himself prepared.

On the 25th of the following month, the *Hawkesbury*, a small colonial vessel, reached Matavai, with letters and stores for the missionaries. Upwards of five years had elapsed since the arrival of the *Royal Admiral*, and during that period, the missionaries had received neither letters from the Society or any of their friends, nor supplies of any kind. Few, if any modern missionaries, have been called to prosecute their labours under similar circumstances, for an equal length of time. Of tea and sugar and other trifling comforts for their families, they had long been destitute, until recently presented with a small quantity by Captain Sowle, who had touched there in an American ship. Their apparel was scarcely such as to enable them to appear with respect before any foreigners who might visit them. Several were for years with only one pair of shoes, and often made their preaching and catechetical tours barefoot. But these privations were light in comparison with the anxiety occasioned by remaining upwards of five years without a single line from their native land. Letters and supplies had indeed been sent from England, and since 1804 the Society had authorized Mr. Marsden to expend annually 200*l.* on behalf of the mission. But the war raging in Europe at the

time extended its baneful influence to the remote regions they occupied. Most of the vessels traversing the Pacific from Port Jackson were armed vessels or privateers bound for the South American coast, and only touching at Tahiti when forced by stress of weather or the want of provisions; and Mr. Marsden had, at length, hired the *Hawkesbury* to take out the supplies. The letters conveyed to the missionaries the agreeable intelligence of the interest felt in their behalf by their friends at home. By the same conveyance, they also received a cordial and fraternal letter from Mr. Read, then labouring in South Africa; and a very affectionate and cheering epistle from the Missionary Society at the Cape of Good Hope, expressing deep sympathy in their afflictions, and earnest desires for their success. Most of the supplies, especially the articles of clothing, were, on account of the length of time they had been lying at Port Jackson, and damage from sea water on the passage, almost useless.

The letters brought by the *Hawkesbury* informed the missionaries, that the directors could not accede to their wishes of sending out a considerable number of additional labourers, with an experienced and judicious minister, on account of the claims of other parts of the world. At the same time, the directors urged the claims of other islands in the Pacific on the attention of the missionaries, and recommended, if practicable, that two of their number should visit the Sandwich Islands, with a view of ultimately establishing a mission among them.

By the same conveyance the directors sent a letter to the king, condoling with him on the death of his father, recommending him to attend to the instructions of the missionaries, to prohibit infant murder, to discontinue the killing of men for sacrifices to his idols, and to promote education among the young in Tahiti. The letter was

translated and delivered to the king, who expressed his pleasure at the Society's having written directly to himself, and said he would write an answer, which he did on the 1st day of the ensuing year 1807, declaring, after the customary salutations, his agreement with their proposals, and that he would banish Oro by sending him to Raiatea, and put an end to all evil customs. In return, he requests them to send him European property, and plenty of guns and powder; adding that, Tahiti was a disregardless country, and that if he should die, they must not send any more missionaries. He also requested pens, ink, and paper, and all the requisite apparatus for writing. To this letter he added his signature, "POMARE, king of Tahiti," and addressed it to his "Friends the Missionary Society in London."

The king soon forgot his promise, if, indeed, he ever meant to keep it. Human sacrifices were offered with equal frequency, the only perceptible difference being the greater efforts made to conceal the practice from the knowledge of the missionaries. No attempt was made by the king to prevent the murder of infants, excepting when urged by the missionaries to interfere in relation to parties residing near their dwellings, and though the king promised that their wishes should be attended to, in one instance only were they successful.*

* On a subsequent occasion, when the missionaries had written to the king respecting a man and his wife who resided near the mission-house, one of the missionaries walking out a short time afterwards, saw a number of persons at a small distance among the bushes, and on reaching the spot, found that the woman had just given birth to a fine male infant, which the father's relatives were waiting to seize and destroy, because the mother's family and rank were inferior to their own. The mother, and a young man her brother, were doing all they could to save the infant. The missionary expostulated with the murderers, and aided the young man in keeping them away, while a messenger went to the mission-house for further assistance. Partly by remonstrance, and partly by force, they enabled the

On the 14th of March the *Harrington* arrived, having on board Mr. Shelly, not as a missionary but as a trader in connexion with another vessel expected soon. When the vessel sailed on the 3rd of May, the missionaries forwarded a copy of their catechisms and spelling book to be printed in England, as their chief hope now arose from their school.

These hopes were painfully neutralized by the appearance at this time, of another source of most extensive evil, viz. the distillation of ardent spirits by the natives.

Before their intercourse with foreigners, the Tahitians had been accustomed to prepare an intoxicating, or rather stupifying drink from the root of the *ava*, but after having experienced the effects of the more powerful and exciting liquor of the foreigners, it became, next to fire-arms, the article most eagerly coveted. The quantity obtained from shipping, increased rather than appeased their craving for rum, and the king had already written to New South Wales for a supply.

The officers of vessels visiting Tahiti had more than once distilled a strong spirit from the *ti*, a native root; but justly deeming the knowledge of the process, the

anxious mother to protect the helpless infant against the furious attempts of the ruffian whom the grandfather had sent, to bring it either dead or alive, and who once approached so near as to seize the infant's head, though he was forced back before he could strangle it. While the parties were still struggling, the missionary and the brother to save, the husband's friends to destroy, the infant, a message came from the father that, as the child was a boy, it was to be spared. The party bent on its destruction then retired, and Mrs. Henry arriving soon after took the infant to the mission-house, whither she was soon after followed by the grateful mother, who passed that and the following night under the protection Mrs. Henry's apartment afforded; and on the third day, all danger to the infant being then past, returned to her own dwelling. The missionaries observed that when the woman took the child home, the father appeared as fond of it as the mother.—*M.S. Journal, June 20th, 1808.*

greatest calamity that could befall the people, it had, by the urgent recommendation of the missionaries, been kept from them till the present time. An armourer, or smith, from one of the ships, who had been living nearly two years on shore, had constructed a rude sort of still, and manufactured a considerable quantity of spirits for the king and chiefs; he departed by the *Harrington*, leaving his still with the king, who employed a native of the Sandwich Islands, acquainted with the process, to manufacture the intoxicating drink. The still constructed by Savary, the armourer, did not last long, but the means of furnishing themselves with ardent spirits, was too highly prized by the indolent and debauched rulers of the country to allow them to remain satisfied without a substitute; and they ultimately succeeded in constructing stills with native materials, which were at length multiplied to such an extent, that drunkenness threatened to sweep from the face of the earth the few that war, infanticide, idolatry, and disease had spared.

Although the expediency and even advantage of the use of ardent spirits was at that period rarely if ever questioned, so deeply were the missionaries impressed with the disastrous consequences that would attend its introduction among the people, that it had been their uniform endeavour to keep it from them. The king often sent to ask for some, but they denied his requests, though they willingly, when he was ill, sent him wine from their own scanty store; and they incurred the displeasure of the chiefs by remonstrating with the armourer, who, when he went away, told them he was banished by the missionaries for supplying them with spirits. Turnbull, who remained some time on the island for purposes of trade in 1803, struck with the prevalence of intoxication, observed, "No sooner had they obtained a fresh supply, than they gave

themselves up to intoxication, and remained stupid for days together. I was again confirmed in my opinion that the introduction of spirits would be attended with the general destruction of the population. I know of no sufficient punishment that the wretch would merit, who should import a cargo of spirituous liquors into the Sandwich or Society Islands; it would, in every respect, be tantamount to the wilful administration of an equal quantity of poison." Some of the effects of drunkenness among them he witnessed, and describes as "really horrible."* The habit had greatly increased since Turnbull's departure; for, besides what he procured from ships, the king occasionally obtained supplies from New South Wales; and shortly before the departure of the *Harrington*, the *Elizabeth* arrived, bringing a present for Pomare and Idia, from Governor Bligh, consisting of rum, a musket, powder and ball. The *Elizabeth*, which arrived on the 12th of May, brought to the aid of the mission, Mr. Warner, who, in addition to his other qualifications, was acquainted with the practice of medicine. On the 23rd of the same month, this vessel sailed, having on board Mr. Youl, who proceeded to Port Jackson with Mr. Shelly, the supercargo of the vessel, who intended to call at the Fejees for sandal wood.†

* Turnbull's Voyage, vol. ii. p. 130, 163.

† They were accompanied by two natives of the Friendly Islands, Palu and his wife; another had sailed in the *Harrington*. They had all, during the war in which the missionaries in Tongatabu were murdered, fled to the Fejee Islands, whence after remaining some years, they embarked on board the *Criterion*, an American vessel, bound for Canton, thence they proceeded to New South Wales, where they were hospitably entertained by the governor, and had come to Tahiti with Mr. Shelly, formerly a missionary in Tongatabu, with a view of returning to their own country. They were favourably impressed with the treatment they had received, and the missionaries who had shown them every possible kindness, were not without hope that their residence in Tahiti, might aid in the renewal of the Tonga mission.

A report was brought to the king in the early part of the year, that one of the Atehurians had made a fish-hook of the bone of a chief of Raiatea, killed in the late war. This so incensed Pomare, that he determined, if possible, to destroy them; and for this purpose, though an atonement had been made, he set off on the 23rd of May, the day on which the *Elizabeth* sailed, and coming upon the inhabitants with a large force unexpectedly, killed a number, drove the rest to their stronghold, and plundered their district. On the 31st of May, the fortress was taken, and every individual, man, woman, and child, that fell into the hands of the assailants, was put to death, after which the ravages of war extended to the adjacent district of Papara and Taiarabu. The missionaries hastened to the scene of carnage, some of them expostulated with the king on account of the massacre of the women and children, while others sought out those that had fled to hide themselves in the unfrequented part of the district. They found a number, among whom were two chiefs, who joyfully placed themselves under their protection, and as, even in company with the missionaries, they could not have passed in safety through the districts of their enemies, they were sent in the boat belonging to the latter to Matavai. They repeated their visits of mercy to the desolate districts, and such was the confidence of the natives in the character and friendliness of the missionaries, that though they were known to be on terms of friendship with the king, and to belong to the district of Matavai, whose warriors were hunting them like beasts of prey in the mountains, they hailed the approach of the brethren, and unhesitatingly committed themselves to their guardianship and direction. The mission-house and premises became a city of refuge for multitudes, while others who sought shelter with their relatives in the adjacent

districts were afterwards destroyed. Pomare seemed bent on the entire annihilation of the Atehuruan, whose bodies he had collected in great numbers on the sea beach, and seemed to derive a savage gratification from gazing upon them, ordering them to be washed that he might recognize them more readily.

On the 30th of July, the *Paramatta* arrived from England by way of New South Wales, but to the great disappointment of the missionaries, brought them neither letters nor supplies from their native land. The *General Wellesley*, a large vessel from Port Jackson, on her way to India, called at the islands on the 17th of June. By this vessel the missionaries gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of writing to the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, conveying the assurance of their fraternal and affectionate sympathy with them, and informing them of the trials and difficulties attending their labours in the islands.

The destructive ravages of war in Tahiti prevented the captain of the *Paramatta* from obtaining a cargo, and as he intended to proceed to the Society Islands, the missionaries, willing to aid by every legitimate means in their power the efforts of those who were endeavouring to establish commercial intercourse on honourable terms with the natives, especially when such assistance could be rendered subservient to the advancement of their own objects, offered that two of their number should accompany the captain to explain the object of his visit to the chiefs, and establish a good understanding between them and the foreigners. This appeared the more desirable, as some few years before the cables of the *Margaret* had been cut, and the vessel drawn ashore at Raiatea, in consequence of some dispute between the captain and the natives.

The offer of the missionaries was readily accepted, and on the 21st of August, Messrs. Nott and Hayward sailed for Huahine, Raiatea, and Borabora. They were cordially welcomed by the chiefs, the object of the voyage was amicably accomplished in about six weeks, during which the missionaries travelled round the islands, preached the gospel to the people, conversing as opportunity offered with the natives on the great truths of Divine revelation, and though they were uncheered by any evidence of desire after further instruction, they were grateful for the protection afforded, and the openings presented for extending their labours whenever augmented numbers should enable them to do so.

Towards the close of the year the mission sustained a heavy loss in the removal of Mr. Jefferson. His health had been for some years declining, and as a last resort he intended to try the effect of a voyage in the vessel in which the surgeon arrived, but before it sailed he became too feeble to be removed. He died in peace, animated by the hopes of the gospel, on the 25th of September, 1807, in the forty-ninth year of his age. He was a man of respectable abilities, natural and acquired, but endowed in an eminent degree with the loftier attributes of the missionary character, unbending stedfastness of principle, and integrity of heart and life, with the most disinterested devotedness to his hallowed work. To his consistency, firmness, and moral influence, may justly be ascribed, under Divine favour, the preservation of the mission, and the high consideration in which it was held, both by natives and foreigners. Although the disease (consumption) which terminated his life was occasioned by his labours among the people, those labours were continued as long as strength admitted, and when confined to his room, his affectionate and impressive addresses deeply affected those who visited

him. Even the natives who had rejected his instructions esteemed his character, and when, on the night after his interment, a comet was seen in the heavens, they universally declared it was the spirit of *Paete*,* taken up to the sky.

The king having nearly exterminated his enemies in the larger peninsula, and deprived the Tairabuans of their muskets, the land of the vanquished was distributed among his friends and favourites; large tracts were set apart for the idol Oro, to be occupied only by his priests, and some would have been appropriated to the true God, had not the missionaries objected. One district, Utu Maoro, was in the public distribution given to King George and the men of Britain, and confirmed in a written document which the king gave to the missionaries. On reviewing the year at its close, the missionaries, while they express their feelings of humiliation at the slow advancement of their work, their deep sorrow on account of the suffering and bloodshed that had prevailed among the people, record their grateful sense of the Divine care in their security, the uninterrupted enjoyment of their means of spiritual improvement, and the supply of their temporal wants, while many of the natives had suffered all the miseries of famine, and some had perished from want.

On the 1st of February, 1808, the *Seringapatam*, having completed her repairs, sailed from Tahiti, and Mr. Elder availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded for proceeding to the colony of New South Wales. A fire on the mountains of Eimeo, a few nights afterwards, informed the natives that the king who had embarked in the vessel remained on that island.

Cheerless as were the prospects of the missionaries, they

* His native name.

were still encouraged by the continued attention of the natives to the school. At first, Mr. Davies, to whose care it was confided, endeavoured to teach the natives English, and persevered very industriously for three months, but found the difficulties so great that he deemed it best to direct all his attention to teaching in the native language. Though more than 18 or 20 natives seldom attended at one time, the number under instruction amounted to 40. Some of the scholars seemed to think they were conferring a favour on the missionaries by learning, for which they ought to be paid, but others offered them the most cheering encouragement they had yet been privileged to receive.

In the month of March, this year, one of their scholars, a youth about 18 years of age, appeared under much anxiety about his soul, expressed his earnest desire to be instructed in the word of God and the way of salvation, and informed the missionary to whom he disclosed the state of his mind that he prayed every morning and evening to the true God.

Several instances of strong religious convictions on the minds of the natives had recently occurred, especially in two young men, who, during the illness which terminated their lives, appeared earnestly seeking salvation by Jesus Christ. Though the missionaries had no evidence of any decisive change of heart in any of these individuals, the very concern exhibited was welcome to them as evidence that they had not laboured altogether in vain.

Remote and isolated as the missionaries felt themselves, and seldom as they were refreshed by tidings of the progress of the Redeemer's kingdom in the world, they had heard with delight of the revivals of religion which had taken place in the United States, and gladly availed themselves of an American ship, the *Amethyst*, then about to sail for America, to write to the Massachusetts Missionary

Society an account of their mission, earnestly soliciting their sympathy and prayers, that some measure of the blessing which had visited that part of the Lord's vineyard might descend on the barren field in which they laboured.*

On the 30th of the month, Mr. Bicknell left the mission for the purpose of proceeding to New South Wales in the *Hero*, intending to rejoin the mission after accomplishing the object of his voyage. Those that remained, pursued their labours amidst rumours of war and much discouragement, till the 3rd of October, when they received a notice from the king that there would probably be war in Matavai. They immediately wrote to the king, dissuading him from commencing hostilities, interceding for their neighbours, especially the women and children, who would be particularly exposed to the murderous cruelty of his warriors. On the 6th, the king, accompanied by a large number of his people, armed, came to Matavai, stating that the people of Matavai were disaffected and intended to attempt his life. On the 11th, a report was brought to the missionaries that an attack on their own premises was intended during the night; a nightly watch was established until signs of peace reappeared in the district. On the 25th, the brig *Perseverance* anchored in the bay, having on board Mr. and Mrs. Elder from Port Jackson, with letters from the governor and the chaplain of the colony, and a letter of fraternal affection and encouragement from the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, but, greatly to the disappointment of the missionaries, without any letter from the Society. About eleven o'clock at night, on the 5th of November, news was brought that the people of Matavai were assembled in arms. The king, being on board the vessel, was sent for, and came on shore in a state of

* MS. Journal.

intoxication. He proposed to attack the disaffected, but was dissuaded by his uncle, who urged the necessity of first offering a human sacrifice, and invoking the aid of their gods; in the meantime, every individual in the district fled, except the domestics in the mission-house.

The inhabitants of the eastern side of the island joined those of Matavai against the king, and as he had little hopes of resisting so powerful a confederacy, he recommended the missionaries to leave the island. As an attack on the district, in which the mission premises must have been involved, was hourly expected, the wives and children of the missionaries were taken on board the vessel in the harbour. Proposals of peace were sent by the king, and two of the missionaries went to the rebel camp to persuade the chiefs to adjust their differences by conference, but they said that they were afraid, and refused to meet Pomare except in battle. The king further stated that there were symptoms of treachery among his own people, which destroyed his hopes of being able to maintain his own ground, or prevent universal anarchy and desolation. In these circumstances, under feelings of sorrow and distress, mingled with gratitude for the means of removal so providentially afforded, three married and three single missionaries left the scene of their toils and anxieties, and, committing themselves to Divine guidance for the future, sailed for the Society Islands on the 10th of November, 1808. Mr. Davies, anxious for the progress of his scholars, would have removed them to Huahine, but unable to obtain a passage for them in the ship, was obliged to leave them.

Four single missionaries, unwilling to leave Tahiti, staid at Matavai. They were, however, obliged to quit the mission-house, the first night after the vessel had sailed, and take shelter in Pomare's camp. Here they continued

till the 22nd of December, when the king's forces being defeated in an engagement with the rebels, they fled to Eimeo, whither they were followed by Pomare and his friends. On the 20th of March, 1809, two of the single missionaries proceeded to Huahine, and were afterwards followed by a third.

After defeating the king, the rebels plundered the districts of Matavai and Pare. The houses of the missionaries were ransacked and burnt, and every implement of iron was converted into a weapon of war; their books were either committed to the flames, or torn up for cartridge papers. The printing types were melted into musket balls, and the whole premises reduced to a scene of utter desolation. The horned cattle, of which the missionaries possessed several, fell into the hands of the victors, and were some of them destroyed; one was offered to Oro. A large picture of George III., accompanied by the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, which had been sent out as a present from the Society to Pomare, in 1804, hung up in the governor's house, at Port Jackson till 1807, when it was sent to the king, was also taken and carried to the temple, and offered to Oro.*

Ever since the arrival of the missionaries, foreigners had visited Tahiti with perfect security, and through the influence and efforts of the former had received important and valuable assistance; but no sooner were they expelled, than the natives determined to seize the first ship that should arrive, for the sake of obtaining the arms and ammunition that might be on board. Apprehending this, the missionaries, in concurrence with Pomare, wrote a letter which they confided to a native, to be given to the first vessel that came. The *Venus* schooner arrived, and was seized before the native could apprise the captain of

* MS. Journal.

his danger; the master and seamen were made prisoners, taken on shore, and reserved with the intention of sacrificing them to Oro. The *Hibernia* arriving shortly afterwards, the native succeeded, though at the peril of his own life, in delivering the letter which saved the ship and those on board. The captain also succeeded in recovering the *Venus*, and rescuing her crew. The next vessel that arrived very narrowly escaped being taken.

Kindly welcomed by the chiefs of Huahine, the missionaries endeavoured to render themselves as useful as the unsettled state of the island would allow. They visited every district, preaching to the people, and endeavouring to direct their minds to the great truths of salvation,* but no favourable impression seemed to be made. Some of the chiefs on their arrival were engaged in the distillation of ardent spirits,† and most of them prepared to sail for Tahiti in aid of Pomare.

Discouraged and desolate as the missionaries now were, it is not surprising that after the patient labour of twelve anxious, sorrowful, and almost fruitless years, they should question the duty of continuing longer in a field, so sterile and unpromising: for though some of the natives seemed desirous of learning to read and write, and others at times appeared to be the subjects of religious impressions, no individual had given evidence of spiritual illumination, or moral change.

Uncertain also as to the views of the Society respecting the continuance of the mission, in consequence of the length of time which had elapsed since any letters had been received, and destitute of all hope of a speedy termination to the anarchy and bloodshed then prevailing in Tahiti, they deemed it, after humiliation before God, and

* The entire population did not exceed 2,170 individuals.

† MS. Journal, Jan. 13, 1809.

prayer for Divine guidance, their duty to retire from the islands, at least, for a season.* On the 26th of October, 1809, they all embarked on board the *Hibernia*, for New South Wales, excepting Messrs. Nott and Hayward, who remained, the former at Eimeo, and the latter at Huahine.

To all human appearance, the Tahitian mission was now at an end. The attempt to communicate the knowledge of Christianity to an idolatrous and savage nation had been made, perseveringly and faithfully made, for nearly thirteen years, and had failed. The opinions of many as to the injudicious selection of the field, and the inutility of expending upon it the resources of the church, seemed to be confirmed by the events of Divine Providence, and the doom of the Tahitian race appeared sealed. And though He, in dependence on whose blessing the attempt had been made, and whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, had thoughts of mercy towards that people still, the effect of the calamities detailed in the record of these years of trial, and their disastrous termination, were deeply, painfully, and universally felt.

* Amidst so much that is dreary and discouraging, instances of an opposite character are eagerly noticed, and among others, the following was about this time brought under the notice of the Society. The preaching of the missionaries was instrumental to the conversion of John Clark, a seaman on board one of the whale ships that touched at Tahiti, and this man was the means of much spiritual benefit to some of his shipmates. On his return, to avoid being impressed, he entered on board His Majesty's ship *Volontaire*, and afterwards removed to the *Ganges*, where, by his instrumentality, many were led to seek the blessings of salvation. His good conduct procured him the offer of promotion, which he declined, requesting only to be appointed ship's corporal, in which office, having the care of the boys, he hoped to be useful in training them up in the fear of God. Grateful to that institution which had been the means of such abounding mercy to himself, he was desirous to aid its operations; and in September this year he sent by the late Dr. Waugh a donation of fourteen pounds from himself and fourteen of his shipmates to whom God had blessed his instructions.—*Directors' Minutes*, 11th September, 1809.

CHAPTER VII.

Perils of the voyage to New South Wales—Favourable reception from the Governor and Christian friends—Intelligence from England, and the islands—Return of the missionaries to Eimeo—Presents for Pomare from the Governor, from Lady Hester Stanhope—State of Pomare's mind—Mournful bereavements by death in the mission families—Idolatry renounced by the king—Encouraging attendance of the natives on the means of religious instruction—Special prayer in England connected with the state of Tahiti—First meetings for prayer among the natives—Opening of the first native chapel in Eimeo—Special meetings with those who had renounced idolatry—Influence of example on the native mind—Christians designated *the praying people*—Increasing numbers of chiefs and people discontinue idolatrous practices and place themselves under Christian instruction—Missionary visit to the Society Islands—Benefits conferred by Christianity on the female sex—Idols publicly burnt at Eimeo by a priest—Increased attention to instruction—Failure of a project to destroy the Christians—Return of Pomare and his adherents to Tahiti—Meeting for public worship interrupted by the approach of the idolatrous army—Battle of Narii—Defeat of the idolaters, destruction of Oro—Clemency of the victors in Tahiti and Raiatea—Entire subversion of idolatry, and general profession of Christianity—Character of the change—Idols of Pomare sent to England.

THE voyage of the missionaries after leaving Huahine was long and dangerous. Wrecked in the night upon a reef among the Fejee Islands, their lives were in imminent peril; they also suffered much from scarcity of provisions; but by the gracious care of Divine Providence, they all, excepting Mr. Warner, who proceeded from the Fejees to India, reached Port Jackson in safety, on the 17th of February, 1810.

By the friends in New South Wales they were received with much affection, and treated with great kindness by Mr. Marsden and the governor; the latter offered them the privileges of settlers, and recommended their engaging in the instruction of youth, by which they were able to

support themselves, so long as they remained in the colony. At Port Jackson they found letters from the Society; and in the month of September they were joined by Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell, who were accompanied by four pious single women sent out by the Society. Tapeoi, a native of the Marquesas, also arrived in the same ship. He had been some time in England, where he was much noticed by the friends of the Society, as were also two other youths who had been at the Moravian School, at Fulneck, in Yorkshire; the latter died in England, and the former in New South Wales, during the following spring. Tidings of the safety of Messrs. Nott and Hayward, with several letters from Pomare, affectionately and kindly urging them to return, were received about the same time.

Thus encouraged, the missionaries, though favoured with prospects of usefulness and comfort in the colony, intimated to Mr. Marsden their desire to attempt the renewal of the mission; and receiving his entire concurrence, hoping also to be favoured with more frequent communications from the Society,* they prepared, in dependence on the Divine protection, to resume their arduous work. Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell and Mr. and Mrs. Scott embarked in

* Among the many trials of the mission, none had been felt more keenly, nor had operated more injuriously, than the want of supplies and letters from England. The missionaries received supplies from England but twice during the twelve years they had been on the islands, viz., by the *Royal Admiral* in 1800, and by the *Hawkesbury* in 1806. Nor did they receive letters more frequently, though ships often arrived from which they occasionally obtained newspapers or magazines; and though they wrote to England by almost every vessel, sending minute accounts of their proceedings, yet not more than three or four vessels of all that arrived during the twelve years they were on the island brought them letters from England. The directors of the Society had written more frequently, and had sent supplies, but distance, the loss of one or two vessels, the prevalence of war among the powers of Europe, and the uncertainty of vessels bound for the Pacific touching at Tahiti, prevented the missionaries from receiving them.

June, 1811; Mr. Henry and family, in September; and Messrs. Davies and Wilson, early in the following year.

On reaching the islands the missionaries found Messrs. Nott and Hayward residing with the king at Eimeo. The latter welcomed them with much cordiality, and appeared in his afflictive circumstances, as an exile from his kingdom, to be deeply interested in the important truths of Divine revelation. He spent much of his time in reading, and earnest inquiries about the true God, and the way of salvation through Jesus Christ; and spoke on these subjects, at times, in terms astonishing even to the missionaries themselves.*

The unsettled state of affairs in Tahiti prevented the return of the missionaries to their former station; and encouraged by the favourable dispositions of the chiefs of the Society Islands, who had come up to Eimeo to aid Pomare in recovering his government, they purposed commencing a mission in the island of Raiatea, when a series of painful domestic bereavements frustrated their designs, and detained them for several years in the island of Eimeo.

On the 28th of July, 1812, Mrs. Henry was removed by death. She had arrived in the islands with the first missionaries, had devoted her energies with unwavering fidelity and uncomplaining cheerfulness to its interests, through all its vicissitudes of disappointment and peril, and had now returned to die on the field. She was highly esteemed by the natives, and held in grateful remembrance

* The missionaries were the bearers of letters for Pomare, particularly from the governor of New South Wales, whose lady sent a handsome present to the Queen of Tahiti. Presents had also been sent out by Mr. Bicknell and Tapeoi, from individuals in England interested in the welfare of the islanders; among others, the late Lady Hester Stanhope, and her brother, Major Stanhope, sent out a handsome military coat, and an elegantly set star of variegated stones, as a present to the king.—*M.S. Letters.*

by many, as well as by those who had borne with her "the heat and burden of the day." This afflictive bereavement was followed by another more sudden and unexpected, the death of Mrs. Davies, which occurred on the 4th of September, and was followed by her infant daughter, who was three weeks afterwards buried in the grave which had received its departed mother. In one week more, Mrs. Hayward, who had accompanied Mr. and Mrs. Bicknell to the island, also died, and was buried by the side of her departed sisters.

The deaths of so many bearing the important and endeared relations sustained by the departed, out of so small a number as that which constituted the mission in the South Seas, at this time, would have been poignantly felt in any circumstances; but in the remote and now solitary home of the widowed missionaries it was afflictive in a degree that can be understood only by those who have been placed in similar circumstances. The survivors bowed with devout submission to the Divine will; and, next to the support derived from reliance on the Divine goodness, even in the most afflictive dispensations, were comforted and encouraged by the increasing evidence of the Divine blessing on their labours among the people. Light arose in the midst of darkness. Public worship in the native language was attended by a considerable number. Mr. Davies had opened a school, and many seemed interested in the instructions imparted. But the most important event was the change that appeared to have taken place in the king himself.

On the 18th of July, 1812, he came to the missionaries and informed them, that, as the result of long and increasing conviction of the truth and excellency of their religion, he offered himself for Christian baptism, declaring his fixed purpose and determination to cleave to Jehovah

the true God, and the missionaries his people, expressing his desire for further instruction, and requesting them to pray for him. A long, and to the missionaries a deeply interesting conversation followed. They assured him that they did not cease to pray for him, and that nothing would afford them greater pleasure than to see him in heart truly and sincerely surrendered to God; and when informed that it was customary for those, who from among the heathen desired baptism, to be fully instructed in the truths of religion, while in the meantime they might give satisfactory evidence that they had forsaken every evil way and turned in heart to God, he expressed his approval and his willingness to be baptized at such time as they should think best. There were others of whom the missionaries had reason to hope that they had been the subjects of a Divine and saving change of heart; but they were afraid that they might judge too favourably, and preferred on such topics omitting what would have been highly gratifying, rather than saying too much.

Intimately and instructively connected with the change in the king's mind, as many of the circumstances of the mission were, there was one which they could not fail to notice. Discouraged as the directors of the Society had been by the departure of the missionaries from the islands, and hopeless as the prospect was when the latter embarked to resume it, while some of the directors doubted the propriety of continuing it, and even objected to its renewal, except under the most favourable providential appearances, one individual* had nobly contributed 500*l.* towards sustaining it for a season longer; all concurred in special prayers for the mission, and particularly for the conversion of the

* The late Dr. Haweis, who, in addition to this, sent out 20*l.* worth of tools when Mr. Bicknell returned, and authorized Mr. Marsden to expend 50*l.* in supplies for the missionaries when they embarked from Port Jackson.

king. While the directors and friends at home were thus employed, that event was taking place: "Before they call I will answer; and while they are yet speaking I will hear."* The missionaries had sent accounts of the cheering prospects in Tahiti to the Society in England, before they received intelligence of the proceedings of their friends there, in reference to which one of them observes: "Reading the observations in your last letter, that you had in an especial manner been led to pray for Pomare's conversion, I was much affected."†

Pomare had already, on several public occasions, shown his contempt for the idols of his ancestors by disregarding the injunctions of the priests, and the tabus, and had perseveringly endeavoured to impress upon the minds of the chiefs of the Society Islands the importance and claims of Christianity, and had also proposed to erect a building for the worship of the true God; but the unsettled state of affairs, the rumours of war in Tahiti, and threatened invasion of Eimeo, rendered it expedient to defer his intention for a season.

Soon after Pomare had publicly avowed his belief in the religion of the Bible, two chiefs arrived from Tahiti, inviting his return to resume the government, and on the 13th of August, he sailed for Tahiti, accompanied by the chiefs and people of the Leeward or Society Islands, and many of the inhabitants of Eimeo. His departure, at that time, was regretted by the missionaries, as it deprived him of the means of religious improvement, and exposed him to many temptations. During his absence, he frequently wrote to the missionaries, and although his ideas of the moral perfections of the true God were probably but

* Isaiah lxx. 24.

† Letter to the directors from the Rev. W. Henry, *Evangelical Magazine*, 1814, p. 158.

vague, and his view of the purity required by the Gospel, defective and partial, his convictions of guilt were deep and severe.

The king's object in visiting Tahiti was not attained, and though several chiefs sent in their subjection to his authority, and the district of Matavai, the original seat of the mission, was surrendered to him, he was too doubtful of the sincerity of the surrender to justify the missionaries in attempting to renew the mission.

But though their labours were confined to Eimeo, frequent communications from Tahiti informed them that a spirit of inquiry had been excited concerning the Christian religion, that some observed the sabbath day and prayed to the true God.

Cheered by these gladdening tidings, Messrs. Scott and Hayward were deputed by their brethren to visit Tahiti, to ascertain the extent of the movement, and assist and encourage those who were inquiring. They sailed on the 15th of June, 1813, and landing at Pare, proceeded to the valley of Hautaua, where they had the unspeakable satisfaction of hearing from the heathen inhabitants of the place that the report they had heard was correct, that some in the neighbourhood had renounced the gods of Tahiti, and professed themselves followers of Jesus Christ.

The houses of the natives, however large, never contained more than one room; retirement in the house was, consequently, unattainable, and whenever they travelled it was the custom of the missionaries to retire to some sequestered spot in the vicinity of their lodgings, for the purpose of private devotion. Seeking a sheltered place, for this purpose, about daybreak on the morning after their arrival, Mr. Scott heard the sound of a native voice, at no great distance from his retreat. He proceeded as silently as possible to the spot, and, listening, overheard

a native praying with simplicity but great fervour to the living God. It was the first time he had ever heard a native pray, and the new and powerful feelings of wonder, gratitude, and joy, so overcame him that he could not refrain from tears. His first impulse was to break in upon the privacy of the native, and embrace him as a Christian brother; but he remained unnoticed, and when the native had retired, knelt upon the ground and offered his devout and joyous thanksgiving unto God for the cheering spectacle he had been permitted to behold. Mr. Scott, on returning, communicated the events of the morning to his companion, and they soon found the individual. His name was Oito, and he had formerly received instructions in the mission-house. Some observations from Pomare had deeply affected his mind, and he sought direction from Tuahine, another native, who having resided a long time with the missionaries as a servant, must, he concluded, be able to instruct and assist him. The mind of the latter was at the time the subject of convictions resembling his own, and their conversation deepened these impressions; they frequently resorted to some sequestered spot, for conversation and prayer to the true God; and though some derided them, a number of young men and boys attached themselves to Tuahine, who was an intelligent man, and Oito and this little party, before they had any communication with the missionaries, agreed to forsake the idols of their country, refrain from the practices they had so often heard the missionaries condemn, observe the sabbath day, and worship the true God. They held a meeting for prayer every sabbath day, and also met at other times for the same purpose.

Messrs. Scott and Hayward lost no time in communicating tidings of what they had witnessed to the missionaries in Eimeo, to whom the news was as life from the dead,

affecting them, even unto tears. As few have passed an equal period of perilous and persevering, though apparently fruitless labour, so few can fully comprehend the deep emotions of hope and joy which these indications of the Divine favour excited in their minds. Mr. Scott, accompanied by Mr. Hayward, travelled round Tahiti, preaching to the people in every district, and, after spending some time with the king, who amidst much ridicule and some opposition maintained his own profession, and endeavoured to persuade others to follow his example, they returned to Eimeo, accompanied by Oito and Tuahine, and their companions.

A small chapel for the worship of the true God, the first ever erected in Eimeo,* was opened for Divine service on Lord's day, July 25th, 1813. At the close of the services, all who had sincerely renounced their idols, who desired to be instructed concerning the true God, and to serve him as their God, were invited to meet the missionaries on the following day.

At the appointed time, forty natives attended. The design of meeting was to encourage those who desired to become the sincere disciples of Jesus Christ to make their desires known, that the missionaries might assist and encourage them by suitable attention and instruction. This was explained to them, and every individual being separately interrogated, thirty declared that they had renounced the worship of idols, and every evil practice connected therewith, and wished to abandon everything contrary to the will of the true God, in whom they believed,

* Mr. Fox, a generous individual in London, had, among other things, presented to Tapeoi a number of looking glasses; these being under Mr. Bicknell's charge, were taken to the islands, and after the death of their owner, employed in paying native workmen to erect the chapel.—*MS. Letter from Mr. Bicknell.*

and whom they desired to serve. The names of these were written down, that the missionaries, besides teaching them in common with others, might exercise over them a more direct and affectionate guardianship, as well as impart those instructions on spiritual subjects which their peculiar circumstances required. To the above number, eleven more were added on the 30th of the ensuing month, including a chief priest of the island of Eimeo, and Taararii, the young chief of that and Sir Charles Sanders' Island.

The special meetings which the missionaries now held with those who had enrolled themselves as desirous of becoming true Christians, were commenced and concluded with prayer, in which, after a time, some of the converts were invited to engage. At these seasons, the missionaries were often surprised and gratified by the propriety of their language, and apparent fervour of their devotional feelings. The rapidly diminishing power of idolatry over the native mind, and the reasons which many gave for adopting the sentiments in favour of Christianity, which they now professed, brought daily evidence to the missionaries that the long years of apparently fruitless labour had not been in vain. Instructions long forgotten, were now remembered; convictions stifled, revived with greater force than ever; and feelings repressed, were now approved and encouraged. The missionaries were also impressed more powerfully than ever, with the important influence of their own actions, even in those parts of their conduct which they might have supposed would be least observed by the natives, who were far more ready to draw their conclusions, as to what was essential and paramount, from their deportment, than their doctrines. Among the evidences of this they could not fail to observe, at this time, that all those who professed not only to renounce idolatry, but to become true

Christians, commenced and closed each day with secret prayer.*

Ever since the establishment of the mission in 1797, the missionaries had observed the season appropriated by Christians in their native country and America to united prayer for the spread of the Gospel throughout the world. They met together for this purpose on the morning of the second Tuesday in every month, that the time might accord with the hour devoted by their friends in England, to the same purpose. On the 5th of October, 1813, they were joined in this delightful service by some of the native converts; and on the 2nd of December followed to the grave the first native that had departed this life after making a public profession of faith in the Redeemer. Some chiefs of rank and influence had joined the Christians during the year, and before its close, the increasing numbers attending the means of instruction rendered it necessary to enlarge their chapel.

Nothing could be more exemplary than the conduct of the native Christians at this time, or more striking than the contrast between their present and former deportment. Their frequent attendance on the means of instruction, their uniform habit of asking a blessing on their meals, their assembling for prayer in their habitations, and retiring morning and evening for secret devotion, particularly attracted the notice of the heathen, and procured for them the designation of *Bure atua*, praying people. It was intended as a term of reproach, and continued to be used till superseded by another, equally honourable to the Christians, viz. *Hapii parau*, learners of the word.

* Several of the first converts had been, when youths, servants in the mission family at Matavai, and were, consequently, acquainted with the habits of the missionaries in private life, as well as with their more public proceedings.

The king remained at Matavai, but the island was still in the hands of his enemies, among whom drunkenness, produced by the distillation of spirits from the *ti* root, prevailed to a most alarming extent, and encouraged every species of vice. Two vessels fishing for pearl shells, among the islands to the eastward, were seized by natives taken on board at Tahiti, as divers, and the captain and crew of one, as well as the officers of the other, barbarously murdered. No calamity of this kind had occurred during the residence of the missionaries in Tahiti; and the barbarous conduct of the natives on this occasion, in addition to the fact of their having seized the first, and attempted to seize the subsequent vessels that arrived after the departure of the missionaries, furnish very conclusive evidence of the security those visiting the islands for purposes of commerce had derived from their presence and influence.

Idia, the king's mother, died on the 16th of January, 1814; having, it was supposed, hastened her death by the excessive use of ardent spirits.*

On the 15th of April this year, Upaparu, a principal chief of the eastern part of Tahiti, came over to the missionary station, with a number of his followers, for the purpose of seeking instruction. On the day after their arrival they attended the native worship, when they were deeply affected by the singing of the congregation,† and listened with mingled feelings of wonder and delight to

* MS. Journal, 1814.

† The natives are exceedingly partial to metrical ballads or songs: most of their own history was by this means preserved; and since they had united with the missionaries in public worship, a number of hymns in the native language had been written by Mr. Davies, which the people had learned to sing. Large additions have been made to the collection, and as the natives are fond of singing, this delightful exercise occupies a conspicuous part in all the religious services.

an excellent discourse delivered by Mr. Scott. Events, in the course of Divine providence, occurred at this time in favour of the Christians; which, though not regarded by them as partaking in any degree of a miraculous character, yet so impressed the minds of the heathen, that some of the priests did not scruple to declare publicly their conviction, that the religion of the foreigners would prevail in spite of all opposition. Corresponding appearances cheered the missionaries in the Society Islands, during the two months which, in the early part of the year, Mr. Nott, accompanied by Mr. Hayward, spent among them.* The natives assembled in considerable numbers; listened with great attention, whenever Mr. Nott addressed them, and hesitated not to denounce their idols as foolish and wicked spirits. Tamatoa, his brother, and other chiefs of Raiatea, who in the year 1811 had come to the aid of Pomare, and had been residing for some time at Eimeo, returned about this time to their own islands, carrying with them such knowledge as they had been able to obtain, and earnestly requesting the missionaries to send them books and teachers. In the meantime, Paumoana, an intelligent man, and there was reason to hope a sincere Christian, used his constant endeavours for the instruction and conversion of his countrymen.†

In the month of September, a vessel was driven from off the harbour at Eimeo, having on board Pomare, the young chief of Huahine, and also Mr. Wilson; they made the Society Islands, where they were detained several weeks; Mr. Wilson preached to large congregations at Huahine, Raiatea, and Tahaa, encouraged by the attention of many of the people.‡

In the autumn of this year, Pomare returned to Eimeo,

* Missionary Transactions, vol. iv. p. 142.

† Ibid. page 145.

‡ Ibid. vol. iv. p. 152.

accompanied by a numerous train, all professing themselves Christians. These became pupils in the school, in which the numbers now exceeded two hundred. In this department of labour Mr. Tessier, a truly pious and devoted man, who had rejoined the mission during the previous year, rendered most important assistance.

On the return of Pomare to Eimeo, the missionaries observed with inexpressible sorrow, that deep and apparently poignant as his convictions of guilt on account of his past life had been, and sincere as he seemed in his desire to abstain, not only from the practice, but the occasions of sin, he had not been able to resist the temptation to indulge in the use of ardent spirits. Notwithstanding the unfavourable influence of this, their followers increased, and before the close of the year more than two hundred had given in their names as disciples of Jesus Christ, and the native congregations usually amounted to upwards of three hundred; an equal number was under instruction in the school at Eimeo, and including those in Huahine and Raiatea, it is probable that there were at this time between five hundred and six hundred native Christians.

During this year, the missionaries commenced the construction of a vessel of about sixty or seventy tons burden, in the hopes of being thereby enabled to visit the adjacent islands, to maintain regular intercourse with New South Wales, and to contribute towards the support of the mission. In this project the king was associated with them, and furnished the timber. This work made large demands on the time and strength of the missionaries; and though most of them engaged in preaching to the people, the instruction of the natives in the school, and the preparation of books for their use, together with the translation of the Scriptures into the native language, devolved chiefly, the latter on Mr. Nott, and the former

on Mr. Davies, assisted by Mr. Tessier. The change of opinion now in progress among the natives, the missionaries hoped would be followed by habits of industry, which by their own example they sought to encourage in the people; directing their attention to the construction of small vessels, and the pursuits of commerce, instead of the wars, debaucheries, and superstitious observances, in which their lives had heretofore been passed.

One of the most pleasing features connected with profession of Christianity, was the delightful increase of social comfort which it produced. Christianity delivered woman from her degradation, raising her to that position in social life for which she was designed by her Creator; and, however contrary to all their previously-formed opinions of propriety, even the heathen could not fail to notice and admire the benign influence of the Gospel, when they saw the Christian women, instead of eating their inferior food in a little dirty shed or outhouse by themselves, uniting with their fathers, husbands, and brothers, in partaking of the bounties of Providence. They saw that they were thus placed on an equality with the other sex in the enjoyments of the present life, as well as in the hopes of that which is to come. The year 1815 opened auspiciously on the missionaries, who were greatly aided in their work by the arrival of 400 copies of an abridgment of the New Testament, and 1000 copies of a small elementary work, which had been printed for them in New South Wales. Amidst these encouragements they were called to mourn the departure of one of their number, Mr. Scott, who died on the 9th of February, after only a few days' illness. His loss was peculiarly felt at this time, when the direct missionary labours in which their departed brother was well qualified to bear an efficient part were daily increasing. Mr. Scott was a faithful, consistent,

and laborious missionary, understood well the native language, and was an impressive and instructive preacher.

But though the strength of the mission was thus reduced, the survivors were cheered by many events which they could but regard as evidences that the Spirit of God was silently, but effectually, working on the minds of the people. Among these events was the conduct of Patii, the priest of Papetoae, the district in which the mission was established. Returning one evening about this time with Mr. Nott from the encampment of the young chief of Huahine, where the latter had been preaching, he spoke of his firm belief in the truths which the missionary taught, and intimated his intention of publicly burning his idols on the evening of the following day.

At the appointed hour, the priest and his friends came to the place, where they had piled up a large quantity of fuel, near the coral-built temple in which he had officiated. Patii ordered his attendants to kindle the pile, and bringing forth the idols from their depository, cast them on the ground.* He then stripped off their sacred covering and ornaments, which he threw into the flames; and taking up the idols one by one, pronounced the name and pretended pedigree of each, and cast it upon the burning pile. Sometimes he expressed his regret at ever having worshipped the idol, at other times he called upon the spectators to witness its inability to protect itself.

Many among the multitudes around were appalled by the impiety of the priest, but the evening closed without tumult; and as no visitation of supernatural vengeance followed, this event more than any that had yet occurred, discouraged the adherents of idolatry, while it confirmed

* The idols were usually pieces of hard durable wood, from one to three feet in length, rudely carved in imitation of the human figure, or covered with finely-braided cinet of cocoa-nut husk, and ornamented with red feathers.

in favour of Christianity many who were wavering, and gave new confidence to those by whom it was professed. Numbers in Tahiti and Eimeo followed this example, burning their idols, demolishing their temples, overturning their altars, and using the wood as fuel in the native kitchens. Patii became a pupil of the missionaries, and afterwards proved a faithful disciple, and a zealous native missionary. In the month of May, the sister of Pomare's queen, who had recently arrived on a visit to Eimeo, proceeded in company with her sister to Tahiti. Soon after her arrival, on the occasion of a present of food, cloth, &c., from the chiefs of the island, the customary offerings to the idols of the country had been prevented by a devout Christian, one of the attendants on the visitor, who publicly offered thanks to the true God for his goodness, and implored his blessing on the provisions before them. By the queen, Pomare sent over to his infant daughter, the present queen of Tahiti, who with her nurse was then residing there, a book, which being regarded as an intimation of his intention that she should be brought up in the new religion, encouraged the converts, and greatly displeased the adherents to idolatry.

According to the usages of hospitality among the people, a present of food was brought to the queen's sister soon after she had landed in the district of Pare. On this occasion, one of the priests, perceiving that she did not render the customary homage to the gods, employed offensive language, and threatened her with vengeance. The individual who had publicly offered thanks to the true God when the food was given at Eimeo immediately remonstrated with the priest, and seizing a bunch of red feathers, emblems of the god, threw them in the fire. The people stood aghast at this daring act of sacrilege; and though no tumult ensued, it probably increased the

animosity which the growing numbers of the Christians had excited.

Though Pomare and those immediately about him had not, while residing in Tahiti, been molested on account of their religion, others had been plundered and treated with great barbarity, and some persecuted even unto death on that account. A number were put to death, selected and offered as sacrifices to the idols, because they were Christians. Mr. Nott mentions two; one a young man who was seized in his retirement; and knowing his doom when he saw himself surrounded by the servants of the priest, told them he was not afraid to die, for though they might kill his body, Jesus Christ would receive his soul.* Mr. Davies mentions two others; and on his journey round Tahiti, in 1816, met with the murderer of the last sacrifice that was offered in Tahiti; on which occasion the victim was selected because he was a Christian.† The growing numbers of the Christians, and the rank and influence of several who had joined them, increased the hatred of the idolaters, while it excited their fears, lest it should become general, and the temples and idols be destroyed. To prevent an issue to them so disastrous, and effectually to arrest the progress of Christianity in Tahiti, the chiefs of Pare, Matavai, and Apaiano, devised a plan for assassinating in one night every Christian on the island. To attain more certainly their object, they invited the chiefs of Atehuru and Papara to join them; and these, though comprehending parties that had been each other's inveterate enemies, heartily concurring, the hour of midnight on the 7th of July, 1815, was fixed upon for its execution. The houses of the Christians were to be attacked and set fire to, and every individual

* Missionary Chron. June, 1837.

† Quarterly Chronicle, vol. i. p. 355.

secured was to be put to death on the spot. The victims of this confederation remained unconscious of the evil intended for them until the evening of the day fixed for their death, and heard of it only a few hours before the indiscriminate slaughter was to take place. Circumstances prevented all the parties arriving at the appointed time, otherwise they would have been so completely surrounded, that destruction would have been almost inevitable. At this time the whole of the Christians in the island were assembled at a place near the sea-shore; their canoes, which were lying on the beach, were instantly launched, they embarked as speedily as possible, and pushing out to sea as soon as it became dark, reached Eimeo in safety on the following morning, grateful for the merciful and surprising deliverance they experienced.

The idolatrous parties, as they arrived at their respective places of rendezvous, shortly before midnight, found their prey had escaped; and irritated, and mutually distrustful, were not long without quarrelling and fighting among themselves. The inhabitants of Atehuru and Papara attacked the parties who had invited them to join in destroying the Christians, vanquished them, and, joined by the inhabitants of the smaller peninsula, became masters of the island, plundered the districts of those they had conquered, and reduced every dwelling to ashes. The victors again quarrelled among themselves; the Tacara-buans were beaten and driven to their mountain fastnesses, leaving the inhabitants of Atehuru and Papara* sovereigns of the island.

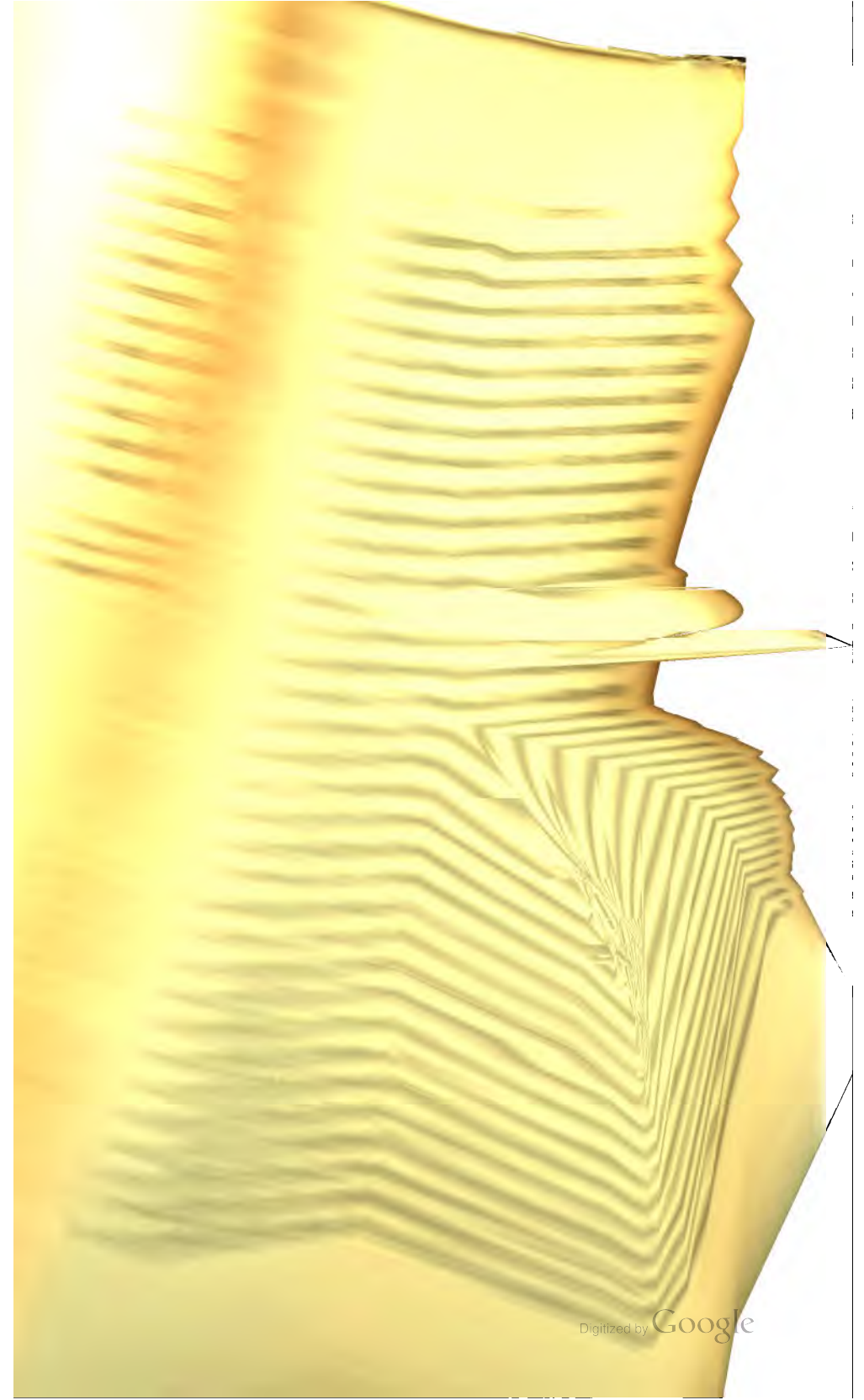
Many of the vanquished fled to Eimeo, where they were cordially welcomed by the king; and, besides these, num-

* Called, in the political divisions of Tahiti, the Oropaa.

bers who were secretly favourable to Christianity also came over and placed themselves under the instructions of the missionaries, whose school now contained between six hundred and seven hundred pupils, and would have been greatly enlarged but for the deficiency of books.

While the missionaries pursued their labours at Papetoea, the king made the tour of Eimeo, for the purpose of persuading the chiefs and people of its several districts to renounce heathenism and embrace the Christian faith. In this journey he was remarkably successful, the chiefs and people in some of the districts demolishing their temples and burning their idols, and requesting the king to send them teachers. Whatever might be Pomare's motives, and however much his best friends deplored many of his habits, his influence and exertions were at this period eminently conducive to the destruction of idolatry and the profession of the Christian faith.

Considering the extraordinary state of affairs in the islands at this time, the restlessness and bloodshed which had desolated Tahiti, the rumours of threatened invasion, and the undiminished hatred of Christianity which the idolaters displayed, the 14th of July, 1815, was set apart by the missionaries as a day of fasting and prayer unto God, to whose service and guidance they again solemnly devoted themselves. In these sacred engagements they were joined by all the professed Christians at the settlement, and the season appeared to be followed by much spiritual benefit. Soon after this event, the chiefs of Tahiti invited the refugees in Eimeo to return to the lands they had deserted. The latter complied with the invitation, and as the king's presence was necessary in several of the usages to be observed, he went over at the same time. A large number of Pomare's adherents, professors of Christianity, with the chiefs of Huahine and some from Raiatea, accompanied him.



chiefs and warriors who had become Christians, knowing that the war was not undertaken to adjust any difference between the king and the chiefs, but to exterminate that faith which was now dearer to many of them than life, took their places at the head of the column, forming what in the native tactics was called the cheek and shoulder of the army.

Before the king's forces were fully arranged, the idolaters, impelled by the promise of certain victory, had commenced the battle with an impetuosity and fury which obliged the advanced guard of the Christians to give way, and a sort of running fight commenced, which lasted for some time. The ground was partially covered with trees and bushes. Many of the Christians, when not actually engaged, knelt down singly, or two or three together, and implored the protection of the Almighty.

The idolaters continued victorious till they came to the position occupied by Mahine, the chief of Huahine and Eimeo, and Pomare Vahine, sister of the queen, and daughter of the king of Raiatea, with the people of Eimeo, Huahine, and Raiatea. These arrested the forces of the idolaters, slew their chief, and finally drove them back. As the tidings of their leader's death became known, the courage of the idolaters failed, and they fled in disorder, leaving the Christians victors on the field, and masters of the island.

Pomare prohibited his followers from pursuing their enemies or plundering their property, but he sent a party of men to Tautira, (whither he himself had often repaired with the slain in battle as victims for sacrifice,) directing them to pass straight along the road, without plundering any of the districts, or molesting their inhabitants, till they reached the district, and then to demolish the temple and destroy the idols.

In the evening, the king and chiefs, with their forces, met together to render solemn thanks to the true God, not only for their own protection, but for the subversion of idolatry throughout the island. In this service they were joined by numbers who hitherto had bowed only before the idols of Tahiti, but now desired to unite in the Christian worship. Barbarous and bloody as their conflicts had formerly been, the treatment of the slain in all the South Sea islanders had been more horrific and revolting still, and the conduct of the Tahitians had in this respect equalled, if not surpassed, all others; but the humanizing influence of the Gospel was on this occasion remarkably conspicuous. Instead of seeking a mean, cowardly, and worse than brutal gratification in battering the skulls or mutilating the bodies of the slain, all were decently interred, and the body of the chief of Papara sent to his own district, that it might be deposited in the burying-place of his family.

The party sent to the national temple executed faithfully their commission. They demolished the temple, broke down the altars, burned most of the idols, and brought away the image of Oro, a rude uncarved log of wood, about six feet long, which on reaching the camp they laid at Pomare's feet. It was then devoted to the most contemptible of all purposes, being fixed up in the king's kitchen for the purpose of having baskets of food suspended from it, and was at last riven up for fuel. This was the end of the great national idol of Tahiti, which, besides the number of human victims that had been offered to propitiate its favour, had been the cause of some of their most desolating wars.

The clemency and forbearance of the king soon became known to the fugitives, who proceeded generally under cover of night to their dwellings, and when they found

their wives, their children, and their property safe, they were astonished, and ascribed it justly to the influence of the new religion.* Having received assurances of forgiveness from the king, they readily tendered their submission to his authority, and thus by the unanimous will of the people Pomare was restored to the supreme authority in his hereditary dominions. The family and district temples throughout the island were destroyed; the idols, with few exceptions, committed to the flames; and idolatry, with all its abominations and cruelty, abolished throughout the islands. Messengers came from almost every district, informing the king of these proceedings, of the intention of the inhabitants to discontinue infant murder, and all the practices which they knew to be condemned by Christianity, at the same time requesting that schools might be established, and the worship of the true God observed in all their villages.

Tidings of the result of the battle were speedily conveyed to Eimeo, and the messenger, formerly the chief priest of Huahine, as his canoe touched the shore, leaping upon the beach, exclaimed, "Vanquished! vanquished! by prayer alone!" And when he related the account of the battle, and the entire abolition of idolatry, his auditors, almost overcome with surprise and joy, accompanied the missionaries to the native chapel, where devout thanksgivings were rendered unto God for the wonders he had wrought.

Soon after the receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Nott, accompanied by Mr. Hayward, was sent over to Tahiti. They landed in the district of Pare, near the spot whence five years before they had fled for their lives. They travelled round the island, and not only found no vestige of

* It was the opinion of the missionaries on the island at the time, that the forbearance, forgiveness, and humane conduct of the king and Christian chiefs, after the battle, contributed more to the entire subversion of idolatry than the victory they had gained.

idolatrous worship, but in every district some of the Christians residing as teachers, buildings had been erected for public worship, where the inhabitants were accustomed to meet thrice on the sabbath, and once during the week for prayer to the true God.

The missionaries, after preaching in every district, often to upwards of four hundred hearers at a time, closed their labours at Matavai, their former station, where the people urgently solicited them to resume their station, assuring them that the whole district should be theirs, if they would return and reside among them. Besides preaching in every district, assisting in organizing their schools, and distributing the few books they possessed, much time was spent in conversing with the people, and imparting those directions which the entirely altered state of society now so urgently required.

The strength of the mission was altogether unequal to the welcome, but unexpected claims of the people, and they earnestly solicited aid from England. In the mean time, the most intelligent and pious among their pupils were employed in teaching their countrymen, and presiding at their religious services on the sabbath, and other days. On these occasions they read portions of the Scriptures, which the missionaries furnished them with in manuscript, and sometimes wrote out the forms of prayer which they used. The same course was pursued in Eimeo, and Sir Charles Sanders's Island ; and wherever the natives abolished idolatry they erected buildings in which they assembled to pray to the true God, and sent for the missionaries to visit them, or supply them with teachers. In the year 1816, the chiefs of the Leeward Islands followed the example of those in Tahiti. Mahine sent a special messenger to Huahine, with instructions to the chiefs to destroy temples and idols, to pray to the true God, and observe the Christian sabbath.

In the autumn of 1815, when Tamatoa and his companions, returning from Eimeo, approached the shore of Raiatea, the priests welcomed them in the name of the gods, and expressed their hopes of victims. A herald was directed to answer that they had become Christians, and exhibiting the books, stated that they were the only offerings they had brought. Some short time after their arrival, a public meeting was convened, and the chiefs proposed to the people to embrace Christianity, when about one-third acceded to the proposal. Subsequently, when Tamatoa was ill, some of his friends imagining that his illness was a judgment from the true God, for his allowing the heathen temples to remain, the great national temple of Oro was burnt, and the idol destroyed. This so exasperated the heathen party that they determined to destroy Tamatoa and all his adherents, and for this purpose invited the aid of the warlike and hardy chief of Tahaa, Fenuapeho. So determined were they to avenge the gods, and intimidate all who might be disposed to insult them, that they erected a large building, and enclosed its sides with trunks of trees, intending in this building to burn the Christians alive. Tamatoa made several attempts to appease their wrath, and sent his own daughter to propose peace; but the idolaters declared there should be no peace for the burners of gods, till they themselves had felt the fire, and determined to attack them the next day. The intervening period was spent by the idolaters in feasting, as if certain of victory; but by the Christians in prayer, and in piling up a rude breastwork of stones, for the protection of their encampment. On the following morning, one of the Christians proposed to attack the idolaters in the act of landing; the king agreed, but requested that all might unite in prayer to Jesus Christ before they set out: they did so; and, afterwards, the king addressing them, said,

“Now go, and may the presence of Jesus go with you.” They reached the appointed place while the idolaters were landing their forces, and suddenly and unexpectedly emerging from the bushes, attacked them with such resolution and vigour, that the idolaters, unable to ascertain their numbers, were confounded, and soon fled in disorder and dismay. A number were taken prisoners, and those who had concealed themselves, perceiving that no injury was done to them, surrendered, many of them exclaiming, “Spare me by Jesus, your new God !” When the chief of Tahaa was brought a captive before Tamatoa, he said, “I am dead ;” but the latter said, “No, my brother, you are saved by Jesus.” In the mean time, a feast, for which one hundred hogs had been baked, was prepared, and all the captives were cordially invited to partake of it. They sat down, but were so astonished by the events of the day, and particularly by this last act of more than clemency, that they scarcely tasted the provisions before them. One of their number declared, that the heathen were four times as numerous as the Christians, yet they had been completely vanquished ; and that, though had they been victorious the Christians would have been burnt alive, yet they, when vanquished, were not only spared, but sumptuously feasted like friends. He declared their religion was a religion of mercy, and that to the day of his death he would never worship the idols again. His feelings were shared by most present, and at the close of the day all united in worshipping Jehovah. On the following morning, after uniting in prayer, both Christians and heathens proceeded to the destruction of the temples and idols of every district ; and, in three days, the temples and idols of Raiatea and Tahaa were utterly destroyed.*

The conduct of Tamatoa was followed by Mai and

* Missionary Enterprises, page 190.

Tefaora, the chiefs of Borabora ; and, finally, in Maurua, the most remote of the Society Islands. At all these islands buildings were erected for Christian worship, and urgent applications made to the missionaries for instructors. In the mean time, those who had been taught by the missionaries employed themselves in teaching others ; and writing under date of August, 1816, the missionaries state, that, at least 3000 natives possessed books, and were able to use them ; that, besides the supply of books printed in New South Wales, amounting to 4,500, many copies in manuscript of parts of St. Luke's Gospel were in circulation among the people.*

The entire population of the group of islands in which the mission was established was before the close of this year professedly Christian ; but, with the exception of a small minority, they were such only in profession ; the change with them had been rather a civil revolution, than a religious conversion : multitudes had but very imperfect ideas of what Christianity was ; they had complied with the wishes, or followed the example of their chiefs ; and though a considerable number had from the instructions of the missionaries in previous years, and from their more recent attendance on the school at Eimeo, a knowledge of the great outlines of Christian truth, but few were subjects of that renovation of heart which constitutes the true Christian. Nevertheless, there were, at this time, a number who gave very satisfactory evidence of having experienced that moral change which is produced only by the regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit. The best proof of this was furnished not in their clear views of the doctrines of the Gospel, and their zeal to extend it, but in their entirely altered conduct in all the relations of life, confirmed by their consistent deportment during

* Quarterly Chron. vol. i. page 164.

the remainder of their lives, often extended through a long series of years.

But though comparatively few were the subjects of this entire and spiritual renovation, the great national change was an incalculable blessing to the people. They were liberated from the intellectual bondage and the moral debasement of idolatry, from the tormenting apprehensions of malignant spiritual influence, or of treachery and murder for human sacrifices, as well as from the despotism of a cruel and rapacious priesthood. The infamous areoi institution was abolished, infanticide ceased, polygamy was discontinued, and Christian marriage instituted. All the humiliating prohibitions to which the female sex had been subject ceased, and the social habits of the entire community in this respect changed. Intoxication, with few exceptions, ceased. Distillation was discontinued, and all the native stills throughout the islands destroyed; not because it was then supposed that the distillation of ardent spirits, or the moderate use of it, was in itself sinful, but because it was the cause of drunkenness, and because, in addition to the frightful evils of drunkenness in this life, the Bible declares that no drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God.

The decalogue was recognised as the rule of human conduct; a knowledge of letters esteemed the highest attainment, and universally desired; the true God acknowledged as the Creator, Preserver, and Benefactor of all; the sabbath-day regarded as a season Divinely appointed for religious engagements, and spent in cessation from ordinary labour, but occupied in the private or public duties of religion; new motives to industry were supplied; and prospects of security and peace enjoyed, to which preceding generations had been strangers. Regarded in reference only to the present life, and its influence on the temporal condition of the people, few changes so entire

important, and beneficial have taken place in an equal period of time among any portions of the human race. •

This astonishing change was not produced or promoted by the civil power, but by the force of conviction on the minds of those who first received the Gospel; by the exemplification of its principles and tendencies in the benignant conduct of its professors, and the interpositions of Divine Providence in their favour. Those who first embraced it did so, in every instance, not in compliance with, but in opposition to, the civil authorities under which they lived. The civil power was arrayed exclusively on the side of the established idolatries, which the first Christians renounced. Force was used not in favour of, but against Christianity, and employed with all the blind infatuation of idolatrous bigotry for its extinction. Force was used by the Christians, but only as a last resort, not to extend their faith, but for self-preservation; and then, especially in the proceedings at Tahiti and Raiatea, evidently with less reliance on the force of arms, than the efficacy of prayer, and the protection of the Almighty.

The means, so far as the agents were concerned, were the same as those which had been for so many years employed, apparently in vain. The teachers of the people were aware of no difference either in the matter or manner of their former instructions at Tahiti and those immediately preceding the change in Eimeo. The missionaries, on several occasions, noticed the strong impression which the announcement of the love of God as manifested in the gift of his Son for the salvation of sinners produced on the minds of the natives. They had often exhibited that glorious truth before, and had mourned over the perfect apathy with which it had been received; but they now saw hearts, hitherto insensible,

deeply moved. On one occasion, when Mr. Nott was reading a manuscript copy of the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, a native interrupted him at the 16th verse, to ask if it was true, and when assured that it was, could not refrain from tears.

The missionaries never expected to succeed but by the influence of the Spirit of God operating on the minds of the people, and every view of the astonishing change they had witnessed warranted the conclusion, that though they had been the instruments, the power had been of God. And, notwithstanding all the defections that have since taken place, the subversion of idolatry in the South Sea Islands, the first practical answer given in our day to the inquiry, "Hath a nation changed its gods?" is one of the most striking manifestations of the Divine veracity, and one of the most satisfactory grounds of encouragement to the church of God, that the present century has witnessed.

When idolatry was renounced, most of the objects of worship were committed to the flames, some were cast into the sea, and others were hid in the caves of the mountains. Early in the year 1816, Pomare sent his own family idols to the missionaries, by whom they were forwarded to England, that, as Pomare observed, the Christians there might see Tahiti's foolish gods. They were received with devout gratitude, and deposited in the Society's museum, as earnest of the ultimate accomplishment of the promise which declares that the idols He shall utterly abolish.

CHAPTER IX.

Instruction sought from the missionaries in civil affairs—Arrival of missionaries from England—Number of chapels in Tahiti and Eimeo—Establishment of the press—Printing of school books, and portions of the Scriptures in the native language—Launch of the ship *Haweis*, built by the missionaries—Eager desire of the natives after books—Commencement of missions in Tahiti, Huahine, and Raiatea—Formation of native missionary societies—Introduction of the manufacture of sugar—Cause of its failure—Promulgation of the first code of laws in Tahiti—Baptism of the king—First churches in Tahiti—Earnest desire of the people for baptism—Qualifications required in the candidates—Progress of the missions in the Society Islands—Raiatean code of laws—Introduction of trial by jury—Commencement of the mission in Borabora—Extension of the Gospel to the Austral Islands—Arrival of the deputation from England—Death of Pomare II.—General attention to religious observances throughout the islands—Observance of the sabbath—Visit to the Sandwich Islands—Introduction of the Gospel in the Hervey Islands—Voyage of Messrs. Williams and Bourne to Rarotonga—Return with the abandoned idols of several of the Hervey Islands.

THE labours of the missionaries were greatly increased during the year 1816, by the numbers who applied for instruction, not only in religious, but civil and domestic affairs. Their former system of superstition had been so closely interwoven with every transaction of life, that its abolition had dissolved the framework of their civil and social state. The missionaries gave them, under these peculiar circumstances, such advice as they deemed most suitable, and appointed one evening in the week for the purpose of meeting them, and answering publicly such questions as the natives might propose in relation to their temporal as well as their spiritual concerns. Mr. Crook arrived from New South Wales in the month of May, and possessing a considerable degree of medical knowledge, was able to render important aid.

Chapels in Tahiti were multiplied ; the sabbath was observed throughout all the islands ; private and family prayer was general among the people ; about four thousand had learned to read, and many of them to write.

During the year 1817, the missionaries were greatly encouraged by the arrival of additional labourers from England. Mr. Ellis reached the islands on the 13th of February ; Mr. Orsmond on the 27th of April ; and Messrs. Trelkeld, Barff, Williams, Bourne, Darling, and Platt, with their wives, on the 17th of November.

Mr. Ellis had taken out a printing press, and the demand for elementary books being urgent, it was set to work at Afarectitu, in Eimeo, as soon as the requisite buildings could be prepared. The king expressed himself pleased with the prospect of having books printed in his own country, composed the first page of the native spelling-book, and printed off the first sheet himself on the 30th of June, 1817.*

Nearly three thousand spelling-books were printed, and almost as many copies of a catechism, and a collection of Scripture extracts ; after which the Gospel of Luke, which had been translated by Mr. Nott, was put to press, and an edition of three thousand copies† finished early in the ensuing year, 1818. Multitudes arrived from different parts of Eimeo and Tahiti, not only to see the printing, but to obtain books ; and so eager were many, that a number of copies were distributed in sheets, and bound afterwards by natives whom the missionaries had instructed. Great havoc was made among the cats and dogs, for the sake of their skins.

The books were sold to the natives, not for the purpose

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 220.

† The paper for half the edition was furnished by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

of profit, but with a view of inducing them to take greater care of them, and also to defray the expenses of printing and paper. The edition was soon expended; and though with many the eagerness to possess a book arose from a wish to gratify curiosity, or obtain an article universally sought after; with others, it undoubtedly arose from an earnest desire to derive spiritual benefit from its perusal.

To the eastward of Tahiti a vast number of low islands of varied extent are scattered over the surface of the ocean, extending from within fifty or sixty miles of Tahiti, almost to the Marquesas. Ever since the first settlement of the missionaries, numbers of the inhabitants of these islands had at different times visited Tahiti. Many were residing there when the great change took place; some professed Christianity, and after having been under the instructions of the missionaries for a time, returned to their native islands, where they induced their countrymen to destroy their idols, and during the early part of the year three hundred and twenty of them came in the canoes a voyage of several hundred miles, in order to obtain books. They were readily supplied, and having remained some time under instruction, returned to their native islands.

On the opposite side of the island, at Papetoe, the missionaries who had recently arrived were employed in finishing the vessel, which, in conjunction with the king, their predecessors had begun to build in 1814; and having the efficient assistance of Mr. Williams, who prepared all the iron work required, the vessel was finished, and launched on the 17th of December. The vessel was called by Pomare, the *Haweis*, in honour of the late Rev. Dr. Haweis, the projector, the munificent patron, and most constant friend of the South Sea mission. As soon as the

rigging of the vessel was finished, she was employed in conveying the missionaries to their respective stations; then freighted with native produce to the colony of New South Wales. On her return, she was presented by the Society to Pomare.

In proportion as the people experienced the blessings of Christianity, they were interested in learning how it had been sent and sustained among them, and anxious to aid in extending it to others; and understanding that this was effected by the united exertions of many Christians, who freely contributed of their money to send and support missionaries, they proposed to hold a public meeting for the purpose of establishing a Tahitian missionary society in aid of the Society in England.

The 13th of May, 1818, the season when the parent Society was holding its annual meeting, was selected for this purpose. At the appointed time, the place of worship being far too small, the multitude assembled in a spacious grove of cocoa-nut trees near the place, and Mr. Nott delivered a suitable discourse. Pomare then addressed the vast assembly, commiserating the heavy burdens idolatry imposed, and alluding to some of the blessings they enjoyed under the Gospel; informing them how it had been sent to them; and proposing that they should collect a little of the property or produce of the island to cause the word of God to grow.

He said they had no money; but they could give pigs, arrow-root, oil, or cotton, to buy money with, and the money so bought could be employed in sending missionaries to the heathen. He very strenuously enjoined its being done freely, and requested that no stigma should attach to those who did not contribute. At the close of his address, he proposed that those who were willing to unite in the good work should hold up their hands,

when instantly every hand in the large assembly was raised in token of approval. The society was then organized, and towards the close of the day the assembly dispersed.

The arrival of assistance from England enabled the missionaries to provide more adequately for the instruction of the people. In December, 1817, Mr. Wilson removed to Tahiti, and recommenced his labours at Matavai, designated also Waugh Town, near the spot where the mission-house originally stood. Mr. Bicknell, with Mr. Tessier, removed soon afterwards to Papara, Haweis Town, in Tahiti; and early in 1818, Mr. Crook and Mr. Bourne commenced their labours at Papetee, Wilks's Harbour, in the district of Faa. Mr. Darling, after remaining a short time with Mr. Wilson at Matavai, removed to the district of Atehuru, Burder's Point, where his persevering labours are still continued. Next to Tahiti and Eimeo, the Society Islands, equal in population, and scarcely inferior in importance, demanded the attention of the missionaries; and as soon as the vessel had conveyed the missionaries to Tahiti, arrangements were made for establishing a mission among them. On the 11th of June, Messrs. Davies, Williams, Orsmond, and Ellis, sailed from Eimeo in the *Haweis*, and the next day reached Huahine, the most easterly of the Society Islands, where they were shortly afterwards joined by Messrs. Nott and Threlkeld.

Soon after the arrival of the missionaries in Huahine, the chiefs of Raiatea came up, and very urgently requested some of them to remove to their island, and become their instructors. It had been judged best to form but one station in the Leeward Islands at first; and as it was deemed desirable to establish the printing press at the most easterly island, the trade wind allowing ready com-

munication at all seasons with the other islands, Huahine was chosen as the mission station. The senior missionaries, who were employed in revising the translation of the Scriptures, and preparing other works for publication, judged it their duty to remain at Huahine; but two of the junior brethren, Messrs. Williams and Threlkeld, although apprehensive that their knowledge of the language would scarcely be equal to the exigencies of a new station, felt so anxious for the welfare of the people, that they deemed it their duty to comply with the request of Tamatoa. They left Huahine in the *Active*, on the 18th of September, accompanied by the chief and his brother, and followed by their people in boats and canoes. In both islands schools were immediately opened and well attended, while the congregations on the sabbath day seldom comprised fewer than from eight hundred to one thousand persons.

On the 6th of October, 1818, at the urgent recommendation of Mahine, the chief, a native missionary society was formed, comprehending the inhabitants of Huahine and Sir Charles Sanders's Island. In the month of September, 1819, a similar society was formed at Raiatea, sanctioned by the earnest recommendations, and supported by the example of Tamatoa. These societies were at the time of their formation, and for some years afterwards, supported by the greater part of the inhabitants; and though many undoubtedly contributed because their chiefs recommended it, and from other inferior motives, yet from the first, many have subscribed under a sense of grateful obligation for the Gospel, and a desire to extend its benefits to others.

The missionaries had often mourned over the failure of all their attempts to introduce habits of industry among the people; and being fully sensible that indolence was the fruitful source of many of their vices, and of the impossi-

bility of their becoming either virtuous or happy without more occupation than the supply of the mere cravings of animal nature required, gladly availed themselves of the present favourable disposition of the people to promote the culture of those productions of the island which were deemed most valuable for purposes of commerce, particularly the growth of cotton, for which both climate and soil seemed admirably suited.

Anxious to further the same object, the directors sent out, in the summer of 1817, Mr. Gyles, an individual who, having been overseer of an estate in Jamaica, was practically acquainted with the growth of the cane, and the manufacture of sugar, with a view to his teaching the same to the natives. He reached Tahiti in the month of August, 1818, and shortly afterwards removed to Eimeo, with the machinery and apparatus sent out by the Society, where the necessary buildings were erected, and arrangements made for prosecuting his work. Cane was procured, and excellent sugar made, affording every encouragement to hope that native-grown sugar might become a profitable article of export from all the islands.

The natives of Huahine were, in the meantime, employed in cultivating cotton; but the return not being equal to their expectations, it was speedily abandoned. In the month of August, this year, the mission at Tahiti was enfeebled by the removal of Mrs. Wilson, who died after a few days' illness; and in the month of December Mr. Hayward proceeded in the *Haweis* to New South Wales. By the same vessel, Mr. and Mrs. Orsmond left Huahine for Raiatea, where Mrs. Orsmond died on the 6th of January following, having survived but a few hours the birth of a daughter, who died five days afterwards.

Early in the year 1819, the captain of an American vessel, the *Indus*, touching at Tahiti, informed the king

that Mr. Gyles's errand was only experimental, and that should he succeed, other individuals would come, supported by a force which he would be unable to oppose, take possession of the country, and destroy the inhabitants, or reduce them to slavery, strengthening his statement by referring to the history of the West India Islands, whence Mr. Gyles had come. This misrepresentation deprived Mr. Gyles of all assistance and encouragement from the king, and in the month of May the latter informed the missionaries that he could only consent to the manufacture of sugar on a very limited scale, and produced on their minds the impression that he did not wish Mr. Gyles to remain. The missionaries did not remonstrate very strongly with the king; and although the Society had incurred great expense in providing the apparatus, &c., for the work, they were so far influenced by these suspicions, that "in order to satisfy the king, and quiet the minds of the people," they, on the 14th of May, advised Mr. Gyles "to return to New South Wales by the first conveyance." He accordingly left in the month of August following. Several of the missionaries, both in Tahiti and the Leeward Islands, acquired so much information from Mr. Gyles, as to be able to instruct the natives in the manufacture of sugar, which has ever since been a source of profit to the inhabitants of most of the islands. The *Haweis*, in returning to the islands in the early part of this year, touched at Norfolk Island, and brought away a number of young coffee-plants, some of which were preserved at Huahine, and have since been introduced to all the islands. The natives were also encouraged by the missionaries to erect for themselves more comfortable dwellings, and early in this year a small house, with plastered walls, a boarded floor, and distinct apartments for eating and sleeping, was constructed for

Tamatoa at Raiatea ; while, at the same time, an inferior chief at Huahine built one of the same kind for his own family at Fare Harbour. These were the first of the kind erected for the natives, but many others were built before the close of the year ; and since that time neatly plastered cottages, with boarded floors and separate apartments, have become very general, not only in the Society Islands, but among the islands to which the Gospel, and the civilization that follows in its train, have been conveyed.

In the early part of this year the South Sea mission, and the Society itself, suffered one of the heaviest losses it had as yet been called to sustain, in the death of the Rev. Dr. Haweis.

Descended from an ancient and honourable family in Cornwall, brought under the transforming influence of Divine truth, by the instrumentality of the late Rev. Samuel Walker, of Truro, educated at the university of Oxford, expelled from his curacy, and persecuted by the ecclesiastical authorities of the day, for no other crime than that of faithfully preaching the Gospel of Christ, this learned, pious, gifted, and amiable clergyman continued through a long course of years to labour actively, irreproachably, and perseveringly in his high and holy calling, esteemed by the wise and the good throughout the land, and honoured by the great Head of the church, as the instrument of spiritual benefit to many of his countrymen. Long before the formation of the Society, Dr. Haweis, assisted by the Countess of Huntingdon, had attempted to send out a mission to the South Seas, and only failed through the unsuitableness of the men he had engaged.

No conclusive evidence that the Society originated with any single individual has yet appeared ; and were it desirable to endeavour to ascertain to whom this privilege might belong, few could prefer stronger claims than those which

might be offered on behalf of Dr. Haweis. The subject had long occupied his thoughts, and deeply interested his feelings, and he was among the earliest of those who devised and ultimately organized the Society. In the public services attending the formation of the institution he bore an honourable part; and in its first movements, especially in connexion with the mission to Tahiti, besides the munificent amount of aid which he gave, he rendered to its interests the most valuable and indefatigable personal services. His family and connexions; his position in society; his relation to the late Countess of Huntingdon as her chaplain, and principal executor; his access to Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Wilberforce, and other individuals; together with the influence and exertions of his honoured coadjutor, Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., secured for the Society that high consideration which from the first it received from members of the Government, and the heads of the several departments of the public service.

So long as health would admit, he employed himself in promoting the welfare of the Society, and endeavouring to interest others in its objects and proceedings; and when the infirmities of age incapacitated him for those active services which he had been accustomed to render, he continued to cherish unabated interest in its proceedings, more particularly in those relating to the South Sea mission. When many of his coadjutors in the direction of the Society were disposed to relinquish that mission, he not only urged a further trial, but contributed 500*l.* towards bearing its expenses. Altogether he contributed upwards of 2,000*l.** in furtherance of its objects, and was the medium through which two other friends forwarded for its benefit nearly 2,000*l.* more.

* Letter from the Rev. J. O. W. Haweis.

Life was prolonged to this honoured servant of Christ till his most sanguine hopes were realized, and his fervent and oft-repeated prayers answered, in the abolition of idolatry, and the reception of the Gospel throughout the Society Islands. He maintained an affectionate correspondence with the missionaries, and, after the general profession of Christianity, wrote to Pomare, who, in 1818, addressed to him a most interesting letter.* The accounts of the remarkable change which, after so many years of fruitless toil, had taken place, filled him with holy gratitude, and led him almost to adopt the language of the aged Simeon,† when he beheld the promised Saviour. Mr. Hayward, one of the missionaries from the islands, arrived in England shortly before his death; but his illness deprived him of the opportunity of conversing with him, or receiving personally any tidings of the great work which had been accomplished. Part of the last evening of his life was spent in giving directions for forwarding some books, two of them Bibles, for which Pomare had written to him; and to the close of his existence here, his mind seemed occupied with the visions of glory and blessedness opening upon the world in connexion with the spreading of the everlasting Gospel. Almost the last words he uttered were, "I have had such wonderful representations made to my mind of the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom, as I feel, but cannot express." "Wonderful things the Lord is doing in the earth." He died, deeply lamented by his family and surviving friends, and honoured by the church at large, on the 11th of February, 1820, having attained the advanced age of 88 years.‡

* Evangelical Magazine, 1820, p. 81.

† Letter to Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., Morison's "Fathers, and Founders of the Missionary Society," p. 190.

‡ Evangelical Magazine, 1820, p. 129.

Many of the inhabitants of Tahiti had been for some time employed in erecting a large place of worship at Papaoa, called also Hankey, in compliance with the orders of the king, who, having heard of the cathedrals of Europe, and of the temple of Solomon, determined that a building should be erected for the worship of the true God, superior to any that had ever been dedicated to their idols.

This immense building, which was 712 feet long and 54 feet wide, built after the native manner by native workmen, and finished with great care, was opened for public worship on the 11th of May, 1819, when three of the missionaries, occupying the three pulpits, fixed at equal distances, addressed three separate congregations within the building, amounting altogether to nearly six thousand persons. The annual meeting of the native missionary society was held on the following day, and on the third day the laws for Tahiti and Eimeo were promulgated by the king.

Ever since the general renunciation of idolatry, the king had sought instruction from the missionaries for the guidance of the people in their civil affairs; and though they had hitherto avoided all interference with the political concerns of the people, excepting when they had endeavoured to abate hostile feelings, and promote reconciliation between opposing parties, they now deemed it their duty to afford the king all the aid in their power; and after explaining to him the general principles on which it was desirable to proceed, they recommended him to call a special meeting of the principal chiefs, for the purpose of adopting such laws as would tend to the welfare of the community. Pomare had been so long accustomed to consult only his own will in all matters of government, that he declined calling a meeting, but solicited the assistance of Mr. Nott and some of the other missionaries

in preparing a code of laws, few in number, explicit and simple in their character, and adapted to the circumstances of the natives. They were submitted to the general assembly of the people in the large chapel, on the 13th of May, and after having been read and explained by the king, were adopted by the unanimous consent of the people.*

On the first sabbath after the opening of the new chapel, the king was publicly baptized by Mr. Bicknell, one of the senior missionaries, in the presence of a large assembly; and on the next day, the missionaries who had met together on this occasion united in commemorating the dying love of their Redeemer, and afterwards returned to their respective stations.†

A number of natives, of whose piety the missionaries entertained the most favourable opinion, were also baptized during the early part of this year, in all the stations in Tahiti and Eimeo, and in some instances formed into a Christian church, or society, by whom the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was commemorated.

In the Leeward Islands the missionaries met with much encouragement. Though they had scrupulously abstained from making any presents to the scholars, or offering any other inducement than the benefits to be derived from the knowledge acquired, they had the satisfaction of beholding

* These laws extended to nineteen articles, including four regulations for the appointment of judges and the administration of justice. The fourteen articles which were of general application, were the following: 1. concerning murder; 2. concerning theft; 3. concerning trespass in gardens or plantations; 4. concerning stolen property; 5. concerning lost property; 6. concerning buying and selling, or barter; 7. concerning the observance of the Lord's day; 8. concerning rebellion; 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. concerning the evils arising from the former heathen state in connexion with the marriage relation, and the contraction of marriage according to the principles of Christianity; and, 14. concerning false reports.

† Quarterly Chronicle, vol. i. p. 228.

increasing numbers earnestly seeking instruction, while the preaching of the Gospel was followed by beneficial, and sometimes remarkably striking effects.*

The first annual meeting of the missionary society exhibited the zeal and industry of the people in the amount of contributions; and among the pleasing features connected therewith, was the increased attendance on the monthly missionary prayer-meetings, at which some account was usually given of the progress of Christianity either among adjacent islands, or distant parts of the world, and some of the most pious and intelligent among the natives engaged in prayer.

The press was constantly employed, both at Tahiti, under the direction of Mr. Bourne, and at Huahine; and besides elementary books, five thousand copies of the Gospel of Matthew were printed during the year, the greater part of which were speedily circulated among the people.

In the month of July this year Mr. Nott removed to Matavai, in Tahiti, for the purpose of being near Pomare, whose assistance he was anxious to secure in revising the translation of the Scriptures into the native language. In September following, fifteen of the natives of Huahine, who with others had been for some time under special instruction, publicly professed their faith in Christ by receiving the ordinance of baptism.

The station at Raiatea continued to prosper. The missionaries, treated with respect and kindness by the people, were active in promoting their spiritual benefit, while they sought both by precept and example, to stimulate them to habits of industry and social comfort. The chiefs exerted their influence to repress vice, and promote good order among the people; they also formed a missionary society,

* Quarterly Chronicle, vol. i. p. 494.

and took a lively interest in efforts to extend the knowledge of the Gospel.

The time of the missionaries, throughout the year 1820, was almost exclusively occupied in imparting religious instruction to the people. Besides preaching on the sabbath, and on Wednesday evenings, which was the general practice, attending the meeting on Monday afternoon for the purpose of answering questions, and on Thursday afternoon for instructing the candidates for baptism, of which there were now several hundreds at each station; the houses of the missionaries were often almost thronged during the seasons not employed in public services, by persons desirous of qualifying themselves for baptism, or admission to the church. Some were undoubtedly sincere in their inquiries after religious truth, and the means of their own spiritual improvement, but the greater part were, perhaps unconsciously to themselves, influenced by a desire to be placed on an equality in a religious point of view, with those who had received the rite of baptism.

The missionaries generally considered that a sincere belief in the great doctrines of Christianity, a desire publicly to profess the same, and to receive farther instruction, together with a consistent deportment, qualified for baptism.

Some thought the ordinance should be administered only to those who, besides renouncing heathenism, and professing to believe the Gospel, furnished satisfactory evidence of having undergone a spiritual renovation of heart. In the administration of the rite they acted with what many would have deemed excess of caution, in delaying so long to comply with the request of the natives, yet in Tahiti and Eimeo, by the month of May this year, they had baptized at the several stations

upwards of sixteen hundred individuals, of whom nearly five hundred were infants.

The mode usually adopted, was that of pouring or sprinkling the water on the forehead of the person baptized, using the words prescribed in the New Testament.

Among other duties, it now became necessary to explain to the converts, the nature and design of a Christian church. A church of Christ they were taught to regard as consisting of a number of faithful men and women, sincere believers in the Lord Jesus Christ, walking in the ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless; united by holy agreement in a sacred fellowship for mutual edification, public worship, the commemorating of the Lord's death, and for the extension of his kingdom in the world; acknowledging the Lord Jesus Christ alone as their spiritual Lord or King, and his word as their rule or law. None were deemed eligible to become members of this fellowship who had not reason to hope they had experienced that change of heart, which is produced by the Holy Spirit in every true convert, who were not moved to desire union with the church from love to the Saviour and his people, and whose conduct was not in every respect, irreproachable.

During the close of the past, and the commencement of the present year, 1820, a Christian church was formed at every station in Tahiti and Eimeo; the missionaries devoted much time to the instruction and examination of those desirous of becoming members of the churches, and endeavoured to prevent any from uniting with the visible church, whom they had not reason to hope the Saviour had admitted to spiritual fellowship with himself; and though by the middle of the year, only about two hundred had been thus united, there were many others still anxious to join them. To assist the missionaries who

acted as pastors of the churches, six individuals were this year selected and appointed to the office of deacons in the church at Eimeo. Deacons were also appointed subsequently in all the other churches throughout the islands.

The mission, this year, suffered the loss of Messrs. Tessier and Bicknell, the former died on the 22nd of June, the latter on the 7th of August; both were supported by the consolations, and animated by the hopes of the Gospel. The station was too important to be long neglected, and on the 16th of September, Mr. Davies removed from Huahine to Papara, where he has ever since faithfully and diligently laboured. Mr. Wilson's health having been greatly impaired, he availed himself of the departure of the *Haweis* to visit the colony of New South Wales.

In the Society Islands the utmost activity prevailed amongst the people: besides erecting more comfortable dwellings, the natives of Huahine and Raiatea, had during the previous year, commenced the erection of substantial places of public worship, with plastered walls and boarded floors, and fitted with pews and benches. Both were finished in the early part of the year, and were opened for public worship in the month of May, 1820.* The building at Raiatea, was 191 feet long and 44 wide; one end, to the extent of 40 feet, was partitioned off for a public court-house. The building in Huahine, was 120 feet long and 84 wide, and capable of accommodating two thousand persons. On the 5th of May, 1820, a Christian church was formed at Huahine, and another shortly afterwards at Raiatea. Fifteen individuals were thus united in Christian fellowship at Huahine, after

* Quarterly Chronicle, vol. ii. page 159.

having been carefully instructed by the missionaries in the nature and design of a Christian church. No articles of faith, or plan of doctrines was subscribed by church members in any of the islands. The churches were formed upon the Congregational Order, united, in the first instance, by the mutual agreement of those who had themselves reason to hope they had become partakers of the grace of eternal life, and in concurrence with the missionaries as their pastors; others were afterwards admitted only with the concurrence of those already united in fellowship: the same course was pursued when any were separated from their communion. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, which was commemorated every month, wine was used in every instance, but, on account of the difficulty of obtaining wheaten bread, the bread-fruit was substituted at some of the stations.

The wives of the missionaries were actively employed in teaching the young girls and women of the islands in which they resided the use of the needle. The natives of Raiatea were also taught by the female missionaries there to make hats and bonnets for themselves, from native productions admirably adapted to the purpose; this was soon introduced to other islands, and is now universal wherever Christianity is professed.

The missionaries in Huahine, extended their labours to remote parts of the island, establishing branch stations at Maeva Parea, and Mahabu; while those at Raiatea visited Tahaa and Borabora, where they were received with kindness, and listened to with very general attention. At this period the life of Mr. Williams was more than once in peril, from the murderous designs of some dissolute and disaffected young men, who were impatient of the moral restraints which the profession of Christianity im-

posed ; but he was preserved in safety by the merciful interposition of Divine Providence. The circumstance led to the introduction of a code of laws, the establishment of public courts of justice, and the appointment of judges, similar to those established at Tahiti, in the previous year, with the important addition of the trial by jury, which was now first introduced among the South Sea Islanders. The laws were adopted, and judges appointed at a public assembly of the people, held on the 12th of May, in the large new chapel, the day after it had been opened for public worship.*

The chiefs and people of Borabora having long been anxious for the residence of a missionary, Mr. Orsmond, who had returned from a visit to New South Wales, removed thither in the month of December. The chiefs and people received the missionary with great cordiality, formed a settlement near the harbour, and afforded for a time much encouragement.

Although the islanders without an exception, had renounced idolatry, there were individuals in both the Georgian and Society clusters, disaffected towards the new order of things, in a civil as well as a religious point of view ; and besides the attempt at Raiatea, the life of Pomare was threatened at Tahiti, but the conspirators were apprehended, convicted, and executed on the 4th of August, 1821.† In the meantime, the great mass of the people appeared to be increasingly satisfied with the civil change, and the missionaries were not without encouragement in the more spiritual department of their labour. They were also cheered by the tidings of the diffusion of the blessings of Christianity, beyond the range of their personal labours. In addition to the reception of the

* Life of Williams, p. 104.

† Quarterly Chronicle, vol. ii. page 228.

Gospel by the inhabitants of Anaa, or Chain Island, and others of the dangerous Archipelago, Pomare had, in 1819, visited the Island of Raivavai, about 400 miles to the southward of Tahiti; the inhabitants were at war at the time, but he was the means of reconciling them, and accepted the nominal sovereignty of the island. He recommended them to renounce idolatry and become Christians, and left among them a Tahitian, named Para, with a few books, to teach them to read, and instruct them in the true religion. Before the close of the year 1820, the entire population of the island, estimated at from 1500 to 2000, renounced idolatry; and with the exception of twenty-five individuals, professed the Christian faith, and erected a large substantial and neatly finished place of public worship.

In the month of January this year, 1821, Mr. Henry, son of the missionary, commanding a brig belonging to Pomare, touched at Raivavai, or High Island, on his voyage from New South Wales to Tahiti. It was the sabbath-day when he landed, and with surprise and pleasure he found the inhabitants about to repair to their place of worship: eight hundred and forty-eight were present, though the chapel would not contain more than seven hundred; the rest stood quietly outside. Para who was a sort of agent for Pomare, as well as a teacher, proved a very improper person, and the natives earnestly requested more suitable missionaries. Three intelligent and devoted men were sent from the church at Eimeo, in the following year, and laboured faithfully and diligently among the people. In the month of April following, the *Hope*, having on board Mr. and Mrs. Hayward from England, and Mr. and Mrs. Wilson from Sydney, reached Tahiti for the purpose of conveying to England the contribution of the native missionary societies. Those of Tahiti and Eimeo,

consisting of cocoa-nut oil, were taken on board, also a very small quantity from Huahine, altogether amounting to about sixty tuns. A letter signed by the secretary and president of the Tahitian society, was sent with the cargo to the directors in London, and the vessel after completing her provisions for the voyage, called at Raiatea on the 3rd of July. The contribution from the Tahitian society, sent home by this vessel, was sold in London for upwards of 1700*l.*, and in consideration of the source whence it was derived, and the object to which it was appropriated, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty generously remitted the duty, amounting to 200*l.**

In the month of March this year, a large canoe, of unusual size and form, approached the reef off Raiatea, and when brought to the shore proved to have come from Rurutu, an island about 300 miles to the southward. The chief and his people, twenty-five in number, had left their native island in consequence of the prevalence of a disease which threatened its depopulation, intending to proceed to Tubuai, but a tempest drove them out of their course, and after being three weeks at sea, and having according to the course they had pursued traversed a distance of 800 miles, they drifted on shore at Maurua, the most westerly of the Society Islands. The inhabitants treated them with great kindness, and after they had recruited their strength and repaired their canoe, they sailed for Borabora; contrary winds prevented their entering the harbour, and they proceeded to Raiatea, where they were hospitably entertained, and having been carefully instructed in reading and writing, and the first principles of Divine truth, they expressed great anxiety to

* Minutes of Society, Nov. 26, 1821.

return to their native island, accompanied by Christian teachers.

When the captain of the *Hope* was made acquainted with their circumstances, he very generously offered to land them at Rurutu, as he intended to pass near it on his way to Cape Horn. The chief, though grateful for the offer, preferred remaining, to proceeding unaccompanied by instructors. The church was called together, and the wishes of the chief made known, when two very suitable men and their wives offered to go. The intervening day was spent in making preparations for their departure; and on the 5th of July, they embarked with the chief of Rurutu and his people, commended to the Divine guidance and keeping by the fervent prayers of the church they had left.

On the 9th of August following, scarcely more than a month after their departure, a large boat belonging to Mr. Threlkeld, which had been towed to Rurutu by the *Hope*, for the purpose of bringing back tidings of the reception of the native missionaries, returned with the pleasing intelligence that the inhabitants had treated them kindly; had in consequence of the representations of Auura, renounced idolatry, abolished the tabu, and placed themselves under Christian instruction. The idols which had been given up, were sent by the native missionaries to Raiatea, where they were exhibited at a special meeting convened for the purpose of rendering devout acknowledgments to God for the work he had wrought.*

About two months after the return of the boat from Rurutu, the *Westmoreland* touched at Raiatea on her way to New South Wales; and Mr. Williams availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded for visiting New South Wales, partly for the recovery of his health, which had

* Quarterly Chronicle, vol. ii. pp. 237—242.

more than once forced upon him serious apprehensions of being obliged to return to England. He was also desirous of attempting to introduce native missionaries to the island of Aitutake, and assisting the chiefs of Raiatea in obtaining a vessel for the purpose of maintaining regular commercial intercourse with New South Wales. The chiefs of Aitutake promising to protect the native teachers, they landed among them on the 26th of October, 1821; and Mr. and Mrs. Williams proceeded to Port Jackson, where, by the Divine blessing on the means employed, Mr. Williams's health was restored; and having purchased a vessel, of about 80 tons burden, called the *Endeavour*, for the chiefs,* Mr. Williams returned early in the following year, accompanied by an individual whom he had engaged, to instruct the natives in the art of growing and curing tobacco. Sir Thomas Brisbane, the Governor of New South Wales, by whom Mr. Williams was very cordially received, sent out several valuable cattle and sheep, as presents to the chiefs of Raiatea.

Shortly before Mr. Williams's departure, a vessel arrived direct from England, having on board the Rev. Daniel Tyerman, and George Bennet, Esq., as a deputation from the Society; those gentlemen were accompanied by the Rev. Thomas Jones, a missionary, and Messrs. Armitage and Blossom, who had been sent out for the purpose of promoting industry and profitable labour among the natives, by teaching them the useful arts, more especially the dressing, spinning, and weaving of cotton. The deputation and their companions were cordially welcomed by the missionaries and the king; but the apprehensions which had rendered the king and chiefs inimical to

* Life of Williams, p. 151.

the proceedings of Mr. Gyles, prevented their regarding with favour the project to establish a cotton manufactory in the islands.

The health of the king of Tahiti had also been for some time failing, and he was removed to the small island off the mouth of Papeete Harbour, where he died on the 7th of December, being about 47 years of age. In person, Pomare was tall, being upwards of six feet high, and proportionably stout. His countenance heavy, his manner reserved, and his habits indolent. He was inquisitive, observant, and thoughtful, probably beyond any other individual of his nation. Sedentary occupations were far more agreeable to him than active pursuits. He was exceedingly fond of writing, devoting to his pen more time and attention than to any other amusement or occupation; * and, being better acquainted than any other person with his native language, he rendered important service to the missionaries, especially in revising their translations of the Holy Scriptures, entire books of which he sometimes copied out.

While a heathen, Pomare exhibited many of the vices of his country, in their darkest aspect, and though on his reception of Christianity, they were laid aside, he subsequently indulged in habits of intemperance, which destroyed his influence, and deeply afflicted his sincerest friends. To the missionaries he was friendly from the first, and after the death of his father, manifested towards them sincere attachment. His general knowledge, considering his circumstances, was extensive; and his acquaintance with the truths of religion correct; whatever influence those

* Many letters, as well as the original code of laws for Tahiti and Eimeo, in his hand-writing, are in the possession of the directors of the London Missionary Society, very beautifully written.

truths produced in his own character, and whether or not he was the subject of any divinely-effected change before his death, he was undoubtedly employed by the great Head of the church, as an efficient instrument in producing that great revolution among his people, by which the idolatry of his ancestors was destroyed, and the religion of the Bible established on its ruins. Pomare was buried in Pare, his hereditary district; and the government devolved on a regency acting in the name of his son, an infant eighteen months old at the time of his father's death.

Although previous to the return of Mr. Williams, some disaffected individuals formed a conspiracy against the government of Raiatea, which was speedily and effectually suppressed, the circumstances of the missions at the commencement of 1822 were peculiarly encouraging. Peace prevailed at every station; intemperance and theft were scarcely heard of; industry, social order, and domestic comfort, rapidly advancing among the people; the fearful progress of depopulation was stayed, and the number of births equalled the deaths. The schools well attended, the Scriptures generally read,* and highly prized, the desire for religious instruction almost universal, and the observance of the private, social, and public duties of religion, equally extensive. In some of the islands scarcely a family was to be found in which the Scriptures were not daily read, and prayer offered, and by far the greater portion of the inhabitants were accustomed to devote a portion of every morning and evening to private devotion.

The day of holy rest was observed with a degree of strictness, perhaps never surpassed by an equal portion

* The Gospel of John had been added to the portions already printed, and the Acts of the Apostles were in the press.

of any community. No labour was performed, no food dressed, except in cases of illness; food was cooked, and every other preparation for the Sabbath made on the Saturday. At sunrise, on the Lord's day morning, three-fourths of the population at every station assembled for public prayer. The services, at this hour, which consisted in reading portions of the Scriptures, singing, and prayer, were performed by native Christians, appointed by the missionaries. In the forenoon and afternoon sermons were preached by the missionaries to congregations averaging from eight to sixteen hundred hearers, the intervals were occupied in the Sunday Schools, and the evenings devoted to reading and prayer in the family. The churches were greatly multiplied, defections were but rare, and the entire population seemed in earnest on the subject of religion; and though the missionaries were at the time fully sensible that with the majority, it was but external observance and nominal profession, with others they could not resist the conviction, which subsequent years have abundantly confirmed, that their faith was sincere and their piety genuine; and remembering the past it was not possible to behold the civil, moral, and religious spectacle which the islands then presented, without admiration, gratitude, and hope.

In the year 1821, several of the newly-formed churches were much gratified by the receipt of letters of fraternal affection, advice, and encouragement from the church at Masbro', in Yorkshire, then under the pastoral oversight of the Rev. Dr. Bennett, theological tutor of the Rotherham Academy. In the course of this year, 1822, the deacons of the churches thus favoured, returned answers to these letters, describing the state of religion among the islands, requesting prayer on their behalf, and conveying an

assurance of the pleasure it would afford them to be again favoured with communications from them.*

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Jones proceeded to Papara, and in the month of February this year, Mr. Bourne left Tahiti to become the spiritual instructor of the inhabitants of Tahaa. In the month of February the *Mermaid*, having in charge a small vessel as a present from the British Governor to the king of the Sandwich Islands, touched at Huahine. The missionaries had long been anxious to introduce the Gospel to the Marquesas, the most easterly group in the Pacific, and as the captain of the *Mermaid* politely offered to the deputation who were then at Huahine, a passage to the Marquesas, two native Christians and their wives, were selected by the church, solemnly designated to the work, and accompanied by Mr. Ellis, sailed from Huahine with the deputation on the 25th of February, 1822. The winds prevailing from the eastward prevented their reaching the Marquesas, but conveyed them in safety to the Sandwich Islands, where they were gladly received by the king and chiefs as well as their Christian brethren the American missionaries.

Circumstances detained the missionary party at the Sandwich Islands upwards of four months, during which they were able to render important and acceptable aid to the labourers already stationed there. The minds of the chiefs were disabused of the prejudices against the missionaries, which the unfounded reports of foreigners had

* It would be a source of great benefit to the infant churches among the heathen, as well as of satisfaction and advantage to Christian communities in this country, if, as often as opportunities offer, affectionate and encouraging letters were written from churches interested in any particular sphere of missionary operation to the missionaries; or, if there be a Christian church gathered, to the church at such stations. To those abroad, communications of this kind would be welcome and refreshing, and the reflex influence at home, under the Divine blessing, highly salutary.

created. The language proving closely analogous to the Tahitian, Mr. Ellis rendered valuable aid to the American brethren, in fixing its orthography, prosecuting its study, and preparing elementary books, and was soon able to preach intelligibly to the people. At the earnest request of the principal chiefs, one of the native missionaries remained, and Mr. Ellis returned with a view of removing his family to Oahu, in compliance with the wishes of the American missionaries, and many of the chiefs and people.* The deputation accompanied by Mr. Ellis reached Huahine early in October, having touched on their way at Rurutu, where they were joyfully received by the native teachers and the people, who during the day assembled in a spacious place of worship, to listen to a discourse from Mr. Ellis. The behaviour of the audience was highly encouraging, the teachers spoke favourably of their attendance at the school, and attention to the duties of religion, and the appearance of the settlement furnished satisfactory evidence of their industry. The rails of the pulpit stairs were composed of the handles of warriors' spears.†

In the year 1821, a code of laws had been framed for Huahine and Sir Charles Sanders's Island, to which such additions were made, as in their practical application seemed to be wanting in those of Tahiti and Raiatea. By this code, capital punishment was not inflicted even for murder. The trial by jury was introduced, punishments were more clearly defined, and a regulation was introduced fixing the amount which each individual should furnish towards the support of the government, and guaranteeing the security of personal property to its rightful owner. These laws were adopted at a public meeting of

* Quarterly Chronicle, vol. ii. page 324.

† Journal of Deputation, vol. i. page 495.

chiefs and people at Huahine, in the month of May this year.*

About two months after Mr. Ellis's return, Pomare, the nephew of Tamatoa, son of Tapoa, the conqueror of the Leeward Islands, arrived at Huahine for the purpose of celebrating his marriage with Aimata, the only daughter of the late king of Tahiti, to whom he had been for some time betrothed. In a week's time the Tahitian princess arrived, accompanied by her mother, aunt, and other relatives, in the *Queen Charlotte*, a vessel belonging to the king of Tahiti. They were married in the chapel at Huahine, on the 17th of December, by Mr. Ellis, in the presence of many of the chiefs of both groups of islands, and a large assembly. Aimata, the present queen of Tahiti, was in her fourteenth year, and her husband about one year older. After remaining a short time at Huahine, the youthful pair proceeded to Tahiti, and resided at Pare, the hereditary district of Pomare's family.

On the last day of 1822, Mr. and Mrs. Ellis and their family, accompanied by two native teachers from the church of Huahine, took an affectionate leave of their beloved fellow-labourers and the people of Huahine; and embarking on board a small schooner, commanded by Captain Charlton, which had been hired for the voyage, sailed for the Sandwich Islands, which they reached in safety on the 5th of February, 1823.

They were cordially welcomed by the king and chiefs,† and received with sincere Christian affection by the American missionaries, with whom they laboured cordially and harmoniously, in promoting the great objects of their

* A literal translation of these laws, is given in *Polynesian Researches*, vol. iii. page 177.

† The king wrote an interesting letter to the directors of the London Society, on the occasion.—*Quarterly Chronicle*, vol. ii. page 416.

mission. Mr. Ellis had the pleasure and privilege of preparing the first hymns in which the praises of the true God were celebrated in the native language, of witnessing and sharing in the labours connected with the early movements towards that change which has since issued in the reception of Christianity by the entire community; of visiting and assisting at the formation of some of the stations on Hawaii, travelling in company with three of his brethren, round the island of Hawaii, exploring, and uniting with them in making known to civilized nations, one of the most wonderful phenomena in the world, the great volcano of Kirauea. It was also his privilege to administer baptism to the first convert in Hawaii, the mother of the late king, and to assist in instructing the king and queen of those islands, until their embarkation for England,* where both died within a few days of each other. Shortly after their departure, the failure of Mrs. Ellis's health, obliged him to embark for England as the only means of preserving her life.

A passage was secured in the *Russell*, an American whaler, commanded by Captain Coleman, who spared no pains to render the voyage as comfortable as possible, and whose owners when the ship reached New Bedford, in America, generously refused to receive anything for the passage, and one of them not only expressed his sympathy with the afflicted voyagers, but contributed towards the expenses of their sojourn in America, which, together with the passage to England, were defrayed by the American Board. Mr. Ellis and family remained about five months in America, during which he visited, at the request of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, many parts of the United States for the purpose

* Tracey's History of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, pp. 136—7.

of imparting information relative to the missions in the Pacific; and after himself, his suffering companion, and their infant children, had received every attention that Christian affection and considerate kindness could supply, they embarked at New York in July, and reached London on the 18th of August, 1825.

Important and onerous as were the duties of the missionaries at their several stations, new objects claimed their attention, and widening fields of usefulness invited their labours. The voice of Divine Providence as well as of revelation seemed to be, "Enlarge the place of thy tent," and, "lengthen thy cords," as well as "strengthen thy stakes." Tahiti, and the adjacent islands, originally the centre of the population of a large part of eastern Polynesia,* appeared to be a new centre of a nobler existence, a fountain of moral and spiritual life to other tribes of one common family, scattered over the vast ocean around. The inhabitants of the dangerous Archipelago to the eastward, residing at Tahiti when Christianity was adopted, had shared in the change, and some returning to their native island had induced their countrymen to follow their example.

In addition to the efforts already noticed, the church at Borabora, under the care of Mr. Orsmond, sent in 1821 two native teachers to Maurua, about 40 miles to the westward; in 1822, messengers arrived at Tahiti, from Tubuai, one of the Austral islands, soliciting books and teachers for their countrymen; and on the 12th of June, Mr. Nott, accompanied by four native teachers from Tahiti, and three from Eimeo, sailed in the brig belonging to the king, for these islands. The inhabitants of Ravavai received the teachers joyfully. When they reached Tubuai

* *Jarvis's History of the Sandwich Islands.*

the whole population was engaged in war, and prepared for conflict, part being encamped with the king, and the remainder with a disaffected chief about two miles distant. The missionary proceeded to the king, told him he had come with a message of peace to his country, and dissuading him from hostilities invited him to listen to his word. Upaparu, a Tahitian chief, went in the meantime to the rebel chief on the same errand; the chiefs agreed to meet in front of their respective forces; they did so the next morning, accompanied by the missionary, when conditions of peace were arranged, and the chiefs embraced each other, which their partisans, who were about fifty yards distant, perceiving, rushed unarmed towards each other, and joined in mutual congratulations. In the evening, the king and chiefs received their visitors publicly, and welcomed them to their island. On the following day, the whole population assembled in a large place of worship which they had built, where Mr. Nott delivered the first Christian sermon ever preached in the island; and men who but the previous day were eager to imbrue their hands in each other's blood, might be seen quietly listening to the announcements of the Gospel of peace.

After touching at Rurutu, and leaving two native teachers, who stayed a short time there, Mr. Nott returned. In the month of July, Mr. Threlkeld visited Rurutu, and Mr. Orsmond accompanied three native teachers from the church at Borabora to Rimatara, an island 20 miles in circumference, and containing 300 inhabitants, lying about three degrees to the westward of Tubuai, unknown to any navigators, and unvisited until now, except by the natives of Rurutu, distant 70 miles. The missionaries were first made acquainted with its precise situation by Auura, in 1821. A number of the natives of Rimatara being at Rurutu when idolatry was abolished, conveyed the news

to their native island, and prepared their countrymen to follow the example. The inhabitants, who were fairer than the Society Islanders, received Mr. Orsmond with many expressions of gladness, promising to protect the native teachers, and furnish them with provisions. The island is not mountainous, but fertile, and had been celebrated among the islands around, on account of the numbers of a small bird, a kind of paroquet, yielding the red feathers formerly deemed sacred throughout Polynesia.

Soon after returning from this voyage, the vessel sailed for New South Wales, and on her return in April, 1823, called at Aitutake. The native teachers wrote to the missionaries an account of their labours and success, and the chiefs sent word to Mr. Williams, that, if he would come, they would renounce their idols and embrace Christianity.

Thus encouraged, Mr. Williams and Mr. Bourne, of Tahaa, prepared to visit them, accompanied by four native teachers from Raiatea, and two from Tahaa, who were all publicly designated to their sacred work. On the 4th of July, 1823, the missionaries and their companions sailed from Raiatea, and on the morning of the fifth day reached Aitutake, where they found, to their equal surprise and joy, that by the Divine blessing on the efforts of the native teachers, the idols had been abandoned, and many of them burnt; that the Christian faith was adopted, and places for the worship of the true God erected; that the Sabbath was observed, and numbers of the people under instruction. The teachers had also built comfortable and substantial dwellings, and many of the natives were erecting houses for themselves on the same plan. On the following morning a large chapel, 180 feet by 30, the walls of which were plastered with lime made from the coral rock, was opened for public worship by the missionaries. Two of

the native missionaries from Raiatea were left with affectionate and judicious instructions, and one of those who had laboured in Aitutake accompanied the missionaries on their voyage. At Aitutake, Messrs. Williams and Bourne had found some natives of Rarotonga, an island of which they had previously heard, and now hoped to find. The natives of this island, as well as the king of Aitutake, embarked with the missionaries, who, after spending two days among the people, astonished and animated by the great change in the appearance, behaviour, and feeling, which in the short space of 18 months had been effected, resumed their voyage. The idols, 31 in number, which had not been destroyed in the general conflagration of the maraes and idols in the previous month of December, were taken on board, to be conveyed to Raiatea, as evidences of the change, and encouragements to the Christians there, in their endeavours on behalf of other islands.*

After an unsuccessful search of six or eight days for Rarotonga, they steered for Mangaia, conversed with the natives, who remembered Captain Cook, and promised to receive the teachers; but when the latter landed, they were treated with such brutal ferocity, especially the females, that they were glad to escape with their lives to the ship. The chief, who had invited them to land, when censured for allowing them to be so treated, expressed his regret, with every appearance of sincerity, and observed that at Mangaia "all heads were equal," which had prevented his rendering more efficient protection.† Disappointed in their attempt to benefit the natives of Mangaia, the missionaries sailed for Atiu, an island about the same size, and lying to the northward. To Atiu, the church at Bora-

* *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 63.

† *Ibid.* p. 80.

bora had, about three months previous, sent two native teachers; these had been plundered and almost starved, and were greatly discouraged in their work. Soon after the arrival of the missionaries, the chief of the island coming on board was welcomed by the missionaries, and was informed by the chief of Aitutake of the great change that had taken place in the latter island, and was also shown the rejected idols piled up in the ship's hold. He remained on board till the following day, which was the sabbath, when he seemed deeply impressed with the description of the vanity of idols, and the absurdity of idol worship, contained in Psa. cxv. 5—8, and Isaiah xlv. 15—19, especially the latter. The chief was startled with the view there given of the folly of devoting part of the same tree to the most sacred and the most ordinary purposes, warming himself and dressing his food with the same material that he bowed down to and worshipped. The subject appeared to engross his thoughts; the remainder of the day and the whole of the night were spent in conversation with the native missionaries and the Aitutakean chief, and early on the following morning he expressed his determination to abolish idolatry, and burn the idols of his country, desiring to purchase an axe to fell trees with for erecting a house for the worship of the true God. He was now anxious to hasten on shore, but as the missionaries heard that there were two other islands in the neighbourhood, under his authority, they persuaded him to accompany them to these islands, to induce the people to follow his example. On reaching Mitiaro, this chief sent for the resident chief, and then publicly declared his wishes, that they should renounce idolatry, destroy their idols, and receive teachers who would instruct them concerning the true God. Having quieted their apprehensions of vengeance from the gods, directed

that a large house building for himself should be appropriated to Christian worship, commended the teacher to the people, and, promising to visit them soon, he embarked with the missionaries and proceeded to Mauke. As soon as they reached this island, the chief went on shore with the native teacher and his wife; and informing the people of their errand, exhorted them to destroy their idols, discontinue all their heathenish practices, and receive instruction concerning the only way of salvation. As soon as the startling effect of the chief's proposal had somewhat subsided, the people told him, that, confiding in his representation, they would do as he recommended. He then very strongly commended the teacher and his wife to the protection and care of the resident chief, gave them a new house which had been erected for himself, and promising to visit them shortly returned to the ship.

Two of the islands, in which on this day these unparalleled events occurred, had never before been visited by any European vessel, and in the gratitude and joy which attended their visit, the missionaries felt more than compensated for their disappointment at Mangaia.* Having received correct information of the position of Rarotonga, the missionaries returned to Atiu, where the chief landed, for the purpose of accomplishing among his own people what he had recommended to the inhabitants of other islands.

Contrary winds drifted the missionaries out of their course, and it was not until within half an hour of the time when want of provisions would have obliged them to return, that the distant land was seen, and then despondency was exchanged for the most lively satisfaction. When

* *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 90.

they reached the fertile and beautiful island, two native teachers, and one of the Rarotongans from Atiu, went on shore. The people received them kindly, and beneath a grove of umbrageous trees, near the shore, listened to their account of the ship, the object of their visit, and their proposal to bring some teachers on shore to instruct them in the true religion, and in useful arts. The people acceded to their proposal, and the king himself proceeded to the ship to welcome the return of his people, and to conduct the teachers on shore. Among the former was his cousin, whom he was greatly rejoiced again to behold. Towards the evening, the Rarotongans, with the native missionaries and their wives, accompanied the king to the shore. They were welcomed with savage delight by the people, but such was the outrageous conduct to which the females were exposed, that they were only preserved from brutal violence, by the entreaties, tears, and courage of Tapaireu, the king's cousin, who remonstrated, wept, and even exposed his own life for their protection. Early on the following morning they hastened to the ship, and such was the account they gave of the licentious brutality of the people, that the missionaries deemed it unsafe to allow them to return to the shore. Papeiha, who had been the pioneer in missionary labour at Aitutake, and whose life had been in imminent danger at Mangaia, now offered the missionaries to risk his life by remaining alone at Rarotonga, provided a fellow-labourer were sent to him from Raiatea. Deeming him in every way qualified for the work, the missionaries gratefully approved of his offer, and soon afterwards, leaving his few articles of property in the vessel, and affectionately bidding his companions farewell, he entered a native canoe and proceeded to the shore, taking with him only the clothes he wore, his copy of the New Testament, and a bundle of spelling books. He was

followed by the admiration, the sympathy, and fervent prayers of his companions, who now directed their course towards home, thankful for what the Lord had enabled them to accomplish.*

* The people had been in some degree prepared for their arrival, by one of those events which are among the most astonishing facts connected with the population scattered over these isles of the sea. Remote as Rarotonga is from Tahiti, lying 10 degrees to the westward, and unvisited as it had been for so many years by ships, a woman of Tahiti, who had left that island probably only a short time before Christianity was adopted by its inhabitants, arrived at Rarotonga, gave such an account of the missionaries, and their instruction, as induced the natives to erect temples to God and Jesus Christ, and to pray that white men might be sent to their country.

CHAPTER X.

Visit to the Austral Islands—Meeting of the Tahitian national assembly or parliament—Native discussion on the infliction of the punishment of death—Spiritual state of the mission—Kotzebue's visit to Tahiti—Testimony of the French Captain Duperry—Establishment of the South Sea Academy—Resumption of the mission to the Marquesas—Sketch of the mission—Landing of Roman Catholic missionaries from a French man-of-war—Relinquishment of the mission in 1841—Coronation of Pomare III.—Departure of the deputation—Results of their visits in the islands, and in England—Testimony respecting the state of the people, and the progress of the mission—Arrival of Messrs. Pritchard and Pitman—Visit to the Hervey Islands, and to Rapa, or Oporo—Death of the young king—Return of Mr. Nott, accompanied by Messrs. Buzzacott and Simpson—Increasing number of ships at the islands—Demoralization of the people—Conduct of the natives on occasion of a shipwreck—Heretical teachers—Arrival of Messrs. Williams and Pitman at Rarotonga—Building of the *Messenger of Peace*—Amount of contributions from Aitutake—Printing of the entire New Testament in the Tahitian language—Testimonies of Captains Laws, Finch, and the Hon. Captain Waldegrave, in favour of the mission—Peaceful deaths of native converts—Voyage of Messrs. Williams and Barff to the Hervey, Tonga, and Samoan Islands—Labours of missionaries in Tonga Islands—Favourable reception from the chiefs and people of Samoa—Settlement of native teachers—Arrival of the inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island at Tahiti—Civil disturbances among the Tahitians—Death of Tamatoa—Hostilities in the Leeward Islands.

ON the 10th of October, 1823, Mr. Williams embarked on a second missionary voyage, visiting the stations among the Austral Islands, and rendering important services to the native teachers; but soon after his return, the chiefs of Raiatea were under the necessity of sending the vessel to Port Jackson to be sold; the heavy duties imposed by the Governor of New South Wales on the produce of the islands, amounting to a prohibition, destroyed the hope which the natives had fondly cherished, of being able to

trade with the colony, and to extend the Gospel, by means of their vessel, to the islands around them.*

On the 23rd of February, 1824, the parliament, or annual national assembly† of Tahiti and Eimeo, met for the purpose of revising and enlarging the code originally established by Pomare II. in 1819. The discussion on the laws, extending to about forty in number, occupied eight days, during which all were satisfactorily arranged. The chief discussion was in relation to the introduction of capital punishment for murder, instead of the former penalty of banishment for life to some desolate island. When it was proposed that the penalty should be banishment, Hitote, the chief of Papeete, arose, and stated that, in England, whence all the good regulations they possessed had been derived, murder was punished with death. "It was his opinion," he observed, "that the laws of England must be good, and that they could not do better than act as England did in reference to this crime."

Utami, the venerable chief of the Atehurans, acknow-

* These at that period comprehended the Hervey Islands, consisting of :

	S.L.	W.L.	Population.
Hervey Is.	190° 17'	158° 56'	small
Aitutake	18° 58'	159° 48'	about 2000
Atiu	20° 1'	158° 14'	1000
Mangaia	21° 56'	158° 3'	3000

These were all visited by Captain Cook, and laid down in his chart.

	Population.
Mitiaro	100
Maute	300
Rarotonga	7000

Not noticed in any chart which the missionaries had seen.

Besides two of the Austral Islands, Rurutu and Rimatara. To the other Austral Islands, viz., Tubuai, Ravaivai, and Rapa, or Oporo, the churches of Tahiti and Eimeo had sent teachers, as well as to many of the Paumotu, or low coral islands of the dangerous Archipelago.

† This assembly consists of the adult members of the reigning family, and the principal chiefs, with two members from each of the districts, elected by the people, each individual having one vote.

ledged the advantages they had received from England, especially the Gospel, but apprehended that the recommendation of Hitote would go too far, as it would be equally reasonable to adopt other English laws, as well as that respecting murder, adding, "If we take England for our guide, must we not punish with death those who break into a house, who write a wrong or false name, or steal a sheep? and will any one say that death should grow from these? My opinion is that we should stop; that the law as it stands is good."

Upaparū, an elder brother of Hitote, a man of considerable powers of speech, then addressed the assembly, stating that it certainly was not right to put a man to death for murder, because England did so. "It was not," he observed, "the laws of England that they were to follow, but the Bible; and when one of the missionaries was preaching on the words, 'He that sheddeth man's blood, by him shall man's blood be shed,' he told them that that was the ground or reason of the law of England. I therefore think," he continued, "that the punishment of death should be inflicted, not because it is the law of England, but because the Bible enjoins it."

Another chief, Tati, followed, and among other remarks, observed, "If Hitote's recommendation would lead us too far in doing all that England does, will not Upaparū do the same? Does it not take us too far? The Bible is a perfect guide. But what is the meaning of the declaration, 'He that sheddeth man's blood, by him shall man's blood be shed?' I am a judge, a man is brought before me, he has shed blood, I order him to be put to death: I shed *his* blood; then who shall shed *mine*? I cannot go so far, I must stop. This cannot be the meaning of those words; but, since many of the laws of the Old Testament were cast down by Jesus Christ, and only some

retained, perhaps this is one of those that were cast down. However, as I am ignorant, perhaps some one will show me, that in the New Testament our Saviour, or his apostles, have said the same thing concerning him that sheddeth man's blood. Show me this in the New Testament, and then it must be our guide."

Patii, formerly a priest of Oro, the same who publicly burned his idols in Eimeo, after expressing his delight at the manner in which they were taking counsel together, observed, "The Gospel must be our guide. I know many passages which forbid, but I know not one which commands to kill. Besides, I have another reason: we do not punish because we are angry, and have pleasure in giving pain, or love revenge; we did this when we were heathen. Do we not punish, that, by the suffering inflicted, we may prevent the offender from repeating the crime, and frighten others? and it would be a greater punishment to be banished for life to a desolate island, than to be put to death in a moment. Could the banished man commit murder again there? and would not others be more frightened by such a sentence than by one to take away his life? The law had better remain as it is written."

One of the representatives of the districts then spoke, and said: "All that Patii said is good, but he forgot that the missionary told us, that the one end of punishment is to make the offender better. If we kill the murderer, how can we make him better? But if we send him to a desolate island, where he is solitary and compelled to think, it may please God to make the bad things in his heart die, and good things to grow there; but if we kill him, where will his soul go?" The discussion ended by the unanimous confirmation of banishment for life, instead of death, as the punishment for murder.*

* Journal of the Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet, vol. ii. p. 84.

The time and attention of the missionaries in all the islands continued to be occupied with the more spiritual duties of their respective stations, and seldom, if ever, since the general profession of Christianity, had appearances been more promising. The schools, with few exceptions, were well attended; and, at many of the stations, the number of adults and children under regular daily instruction amounted, in some instances, to six hundred. Habits of industry increased, and general order prevailed throughout the islands.

The Acts of the Apostles, of which ten thousand copies were printed, were added to the portions of the New Testament already in circulation; and the Scriptures were in general read daily in almost every family. Few, if any, lived in the neglect of family prayer, and the assemblies for public worship on the Lord's-day often exceeded a thousand persons. Some of the churches included between two and three hundred communicants, and at most of their monthly meetings some were added to their fellowship. Several had died, affording much encouragement to hope that they had been prepared for the rest and blessedness of heaven; especially one, an aged man, at Bunaania, who had formerly belonged to the Areoi society.*

There had been before this time in the islands occupied by the missionaries, upwards of nine thousand adults and children baptized, eight hundred were united in church fellowship, and nearly nine thousand under school instruction.† Amidst these encouragements the missionaries were called to mourn the death of Mrs. Threlkeld, who died at Raiatea, on the 6th of March, 1824.

About the same time this year, Tahiti was visited by the

* Report of the Society for 1825, p. 20.

† Ibid. p. 35.

Russian Captain, Kotzebue, whose absurd and petulant censure of the missionaries, in the erroneous and ludicrous accounts of these islanders published in the narrative of his voyage, exhibits him in no enviable light, especially as contrasted with other officers of his own country, and with Captain Duperry, the first French naval officer who had visited the islands since the abolition of idolatry, who arrived a few weeks after Kotzebue's departure, and who in his official communications to his own government, bore honourable testimony to the astonishing and beneficial change that had taken place among the people.*

In the early part of 1824, the South Sea Academy was established at Eimeo. It was designed for the education of the children of the missionaries and the principal chiefs of the island, and was placed under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Orsmond.

With the commencement of the ensuing year, Mr. Crook, accompanied by four native missionaries, two from Huahine, and two from the church of Taiarabu, of which he

* After noticing the circumstances under which he arrived at Tahiti, and the intercourse of nearly a fortnight with the people, Captain Duperry adds: "The state of the island of Tahiti is now very different from what it was in the days of Cook. The missionaries of the Society of London have entirely changed the manners and customs of the inhabitants. Idolatry exists no longer; they profess generally the Christian religion; the women no longer come on board the vessels, and they are very reserved on all occasions. Their marriages are celebrated in the same manner as in Europe, and the king confines himself to one wife. The women are also admitted to the table with their husbands. The infamous society of the Arreoyoys exists no longer; the bloody wars in which the people engaged, and human sacrifices, have entirely ceased since 1816. All the natives can read and write, and have religious books translated into their language, printed either at Tahiti, Raiatea, or Eimeo. They have built handsome churches, where they repair twice in the week, and show the greatest attention to the discourses of the preacher. It is common to see numerous individuals take notes of the most interesting passages of the sermons they hear."—*Letter addressed to the Minister of Marine, Paris, dated May 15, 1824. Vindication of the South Sea Mission, p. 125.*

was the pastor, proceeded to the Marquesas, where after an absence of twenty-seven years he was recognised by some of the inhabitants, and welcomed by many. One of the native teachers died on the voyage, the remaining three commenced their labours in Santa Christina, where the chief, Iotate, promising them protection and support, Mr. Crook, after remaining a month among the islands, returned to Tahiti.

The conduct of the Marquesans was so ferocious and vicious, that the native teachers left the island soon after the missionary's departure. In October, 1826, four other teachers were sent, of whom two settled in Santa Christina, and two in Uahou, or Trevennien's island; the former returned in 1828. In 1829, Messrs. Pritchard and Simpson visited the Marquesas, but deemed the social state of the people to be such, as to render the establishment of a mission by native agents only, impracticable.

Two years afterwards, Mr. Darling succeeded in leaving two teachers at La Magdalena, and three at Santa Christina. At Uahou, he found that one of the native teachers, left there in 1826, had died. The king had been kind to them, though the people manifested the utmost aversion to their instructions. The widow of the deceased teacher had borne with exemplary resignation her bereavement and sufferings. She appeared deeply affected on seeing the missionary, and with great feeling brought him a piece of cord, on which she had kept, by knots, a register of the sabbaths, thirty-six in number, during which she had been a widow, and her children fatherless. She returned to Tahiti with Mr. Darling, who also removed the other teacher.

In March, 1832, the teachers left at Santa Christina returned to Tahiti, and La Magdalena was the only station occupied. In 1833, some American missionaries from the

Sandwich Islands commenced a mission at Nukuhiva, the principal island of the northern cluster, but relinquished the undertaking in the course of the following year.

Unwilling to leave the people destitute, two missionaries, Messrs. Stallworthy and Rodgerson, were appointed by the Society in London to the Marquesas. They sailed in October, 1833, and after spending some months at Tahiti, reached Santa Christina in October, 1834, accompanied by Mr. Darling, and several native teachers. The chiefs received them kindly, promising them protection, and Mr. Darling, after remaining nearly twelve months among the islands,* returned to Tahiti. The chief continued friendly to the missionaries, and the people treated them with respect, but regarded their message with the utmost aversion; and such was the ferocity of their character, and the profligacy of their habits, that Mr. Rodgerson, deeming it unsuitable to remain with his wife and children, returned to Tahiti in October, 1837.

In the month of August, 1838, a French frigate, commanded by Captain Du Petit Thouars, arrived at Santa Christina, having two French Roman Catholic missionaries on board. These the captain proposed to land at Vaitahu, and though Mr. Stallworthy pointed out other islands unoccupied, and other districts of the same island, and respectfully remonstrated against their being landed there, the captain determined to establish them at the same place;† and having secured the friendship of the chief by valuable presents, they were landed at the Protestant mis-

* The population of three of the islands, Santa Christina, La Magdalena, and Dominica, appeared to the missionaries to exceed 7000.—*Missionary Report*, 1836, p. 21. *Ibid.* 1838, p. 18.

† The captain informed Mr. Stallworthy that it was his intention to establish Roman Catholic missionaries on all points.—*Letter from M. Devault, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, No. 68, p. 84.

sionary station, as one of them has stated, "in the name of France, or at least as singularly favoured by her."* Mr. Stallworthy continuing amidst many privations, much suffering, and great discouragement to labour indefatigably for the benefit of the people, was, in 1839, joined by Mr. Thompson, who had sailed from England in the *Camden*. In the same year, ten additional Roman Catholic missionaries were landed at Santa Christina, five of whom afterwards repaired to Nukuhiva. Our brethren directed their attention chiefly to the instruction of the young, until the close of 1841, when, in concurrence with the opinion of the missionaries in Tahiti, they felt it their duty to retire from the islands,† which Admiral Du Petit Thouars has since taken forcible possession of, in the name of the king of the French.

Soon after the return of Mr. Crook from his visit to the Marquesas, the infant son of the late king was publicly recognised as the sovereign of Tahiti and Eimeo. The coronation of Pomare III., which took place at the former island, on the 6th of April, 1825, was observed with considerable ceremony, and attended by vast numbers of the people. The Bible and the laws of the island were recognised as the principle and rule by which the government should be administered.

About this time Mr. Nott left the islands on a visit to his native country, which he reached in safety, after an absence of thirty years.

The deputation from the Society, having spent four years among the islands, in visiting and inspecting the several stations, departed on the 7th of June, 1825. They were accompanied by Mr. Threlkeld, and after calling at

* *Lettres sur les îles Marquesas*, par le P. Matthieu, G., page 23.

† Report for 1843, page 34.

some of the stations among the Hervey Islands, continued their course to New South Wales.

The deputation were highly esteemed by the missionaries and the people. They had carefully and faithfully executed the high and sacred commission with which they had been intrusted, and had forwarded to the Society accurate and ample accounts of every station, fully confirming the statements which the missionaries had made. The arrival of these brethren had been cordially welcomed, and the privilege of affectionate and fraternal intercourse with them highly prized by the missionaries; and if the mission did not derive all the advantages which had been anticipated from their visit, it arose from no indifference or inattention on their part, but must rather be ascribed to the shortness of time they spent at each station, their necessary want of acquaintance with the character and habits of the islanders, as well as with the varied interests and influences operating on native society, together with their inability to communicate with the people, except through the medium of an interpreter. If even only one individual had been sent out, who, instead of spending a few weeks at each station, had taken up his abode for seven or ten years in the islands, had acquired a knowledge of the native language, and had made himself acquainted with the character of the people, and the principles of their social organization, his influence and co-operation with the missionaries would undoubtedly have secured far more important advantages to the mission and the nation, without making heavier demands on the means of the Society.

But whatever may have been the amount of practical benefit derived by the mission in the South Seas, from the visit of these members of the board of directors, it was unquestionably highly advantageous to the Society at

home. The varied and abundant information, the result of personal inquiry and observation, which they transmitted to the directors, must have been peculiarly serviceable in the arrangements required for future operations among the islands, while the unequivocal testimony which they bore, after careful and oft-repeated inspection, to the extent and character of the great work which the Lord had wrought among the people, could not fail to be highly satisfactory to the members of the Society, and the friends of missions throughout the civilized world.*

* The following testimony to the work accomplished in the islands was forwarded from New South Wales, under date November 12, 1824 :—

“Immediately before leaving the islands finally, we had an opportunity of visiting all the missionary stations, after our official visits had been completed; and we rejoice to say, that we left all the churches in entire peace and harmony, and favoured with great and growing prosperity. The number of communicants was rapidly increasing in the several churches, while not only the members of the churches, but also the baptized who had not yet been admitted to the Lord’s table, were, generally speaking, conducting themselves with great propriety. There were, indeed, very few exceptions to this statement. No errors in doctrine had been suffered to appear; and all the brethren were not only sound in their faith, and regularly devoted to their great work, but held in high esteem by their several flocks, and enjoying great harmony and peace with each other, striving together for the faith of the gospel.

“The whole population of all the islands may be considered as under school instruction. The generality of the people read with a propriety and fluency seldom known among the common people of our own country. Many, both children and adults, are acquainted with one or more catechisms. Their progress, indeed, in knowledge of scriptural and religious subjects, is extraordinary; and, considered as congregations, their knowledge is not surpassed, and we think not equalled by congregations of the same magnitude in England. Multitudes can write well, both men and women, and not a few are acquainted with the common rules of arithmetic.

“Civilization has already made great progress in all the islands, and is making rapid advances. On taking a minute and deliberate retrospect of the state of the mission in the South Seas, the character and talents of both the brethren and their wives who are engaged in the work, the state of the churches and congregations, in both a spiritual and moral point of view, the condition of the schools, and the various religious and civil institutions now in full operation: the political state of the different islands, and the progressive improvements which the natives are making in the arts of

Mr. Threlkeld accompanied the deputation to New South Wales, with the intention of returning and resuming his labours in Raiatea; but when he was about to embark, Sir Thomas Brisbane, governor of the colony, intimated, through the Attorney-General, Saxe Bannister, Esq., a wish that something might be attempted for the benefit of the Aborigines of New South Wales; and ultimately Mr. Threlkeld was requested to commence a mission among them. Mr. Threlkeld entered upon his new and difficult work with great ardour and devotedness; but the promises he had received from the government not being fulfilled, the whole expense of the undertaking devolved on the Missionary Society. The amount required greatly exceeding what, with a due regard to the claims of other parts of the world, the directors deemed it suitable to appropriate, the mission was relinquished, and Mr. Threlkeld's connexion with the Society ultimately terminated. Unwilling to relinquish his efforts in behalf of the Aborigines, Mr. Threlkeld continued his self-denying labours, supported by individuals in the colony, until, in 1831, he received a regular appointment from the government, with a salary of 150*l.* per annum. He compiled a grammar of the native language, translated or prepared elementary books, and some part of the New Testament, for the use of the natives, and endeavoured to collect and keep a few of the wandering natives around him: but all his efforts failed. The natives disappeared from the district, in 1842 the support of government ceased, and Mr. Threlkeld having laboured faithfully, irreproachably, and

civilized life, and the estimation in which the missionaries are held, both as pastors and friends, we find so little to deplore, and so much to admire, that our souls are filled with joy, while we exclaim, 'Blessed indeed are the people who are in such a case. Let the whole earth be thus filled with the Redeemer's glory.'"—*Quarterly Chronicle of the Transactions of the London Missionary Society*, vol. iii. p. 144, 145.

perseveringly, under the greatest discouragements, for eighteen years, was under the necessity of leaving his station, and removing to some other part of the colony.*

In the same year that the deputation left the islands, the mission was strengthened by the arrival of Messrs. Pritchard and Pitman. In the month of November, Mr. Pritchard undertook the duties of the station at Papeete, vacant by the removal of Mr. Crook, who had commenced a station in the smaller peninsula. Before the close of the year, Mr. Bourne visited the stations in the Hervey Islands, with additional native teachers, and was truly rejoiced to find that the native missionaries had been able faithfully to persevere in their labours, and that, through the Divine blessing, idolatry had been abolished in Rarotonga and other islands, where multitudes of the people were diligently seeking instruction concerning the true God. In the following year, the illness of Mrs. Bourne rendering it necessary for her to leave the islands, Mr. Bourne and his family proceeded to New South Wales, and finally to England, where his connexion with the Society was amicably dissolved.

The success of the mission in Tahiti and the adjacent islands greatly favoured the interests of commerce throughout the whole of eastern Polynesia, and the advancement of commerce, though attended with many fearful evils, augmented the means of extending the range of missionary operations to some of the most remote and isolated spots in this part of the Pacific. An instance of this kind occurred in the present year, in the introduction of the Gospel to the island of Rapa, the most remote of the Austral Islands, and about 600 miles from Tahiti.

In 1817 one of the missionaries had seen the natives

* Final Report of the Mission to the Aborigines of New South Wales.

in all the ferocity of heathenism.* In 1825 a native of this island was brought in a small trading vessel, belonging to Tati, to Tahiti, where he was treated kindly, and sent back with valuable presents to his countrymen. In the following year, 1826, Mr. Davies, accompanied by two native missionaries, a schoolmaster, and a mechanic, visited the island, and was cordially welcomed by the chiefs and people, whom he estimated at about two thousand. The object of the missionary in visiting them was explained, and though, through fear of the anger of the gods of their ancestors, they expressed themselves unwilling to embrace the Christian faith, they promised the teachers protection and support. After spending some time with them, the missionary returned, leaving the native evangelists to prosecute their important work. They were judicious, faithful, and devoted men, and the Lord blessed their labours.

Five years afterwards, when Mr. Davies visited them, though an epidemic disease had greatly reduced their numbers, nearly the whole population professed Christianity, and many had long given satisfactory evidence of having experienced a decisive change of character. At the earnest request of the teachers and their converts; and after careful personal examination, the missionary had the happiness of administering the rite of baptism to one hundred and forty-seven adults and ninety-five children. It was also his privilege to unite in Christian fellowship one hundred and ten of the converted natives of Rapa, and in the month of July, 1831, to administer to these the ordinance of the Lord's Supper.† In 1834 Mr. Orsmond visited them, and was gratified with the continued steadfastness and fidelity of the teachers, and the consequent progress of the people. Numbers could read

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 370.

† Missionary Report, 1832, p. 23.

well, and many adorned, by their exemplary deportment, the profession of the Gospel. Twenty-four individuals were added to the infant church in this remote island of the ocean. The population was so greatly reduced by a disease similar to that which had proved so fatal to the inhabitants of other of the Austral Islands, that in 1836, it did not amount to five hundred persons, of whom one hundred and three were members of the church.* The harmony that had so long prevailed had been interrupted, but it was hoped that the counsels of the missionary were the means of promoting kindness and amity amongst the people.

On the 11th of January, 1827, in the year after the mission to Rapa was commenced, the young king, who had been for some time a pupil in the South Sea Academy, died, after a short illness; and although this event devolved the government of Tahiti and Eimeo on Aimata, his only sister, and the present queen, the regency appointed under her brother continued to act, and no material change took place in the political state of the islands.

In the course of the summer Mr. Nott returned to Tahiti, accompanied by Messrs. Simpson and Buzzacott. Mr. Nott and his companions had been furnished with a passage from England to the islands free of expense by one of the Directors of the Society, Alexander Birnie, Esq., who had, in the same generous manner, furnished the means of conveyance to the deputation, and the other missionaries for the South Seas.

The islands were at this time visited by a much larger number of ships than formerly, chiefly vessels engaged in the sperm whale fishery in the northern Pacific. The captains of these vessels resorted to the islands for the

* Missionary Report, 1838, p. 16.

purpose of recruiting the health of their crews, effecting needful repairs, and procuring supplies of fresh water and provisions, and frequently remained in harbour six or eight weeks at a time. The increased demand for the productions of the islands supplied new stimulants to the industry of the natives, but the intercourse of the crews of the vessels with the inhabitants of the country was extremely prejudicial to the morals of the latter, and, in other respects, highly injurious. They were also visited by a number of unprincipled traders, who brought among them large quantities of ardent spirits, chiefly of a kind denominated New England rum, which they not only offered for sale at an exceedingly low price in the respective ports, but frequently sent in their boats to the different settlements around the coast to be bartered in small quantities for the produce of the islands.*

Ever since the abolition of idolatry the people of all the islands had, with but few exceptions among the chiefs, been as distinguished by their remarkable sobriety as they were formerly by their drunkenness; but with many the temptation now applied proved too strong to be resisted, and when once the people began to drink the intoxicating liquor, they soon indulged to excess, until numbers brought disgrace upon their Christian profession, lost their self-respect, and destroyed the peace and the hopes of their families, while they became the subjects of ridicule and calumny to the guilty parties whose heartless avarice had occasioned all their misery. The injurious and unfounded reports against the missionaries and people which these men, with some honourable exceptions, have been so ready to circulate, appear the more inexcusable when the wanton outrage of which many of them have been

* Missionary Records, Tahiti, p. 302.

guilty is contrasted with the assistance they have so uniformly received, especially in circumstances of danger or distress.*

Cotemporaneous with this source of mischief, if not to some extent arising from it, another cause of evil appeared in the form of delusive heresy, which seems to have originated with two men of some note at Tahiti, Teao and Hue, who pretended to be favoured with direct communications from heaven. These men, who were of doubtful

* In addition to the instances of this already noticed, the following, from among many others, may be mentioned. In November, 1825, an American ship, the *Hyero*, struck upon a reef in entering the harbour of Huahine. The captain and crew abandoned the ship, requesting a number of natives who were on board to save as much of the property as possible. Left thus in charge of the vessel, the natives, finding among the stores a quantity of spirituous liquors, soon became intoxicated, and then stole a number of articles. As soon as Mahine, the king, who was at some distance at the time, heard of the wreck, he hastened to the place, watched on board the vessel till all the cargo that could be saved had been taken on shore, and then had his tent pitched close by the place where it was deposited, in order to preserve it from depredation. He secured the return of part of the articles that had been taken away, and although under no obligation to do so, made the captain a present as a compensation for the rest.

Another American vessel, the *Falcon*, was wrecked at Rurutu, but the property was preserved, and Captain Chase, on departing, left the following testimony to the conduct of the people :—"The natives gave us all the assistance in their power from the time the ship struck to the present moment. The first day, while landing the things from the ship, they were put into the hands of the natives, and carried up to the native mission-house, a distance of half a-mile, and not a single article of clothing was taken from any man belonging to the ship, though they had it in their power to have plundered us of everything that was landed; which fully proves the honesty of the natives of this island. Since I have lived on shore, myself, officers, and people have received the kindest treatment from the natives that can be imagined, for which I shall ever feel thankful. Myself and officers have lived in the house of Buna, who, together with his wife, has paid us every attention to make us comfortable, for which I return my unfeigned thanks, being the only compensation I can make them at present."—*Vindication of South Sea Mission*, p. 49. "Eight or ten vessels have been wrecked at different missionary stations, and in every instance the crews and property have been preserved."—*Petition of Mr. Williams to the Court of Common Council, London, March 15, 1838.*

moral character, selected certain portions of the Scriptures, which they represented as the only parts requiring attention, and to these they added their own pretended revelations, affirming that moral evil had ceased, that the preceptive parts of the New Testament were no longer in force, and that every one might follow the course of life most accordant with his own inclinations.

The vicious practices of these visionaries soon secured for their pretensions very general condemnation; yet, when the former state of the people is considered, the imbecility of the existing government, the extreme irksomeness to many of the restraints of religion, it will not appear surprising that for a season a mystery of iniquity so agreeable to the strong and corrupt passions of a people so recently emerged from gross superstition and barbarism should have found adherents, and have occasioned many lamentable instances of defection and degradation.*

The missionaries, who were deeply afflicted, sought by every available means to remedy the evils, and had, as soon as could be expected, the satisfaction of witnessing the extinction of the heresy, and also of inducing the chiefs to adopt the most effectual means for preventing the introduction and use of spirituous liquors among the people. Mr. and Mrs. Jones, who had arrived in company with the deputation, had laboured at Papara and Hidia. In November, 1825, Mrs. Jones was, after much suffering, removed by death, and in 1827 Mr. Jones left the islands.

The principal stations in the Leeward, or Society Islands, though they ultimately suffered in an equal or greater degree with Tahiti, were, for a time, but partially

* The small church at Maurus, under the care of native teachers, was entirely broken up by the erroneous tenets and licentious practices introduced by the visionaries from Tahiti.—*Report for 1828*, p. 17.

affected by these evils, and enjoyed very general prosperity. The settlement at Huahine contained four hundred neatly erected houses, and a proportionate extent of ground under cultivation. The new settlement at Utumaoro, in Raiatea, to which the people had removed in 1826, in the number, and the neat and substantial character of its buildings, furnished satisfactory evidence of the skill and attention of the missionary, and the spirit and enterprise of the natives.

The spiritual state of the people was equally encouraging; at the latter station four hundred children were under instruction, nine hundred individuals had received the rite of baptism, and the church contained one hundred and fifty members, whose general deportment, with scarce an exception, adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour. At the former station the church contained three hundred and eighty-one communicants, whose consistent conduct afforded the missionary much encouragement.*

The most gratifying tidings had been received from the islands to the west, and on the 26th of April, 1827, Mr. and Mrs. Williams, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Pitman, originally appointed to the Sandwich Islands, but who had been residing with them ever since their arrival in the islands in 1835,† sailed for Rarotonga, leaving Raiatea under the spiritual care of Tuahine, an intelligent, active, and pious native, who had for some time honourably sustained the office of deacon in the church.

Mr. Williams and his companions, on landing at Rarotonga on the 6th of May, were joyously welcomed by the people, and found the reports of the native teachers, and of Mr. Bourne, who had visited them two years before, abundantly confirmed. The entire population, amounting

* Report, 1828, p. 14.

† Life of Williams, p. 231.

probably to seven thousand persons, had renounced idolatry, and placed themselves under the instruction of the native teachers, who were not without hopes that their labours had, by the Divine blessing, proved the means of spiritual good to many.

The annals of modern missions present few, if any instances of the same amount of good effected in an equal space of time by means of native agency, while the decisive visible change that had taken place, and the subsequent improvement, intelligence, and piety of the people afford the strongest kind of encouragements to all who are engaged in carrying forward by similar means the great work of evangelizing the nations.*

Upon this field of their future labours, so evidently and delightfully white unto the harvest, Mr. and Mrs. Pitman now entered, grateful for the advantages they justly anticipated from the skill, experience, and influence of Mr. Williams. A week after their arrival, a new settlement was commenced at Gnatangeia, a district politically distinct from that at which the native teachers had hitherto resided. The first substantial building raised was a place of worship, which was finished in less than two months; a house was also erected for Mr. Pitman, and while the utmost activity prevailed among the people in procuring their own dwellings, the attention of the missionaries was directed to the application of the most effectual means of promoting their social, intellectual, and spiritual improvement.

* A detailed and deeply interesting account of this remarkable work is given by Mr. Williams in his valuable "Missionary Enterprises." The mission in Rarotonga has passed through so many vicissitudes, and been the subject of so many indications of the Divine favour, as to render its history one of the most interesting and remarkable in modern times; a distinct account of the progress of the work of God in this isolated spot in the ocean would be a truly valuable addition to the missionary records of the present time.

Having passed three months at Gnatangeia, Mr. Williams accompanied the people of Avarua to their original settlement, and while diligently prosecuting the higher and more spiritual objects of his mission, encouraged and assisted them in erecting the requisite buildings, and bringing the ground under cultivation.

The influence which the missionary had acquired enabled him to introduce, with the most satisfactory results, an entire change in the social organization of the whole community. A code of laws, similar to those in operation in the Society Islands, was recommended by Mr. Williams, approved by the chiefs, and publicly adopted by the people, whereby property was secured, polygamy abolished, marriage upon Christian principles introduced, and theft and other crimes, by whomsoever committed, subjected their perpetrators to punishment. The laws then established continue in force, and next to the Gospel, have contributed most effectually to the order, tranquillity, and temporal welfare of the people.

The astonishing success which, notwithstanding the ferocious violence of the people towards the first native missionaries, had attended the introduction of the Gospel to Rarotonga, revived with new ardour the desires Mr. Williams had long cherished to convey the same blessings to the more remote and populous islands of the west. The greatest obstacle arose from the want of the means of conveyance, and, to obviate this, he determined to build a small vessel as soon as practicable after his return to his own station. The chiefs of Rarotonga urged him to build the vessel there, and, uncertain as to the length of time he might have to wait, before an opportunity occurred for proceeding to Raiatea, he adopted their suggestion, commenced, and though labouring under extraordinary disadvantages, in less than four months completed a vessel,

which, in reference to the objects contemplated, he called "*The Messenger of Peace.*" *

A voyage to Aitutake proved the vessel to be sea-worthy, and a supply of iron received by the ship that brought Mr. and Mrs. Buzzacott † to Rarotonga in February, 1828, enabled Mr. Williams to render her still more secure. Having assisted the newly-arrived missionary in entering upon the duties of his station, Mr. Williams embarked with his family, and Makea, king of Rarotonga, in the vessel he had built to return to his former station; there to devise and arrange for visits of mercy to more distant regions. He had secured no ordinary hold on the affections of the people of Rarotonga, and was greatly affected by the simple and touching expressions of their deep attachment. For more than a month prior to his departure, little groups would collect in the cool of the evening; and when sitting around the trunk of some tree of gigantic growth, or beneath the shade of a stately banana, would sing, in plaintive tones, the stanzas they had composed to express their sorrow at his anticipated separation. ‡

* *Life of Williams*, p. 255.

† Messrs. Buzzacott and Simpson had accompanied Mr. Nott on his return to the islands. They sailed from England on the 13th of March, 1827, having been favoured with a free passage by the munificence of Alex. Birnie, Esq., and reached Tahiti in safety on the 24th of August following.

‡ "From the day of our landing until we left, the kindness they manifested could scarcely be exceeded. I do not know that I was ever more affected than in leaving them. We had to press our way through a crowd, every one eager to shake hands, and catch a parting glance. The moon was shining; it was beautifully calm; and, as our boat pushed off from the shore, they struck up a little song, in their monotonous way, (which is a pleasing melancholy,) in which all joined,—'Blessing on you, beloved friends; blessing on you in journeying on the deep.' This they continued, until our boat was out of sight; and, as the sound, interrupted only by the beat of the oars, was wafted over the waters, and died away in the distance, the effect was so overwhelming, that not one in the boat could refrain from tears."—*Life of Williams*, p. 267. *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 164.

After a voyage of fourteen days, Mr. Williams reached Tahiti, arranged with the missionaries for Messrs. Pritchard and Simpson to visit the Marquesas in "*The Messenger of Peace*," and then proceeded to Raiatea, where, by the Divine protection and care, he arrived on the 26th of April, exactly twelve months after his departure. During his absence, the native missionary in whose charge the station was left, had been removed by death, divisions had arisen among the people, and the sources of mischief already referred to in Tahiti began to operate in the Society Islands; but his return was most cordially welcomed by all parties, and their expressions of attachment inspired hopes which were speedily realised, of remedying the existing evils.

The missionary associations formed among the natives in Tahiti and the Society Islands continued to contribute of the produce of their industry towards the Society in England by which the knowledge of Christianity had been sent to them; their example was followed in all the islands to which native teachers had been sent, and the amount which the inhabitants of many of these islands furnished are among the most gratifying facts connected with their reception of the Gospel.*

* When Mr. Williams returned from the Hervey Islands in 1828, he brought 66*l.* as the contributions of native Christians at Rurutu. He had taken to Aitutake the first pigs the natives had ever seen, and some few years afterwards, he observes, "I was explaining to the people, one evening, the manner in which English Christians raised money to send the Gospel to heathen countries. On hearing this, they expressed their regret at not having money, that they also might enjoy the privilege of 'helping in the good work of causing the word of God to grow.' I replied, 'If you have no money, you have something to buy money with.' This idea was quite new to them, and they wished to know at once, what they possessed which would buy money. I said to them, 'The pigs I brought to your island on my first visit have multiplied so greatly, that all of you have now an abundance; and if every family in the island were to set apart a pig for causing the word of God to grow, and when the ships came, to sell them

The annual meetings of the native missionary societies, held in the month of May, to correspond with the season devoted to these sacred solemnities in London, have been at all times peculiarly interesting, and the missionaries and churches in the Leeward Islands united this year in one general meeting at Raiatea. "No less," writes Mr. Williams, "than eight or ten large decked boats, or rather small vessels, from fifteen to twenty-five tons each, were lying off the wharf at the same time; and my *Messenger of Peace*, as commodore, anchored in the midst of them." The renounced idols of Rarotonga and other islands, some of which were 18 feet high, were exhibited to the people, and the assemblies addressed; among other speakers, by the king of Rarotonga. At this meeting it was determined, in dependence on the Divine blessing, to make a united effort for the communication of the Gospel to the Navigators and other important and populous islands, more remote than those already visited; and the missionaries, on returning from the meeting, besides the regular duties of their several stations, directed much of their attention to the selection and instruction in general knowledge and useful arts of suitable men for the work they contemplated; a portion of their time was also devoted to the translation of books into the dialects of the islands already evangelized, and to the preparation of large quantities of

for money, instead of cloth and axes, a valuable contribution might be raised.' The idea delighted them exceedingly, and early the next morning, the squeaking of the pigs, which were receiving a particular mark in the ear for this purpose, was heard from one end of the settlement to the other. In the interval a ship had been there, the captain of which had purchased their pigs, and paid for them most honourably; and now, to my utter astonishment, the native treasurer put into my hands 103*l.*, partly in bills, and partly in cash. This was the FIRST money they ever possessed, and every farthing of it was dedicated to the cause of Christ. They had previously contributed 270 hogs."—*Missionary Enterprises*, p. 289.

such articles as would be most useful in the projected missions.*

During the year 1828, while the *Messenger of Peace* was conveying Messrs. Pritchard and Simpson to the Austral Islands, and the Marquesas, a pious native, one of the deacons of the church at Raiatea, visited Rurutu, Rimatara, and the Hervey Islands, in a large decked boat, belonging to Mr. Williams, for the purpose of conveying supplies to his brethren, and encouraging them as the messengers of the churches by whom they had been sent forth. His visit was welcome and seasonable. He found that the inhabitants of Manuae, or Hervey Islands, had embraced the Gospel, under circumstances as extraordinary as any among the strange and deeply interesting events which have marked the progress of the Gospel, among the isolated tribes of this part of the Pacific.†

At Mitiaro, the teachers and people were so exposed to famine, as to be obliged to mix red earth with their scanty stock of food; and at the savage island of Mangaia, Davida, the native teacher, though living in a cave, for security, and in peril of his life, was still devoting that life to the welfare of the people. A friendly captain, of the name of Williams, had visited Mangaia, interceded with the heathen party on behalf of the teacher, for which both himself and his wife were ill-treated by the natives. He then offered to remove Davida from the island, but as some of the natives had placed themselves under his instruction, and declared their readiness to defend his life, even at the cost of their own, the native evangelist, with

* The native Christians made mats, cloth, hats, and bonnets, and such articles as were most highly prized by the natives to whom they were going, while the native teachers learned the different arts taught at the settlement, and prepared articles of furniture for their own residences.—*Evangelical Magazine*, 1828, p. 494.

† Life of Williams, p. 278.

true nobleness of mind, declined the captain's offer, and trusting in that Divine care which had hitherto so mercifully preserved him, chose to share the lot of his disciples, rather than seek for safety in another island.

The attention of the missionaries at the period, became increasingly occupied with the means of extending the Gospel, but the prosperity of their respective stations was their first great object. The several parts of the New Testament having been printed at different times, the entire volume was carefully revised by the senior missionaries, and a uniform edition of the whole put to press. And although tranquillity prevailed throughout the islands, and signs of external improvement were generally visible in the advancement of civilisation, and the increase of property by the chiefs and others, it was a cause of much regret that comparatively few of the young gave indications of piety, while the increasing number of vessels resorting to the islands, caused many irregularities and frequent defection among the people.

As these disorders occurred more frequently at the harbours, than other parts of the islands, and were witnessed by those transient visitors, whose presence often produced them, and who departed comparatively ignorant of the circumstances of native society in other parts of the country, their reports, if believed, would not only have excited suspicions, that the former accounts of the missionaries had not been warranted by the state of the people, but that anarchy and confusion placed their lives in jeopardy.* In reference to this, Mr. Platt, one of the missionaries of the Leeward Islands, observes, in the fol-

* Statements to the effect that the person acting as consul in the islands, had requested that a man-of-war might occasionally be sent to Tahiti, on account of apprehensions of the foreigners (missionaries as well as others) that the natives would massacre them, were inserted in some of the leading

lowing year, 1829, "I have been supplying the churches at Eimeo for a month, and have visited most of the stations on Tahiti. Those who have embraced the truth, at all the stations continued apparently steady, and though there are a few difficulties and perplexities in the mission, yet the prospects are pleasing. There are, or rather have been, a few little things discouraging; and little things we must call them when we consider the great rage which the adversary of souls must feel at such a breach in his kingdom, as has been made here. I trust the good work is advancing: and I hope that all who are disposed to find fault, will find that even now nothing in the state of this mission is contrary to former reports respecting it."*

This view was amply confirmed by the impressions produced, and the testimony borne by visitors of a high moral character and less interested order, who, at the period now under review, visited the islands. Among them, may be specified Captain Laws, of H.M. ship *Satellite*, Captain Finch, of the U.S. ship *Vincennes*, and the Hon. Captain Waldegrave, of H.M. ship *Seringapatam*, who visited the islands in the years 1829 and 1830, and have all borne, especially the latter gentleman, who spared no pains to make himself personally acquainted with the subject, the most unequivocal and honourable testimony to the improved

English journals of that day. The only foundation for such a report, so far as the missionaries knew, was, that in the commencement of 1828, a native of Bengal, a Lascar, who had been some time in the islands, and pretended to great experience in trade, obtained such influence with the queen and chiefs as to induce them to prohibit the natives from bartering with the ships, requiring them to deposit their goods with a public salesman, who should regulate the prices. Among the means which he employed to effect this, and get himself appointed salesman, was asserting that neither the missionaries nor any others had paid the natives half the value for their produce. The system did not last long, and the missionaries in referring to the subject, observe, "We have cautiously avoided interfering with their trading concerns."—*Evangelical Magazine*, 1828, p. 494.

* Missionary Chronicle, September, p. 423.

state of the people, and the beneficial influence of the mission.*

Amidst the discouragements experienced by the missionaries, on account of the decline of religious feeling and the increase of vice, already noticed, they were cheered not only by the extension of the knowledge of Christ, among other tribes of the Pacific, but by the unequivocal and gratifying evidence of the power and inestimable value of the Gospel, in seasons of affliction, and at the approach of death. The journals and letters of the missionaries detail many pleasing and satisfactory accounts of the last hours of native Christians, who, having proved that godliness hath the promise of the present life, found that it furnished, in the efficacy of its provisions of mercy, and in the sublime objects of its faith, Divine support in the hour of nature's dissolution, and a foundation for the animating hope of glory and blessedness in the life which is to come.

These manifestations of the consoling and sustaining power of personal religion were not the accompaniments of sudden conversion, or of repentance in a dying hour, but the experience of individuals belonging to different ranks in society, and placed in widely diversified circumstances, who had been enabled by the Divine mercy, to adorn the doctrine of God their Saviour, by an irreproachable consistency of conduct through a long series of years. Heathenism had often suited the tastes, and satisfied the desires of its adherents, in seasons of vigour, prosperity, and health; but in times of affliction, and at the hour of death, it left them helpless, hopeless, and wretched; and the calm confiding peace, the unextinguished and the animating hope, which cheered the Christian's dying hour,

* *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 232—236. Speech of the Hon. Captain Waldegrave, *Missionary Chronicle*, June, 1833, p. 281.

contrasting as it did so forcibly and favourably with the restless uncertainty, and desponding gloom that brooded over every pagan mind, as it approached the confines of the invisible world, had often deeply affected the people, and was frequently referred to with holy and humble gratitude by the departing believers themselves, who on more than one occasion, spoke of the evidence they then had, that the Gospel was not a cunningly devised fable, and used it as an argument to urge on those connected with them, immediate attention to its all important claims.

Among these, one, a noble looking chief of Afareaitu, in Eimeo, who resided near my own dwelling, during the time I spent at that station, may be mentioned. His name was Vara. In the time of his heathenism, he was required to procure human sacrifices, and on one occasion when Pomare sent him orders to obtain one immediately, he was at a loss how to satisfy this demand, but when searching for a victim, his own little brother followed him at a distance, and cried after him ; as soon as he saw him, he turned round and striking him on the head with a stone, killed him, and having put him into a large basket, made of cocoa-nut leaves, sent him to Pomare. When his mother bewailed the death of her child, and charged him with cruelty for killing him, he abused her, and said, "Are not the favour of the gods, the pleasure of the king, and the security of our possessions, worth more than that little fool of a brother ? better lose him than the government of our district !" Another office held by Vara, was to rally dispirited warriors ; and many a night has he walked from house to house, or from one part of the camp to another, to rouse the savage spirit of the people, by assuring them, on the authority of a pretended communication from some god, of their success in battle. He received

Christian baptism from the hands of Mr. Henry, but was for many years a member of the church under the care of Mr. Ormond. Vara's eyesight prevented his learning to read, but having been in the habit of treasuring in his memory passages of Scripture, he had obtained a correct and extensive knowledge of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel.*

The tidings which, in 1830, Messrs. Williams and Barff received by Mr. Platt, from the Hervey Islands, especially from Mangaia, encouraged them; but at the same time, they received disastrous accounts of the outrage and cruelty that had been practised towards the natives of the New Hebrides, and of the vindictive feelings which the latter cherished towards all white men, as well as of the ferocious and fatal cruelty with which they had in some

* This Christian chief was visited many times during his illness by Mr. Ormond, who, on seeing that his end was fast approaching, said to him, "Vara, or Maaoc, are you sorry that you ever cast away the lying gods, by which you used to gain so much property?" He was aroused from his lethargy, and tears of pleasure sparkled in his eyes, while, with vehemence, he said, "What! Can I be sorry for casting away death for life? Whole nights I have walked about to encourage others in the devil's work, and had well nigh lost my own soul. I wonder I was not levelled by club or spear before I heard of the name of the Messiah. He is my great rock, the fortress wherein my soul takes shelter from all my foes."

"Tell me," said the missionary, "on what you build your hopes of future happiness?" he said, "I am a vile man,—my life has been vile; but a great king sent his ambassadors from the other side of the skies to our shores with terms of peace. The blood of Jesus is my foundation. You tell us, that it is the only way to God. I believe that Jesus will save me; He is my staff now. *What I grieve at is, that all my children do not love him.* Had they known the distress we used to feel in the reign of the devil, they would be glad to take the Gospel in exchange for their follies. Jesus is the best king, he gives a pillow without thorns."

Shortly afterwards, the missionary said, "Maaoc, are you afraid to die?" "No, no," he replied with almost youthful energy, "the ship is in the sea, the sails are spread, she is ready; I have a good pilot, and a good landing place before me. My outside man and my inside man differ; let the one rot till the trumpet-blowing time, but let my soul go to the throne of Messiah."—*Miss. Chron. April, 1831, p. 162.*

instances retaliated. These accounts, though they enforced the necessity of proceeding with the utmost possible circumspection, added new force to existing reasons for attempting, in dependence on the Divine protection and care, to convey to those distant tribes the knowledge of that Gospel, which inculcates peace, and promotes good will among men.

On the 24th of May, 1830, Messrs. Williams and Barff, accompanied by a number of native teachers, embarked in the *Messenger of Peace*, and, sailing from Raiatea, reached Mangaia in safety, where they were gratified to find the cause of Christianity advancing among the people. Proceeding on the voyage, they visited the other islands of the same group, and were greatly distressed on arriving at Rarotonga, to find a disease which had swept off vast multitudes, raging like a pestilence, and threatening the depopulation of the island. After sympathising with the sufferers, and affording them all the aid in their power, they directed their course to Tongatabu, the principal of the Friendly Islands, where they were cordially welcomed by the Wesleyan missionaries, whose station at Lefuga they also visited. They passed some time in affectionate Christian intercourse with the Wesleyan brethren, rejoicing in the tokens of Divine favour resting on their labours, conferring on the progress of the great work in which they were engaged; and devising, with confidence and love, the best methods of most effectually communicating the knowledge of Christ to the numerous tribes still living in all the degradation and misery of heathenism.

After the disastrous and tragical close of the first mission to the Friendly Islands, in 1800, a generation passed away before any further efforts were made to introduce the Gospel among them. During that period, the idolatry of the Society Islands had been overthrown, and the Christian faith established; and, from among the

infant churches there, the pioneers of the Gospel, for surrounding regions, had been selected. In 1823, the church in Borabora, under the care of Mr. Orsmond, sent three native missionaries, two of whom were married, to the Friendly Islands. Two others were afterwards sent to Tonga from the church at Papara, in Tahiti, under the care of Mr. Davis. They were kindly treated by the natives, and under date of July 1st, 1827, wrote to Mr. Bourne, informing him that four members of the royal family had embraced the Gospel, a chief woman also sent a letter written by a native, desiring Christian baptism. At the same time, and from another source, Mr. Bourne heard of the stedfastness of the king Tapou. From the captain and officers of a vessel that touched at Tonga, in August of the same year, the missionary received the gratifying tidings that the population of the district in which the native teachers resided, had placed themselves under instruction, and were, in profession, Christians.

When the Wesleyan missionary arrived at Tonga, the native teachers at that station, not knowing of more than one missionary society, or supposing that all missionaries were the same, most cordially united with the people in inviting him to settle among them, and carry forward the work which they had commenced. The Wesleyan missionaries related the circumstances to Messrs. Williams and Barff, who left the native teacher co-operating with the former, by whom he was highly respected.* Messrs. Williams and Barff regretted their inability to visit the graves of their murdered brethren of the former mission.

During this visit, it was amicably arranged and with mutual satisfaction, on the proposition of the Wesleyan brethren, that the latter should attempt the introduction of the Gospel to the Figiis, availing themselves of the

* Missionary Chronicle, Sept. 1828. Missionary Enterprises, p. 302. Report of Wesleyan Missionary Society, for 1838, pp. 45, 46.

services of the native teachers, three in number, which the missionaries of the London Missionary Society had already appointed to those islands, and that the latter should undertake the planting of the Gospel among the Samoas, or Navigators Islands, which had been the chief object of their present voyage.*

At Tongatabu, Mr. Williams met with Captain Henry, whose accounts of the state of feeling among the inhabitants of the Figiis and New Hebrides, deterred them from proceeding any further westward. Here also they found a chief of rank from the Samoas, who being anxious to return to his native country, very gladly accompanied them, affording them much useful information during the passage, and using all his influence with his countrymen to further their objects.

Seven days after leaving the Friendly Islands, the voyagers reached the Samoas, and were filled with astonishment and delight at the grandeur, fertility, extent, and populousness of the group, which appeared, next to the Sandwich Islands, the largest in the Pacific that had yet been visited by the Christian missionary.

The Samoas, or Navigators' Islands, which lie between lat. 10° and 15° south, and lon. 168° and 175° east, are usually believed to be eight in number, and are called Manua,† Orosegna, Ofu, Tutuila, Upolu, Manono, Aborima, and Savaii. Tutuila is supposed to be between eighty and one hundred miles in circumference; Upolu is upwards of one hundred and fifty miles, and Savaii two hundred and fifty miles in circumference; ‡ the rest are comparatively

* *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 302.

† It has since been ascertained that Manua consists of three distinct islands, called Olosega, Ofu, and Tan. The entire population amounts to 1174, of whom nearly nine hundred have renounced idolatry.—*Missionary Report*, 1841, p. 39.

‡ *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 179, 183.

small, and, with the exception of Manono, not very thickly peopled. The entire population of the group was at first estimated at 150,000, but subsequent accounts limit it to 50,000 or 60,000.*

The regard of Divine Providence, which had so mercifully prevented their proceeding to the Figiis, and had brought them into contact with the friendly Samoan chief at Tongatabu, again appeared to favour their object, when they found that Tamafaigna was dead. This individual having been regarded as the medium of announcing the will of the gods to the people, and inflicting their displeasure on all offenders, had long exercised absolute power over the superstitious feelings of the Samoans, and had joined to this, considerable, if not supreme, political influence. He had been regarded by the chief of Samoa, who accompanied them, as likely to prove the most formidable obstacle to the settlement and safety of the teachers.

On reaching Sapapalii, the residence of Malietoa, the king or principal chief, the missionaries were cordially welcomed by his brother, Malietoa himself, with his fighting men, being at the time engaged in actual war with the inhabitants of Aana, one of the large divisions of the adjacent island of Upolu. The Samoan chief from Tonga, informed his countrymen of the character and objects of the missionaries, and employed all his influence to secure for them a favourable reception. As he possessed their entire confidence, they received his representations without hesitation, and testified their friendship and good will towards the missionaries, by loading their little ship with provisions, for which they refused to receive any return, and cordially inviting them to the shore.

* Letter of Rev. Thos. Heath.

Thus encouraged, the native teachers went on shore, spent the night among the people, and returned in the morning accompanied by a number of chiefs, with so favourable a report of the treatment they had received, that during the day the teachers, eight in number, with the wives of five of them who were married, and ten children, landed for the purpose of commencing their important work. In the afternoon of the same day, Malietoa having received intelligence of the arrival of the missionaries, left the seat of war, and came to bid them welcome.

On the following day, August 22, 1830, Messrs. Williams and Barff landed on Savaii. On account of the great distance from the land, it was dark before they reached the shore, which the natives thronged with torches in their hands, and as soon as the missionaries landed, lifted them on their shoulders, not sitting upright, but lying horizontally, and bore them joyously, though not very gently, amidst music, dancing, and singing to the presence of the king and chiefs who were assembled to receive them.

The missionaries remained on shore three days, and in their interviews with the king and chiefs they informed them that Christianity was opposed to war, earnestly recommending them to make peace with the inhabitants of Upolu, and to seek in future to adjust their differences by explanations and friendly conference rather than by the cruelties and murders of war. The king said he must finish the war in which he was then engaged, but that when that was over there should not be any more. Messrs. Williams and Barff also endeavoured to ascertain the circumstances of the people, and to explain to them, as clearly as their acquaintance with the dialects of the adjacent islands, and the assistance of the chief from Tonga would admit, the principal objects of their mission, distinctly stating, that

though the knowledge of the Christian religion was the greatest blessing any nation could receive, its adoption by the people must be voluntary, as the employment of force to induce its adoption would be contrary to its essential principles. This was the more necessary, as the chief of one of the islands, in order to obtain teachers, had stated that he would make his people receive their instructions.

The Samoans in general appeared pleased when they learned that the teachers were willing to remain among them, and the chiefs promised them protection, and such support as the islands afforded, giving them, at the same time, four good houses for their residence, and appropriating a larger one to their use for public instruction and religious worship.

With feelings of devout admiration and gratitude Messrs. Williams and Barff took leave of their Christian brethren and the friendly Samoans, promising to visit them again in eight or ten months. They next touched at Rarotonga, and having communicated to the missionaries the gladdening account of the wide door and effectual which the Lord had opened for them among the Samoas, departed, and reached Raiatea in safety in the month of September.

Messrs. Williams and Barff were the first white men whom any of the people had ever seen, or who had ever landed on the shores of Savaii; and the native teachers were the first visitors who had ever proposed to the people to abandon the objects of their long-practised worship, and adopt the religion of the strangers: yet nothing could be more considerate and respectful than the treatment the missionaries received, or more cordial than the welcome given to the teachers; and the introduction of the gospel to the Samoas under the circumstances of favour and en-

couragement attending the visit of the *Messenger of Peace* is one of the most remarkable events in the history of missions.*

The islands were several of them larger than Tahiti, or any of the Society group. The people numerous, healthy, and apparently well supplied with the means of subsistence. They were rather below the middle stature, but lively and spirited in their dispositions, and agile and graceful in their movements.

Much of the good feeling for the visitors is undoubtedly to be ascribed to the circumstance of their being the first of their race the natives had ever seen, and to the reports in their favour which were so zealously circulated by the Samoans from Tonga. Much also must be ascribed to the fact of there being among the people neither idols, temples, altars, nor priests; no extensive, organized, and powerful system of religion inseparably connected with their social and civil state, and pervading, through its minute and diversified ramifications every period of their existence. Superstition was indeed universal, and the objects of worship or superstitious regard, comprising animals, birds, fishes, reptiles, &c., were almost as numerous as the animate and inanimate objects of nature by which they were surrounded; but the influence of their opinions and feelings on this subject were vague and feeble, and when viewed in contrast with rigid tabu, the terrible power, especially in relation to human victims, and the regularly organized priesthood, connected by family or other ties with the chiefs of the country, which the system formerly prevailing in Tahiti and the Society Islands exercised over its votaries, the reception given by the Samoans to the teachers of Christianity will appear less surprising, though equally indicating the guidance and arrangement of an overruling

* *Missionary Enterprises*, pp. 330--350.

Providence in directing the early efforts of the infant churches of the South Seas to a field so white already to the harvest.

While the missionaries of the Leeward Islands were thus extending the Gospel in the west, an interesting colony, the descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, the inhabitants of Pitcairn's Island, arrived at Tahiti from an equal distance in the east. The directors of the Society had, in common with the British nation, received with lively concern the accounts of the peculiarly interesting circumstances in which the children of the mutineers were discovered, and were naturally led to consider how they could contribute to their improvement and benefit. With this view they had, in 1817, sent out to them Bibles and Testaments, prayer books, and spelling books, which were duly acknowledged by Adams, the patriarchal father of the colony. After the death of Adams, the islanders becoming apprehensive that the means of subsistence which the small island afforded would prove inadequate to the wants of their increasing numbers, applied to the British government to remove them, and in consequence of this request H. M. ship *Comet*, accompanied by a store ship, the *Lucy Ann*, was sent to convey them to Tahiti, whence their mothers were originally taken, and where many of their relations still resided.

They reached Tahiti in the spring of 1831, and though the people were in a very unsettled state, on account of disputes between the queen and some of the chiefs, all parties gave them a very cordial welcome. A piece of land was given them, temporary dwellings erected for their accommodation by the queen, and provision for six months supplied from the ship for the entire number, which, including their children, and three sailors who had settled among them, amounted to eighty-seven individuals.

Soon after their arrival they were all attacked by a disease which proved fatal to twelve of them ; this, with the disturbed state of the island, alarmed them, and induced a strong desire to return. They were treated with great kindness by all parties, but still desiring to return, a subscription was raised on the spot, and a small vessel hired, in which they were conveyed back to their distant and isolated home, where they have since dwelt in harmony and comfort.

The differences already alluded to were the first which had disturbed the public tranquillity since the renunciation of idolatry in 1815, sixteen years before. No equal continuance of peace had been known in the islands, and, during a corresponding period the inhabitants of Tahiti alone had been ten successive times engaged in barbarous war with each other. Actual conflict now seemed inevitable ; the queen and her adherents on the one side, and the disaffected chiefs on the other, were encamped in a hostile attitude within two miles of each other, when the *Comet* arrived ; but by the prompt and friendly endeavours of the commander and the missionaries, hostilities were happily prevented,* though the disorders which

* On this occasion the captain of the *Comet* bore honourable testimony to the character and beneficial influence of the missionaries. In a letter which he wrote to them under date of the 4th of April, 1831, after advertising to the amicable adjustment of the difference among the natives, he observes :—" Gentlemen,—I return you my most cordial expression of thanks for the promptitude with which you were pleased to make known my sentiments to the queen and her chiefs upon existing differences, in which I had the happiness to concur with you all ; and if they were received with respect I must sincerely ascribe it much more to the intelligence and ability displayed by you at so momentous and interesting a time, than to any intrinsic merit that my proposals possessed ; and it is a circumstance affording me the highest satisfaction to observe the great estimation you are all held in by the queen and her chiefs, which could not have been obtained but by a faithful discharge of your duties as ministers of Christ, and teachers of our holy religion, and it will be peculiarly gratify-

even the preparations for war had occasioned, were highly injurious to the prosperity of the people.

In the month of September, 1830, Mr. Crook, who had laboured with fidelity and efficiency in the islands since 1816, and at Tairabu since 1823, removed with his family to New South Wales. In the summer of 1831, Mr. Orsmond removed to Tairabu, and Mr. and Mrs. Simpson undertook the charge of the academy for the missionaries' children,* which had been, since its establishment in 1824, under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Orsmond.

Afflictive as the trials already noticed were, they were less disastrous than those which, during the same period, befell the stations among the Society islands. Two of the principal chiefs were removed by death in the early part of the year 1831. Fenuapeho, the active, dauntless, and enterprising chief of Tahaa, perished at sea; and, in the month of May, Tamatoa, the venerable chief of Raiatea, died amidst the disturbances which had arisen with the civil changes consequent upon the death of the chief of Tahaa.

Tamatoa had been among the earliest of his countrymen to receive Christianity, and deeply sensible of its beneficial influence and value, had used his best endeavours to sustain it among his own people and to extend it to others. In him the missionaries had invariably found a sincere and affectionate friend, and a zealous supporter in all their efforts to advance the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of the people. They had beheld with devout gratitude that his progressive acquaintance with Divine truth was

ing to me to make known these circumstances to the authorities whom it is my duty to inform of this transaction. Gentlemen, I am joined by my officers, and Captain Walpole, of H. M. 39th regiment, in offering you every expression of our respect and esteem. ALEXANDER A. SANDILAND, Captain.—*Missionary Chronicle*, January, 1832, p. 3.

* Reports for 1830 and 1831.

accompanied by increasing conformity to its requirements, as well as by a uniform and instructive exemplification of its purifying and elevating tendency. His influence, arising from rank, station, and natural energy of character, was great, but the influence of his dignified and consistent example, as a sincere and devoted Christian, was far greater, and rendered his death, at the particular juncture at which it occurred, increasingly afflictive.

As a heathen ruler, and an imagined descendant from the gods, Tamatoa had often exercised much of the despotism and cruelty that rendered idolatry so fearfully oppressive to the lower classes of society ; he had also, in common with the generation to which he belonged, felt its cheerless wretchedness and degradation ; and under a deep and habitual sense of the contrast presented in the mild, benign, and elevating influence of Christianity, cherished feelings of lively gratitude, not only to the Divine Author of all goodness, but to British Christians, through whose instrumentality the inestimable blessings of the Gospel had been sent to his country.* He had felt its renovating power, had passed the evening of his days

* In his intercourse with the missionaries and with Christian visitors to the islands, Tamatoa frequently adverted to this, as well as in the letters which he wrote to the directors of the Society, or friends in England, who had expressed an interest in his welfare. In a letter to Mrs. Glover, of Birmingham, written not long before his death, and acknowledging the present of a writing desk, he observes, " I am rejoicing greatly, and praising God that you and other friends think of me ; but my greatest joy, and greatest cause for praise, is, that I know the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and the merits of his death, for which I am indebted to the compassion of the believers in Britain. Your prayers and your compassion have brought to me a knowledge of the love of Jesus Christ our Saviour. I was formerly a heathen, now I am a brother to all who believe in the Lord Jesus. My heart is wondering at the goodness of God in causing the thought to grow in the heart of the Missionary Society to show kindness to us, who were in darkness and in the shadow of death. You did show true kindness, and now

under the cheering anticipations it inspired, and its soothing and sustaining efficacy tranquillized his otherwise agitated spirit in the hour of dissolution, animating him with a hope of felicity and rest hereafter, such as no heathen ever knew. He died exhorting his children and people to preserve with vigilance the word of God, and take care that it was not driven from their shores.

The distracted state of the Society Islands at this time arose from the successor of Fenuapeho, a young chief, son of Tapoa, an elder brother of the venerable Tamatoa, transferring the government of Tahaa from Raiatea, with which it was politically connected, to Borabora, and claiming also the sovereignty of Raiatea. This procedure involved the inhabitants of the entire group, and although the missionaries, especially Mr. Williams, used their best endeavours to avert the dreadful calamity, and the latter proceeded to Tahiti to invite the mediation of one of the chiefs of that island, also a chief of Tahaa, hostilities commenced, and lives were destroyed, before even a temporary adjustment of the differences could be effected.

In the month of March, 1831, Mr. and Mrs. Smith had reached Raiatea, with a view of ultimately labouring at Tahaa. Their arrival encouraged Mr. Williams to pay his promised visit to the Hervey and Navigators Islands, as well as to seek the preservation of Mrs. Williams' health; and with these objects in view he left Raiatea in the month of September, 1831, and was cheered by the unequivocal evidences of prosperity which the stations he successively visited presented.

we know Jesus and the preciousness of his word. Although your face should not see my face, and although my face should not see your face, in this world, may we both meet at the right hand of our Lord, and unite in praising him there. This is my earnest desire in God."—*Life of Williams*, p. 301.

In the meantime, the state of feeling among the inhabitants of the Society Islands, especially those of Borabora, Tahaa, and Raiatea, was far from satisfactory. The former were only deterred from hostile proceedings by the presence of Utami and other chiefs; and the dissolute habits of Tamatoa's son and successor, who was alike destitute of the virtue, energy, and discretion of his father, increased rather than diminished the occasions of offence. Early in the following year, 1832, Utami left Raiatea, and soon after his departure the evil passions of the disaffected burst forth with apparently augmented fury. The Raiateans, and their friends the people of Huahine, were attacked by the chiefs of Tahaa and Borabora in the night, and in the obstinate conflict which ensued, a number were slain. The assailants were entirely defeated, and treated afterwards with great clemency by the Raiateans.

The projects of the aspiring young chief of Tahaa and his restless and evil advisers were thus effectually destroyed; but the social disorders which attended and followed the war, proved exceedingly disastrous to the people. The means of instruction were neglected, the operation of the laws suspended, the distillation and use of ardent spirits extensively practised, and the vices and anarchy with which these evils were attended, threatened to be more destructive than actual war. Through the Divine blessing on the constant endeavours of Mr. Barff, who remained on the spot, and the influence and exertions of Mahine, Maihara, and the other chiefs of Huahine, its inhabitants, though involved in the war, suffered less than those of the other islands. Maihara, the energetic and intelligent queen of Huahine, sister to the king of Raiatea, visited the latter island, arrested to a great extent the dreadful havoc which intoxication was making

among the people, and induced them to destroy their stills,* and abandon the use of ardent spirits.

In the month of July, 1832, Mr. Williams, who, in company with Mr. Buzzacott, had proceeded from the Hervey Islands to Tahiti, for provisions, in order to avert a famine with which Rarotonga was threatened, visited Raiatea, and by his influence, energy, and judgment, induced the people to re-establish the laws, reform the abuses in the church, and revive to some extent the means of instruction. Mr. Williams felt obliged to leave before these objects were fully accomplished, but was grateful for the extent to which he had been able to mitigate the wretchedness of a people, to whose benefit he had already devoted so much solicitude and toil.

* Missionary Report, 1834, p. 14.

CHAPTER XI.

Return to Rarotonga—Voyage to the Navigators Islands—Gratifying reception at Leone—Labours and success of the native teachers at Savaii—Visit to Keppel's Island—Extraordinary voyage of the natives—Labours at Rarotonga—Translation of the Scriptures—First Christian church in Rarotonga—Arrival of Mr. Armitage, and introduction of the manufacture of cotton cloth at Rarotonga—Voyage of Mr. Williams to England—Unsettled state of society in Tahiti—Temporary abandonment of the mission station at Bogue Town—Hostilities between the queen's forces and the people of Taiarabu—Injurious effects of the disturbances—Increasing intercourse with shipping, disadvantageous to the people—Introduction of ardent spirits—Prevalence and baneful consequences of intoxication—Fidelity of some of the churches—Establishment of temperance societies—Disinterested conduct of some of the chiefs—Beneficial results of temperance among the people—Importation and sale of spirits prohibited by law—Testimony of the members of the Society of Friends on visiting Tahiti—Pleasing revival of attention to religion—Visit of Captain Fitzroy—His letter to Sir J. Herschell on the state of Tahiti—Completion of the translation of the Bible into the native language—Character of the translation—State of the missions in the Society Islands, Huahine—Arrival and death of Mr. Loxton at Raiatea—Extent of intemperance and disorder at Borabora—Devotedness of the missionary's wife—Departure of the mission family from the island—Extensive defection among the native Christians—Temperance societies in the Leeward Islands—Arrival of missionaries from England at the Navigators Islands—First interview and conference with the king and chiefs—Notice of the late war in Upolu—State of the people at the commencement of the mission—First Christian church in the Samoas.

LEAVING Raiatea under the care of the native Christians, and the brethren in the adjacent islands, Messrs. Williams and Buzzacott continued their voyage, and, reaching Rarotonga towards the end of September, landed in safety the supplies of provisions, together with the horses, asses, and horned cattle, animals unknown before in the island, which they had brought from Tahiti.

Deeply sensible of the importance of keeping engagements with the people, and of the extent to which attention to this, or its neglect, affects the moral influence of a missionary, and anxious also about the native teachers in Savaii, Mr. Williams hastened to pay his promised visit to the Samoas. On the 11th of October he embarked, accompanied by Makea, the king of Rarotonga, and a native teacher, and, after sailing pleasantly about 800 miles in little more than five days, saw Manua, the most easterly of the Navigators Islands. This island is 250 miles from Savaii, where, during his former voyage, Mr. Williams had left the native teachers; his surprise and joy were therefore proportionably great when he learned by the first visitors from the shore, that the Gospel had reached Manua, and was professed by a number of the people, who were waiting for the missionary ship and for teachers.

Here Mr. Williams found some natives of Ravavai, who, driven out of their course in a voyage to Tubuai, an island adjacent to their own, had, after drifting about the ocean at the mercy of the winds and currents for nearly three months, during which twenty of their number died, at length reached Manua, a distance of nearly 2000 miles from their native island. The Gospel, which had been introduced to Ravavai before they left, had been embraced by them, and on recovering from the exhaustion of the voyage, they built a chapel for the worship of the true God, chose one of their number to be their teacher, observed the sabbath, and read with attention the portions of the sacred Scriptures which they had brought with them, and which they considered the richest treasure they possessed.*

On reaching Tutuila, one of the large islands, Mr.

* *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 411.

Williams entered the spacious and beautiful bay of Leone, the same in which M. D. Langle, the companion of the unfortunate La Perouse, was massacred. Seeing the natives collected in numbers on the shore, he ordered the men in the boat to cease rowing, and, as was his custom when exposed to danger, to unite with him in prayer for protection.

The chief on shore supposing the delay of the boat arose from the fears of those on board, waded into the water alone, laid his hand on the boat, addressed the missionary as his son, invited him to land, and, to quiet his fears, told him they were Christians. When asked how they had become Christians, he answered, that a great chief, from the white man's country, had, twenty moons ago, visited Savaii, and left teachers; from whom a number of his people had received instruction, and were now teaching their countrymen. No sooner had Mr. Williams made himself known, than the chief gave a signal, and the multitude on the shore, who were all Christians, sprang into the sea, seized the boat, and carried both boat and crew to the shore.*

Here Mr. Williams found that a considerable number of those once ferocious and murderous people had renounced their superstitions, built a chapel for Christian worship, and were anxious for instructors. Delighted with what he saw, and deeply regretting that he could not leave a teacher among them, the missionary continued his voyage to the beautiful island of Manono, where he introduced the teacher he had promised to the expecting chief of that island, and then proceeded to Savaii.

On reaching the missionary settlement, Mr. Williams was received with the most enthusiastic expressions of

* *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 415.

gladness by the teachers and people, and had the unspeakable satisfaction of learning that the little band of native labourers left on the island had been faithful to their trust, devoted to their work, and that their efforts had been crowned with a measure of success, far surpassing his most sanguine expectations. The native teachers informed him that the king, Maliatoa, his brother, the principal chiefs, and nearly all the inhabitants of the settlement, had renounced heathenism, placed themselves under instruction, and united with them in the worship of the true God; that their place of worship, capable of containing six or seven hundred persons, was always full; that in Savaii and the adjacent island, the Gospel had been received by the inhabitants of more than thirty villages, and that the majority of the people were only waiting his arrival to abandon heathenism altogether. The next day, Mr. Williams preached to an assembly of one thousand persons, and it is not surprising that he "found it a delightful employment to tell the wonderful story of redeeming love to a multitude on whom the light of the Gospel was just beginning to dawn."

The following days were important to the Samoans, and replete with interest and instruction to all. The king publicly avowed his determination to learn the word of the true God, to worship and to serve him, and to employ his utmost endeavours to cause his word to encircle the land.* Chiefs and people united in earnest entreaties that Mr. Williams would come and live amongst them; and when he proposed to go to his native land and invite teachers to come, the king replied, "Go with speed, and come back as soon as possible; but, oh! many of us will be dead before you return." Assurances the most deli-

* *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 427.

berate and positive of protection and encouragement were given, which the missionary felt confident would be realized.

Having visited several of the most important parts of Savaii, and the other islands, received a full account of the proceedings of the native missionaries during his absence, given them and the chiefs such advice as their novel and peculiar circumstances required, and having had the happiness of reconciling previously hostile parties, Mr. Williams left the islands in the beginning of November, filled with gratitude for the tokens of Divine favour towards the people, and animated by the hope that these were only the precursors of richer and more abundant mercies.

Having heard that by one of those extraordinary voyages which the natives make over a distance of the ocean almost incredible, Pana, a native teacher from Rurutu, had drifted to Keppel's Island, a distance of nearly 2000 miles, Mr. Williams proceeded to that island. On arriving, he found that the teacher was dead, but his widow, a truly Christian woman, and his children were living, and was deeply affected on seeing him, and relating to him the sad tale of her sorrows, though their arrival at the island had been the means of conveying to the inhabitants a knowledge of the Gospel, which many had received.*

Taking the teacher's widow and children with him, Mr. Williams, after touching at Vavau, proceeded to Tonga, where he repaired his vessel, in which a leak had appeared during the passage, and having passed nearly a fortnight in agreeable fraternal intercourse with the Wesleyan missionaries, he departed, and reached Rarotonga early in January, 1833.

The missionaries in Rarotonga, though often suffering

* *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 468.

much bodily affliction, and exposed to many trials, had, in connexion with Mr. Williams, been for some time engaged in the translation of the New Testament into the dialect of the people, and in this as well as other departments of labour, Mr. Williams on his return very cheerfully associated himself with his brethren, and in a few months the whole was finished. Detached parts had been already printed, and were in use among the people. The blessing of the Most High appeared to rest on the labours of the devoted missionaries, and in the month of May, 1833, it was their privilege to organize the first Christian churches gathered in the island, an event which was followed by many pleasing indications of a revival of spiritual religion among the people. A Christian church had also been formed by Messrs. Williams and Buzzacott at Mauti, during their visit to that island, on their way from Tahiti.*

In July, 1833, Mr. Williams proceeded to Tahiti, and readily co-operated with his brethren in devising and employing the most effectual methods for correcting the disorders which at that period prevailed among the people. At this time he found Mr. Armitage, who had been originally sent out with the deputation, to teach the natives the art of spinning and weaving cotton,† discouraged from continuing any longer his endeavours to introduce this useful branch of industry among the people.

Mr. Armitage had laboured faithfully and perseveringly for many years in teaching the young and others the whole process of making cloth, and had demonstrated the practicability of their being decently clothed with the produce of their own industry, as a number of pieces of good serviceable cloth had been made by the people themselves under his direction. Notwithstanding this apparent advantage,

* Report, p. 4, 1831.

† Deputation's Journal, vol. i. 151.

there were very few by whom the art was either practised or deemed worthy of encouragement. The natural indolence and fickleness of the Tahitians, together with the facility with which, by bartering the produce of their gardens, a far more showy dress could be obtained from the shipping, rendered them unwilling to labour for an article in appearance so much inferior.

The natives of Rarotonga were more necessitous, and consequently industrious than the Society Islanders, and with a view to their advantage, Mr. Williams engaged Mr. Armitage to proceed to Rarotonga to attempt the introduction of the manufacture of cloth to that island. Accompanied by Mr. Williams Mr. Armitage proceeded to Rarotonga, where he arrived in October, 1833. The natives gratefully welcomed the artizan to their country, and such was his success in attempting to teach them his art, that in scarcely more than a year after his arrival, a number of the people at each station were able to spin and weave the native cotton, and between 300 and 400 yards of useful cloth had been woven by the natives themselves.* Mr. Armitage left them in 1835; but it was hoped that this valuable art, so simple and serviceable, would become general throughout Rarotonga and the adjacent islands.

Mr. Williams, shortly after his return from Rarotonga, left the islands on a visit to his native country, where he arrived in safety in the month of June, 1834, after an absence of nearly eighteen years. The chief objects of his visit were to seek the restoration of Mrs. Williams' health, to obtain an edition of the Rarotonga version of the New Testament, arrange with the Society for an efficient mission to the Samoas, and procure, if possible, the means of extending the blessings of the Gospel to

* Report, 1836, p. 17.

the numerous and populous islands still farther to the west.

The aspect of the different missions in the South Seas has frequently been exceedingly diversified, and was never, perhaps, more so than at the present time. While the inhabitants of Rarotonga and other of the Hervey Islands were advancing in civilization, social comfort, and spiritual improvement, and the Samoans were so cordially welcoming the native teachers, and so earnestly soliciting European missionaries to settle amongst them, the Tahitians were visited with heavier calamities than they had been called to suffer for nearly twenty years.

Though rumours of war had not been unheard in Tahiti, public tranquillity had remained unbroken since the last struggle between the Christians and pagans in 1815, a longer period than peace had ever been known to prevail before. But early in 1833, at the very time when Mr. Williams and his fellow labourers were rejoicing over the introduction of the Gospel of peace to the Samoas, and the people there were hailing it as the antidote to war, from which they had recently suffered so severely, the natives of Tahiti and Eimeo were involved in all the calamities of actual conflict.

In 1824, the queen of Tahiti had been married to the young chief of Tahaa; but they had been separated several years, and he had resided at Tahaa. The queen, wishing to contract another marriage with the chief of Huahine, submitted her wishes, by one of the chief judges, to the consideration of the national assembly of chiefs and people, and having through this medium received the sanction of the nation, the marriage was shortly afterwards publicly celebrated.

The people of Eimeo, on hearing that the marriage had taken place, were greatly offended; and passing over to

Tahiti, insisted on bringing to trial the judge by whom it had been advised. They were informed that the nation, by its representatives, had consented to the marriage before it took place; but, as they still persisted in demanding the trial of the judge, they were themselves impeached and tried, and being found guilty of disaffection to the government, were sentenced to public labour. Under these circumstances they made a declaration to the effect that, the marriage having received the sanction of the national assembly would be considered valid; and this acknowledgment being deemed satisfactory, the sentence against them was revoked.

Part of the inhabitants of Tairabu, who had at first opposed the marriage, now sent in their approval to the queen, and expressed their wish for peace; but the rest proposed to join the Eimeoans, and punish their own delegates, who had given their consent in the national assembly. The whole of Tairabu, or the smaller peninsula of the island, now joined, and armed themselves to enforce the punishment of those who had proposed the marriage. In the meantime the civil authorities of Tahiti proceeded to Tairabu, to bring to trial those who had taken up arms against the government; but, instead of submitting, the Tairabuans seized and bound Tati, the chief judge, who effected his escape from their custody with difficulty.

All Tahiti now became involved in the quarrel; the queen's adherents insisting on bringing to trial those who had taken up arms against the constituted authorities of the island, and the others setting the officers of justice at defiance. The missionary, who had spared no pains to prevent hostilities, and promote submission on the part of the people, was obliged, with his family, to leave the station; and after a week spent in endeavours on the part of the queen's officers to bring the ringleaders to trial, a

considerable number of armed men marched to Tairabu, to enforce obedience. The Tairabuans appeared in arms, but the chief judge went to the rebel forces, and brought back one of the chiefs, who was speedily brought to trial, convicted, deprived of his office, and sentenced to work on the public roads. It was then declared that the law was satisfied, the rest of the insurgents were pardoned, peace was proclaimed, and the queen's forces commenced their retreat.

The insurgents, between seven and eight hundred in number, having been absent at the trial and condemnation of their leader, and despising the proffered forgiveness, followed the retreating adherents of the queen, until they reached the missionary settlement, where, overtaking them, they immediately commenced their attack. The queen's forces returned the fire, and, after about three hours of irregular conflict, defeated the rebels, of whom a number were wounded, and between twenty and twenty-five killed. Five or six were slain belonging to the victors, who, until attacked, had spared no pains to avoid the destruction of human life, and afterwards treated the vanquished with the utmost clemency; showing in this, as in every other instance in which hostilities have occurred since Christianity has been received, the amazing and delightful extent to which it had destroyed the ferocious and vindictive feelings which war had heretofore engendered and gratified.

Short as the period of actual conflict had been, and few as, in comparison with the destructiveness of former wars, were the numbers slain, the violent excitement of evil passions, the extensive and almost entire social disorganization, and the interruption of the labours of the missionary, which the preparations for war as well as actual conflict had occasioned, added greatly to the disastrous effect

of other evils, at this time operating with fearful efficacy on a large portion of the community.

As soon as possible after the restoration of tranquillity to the district, Mr. Orsmond, accompanied by his family, hastened back to his station, and recommenced the instruction of the scattered remnant of the people. The entire population of Tairabu was 2,820, among whom defeat, disappointment, and mortified pride, together with other evil passions, had produced disorder and iniquity to an extent that forced upon the observation of their teacher more wickedness, in the short space of two weeks, than he had seen in sixteen years before.*

Other stations suffered similar calamities, though not to an equal extent, and besides the war, which had thus proved such a fruitful source of iniquity and suffering, the missionaries had to mourn over additional causes of mischief in active and extensive operation. From sixty to eighty vessels, many of them employed in the whale fishery, visited Tahiti every year for refreshments or trade. This increase of shipping, while it stimulated the people to industry, favoured their advancement in civilisation, and increased their property, produced among numbers an increased disregard of the means of instruction, which had always been irksome to many, excepting for a short period, and a neglect of religious duties. Besides thus proving unfavourable to their moral and intellectual improvement, this increase of traffic fostered an extravagant love of show in dress among many, and incited others to still greater eagerness in their efforts to accumulate property.

These evils, though they furnished just occasion of

* Report, 1834, pp. 3, 11.

apprehension and distress to the missionaries, were but trifling in comparison with others, which threatened far more disastrous consequences. The security to person and property, which the profession of Christianity by the people, and the long continuance of peace afforded, together with the increase of commerce, induced a number of foreigners to settle in the islands. Some engaged in the cultivation of sugar cane, and the manufacture of sugar;* some were employed in the pearl fishery among the adjacent islands of the dangerous Archipelago; and others opened shops for the sale of merchandize, or houses for the accommodation of the seamen visiting the ports. Had these pursuits been followed by men of respectability and good moral character, they could not but have proved highly advantageous to the native community, however profitable, or otherwise, they might have been to the parties themselves; but in many instances they were followed by men whose principles and conduct could scarcely fail to exert a most baneful influence over the minds of all associated with them.

Many of the ships from America and England brought large quantities of ardent spirits, and with the exception of muskets and powder, scarcely anything else for barter with the natives. The spirituous liquors were sent in boats to be disposed of in small quantities at the different settlements around the islands, while a number of foreigners established themselves on shore, for the purpose of retailing the same to natives and strangers.†

* Extensive plantations of sugar cane were, in some parts of Tahiti, cultivated by the natives, employed by Mr. Morenhout, who had arrived in the islands in 1829, and had entered into partnership with Tati, the chief of Papara; others also engaged in the same pursuits, and Mr. Williams stated before the Common Council in London, in 1838, that not less than one hundred tons were made in the islands during the previous year.

† Missionary Chronicle, Nov. 1833, p. 502.

The Tahitians had always been greatly addicted to intoxication. The introduction of ardent spirits had increased this propensity to such an appalling and almost incredible degree, that on more than one occasion, when the whole community seemed verging towards complete disorganization and ruin, excessive intoxication appeared to be one of the principal causes of the threatened calamity.

Besides these evils, the licentiousness and intemperance of the seamen, great numbers of whom were almost always on shore, operated most unfavourably on the morals of the people; and such was the effect of these causes combined, that, at one of the stations, upwards of a hundred individuals were excluded from the church;* and, at another, the chief port of the island, so few had been able to resist the temptations to intoxication, or other vices, that it was deemed most suitable to discontinue, for a season, the administration of the Lord's Supper. At the same time, other stations,† more remote from some of these causes of evil, were not only preserved in a great measure from defections similar to those which occurred at the scene of the war, and the chief resort of the shipping; but manifested a perseverance in habits of industry, and a degree of attention to the means of instruction and spiritual improvement, that was, at such a season, peculiarly encouraging.

Mr. Nott, one of the oldest missionaries in the island, after noticing the calamities with which they had been visited, observed that the members of the churches included all the respectable inhabitants of the islands, and that neither inconsistencies, nor consequent exclusion had been frequent; and at Papara, in 1833, Mr. Davies

* Missionary Report, 1835, p. 8.

† Hankey and Haweis Town.

reported that the church comprised upwards of four hundred members, at the same time the average attendance on public worship, at the principal and at two small out-stations, amounted to between eleven and twelve hundred persons ; the children's school contained two hundred and fifteen, and the adult one hundred and sixty scholars ; while, such had been the industry of the people, that during the past two years, besides other articles, upwards of 3000 yards of cotton cloth had been received by them, in payment for labour, or exchange for native produce.

At other stations, where the evil passions which the war had excited began to subside, attention to some extent was given to the means of instruction and the ordinances of religion ; but the fearful increase of intemperance and the general defection, especially among the young, greatly afflicted the missionaries, and led them, with many of their people, in addition to deep humiliation and earnest supplication before the Most High, to consider by what means they could most effectually counteract existing, and avert more threatening, calamities.

The directors and friends of the Society at home, having been greatly distressed by the mournful tidings of the ravages of intoxication and licentiousness, had, besides offering special prayer unto God on behalf of the mission, sent letters of sympathy to the missionaries, and of earnest expostulations to the native professors of the Gospel. The publications of the temperance societies, which the directors had also previously sent, informed them of beneficial effects of the movement in favour of temperance at home, and led them to use their utmost endeavours to persuade the chiefs and people to form, with them, associations for similar purposes.

Though some of the chiefs had, in the way of trade, become possessed of large quantities of spirituous liquors,

and derived considerable emolument from its increasing sale among the people, so convinced were several of them that its continued use, to the extent to which it then prevailed, would be destructive of all improvement, and issue in total wretchedness, that they readily acceded to the proposal of the missionaries. Among the first of these was Tati, the chief of Papara, who, with his people, formed in August, 1833, as advised by their venerated teacher Mr. Davies, a temperance association, which before the close of the year numbered one thousand members.* Tati, † on this occasion, publicly destroyed a considerable quantity of ardent spirits, his own personal property.‡

Results highly satisfactory followed the recommendations of the missionary, and the example of the chief. The vacant seats in the chapel began again to fill, the schools were well attended, attention to religion revived, and the happy state of things, prior to the introduction of ardent spirits, reappeared. This gave the people so much delight, that they called a meeting of the inhabitants of their populous district, and came to an agreement among themselves, that they would not trade with any vessel or boat that should bring ardent spirits to their shores. Officers were forthwith appointed to examine every boat that came to their part of the island, and any boat having spirits for sale was ordered away. Mr. Nott at Papaoa, and Mr. Orsmond at Tairabu, made similar proposals, with equal success, to the people under their care.

The chiefs and people of other districts, seeing the

* Report for 1835, p. 4.

† The conduct of this chief, since he has listened to the counsels of M. Morenhout, and his present circumstances, abhorred by his people, and disowned by his own family, as a traitor to his country, affords melancholy evidence of the extent to which the emissaries of evil may succeed.

‡ Report for 1835, p. 10.

favourable results of abandoning the use of ardent spirits, followed these good examples, with such effect that, notwithstanding all the efforts of foreigners to force the sale of spirituous liquors, instead of an importation of rum, to the almost incredible amount of 12,000 dollars, which had been the case at Tahiti during the previous year, not one-third of that sum had been thus expended during an equal period, after the formation of the temperance societies.*

The progress of intemperance, which, like a resistless torrent, had threatened alike the temporal and spiritual interests of the people, being thus once more arrested, the nation began to recover itself from the prostration and debasement into which it had, for some time past, been so rapidly sinking. The people, with few exceptions, kept for a long time their engagement to abstain from intoxicating drinks with remarkable fidelity, and the missionaries and their friends cherished the hope, that the worst part of the trials of Tahiti had passed, that the inhabitants would "add to their temperance, virtue," and that industry, order, and piety would again characterize the community.

In the Windward, or Georgian Islands, these hopes were greatly strengthened, when in the month of April, 1834, the national assembly, during its annual sitting, enacted a law prohibiting the importation, manufacture, or sale of all kinds of spirituous liquors. One month was allowed for the removal or sale of whatever might then be in the islands, and all afterwards found was destroyed. The extent to which public opinion and feeling were in favour of the law, appeared in the fact, that, for a considerable time afterwards, in more than one settlement,

* Missionary Chronicle, April, 1835, p. 168.

an intoxicated person was not seen, while most of the inhabitants regarded the prohibition as a source of incalculable good.

Attention to the means of instruction and religious improvement increased, and in the month of July following, the ordinance of the Lord's Supper was again administered to fifty of the native Christians at Wilks' Harbour, the station at which, during the previous year, it had been discontinued. A neat chapel was also erected, and opened for Divine worship in the English language, for the benefit of British residents on shore, and the crews of British and American vessels in the harbour. In seeking to preserve the people from the fearful evils of intemperance by prohibiting the introduction and sale of ardent spirits, the rulers had acted with equal benevolence and wisdom, but some of their subsequent proceedings, though prompted by the most commendable feelings, cannot be regarded with the same approbation.

In August this year, a public meeting of the chiefs was held to consider the best means of promoting the welfare of the people; the queen, through illness, was unable to attend it, but sent a New Testament with a message, that all regulations should be in accordance with its instructions; the chiefs entered into a sort of agreement or by-law, which required the attendance of all persons at a place of worship on the Lord's day, and of the children and part of the adult population at the daily schools. It does not appear that the missionaries approved, or even knew of this enactment until it had passed, or it is to be hoped they would have informed the legislators that no act of worship could be acceptable to the Almighty, or beneficial to the worshipper, that was not uncoerced and free. The regulation continued in operation for a short time; the penalty does not appear ever to have been

enforced ; and the missionaries, though they did not all approve of it,* probably refrained from protesting against it, either from an unwillingness to interfere with the proceedings of the Government, or a readiness to avail themselves of the opportunity which, for a season, it afforded for communicating religious instruction to larger numbers than would otherwise have attended either the chapel or the school.

Notwithstanding the recent agreement of the chiefs, great difficulty was experienced at some of the stations in Tahiti, in securing attendance at the school, on account of the fickleness and natural aversion of the people to steady persevering application ; but the missionaries were cheered by witnessing the growing numbers of those at other stations, who, ever since the abandonment of the use of ardent spirits, had regularly attended the means of instruction and religious improvement.

The prohibition of the sale or possession of ardent spirits being exceedingly obnoxious to a number of the foreigners, especially those who had opened houses called grog shops for its sale, several of them left the island, others employed every imaginable device for eluding the vigilance of the native officers.† Occasionally they escaped detection, but the prohibited article was generally discovered, though sometimes buried in the earth, and whatever quantity was found was publicly emptied out on the beach, and the barrels destroyed.‡

* MS. Letter, December 16, 1834.

† Missionary Chronicle, December, 1836, p. 111.

‡ "Although great exertion is made and promoted by the missionaries here to stop this overwhelming torrent of iniquity, yet all their measures are abortive, and can never be successful, unless co-operated with on the part of the masters of the shipping. Notwithstanding the disuse of spirituous liquors is rigidly enforced at Tahiti, and no person is allowed to have the article in his house, yet this bane of the human race is still to be purchased on shore, and the supply is kept up by the American ships ; it is

By the Divine favour, the labours of the brethren in this branch of the mission, appeared, during the early part of the following year, 1835, to be rendered increasingly and more extensively beneficial. And, though with the industry, and consequent increase of property, and outward prosperity, which characterised the stations in Tahiti and Eimeo, they had to complain of the desire of some to relax the law prohibiting the use of ardent spirits, and the efforts of foreigners to convey it clandestinely on shore, as well as of the prevalence of a worldly spirit, and great eagerness after gain among their people, they were not without satisfactory evidence, that by an increasing number the blessings of the Gospel were more earnestly desired, and more highly prized, than their worldly possessions.

Indications of improvement, especially in relation to the spiritual welfare of the people, increased as the year advanced; at Papaoa, the station under the care of Mr. Nott, towards the close of the summer, a number of individuals from among the most heedless and irreligious appeared to be the subjects of "repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ." Some who abandoning idolatry, and following with the multitude in the general profession of Christianity, had been satisfied with the outward observances of religion; others, who having been baptized in infancy, in consequence of their parents being members of the churches, had grown up with scarcely more of Christianity than its name or form; and others, who had once professed the Gospel, but afterwards

clandestinely landed amongst the supposed empty casks which are sent on shore for water, (an instance of this kind took place a few days ago,) and by other methods. A considerable quantity was brought in last week by an American schooner from Valparaiso, and safely landed, but has since been discovered, the casks destroyed, and their contents totally lost."—*Memoirs of Daniel Wheeler*, p. 316.

departing from the purity of life it requires, had been separated from the fellowship of their former companions, now seemed to be deeply impressed with the importance of personal religion. They were diligent in using the means of instruction, and respectful, but importunate with the missionary for direction and assistance in seeking the blessing of salvation. At first, they came singly, or in small companies, but afterwards in much larger numbers, so that a considerable portion of the missionary's time was occupied in conversation, exhortation, and prayer, with these anxious inquirers.

The growing numbers of this class induced the missionary to meet them in the place of worship, where many of the members of the church also attended, and were frequently unable to refrain from expressions of astonishment and joy at the delightful change in the views and feelings of so many, on whose behalf they had long felt the deepest solicitude. "These people," they said, "were many of them wild men and women from the mountains, and behold they are seeking salvation through the blood of the Lamb." At these seasons it often gave the missionary unspeakable pleasure to see the aged and infirm members of the church walking with tottering steps to the place of worship, to listen to the statements of the inquirer; and the instructions and encouragements given by the missionary to many over whom they had often wept and prayed in secret and in public, but who were now ceasing to do evil and learning to do well, and with apparent sincerity and earnestness "turning unto the Lord."

In the communication containing these facts the venerable missionary* adds: "Previous to this period, the

* Rev. H. Nott.

minds of several of the brethren, including myself, were very powerfully impressed with the vastness and importance of the things of eternity. I never felt satisfied in leaving the chapel, unless fully convinced that I had, in dependence on the Divine blessing, used my utmost endeavours to persuade men to fly from impending vengeance. I did not feel satisfied until I had made them feel my words, as well as hear them. Others of the missionaries have expressed themselves in similar language, and have spoken of the impressive urgency and importunity which the Lord had enabled them to use with their people. Thus we were enabled to 'reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all long-suffering and doctrine; willing to bear all things, to endure all things, for the elects' sake, that they might obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory.'

"Never had it been my privilege to admit, in so short a time, to the fellowship of the church so many of whom I entertained such favourable hopes, and never were the prospects of my station more encouraging.

"The churches at the various stations of the brethren, are, I believe, on the increase, especially at Mr. Davies's station at Papara. Mr. Davies mentioned that a strong and extending attention to the great truths of salvation, had taken place at his station, similar to that witnessed at my own."*

During the summer of this year, the missionaries had the pleasure of welcoming to their families and the people under their care Daniel Wheeler and his son, members of the Society of Friends, sent out on a religious visit to the South Sea Islands. Daniel Wheeler visited each of the stations, was present at the services held by the

* Report for 1837, pp. 5, 6.

missionaries, and addressed, through the medium of the missionaries as his interpreters, large assemblies of the natives more than once. The natives perceived that the mode of worship among the religious body to which their visitors belonged, and some of the opinions they entertained, differed from those in which they had been instructed by the missionaries, but they rejoiced in the opportunity which their visit afforded for fraternal and affectionate Christian intercourse, and felt stimulated to more steady perseverance in virtue and piety by their example, exhortation, and encouragement.

Towards the close of the year, these Friends proceeded to the Leeward Islands, where they sympathised deeply with Mr. Barff, the only missionary remaining at the time among the islands, in the severe trials which the missions were then suffering.* They visited, in company with Mr. Barff, the destitute stations in Raiatea, Tahaa, and Borabora, deeply deploring the iniquity, poverty, and wretchedness which the neglect of religious instruction, the indolence and intoxication, to which, since the late disastrous war, the greater part of the people had abandoned themselves.† On the 13th of November, 1835, they finally sailed from the islands, leaving in the minds of the missionaries the most grateful remembrance of the pleasure and encouragement which their visit had afforded. They were followed by the sincere esteem of the missionaries and their converts, and the hopes and the prayers of both, that their visit of Christian affection and kindness might be followed by abundant and lasting benefits.

While the Friends were among the Leeward Islands, Tahiti was visited by H. M. ship *Beagle*, commanded by

* Memoirs of Daniel Wheeler, p. 420.

† Report for 1837, p. 2.

Captain Fitzroy. The ship remained some time at Tahiti, and was visited by numbers of the natives; the captain and officers were frequently on shore, visited several parts of the island, and appeared to have been highly gratified with the evidence which their intercourse supplied, of the comfort, intelligence, and religious character of the people.* The missionaries felt grateful for the encouragement their deportment afforded, and the excellent advice they gave to native rulers.

In the month of December this year, one of the most important works to which the attention of the missionaries had ever been directed was completed; this was the translation of the Bible into the Tahitian language. In the

* In a letter to Sir John Herschell, Captain Fitzroy, narrating his own observations, and those of C. Darwin, Esq., surgeon of the vessel, observes :

“ One of my impressions, which I took from Beechy and Kotzebue, was entirely wrong. I thought that the Tahitians had become a gloomy race, and lived in fear of the missionaries. Of the latter feeling, I saw no trace. As to discontent, it would be difficult to pick out of an European crowd so many happy merry faces. On the whole, it is my opinion that the state of morality and religion in Tahiti is highly creditable. Due credit for what has been effected is not allowed. It appears to be forgotten by those persons, that human sacrifices—the bloodiest warfare—parricide—infanticide—the power of an idolatrous priesthood, and a system of profligacy unparalleled in the annals of the world, have been abolished; and that dishonesty, licentiousness, and intemperance, have been greatly reduced by the introduction of Christianity. In a voyager it is base ingratitude to forget these things. At the point of shipwreck, how earnestly he will hope that the lesson of the missionary has extended to the place on which he expects to be cast away !

“ It appears to me that the missionaries have succeeded in carrying attention to religion and general morality to a pitch at which it can hardly be maintained in future years, when intercourse with other countries will undermine *their* influence.

“ With respect to those who have severely censured the interference and effects of the missionary system, I subscribe entirely to the following remarks of Dr. Darwin :—

“ I do believe that, disappointed in not finding the field of licentiousness so open as formerly, and as was expected, they will not give credit to a morality which they do not wish to practise, nor to the effects of a religion which is undervalued, if not quite despised.”

year 1818, the Gospel of St. Luke, the first portion of the sacred Scriptures that was translated into the native language, had been printed and circulated among the people. Since that period, the whole of the New Testament, the book of Psalms, and other portions of the Old Testament, had been published; but before the end of this year, Mr. Nott, whose time and attention had long been, to a great extent, devoted to the completion of this important work, informed his brethren that the translation of the entire volume of Divine revelation was finished, and that the whole had been carefully revised for publication. The missionaries received the tidings with grateful joy, and as they were all exceedingly anxious to place the complete Bible in the hands of the people as speedily as possible, they requested their venerated brother to proceed to England for the purpose of having it printed under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which had cheerfully and liberally aided in printing the portions of the Scriptures already in circulation among the people.

In compliance with the wishes of the missionaries, Mr. Nott sailed from Tahiti on the 6th of February, 1836, and reached his native land in safety on the 19th of the following June.* Several of the missionaries had translated part of the sacred volume, but the work was ultimately accomplished by Mr. Nott and Mr. Davies. The whole was, however, carefully examined by each missionary before its final revision, and every possible care taken to render it as faithful as the capabilities of the language would admit. This great work certainly was not carelessly hurried over, and few first translations into a newly-formed language have probably been equally correct.

Speaking of the translation, the deputation from the

* Mr. Williams was in England, Mr. Smith had left the islands, and Mr. Platt was absent on a visit to the out-stations.

Society, who, next to the missionaries were perhaps among the most competent judges of its fidelity, observe: "The translation of the sacred oracles is proceeding, upon the whole, nearly as rapidly as we could wish; and in the course of a few years, the whole, we trust, will be in the hands of the people. We have done all we could to facilitate this great work, but a better plan than that in operation is not, perhaps, practicable. Respecting the fidelity of the translations they have already made, it may be gratifying to the directors to know that we have read a great part of them, comparing them with the original Greek, and we can assure them that they are done with great skill and judgment; the inaccuracies were very few, and of little moment; and we much question whether a more faithful translation of the Scriptures was ever made into any language. The sense is generally given with great clearness and precision; and such is the copiousness of the Tahitian language that it is generally sufficient, and but comparatively few foreign words are necessary to be introduced."*

Encouraging as the aspect of the mission in Tahiti and Eimeo were at the time of Mr. Nott's departure, and welcome as the tidings of the cessation of intemperance, and the attention to the means of improvement, were to the Society at home, the sources of satisfaction were coupled with others of a widely different character. The Leeward or Society Islands had, for some time, been among the most prosperous in the Pacific; they were less frequented by shipping, and exposed to fewer and feebler temptations to intemperance, and actual conflict had scarcely proved more destructive of human life, yet the injuries received from these causes proved far more deep and durable than

* Missionary Report for 1825, pp. 38, 39.

at Tahiti. In common with the inhabitants of the Windward Islands, they were greatly addicted to intemperance, and the occurrence of war was attended with a fearful increase of intoxication. Before Mr. Williams left, the natives of Raiatea had broken up the stills, but the means of inebriety were readily obtained from the ships visiting the island. The presence and vigilance of the missionary and the pious chiefs of Huahine were, under the Divine blessing, effectual for preserving their people from much of the iniquity and wretchedness which the inhabitants of other islands suffered, the means of instruction were generally well attended, the defections among the members of the church but few, and the number associated in Christian fellowship usually exceeded four hundred persons.

Anxious to furnish the people of Raiatea and Tahaa with the means of recovering themselves from the debasement and misery to which they had sunk since the death of Tamatoa, the Society sent out Mr. Loxtin, an intelligent, devoted, and eminently accomplished missionary. He reached Tahiti on the 23rd of March, 1834, and after remaining a short time with Mr. Barff, at Huahine, entered upon the field of his future labours on the 2nd of May; but before three months had elapsed, he was removed by death, after a very short illness, and the people were again left destitute.

Borabora was the only station in the islands occupied by a resident missionary at the time, Mr. Barff being absent on a visit to the Hervey and Samoan Islands, where in company with Mr. Buzzacott he had the happiness of witnessing the progress of the change among the Samoas, and of uniting in Christian fellowship a number of believers in the island of Mangaia,* once the most perilous

* Report, 1835, p. 20.

and unpromising of all the stations in that part of the world, but subsequently one of the most satisfactory and cheering.

Disappointed by the prohibitory laws of the island in their expectations of gain from their iniquitous traffic in ardent spirits at Tahiti, the unprincipled traders in this pernicious article taking advantage of the disorder prevailing among the people, sought a market for it at the Leeward Islands, and in many instances the people, when they once threw off the restraints which the profession of religion required, gave themselves up to this their most easily besetting sin, which seemed to render all improvement still more hopeless than before. In the island of Borabora, Mai, the senior chief, and a number of his adherents, disappointed and mortified in the war, yielding to their own depraved inclinations, casting off all religious observances, addicted themselves to intoxication, and though they did not resume idolatrous worship, revived many of the most iniquitous and debasing practices of heathenism.

Hostilities had indeed ceased between the Boraborans and the Raiateans, and the missionaries had used their best endeavours, though with but little effect, to allay the irritated feelings which were still strong. General misunderstandings were frequent among the natives; and twice the chiefs of different parties having determined to attack and destroy those who opposed them, spent the night in melting bullets and making cartridges. On these occasions actual bloodshed was only prevented by Mrs. Platt, the missionary's wife, going to the respective chiefs, before daylight in the morning allowed them to carry their murderous purposes into execution, and expostulating, entreating, and persuading them to endeavour, by milder methods, to adjust their differences. Faithfully and patiently Mr. Platt and his

devoted wife persevered in their endeavours to preserve the people from utter ruin, but after having seen their schools dispersed, the church after the war reduced by its consequences from two hundred and five members to eighty-six,* and the preaching of the Gospel neglected by almost all excepting the members of the church, the insubordination, violence, and wickedness of the majority of the people became such, that in the month of August, 1835, when duty required Mr. Platt to proceed, at the request of his brethren, to the Navigators' Islands, he removed his wife and family to Raiatea, deeming them unsafe at Borabora.

In the early part of this year, the chiefs and people of Huahine unanimously agreed to abolish the use, and to prevent by every possible means the introduction, of ardent spirits. The beneficial effects of this proceeding became very distinctly visible, and the people were able for a long time to exclude this fruitful source of evil from their shores, though, during the year 1835, not fewer than twenty vessels visited their settlement. The missionary justly regarded the abandonment of spirituous liquors by the people with thankfulness and hope, and in a letter to the Society under date of the 31st of December, he observes: "We desire to feel very grateful for the mercies of the past year, particularly that our Heavenly Father inclined the hearts of the chiefs and people to abolish entirely the use of ardent spirits. Since the adoption of this regulation, we may say in the language of Scripture, that the people have appeared sitting at the feet of Jesus, clothed, and in their right minds; seeming to feel a new and lively interest in the concerns of religion. Foreigners also experienced the benefit of the prevalence of sobriety

* MS. Letter, Jan. 13, 1834.

among the people, to an extent that it was hoped would ensure their co-operation in securing its continuance.*

During the absence of Mr. Platt among the Samoas, Mr. Barff visited Raiatea as frequently as other avocations would allow, and was happy to behold intemperance not only diminished, but for a time abandoned; and to find an increasing number anxious to restore order, industry, and attention to the religious duties which had been so long neglected. In the month of November, in company with the Friends on board the *Henry Freeling*, he visited Borabora, and spent some time administering medical aid to the sick, encouraging the little band that amidst all the aboundings of iniquity and violence, had maintained with unimpeachable consistency their Christian profession. Mr. Barff and his friend endeavoured, by entreaty and affectionate expostulation, to produce some favourable impression on the mind of Mai, the apostate chieftain, who had been one of the principal instigators of the late war, and was the leader of those who renouncing all regard to religion, law, and good order, had revived the games, dances, and wickedness of heathenism. So long as the means of intoxication could be obtained, this chief and his wretched followers surrendered themselves without restraint to its debasing influence; until such was the fearful mastery which this vicious habit had acquired over the natives, that the bread-fruit was employed to furnish their intoxicating drink, and multitudes were consequently suffering for want of food. The visitors were deeply affected by the melancholy contrast with other stations which Borabora presented, and endeavoured with characteristic generosity, as far as practicable, to mitigate the sufferings of the miserable people.†

* Memoirs of Dan. Wheeler, p. 402.

† Ibid. pp. 425, 428.

Anxious as the directors of the Society felt to reinforce the mission in the Society Islands, the peculiarly interesting state of the people in the Samoas demanded their earliest attention, and in the month of November this year, they sent out six brethren to these islands. The missionaries, Messrs. Hardy, Heath, Barnden, Macdonald, Murray, and Mills, five of whom were married, sailed in the *Dunnottar Castle*, and reached Tahiti in safety on the 22nd of April; where, during the short time they spent with their brethren, they saw much that constrained them to thank God, and take courage. In reference to the religious state of the people, they observe, "That there are nearly two thousand natives in church fellowship, that two-thirds of the people can read, and that a great number are able to write, are broad, significant and encouraging facts."*

On the 4th of March, they proceeded to Huahine, and after remaining there about three weeks, embarked for Rarotonga with Mr. Barff, who in company with Mr. Williams had been the honoured instrument of introducing the Gospel to the Samoas. Cheered by their Christian intercourse with the brethren at Rarotonga, and delighted with the unusually large schools, the industrious scholars, the numerous congregations, and the remarkable evidences of prosperity which the mission presented, they pursued their voyage to the Samoas, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Buzzacott; and on the 8th of June, 1836, anchored in Apia Bay, at Upolu. The native teachers and chiefs on the spot welcomed them with gladness, and they were soon afterwards joined by Mr. Platt, from whom they learned that a large portion of the inhabitants of the Samoa group, had renounced heathenism, and were very

* *Missionary Chronicle*, March, 1837, p. 153.

generally desirous of instruction ; also that Mr. Turner, a Wesleyan missionary from Tonga, had arrived at Savaii. In a day or two, the king arrived from Savaii, and several other chiefs of high rank and authority, belonging to the different parties in the islands, and from all the missionaries received the most cordial welcome.

On the 12th of June, a public meeting of the king, chiefs, and missionaries was held, at which, after receiving presents from the chiefs, and other repeated assurances of the high gratification their arrival afforded, the missionaries informed them, that, in consequence of their earnest request for teachers made through the medium of Messrs. Williams, Barff, and Buzzacott, they had come to Samoa, and inquired whether they were willing to receive them. To this, the king and chiefs replied, that not only were they willing, but earnestly desirous of their landing and settling amongst them. The missionaries then inquired whether they were willing to be instructed in the knowledge of the true God ; in reading, writing, and other useful arts. To this they answered that they were very desirous of instruction. The missionaries next asked whether they would protect their persons, wives, and property ; and being assured that these should be considered as sacred, they then expressed their earnest desire that the war which had recently terminated should not be renewed, and further inquired whether, in the event of war arising, the chiefs and people would refrain from molesting or injuring them, though they took no other part in their wars than to endeavour, by every possible means, to promote peace. To this the chiefs answered, that the war with Aana should not be renewed,* and that

* This war, undertaken to avenge the death of Tamafaigna, was raging at the time Messrs. Williams and Barff reached the island, in 1830. The columns of smoke from the burning villages of Upolu, were distinctly seen

whatever quarrels might arise among themselves, the missionaries should not be injured; but added, at the same time, that there were several heathen chiefs and wicked men on the islands, on whose behalf they could make no promise, and for whose behaviour they could not be accountable. The missionaries then expressed their determination to land their goods and remain among them, acquainting them with the stations which, after much deliberation and prayer, it appeared to them most desirable to occupy. In the arrangements now proposed, the chiefs entirely concurred, only expressing their regret, that a larger number had not arrived, that the whole population might more readily enjoy the benefit of their instructions.

The conduct of the missionaries on this occasion is entitled to the highest commendation, and might be

from the ship, while they were sending the native teachers to the shore. Malietoa, the king, was at the seat of war when they arrived, and in reply to their earnest entreaties to cease from hostilities, said he must finish that war, but would not afterwards engage in any other. The struggle was continued for six or eight months after the departure of the missionaries, during which, many of the people of Aana had fled to other islands, but a considerable number fell into the hands of the victors. The country was seized, and many of the prisoners distributed among the other islands; but a considerable number, some of the natives assert as many as 400, including the aged and infirm, the women and children, were cruelly destroyed by being burnt alive, according to the custom in Samoa, their conquerors looking on, and appearing to derive satisfaction in beholding their writhings in agony and despair.

On the 12th of June, the day of the meeting between the missionaries and chiefs, the king proposed that the exiles from Aana, one of the divisions of Upolu, and about 40 miles in extent, should return. This was agreed to by his confederates, and in less than eighteen months, upwards of 3000 of the captives had returned, and were rebuilding their villages, and restoring their plantations. They had, from the first, been objects of peculiar solicitude to the missionaries, and nearly every individual in Aana is now under Christian instruction, while many, there is reason to hope, have found their temporary captivity followed by the enjoyment of the liberty, and the personal experience of the blessings of the Gospel of salvation.—*Missionary Chronicle for March*, 1840, p. 373.

advantageously followed by all who may be placed in similar circumstances. There was no reason to suppose that any change had taken place in the wishes of the chiefs or people, yet the inquiry of the missionaries, and the reply of the natives, would deprive any who might afterwards be disaffected towards the former, of all just ground for taunting them with having intruded themselves unbidden and unwelcome upon the people. Their further inquiries, before informing the chiefs of their determination to settle among them, would also justify the most vigorous efforts they could possibly make for bringing the entire population under Christian instruction, and would exempt them from the perplexity experienced by some of the earlier missionaries in the South Seas, on account of the repeated applications, from the chiefs who had granted them protection and favour, for assistance in seasons of war.

The conference would also present distinctly before the minds of the community, the great objects of the missionaries, and the extent of their requirements. No application was made for land or property; all that was asked was protection and attention to the instructions they came to communicate. On the importance, excellence and advantage of these, the missionaries rested their claims to security and regard.

The day after the public conference was the sabbath, and the first day of rest spent on the field of their future labours made a deep, and it was hoped, a salutary impression on all the members of the mission families who were present.* The senior missionaries and the native evangelists preached to numerous and attentive audiences during the day, and in the afternoon the mission families and the native teachers united in commemorating the dying love of their adored Redeemer.

* *Missionary Chronicle*, August, 1837, p. 306.

The labours of Messrs. Barff and Buzzacott, the latter of whom remained many months among the islands, proved extremely valuable, and Mr. Platt having had the high satisfaction of welcoming the missionaries from England to their inviting field of labour, and assisting in the arrangements for their future operations, hastened back to Raiatea, where, in consequence of the relative importance of that island, the amount of its population and the urgent entreaties of the people, he was induced to remain among them as their pastor and teacher, intending, as frequently as possible, to visit Borabora, until additional labourers should arrive.

In the month of February, 1837, he paid a second visit to the Navigators Islands, taking with him a number of elementary books, and other works in the Samoan language, of which between 400 or 500 had been printed by the indefatigable efforts of Mr. Barff, at Huahine. Mr. Macdonald, who on account of indisposition had remained with Mr. Pitman at Rarotonga, accompanied Mr. Platt, and entered with improved health and animating prospects on the sphere of his future exertions. Messrs. Murray and Barnden occupied the large island of Tutuila, the latter being stationed at Leone, on the shores of the bay in which the *French Navigator* was destroyed. Messrs. Hardie and Macdonald were stationed at Savaii, the largest island of the group, and Messrs. Heath and Mills laboured among the people of Upolu and Manono.

The removal of the missionaries to their respective stations, their frequent intercourse with the native teachers and the people under their instruction, together with the extensive exploratory tours which they deemed it needful to undertake while studying the language, and otherwise qualifying themselves for entering fully and efficiently upon their work, increased their acquaintance with the

native character, and gave them more correct knowledge of the circumstances of the people than they had before possessed, without diminishing the encouragement, or destroying the hopes that previous accounts and earlier appearances had inspired.

They enjoyed a privilege, not always experienced, of suffering no disappointment on entering the field of their future exertions, the state of the people fully answered the expectations they had formed, and their prospects realized all they had imagined, when contemplating them at an earlier period, and from a remoter distance, and certainly few missionaries have commenced their work under more animating circumstances, or entered upon fields more apparently "white unto the harvest."

The prepossessions of the people were strongly in favour of the missionaries, even among those who had not renounced heathenism; but a large portion of the entire population had abandoned the superstitions of their ancestors, and although most knew little, if anything, of Christianity, beyond its more prominent external observances, multitudes were desirous of being made acquainted with what the missionaries proposed to teach.

The visits of Mr. Williams and his brethren had prepared their way, and the character, ability, and devotedness which had rendered most of the native teachers such admirable pioneers, qualified them to become most valuable coadjutors, and enabled the missionaries to extend their influence and efforts greatly beyond what could otherwise have been attempted. The value of their co-operation appeared more distinct when the missionaries found that with the best arrangements they could make for distributing their numbers over the most populous parts of the group, it was necessary that the labours of an individual missionary should extend over forty or fifty miles of the

country, and embrace 7000 or 8000 of its inhabitants. Stimulated by the extent of the field, and peculiar state of the people, the brethren gave their first, and, next to the administering of medicine, their almost undivided attention to the acquisition of the language, and, as they became acquainted with this in its most easy and familiar parts, endeavoured to unfold to the people the message of salvation.

The missionaries had, from the first, been fully convinced that the profession of Christianity by all, except an exceedingly small minority, was only nominal, that few understood the spiritual nature of true religion, and fewer still had experienced its transforming influence; yet so satisfactory was the evidence of the Divine influence attending the instructions imparted, and producing a holy and decisive change of character, that in less than twelve months after their arrival, they felt it their duty to administer the rite of baptism, and unite in Christian fellowship, a number to whom they had every reason to hope their Divine Redeemer had imparted that spiritual life which had raised them to spiritual union with himself.

The first fruits of Samoa unto Christ were thus publicly recognised at Sapapalii, in Savaii, on the 26th of March, 1837, when Mr. Hardie baptized twelve individuals and eleven of their children, and afterwards administered to the adults, and to the native teachers, already members of Christian churches in other islands, the Lord's Supper. Mr. Heath had, about the same time, the satisfaction of forming a Christian church, consisting of thirty individuals, at Apia, in Manono.* Infant churches were also gathered in Upolu, and subsequently in the other islands.

In the formation of native churches, the brethren ap-

* Missionary Report, 1838, p. 21.

pear, in the first instance, to have deviated from the course pursued by their predecessors in Tahiti and the adjacent islands, who baptized those who they believed were sincere in their profession of Christianity, and were desirous of being more fully instructed, while they admitted to communion with the church only such as gave credible evidence of having experienced a change of heart. In the Navigators Islands, the missionaries seem to have baptized only such as they had reason to believe were converted persons, and duly qualified to be admitted immediately after baptism to the fellowship of the church. Subsequently, however, the missionaries baptized many whom they did not, until after longer probation, admit to the communion.

While the missionaries were thus early favoured with tokens of the Divine blessing on their labours, in the pleasing change evident among many under their instructions, they were greatly encouraged by witnessing the voluntary abandonment, on the part of the people, of many of the licentious dances and other amusements that had been formerly followed with avidity by all classes, and of beholding on several occasions unequivocal indications of an improved tone of moral feeling among those who dwelt in the more immediate vicinity of their respective settlements, and were more directly under their influence.

CHAPTER XII.

State of the mission in Rarotonga—Voyage of Mrs. Pitman to England—Testimony of Captain Miller to the honesty of the natives—Improvement in the mission at Borabora and Maurua—Arrival of Mr. Rodgerston at the former—Discouraging state of the mission at Raiatea—Mission in Huahine—Character of native rulers—Mission in Sir Charles Sanders's Island—State of the mission in Tahiti—Appointment of Mr. Pritchard as British Consul—Arrival of Mr. Williams at Tahiti—Departure of Mr. Pritchard for England—Arrival of Messrs. Howe, Pratt, and Barff, jun., at Tahiti—Introduction of the Infant-school system—Return of Mr. Nott with the Scriptures printed in England—Earnest desire after the Scriptures—Avidity with which they were purchased, and care with which they were preserved by the people—Grateful feelings towards the British and Foreign Bible Society—Advantages resulting from the possession of the entire Bible by the people—Arrival of Mr. Smee and Messrs. Jesson and McKean—Disgraceful conduct of the foreign consuls—Arrival of six Roman Catholic priests at Tahiti—Ravages of the small-pox at Tahiti—State of the native churches in Tahiti—Number in fellowship throughout the Society Islands—Arrival of Mr. Williams with Messrs. Gill and Royle at Rarotonga—Grateful reception and happy influence of the New Testament among the natives—Removal of Mr. Royle to Aitutake—Death of Captain Orsborne—Visit to the island of Mangaia—Prosperous state of the mission—Testimony of Captain Belcher in favour of the Rarotonga mission.

THE mission in Rarotonga, though favoured from its commencement with an amount of success, as remarkable as it was encouraging, had but rarely been exempt from severe afflictions. In addition to the calamities produced by the fearful prevalence of epidemic disease among the natives, the fury of the elements by which their settlements, their plantations, and their groves of bread fruit trees had been destroyed, and the sudden and tempestuous rising of the sea, which had inundated their dwellings, overflowed their gardens, destroying their fruits, and exposing them to all the horrors of famine, the missionaries, especially

Mr. Pitman, had suffered much from severe and long-continued illness.

Early in the present year, 1837, Mrs. Pitman's health had become so impaired that a voyage to a colder climate was deemed necessary, and she embarked in the *Tyber* for America in the end of February,* and reached England in the month of October following. In his solitary labours, her truly devoted husband was cheered by the flourishing aspect of the stations at this time under his care. Upwards of 3,000 children, besides adults, were under instructions, and the portions of the Sacred Scriptures in the possession of the people were attentively read and highly prized by multitudes. At his own immediate station, the average number attending the preaching of the Gospel was 2,800, and during the year twenty-eight individuals were added to the church, while nearly an equal number were expecting to be admitted to the same privilege.†

Among the Society Islands, indications of improvement began to appear. During Mr. Platt's absence among the Samoas, Mr. Barff visited Borabora, and was happy to find that a number of the natives had joined themselves to the little band that were still faithful to their Christian profession, and diligent in using the few means of im-

* In the beginning of the preceding year, the *Charles Daggart*, an American vessel, had been wrecked at Rarotonga, but the crew and cargo were saved. The latter was preserved by the chiefs with the utmost integrity and care, and Captain Miller, the owner of the wrecked vessel, having arrived for the purpose of removing the cargo, when he heard that Mrs. Pitman wished for a passage to Europe, generously requested her to occupy his own cabin during the voyage, for which he refused any remuneration, treated her with the utmost respect and attention, and expressed himself gratified in having the opportunity of testifying the high sense he justly entertained of missionary labours, not only to the natives of the islands, but to strangers voyaging amongst them. And in reference to the wreck of his own vessel, he informed Mrs. Pitman that, though his property remained among the natives for twelve months, not a nail was lost.

† Missionary Report, 1838, p. 14.

provement still left to them. While he remained among them, Mr. Barff had the pleasure of admitting fourteen individuals to Christian fellowship, increasing the number thus united to seventy-seven. At the same time special supplications were offered in behalf of the people of Borabora by the missionaries, and their flocks at the other islands.

After his return from the Samoas, Mr. Platt visited Borabora as frequently as possible, and was cheered by beholding increasing numbers turning with deep humiliation and penitence to the paths they had forsaken, while others were earnestly seeking to be united with the people of God. In the beginning of 1838, the members of the church amounted to 162, and 500 were usually present at public worship. Order and comfort also appeared reviving among several portions of the community.

At Maupiti, or Maurua, 40 miles to the west of Borabora, where visionary fanaticism and intemperance had, for a season, caused the ordinances of the Gospel to be almost universally disregarded, Mr. Platt had the pleasure, during his visits to the island, of finding the people abandoning their vicious habits, attending to instruction, and the ordinances of religion. About 150 persons usually attended the preaching of the Gospel, and a number were united in Christian fellowship.

Mr. Rodgerson, from the Marquesas, having been instructed by the directors to proceed to Borabora, reached that island in April, 1839, and was cordially welcomed by a large number of the people, among whom he commenced his labours under encouraging prospects;* but felt it needful during the same year, to visit New South Wales, on account of Mrs. Rodgerson's health. On his return he

* Missionary Report, 1840, p. 14.

resumed his labours, which have been uninterruptedly continued under many difficulties arising from disputes among the people, and the heartless conduct of foreign visitors, who, unable to vend their spirituous liquors at the Windward and some of the Leeward Islands, continued to furnish the deluded inhabitants of Borabora with as much as the natives could pay for. Under these trying circumstances, it was highly gratifying to the missionary to be able to report that, notwithstanding the quantity of ardent spirits landed on the island, scarcely any of the members of the church, amounting to nearly 300, had yielded to the temptations thus presented.

Although favoured with the labours and oversight of Mr. Platt, recently assisted by Mr. Charter, Raiatea and Tahaa appeared to be still suffering from the evils which attended and followed the war in 1832. The recent revival of the distillation by many of the natives had caused much intoxication among the people, who had removed from the settlement where the missionary resided, to their respective districts round the island. Under the discouragement which the departure of so many from the means of instruction produced, it was consoling to the missionary to witness in a few, an increasing desire to improve more carefully the advantages they still enjoyed, and to admit in the course of the year 1842, nearly twenty communicants to the church, which now contained 175 members.

Through the favour of the Most High, Huahine has continued to enjoy a larger measure of prosperity than any other island of the group. This is to be ascribed, so far as human instrumentality is concerned, to the peace that has prevailed throughout its borders; to the activity and zeal of the people, in maintaining the means of religious instruction, and to their persevering efforts to

extend it to others. Besides these means of good, they have enjoyed, with no other interruption than the claims of the stations around them have demanded, the efficient and untiring efforts of their devoted missionary Mr. Barff, who has now laboured amongst them for a quarter of a century, and in addition to the claims of Huahine, and Sir Charles Sanders's Island,* has printed many thousand copies of separate portions of the Scriptures, and other books or tracts for the Society Islands, and more populous groups to the west, among which may be mentioned 50,000 elementary and other books, which prior to the year 1840, were printed in the Samoan language.†

The objects of the mission were also most ably and actively promoted by most of the chiefs on the island. Maihara, a daughter of Tamatoa, king of Raiatea, who died in 1834, in the prime of life, was, there is reason to hope, a sincere Christian, as well as a woman of great energy and integrity of character. From the first arrival

* This fertile island, situated midway between Eimeo and Huahine, but politically united to the latter, is about 10 miles in circumference, and contains nearly 250 inhabitants. In 1818, Mr. Davies spent several months among the people, endeavouring to instruct them in the truths of Christianity, the next year nearly the whole population removed for a season to Huahine, and soon after their return two valuable native teachers were placed among them by Mr. Barff, who visited them in 1822. In 1823, a church was formed consisting of thirty-one members, to whom in September of the same year, Mr. Barff administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. In 1825, Auna, one of the most valuable native teachers in the South Sea Islands, was stationed here by Mr. Barff, and under his care the people enjoyed much peace, and continued advancing steadily in knowledge and piety, until 1835, when this truly excellent man was removed by death. Since that time the Divine blessing has continued to rest on this isolated community, who dwell in harmony and love among themselves, and with their present devoted teacher. Mr. Barff visits them as often as practicable, and continues to be gratified by their spiritual improvement and social tranquillity and prosperity. Ninety-seven of the inhabitants are united in Christian fellowship.—*Missionary Report*, 1844, p. 24.

† *Missionary Report*, 1838 and 1840.

of the missionaries at Huahine until his death, in 1839, Mahine also, the hereditary chief of the island, was not only the steady friend of the missionary, but the intelligent, active, and persevering supporter of every means employed for promoting order, improvement, education, and religion among the people.

At times, the station suffered in common with others, from the introduction of ardent spirits; but considering the number of ships by which it was visited, the preservation of the people from the disastrous effects which this fertile source of evil produced in other islands, is peculiarly gratifying. The preaching of the Gospel continued to be well attended, and in this as well as other labours, Mr. Barff was for two years assisted by his son, Mr. J. Barff, who has recently removed to Tahiti. The schools at the principal and branch stations, contain upwards of 800 scholars, and the church has for some years past, comprised more than 400 members, a number which it is hoped will, under the Divine blessing, at no remote period, be equalled in the churches of the adjacent islands.

The out-stations among the Austral Islands, connected with this branch of the mission, had suffered severely from the ravages of disease, which had greatly diminished the number of the people, but appears to have stimulated the survivors to increased earnestness in seeking the inestimable blessings of personal religion, which, if it could not avert the stroke of death, afforded the only efficient support in the hour of its approach, and opened to its possessors the animating prospect of eternal life and blessedness.

At Tahiti, the favourable state in which Mr. Nott left the people continued for some time after his departure, and though the missionaries had to complain of the avidity with which many sought after temporal gain, to the

neglect of higher objects, they were encouraged by the accession of many, chiefly from among the young, who had been scholars in the schools, to the number of those united in Christian fellowship. The laws prohibiting the introduction and use of ardent spirits continued in force, and though many of the foreign traders employed every available means for conveying it clandestinely to the shore, intoxication very rarely occurred.

In the year 1837, Mr. Pritchard, whose residence at Papeete, the chief port in Tahiti, had afforded him frequent opportunities of preventing misunderstandings between the natives and foreigners, was, on the recommendation of officers in the navy who had visited the island, appointed British Consul at Tahiti. On his acceptance of the appointment, his official connexion with the Society as one of its missionaries ceased. But though no longer sustaining the missionary office, Mr. Pritchard is still held in high and just estimation by the directors and members of the Society, while he himself has also cherished the liveliest solicitude for the welfare of the natives, and has devoted his attention and efforts, as far as this could be done, without neglecting the duties of his official station, to the moral and spiritual welfare of the people.

Messrs. Williams and Nott, ever since their arrival in England, had forwarded to the missionaries, accounts of their labours, which excited the most pleasing expectations in connexion with their return. On the 12th of March, 1839, Mr. Williams arrived at Tahiti, accompanied by Messrs. Stevens and Johnson. The former was, on account of health, soon obliged to leave the islands; the latter had been sent out for the special purpose of establishing a Normal school, for the sons of chiefs and more intelligent native youths. This establishment was opened in the month of

May following, with eleven pupils, which in less than six months amounted to sixteen. Mr. Johnson continued in charge of the school until the year 1842, when being obliged by loss of health to proceed to New South Wales, it was left under the superintendence of Mr. Buchanan, who had removed from the Samoas to Tahiti for the purpose of introducing the Infant-school system among the people.

The hearts of the missionaries were cheered by the arrival of their honoured brother, Mr. Williams, and by the tidings he conveyed of the growing feeling in favour of missionary exertions, among all classes of the religious public in their native land, as well as by the gratifying supply of books in the Tahitian language, furnished by the Religious Tract Society* and by private Christians. But they were peculiarly encouraged by beholding the means of regular communication between the different islands and New South Wales, which the *Camden* supplied. Having visited Eimeo, Huahine, Raiatea, and Borabora, leaving Mr. and Mrs. Charter at the former, and Mr. and Mrs. Rodgeron at the latter; Mr. Williams in company with Mr. Pritchard, who was on his way to England, visited several of the Hervey Islands, and sailing from Rarotonga, reached the Samoas on the 2nd of May, 1839.

While the efforts and influence of the missionaries in promoting sobriety, order, and social improvement amongst the people, were viewed with disappointment and extreme dissatisfaction by many of the foreigners resorting to the

* Nearly 24,000 copies of small, but exceedingly valuable books, in the Polynesian languages, were granted by the Religious Tract Society, to Mr. Williams, for the use of the native Christians in Tahiti and Rarotonga; besides paper and casts for works to be printed in the islands.—*Letter from the Secretary of the Religious Tract Society.*

islands; others, both English* and American,† formed a more correct estimate of both, and bore honourable testimony to the advantages which the natives and foreigners derived from their presence and exertions.

On the 3rd of August, this year, Messrs. Howe and Pratt, accompanied by Mrs. Pitman, on her way to Barotonga, and Mr. John Barff, who had spent some years in England for the purpose of completing his education, arrived at Tahiti. Mr. Joseph, who had been detained in New South Wales, when the *Camden* sailed for the islands, arriving by the same conveyance, commenced his labours at Papeete, whence in the following year he removed to

* The captain of a whaling vessel writing to his relatives in London, from Tahiti, under date May 5th, 1839, remarks:—

“This is the most civilized place I have been at in the South Seas; it is governed by a queen, daughter of old Pomare, a dignified young lady about twenty-five years of age; they have a good code of laws; no spirits whatever are allowed to be landed on the islands; therefore the sailors have no chance of getting drunk, and are all in an orderly state, and work goes on properly; no boat allowed to be on shore after nine o'clock, constables at different stations put up all stragglers; and offenders are compelled to work on the public roads. This island is a complete garden; fruit of every description, wild in all directions, common property to all. Good beef, two-pence per lb.; oranges, the finest I have ever seen, four shillings per thousand; in fact, a child, as soon as it can climb a tree, is quite independent of its parents. It is one of the most gratifying sights the eye can witness, on a Sunday in their church, which holds about five thousand, to see the queen near the pulpit, and all her subjects around her, decently apparelled, and in seemingly pure devotion. I really never felt such a sensation of the real good of missionaries before. Samuel Harvey.”—*Missionary Chronicle*, December, 1839.

† Commodore Wilks, of the American exploring expedition, visited Tahiti towards the close of the same year, examined the children in school at Matavai, made presents to the most proficient, and to the native school-masters expressed his satisfaction at their appearance and progress, exhorted them to diligence, and told them that the people of America were interested in their happiness, and would rejoice to hear that they were improving in knowledge, and acting agreeably to the Gospel of Christ.—*Missionary Report*, 1841.

Papeuriri, where he has since laboured with encouraging prospects.

Mr. and Mrs. Howe having been induced at the earnest request of the missionaries, to undertake the superintendence of the South Sea Academy, from which Mr. and Mrs. Simpson were under the necessity of retiring, on account of the illness of Mr. Simpson, removed to Eimeo, and commenced their labours at Afareaitu; a station which had been under the care of a native teacher since Mr. Blossom's removal to Papeotoai, in 1837. Besides the care of the Academy, which was discontinued after the establishment of a school in England for the children of missionaries, Mr. Howe was able before the close of his first year at Afareaitu, to form an infant school, from which great advantages were anticipated.*

Mr. Nott having superintended the printing of the Bible in the Tahitian language, and thus accomplished the great object of his mission to England, sailed on the 18th of August, 1838, and in company with Mr. and Mrs. Drummond, reached Tahiti in the month of September, 1840. The British and Foreign Bible Society sent out by Mr. Nott three thousand copies of the Tahitian Bible, and an equal number of New Testaments, and a large portion of these being in the ship, in which Mr. Nott arrived, heightened the grateful joy with which he was received.

The importance which the people attached to the printing of the Bible, having alone induced them to consent to Mr. Nott's departure, their anxiety for his return was increased, and numbers had been for some time past hoarding their money,† in order to secure copies of the sacred

* Report, 1841, p. 29.

† It is only recently that the use of money has been understood by the people; but in consequence of the advancing intelligence and civilization

book, as soon as any should arrive. The missionaries and the most pious among the natives, justly regarded the copies of the Bible, which the people now, for the first time, beheld complete in their own language, as the richest treasure that had ever reached their shores; while the alarmingly painful circumstances of the mission, hereafter to be noticed, rendered it peculiarly seasonable, and greatly enhanced its value. The entire number of copies brought by Mr. Nott, were carefully distributed amongst the several stations, and immediately purchased by the people. Those who were so favoured as to obtain a copy from the first supply rejoiced as "one that findeth great spoil," and testified their sense of the worth of their treasure, by the care with which it was preserved, and the frequency and attention with which it was perused.* The books were plainly, but substantially bound, and the sum of two dollars was received in payment for each copy.

among them, it is fast superseding their former simple, and often unsatisfactory modes of exchange or barter.

* In a letter on this subject, addressed to the Secretary of the Bible Society, Mr. Pritchard observes: "The Bibles were received with the greatest avidity. Long before they reached Tahiti, many of the natives deposited their money in the hands of the missionaries, that they might be sure of obtaining them when they arrived."—*Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1842, p. 75.*

Mr. Darling, under date, December 12th, 1840, remarks: "It has been most encouraging to the brethren, to witness the great desire which has been manifested by all classes to obtain a copy; and now that they have them, they are daily reading them, not we hope without benefit. When our portion was brought home, the people came flocking to my house with the money in their hands, and would not leave until they had received a copy each."—*Missionary Magazine, March, 1842.*

Mr. Howe thus writes: "The Bibles have been bought up with great avidity by the people. This we regard as a very encouraging circumstance, inasmuch as it will add to our means of interesting the minds of the people; and, should the influences of the Holy Spirit descend upon us, we shall herein possess an additional guard against error and iniquity. May it be my happiness soon to witness scenes of profound contrition, holy indignation against sin, joy and peace in believing!"—*Missionary Report, 1842.*

The acquisition of the entire Bible in the native language is undoubtedly one of the most auspicious events in the history of Tahiti, second only in importance and influence to the abolition of idolatry, and the general profession of the Gospel; and, so long as any portion, however small, of genuine Christianity shall remain in the islands, it will be regarded, next to the arrival of the missionaries themselves, by whom, in harmonious co-operation with the Bible Society, it was conferred, as the richest gift the nation ever received.

Besides the occasion which the distribution of the books furnished to many of the people for testifying their desire after, and delight in, the inspired volume, and the evidently increased attention with which they perused its contents, it enabled the missionaries to add to the means already in operation for enlarging the acquaintance of the people with Divine truth, and impressing it more familiarly and forcibly upon their minds. This desirable object was attempted by the formation of Bible classes, which were generally held every morning at sunrise, before those attending them entered upon the ordinary engagements of the day. At these meetings, which were commenced and closed with prayer, portions of the Bible after being read by the natives, were explained and applied by the missionary. This mode of instruction was not new to the Tahitians, having been adopted with the separate portions of the Scriptures which the people had previously possessed, but it was now more agreeably and advantageously pursued, as the classes could refer with facility to other parts of the sacred volume in which the subject under consideration was also enforced or explained, and the lessons were followed in many instances with highly encouraging results.

The number of ships annually visiting the islands con-

tinued to increase, and, so far as the additional stimulants thus given to labour overcame the love of indolence, and the extension of traffic, the acquisition of property, and consequent multiplication of the means of civilization and social improvement were concerned, the state of the people was prosperous. And though, as a natural result, when religious principle was wanting, or only feebly exercised, covetousness and worldly-mindedness prevailed, the missionaries were cheered by witnessing in some who had long made a profession of religion, regular and persevering endeavours after spiritual improvement, and in others who had made no such profession, an abandonment of vicious practices, and a desire unknown before to secure the advantages, and exemplify the influence of that religion which heretofore they had neglected or despised. At one of the stations,* besides those that were re-admitted to the church, nearly fifty individuals were, during the ensuing year, added to the number of the communicants, which now amounted to 200.†

In the month of December of the year 1841, Mr. Smee, a missionary printer, reached Tahiti; when the press, which, since the departure of Mr. Bourne for the Leeward Islands in 1821, had been under the care of Mr. Darling, was removed to Wilks's Harbour. The peculiar circumstances and urgent necessities of the people rendered a prompt and adequate supply of religious and other books extremely important, and this it was hoped would soon be secured.

Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Smee, the mission was further strengthened by the Rev. Messrs. Jesson and McKean, who reached Tahiti in February, 1842, when the former entered upon the important station at Wilks's Harbour, and the latter commenced his labours at Matavai.

* Wilks's Harbour.

† Report for 1842, p. 25.

At no period during a long series of years had additional aid been more needed, especially at Papeete, than at the time when these brethren arrived. Mr. Pritchard was absent in England, and the native church which had recently received the gratifying accession to its numbers already noticed, was without a resident pastor, and its members exposed to peculiar perils, in consequence of their place of abode being the chief port on the island, and the scene of more licentiousness and vice connected with the shipping than any other station. These evils were greatly aggravated by the conduct of the French and American consuls, disgraceful alike to their own characters and the governments by which they were respectively appointed. These men, instead of respecting the native authorities, and promoting, on behalf of the countries of which they were the accredited agents, order and good government, determined to break through all restrictions, and in spite of the laws to the contrary, openly force the public sale of spirituous liquors.* "As a consequence," one of the missionaries writes, "I have seen more drunkenness at Eimeo during the last six months, than in seven years before, and it is increasing."†

Besides these causes of distress, there were, before the close of the year in which Mr. Jesson commenced his labours, at Papeete, not fewer than six Romish priests residing at the same station, and as part of a series of movements yet to be noticed, vigorously endeavouring to

* Mr. Henry, one of the senior missionaries, referring to this painful subject, about the same time, observes, "The foreign residents here are doing a great injury to the cause of religion, trampling on the laws of the land, and in reckless defiance of native law and native authority, encouraging and carrying on the sale of ardent spirits. In this they are stimulated by the example of all the foreign functionaries (the British only excepted), under whose protection they find shelter from deserved punishment."—*Report*, 1842, p. 27.

† *Missionary Report*, 1843, p. 3.

counteract the labours of the missionaries.* It was under these circumstances, already deeply distressing, that another source of anxiety and affliction appeared in the ravages of the small-pox, until then unknown throughout the islands, but brought in July, this year, by an American vessel. Amidst the mortality which this visitation occasioned, the missionaries endeavoured to urge upon the people undelayed attention to the wants of the soul, and exhorted them with all affection and earnestness to seek an interest in that salvation which is the only foundation of peace in the present life, as well as of hope for the life which is to come. During this season of trial they were cheered by the ground of hope which the faith and holiness of some who were removed by death afforded, that for them "to die was gain."

In the month of March, 1843, Mr. Pritchard arrived at Tahiti on his return from England. Messrs. Moore and Chisholm also arrived at the same time, having been sent out by the Society to strengthen the mission under the new and perilous circumstances in which it was then placed. Perplexing and alarming as the state of the people was at this time, in consequence of the intrigues and aggressions to which they had been exposed, the faithful and devoted missionaries were still cheered by the evidences, which even the seasons of severest trial afforded, that they had not laboured in vain. At Bogue Town, in Tairarabu, the labours of Mr. Orsmond, especially since his return from a visit to New South Wales, in 1841, for the benefit of his health, appear to have been rendered eminently useful. It was his privilege, during the year 1842, to admit to the fellowship of the church fifty-five individuals, whom he had reason to believe were sincere

* Missionary Report, p. 26.

and spiritually-minded believers. Besides these, four others were restored to the communion, from which they had been separated. The love of the Scriptures was among the most pleasing features of this gratifying revival of religion in the smaller peninsula, many of the people labouring indefatigably in order to obtain money enough to purchase a Bible, and travelling on foot through the whole night to obtain a copy.*

Mr. Henry, who went out originally in the first voyage of the *Duff*, though cheered by tokens of the Divine favour on his labours at Roby Town, yet on account of his advanced years returned to New South Wales with his family, in concurrence with the advice of the directors,† by whom his long and faithful services were highly and justly appreciated. The station thus left vacant was occupied by Mr. Thompson, who had recently returned from the Marquesas; but after residing a short time in New South Wales, Mr. Henry prepared to return to Tahiti, being unable to remain longer absent from a people among whom he had passed so many eventful years, and in whose welfare he had long taken so deep an interest.

The station at Papara, amidst many causes for lamentation and regret, continued to afford much encouragement to the faithful and devoted servant of the Lord by whom it was occupied. In one of his recent communications, Mr. Davies, the missionary labouring there, notices the addition of fifty individuals to the number of the communicants, all of whom, amounting to 466, had maintained a deportment becoming their Christian profession; and adds, that since the organization of the church in 1821, 800 individuals had been admitted to the privilege of Christian fellowship. Of these, a considerable number had been

* Report, 1843, p. 28.

† Ibid.

removed by death, in speaking of whom the venerable pastor observes, "In regard to this goodly number, 266 in all, most of whom, we hope, have safely arrived in the heavenly world, there is ground not for boasting but for thankfulness and humiliation; also for encouragement, as it proves that the means used have not been employed in vain."* Besides those who have been removed by death, or separated from the Christian fellowship, there were, when the last returns were forwarded, in the Georgian and Society Islands, upwards of 3000 communicants connected with the several churches.

On his way to Tahiti, in February, 1839, Mr. Williams visited Rarotonga, where he was welcomed with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of gladness and affection by the missionaries, chiefs, and people, to whom he had the pleasure of introducing Messrs. William Gill and Henry Royle, who had been appointed to this interesting field of missionary labour. Mr. Gill entered upon the important station of Arorangi, hitherto occupied by a native teacher; and Mr. and Mrs. Royle were recommended to proceed to Aitutake, the earliest station of the Society among the Hervey Islands.

Besides introducing the brethren from England to the scenes of their future labours, Mr. Williams had the happiness of conveying to Rarotonga 5000 copies of the New Testament in the native language, which had, during his residence in England, been printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. This invaluable treasure was received by the people with the liveliest expressions of joy. Reasons similar to those which operated at Tahiti, having induced the missionaries to sell, rather than give the books, they were cheerfully purchased at three shillings

* Report, 1843, p. 27.

per copy. All who possessed money, and were able to read, promptly applied for copies; and though, in consequence of the comparatively recent commencement of traffic between the natives and foreigners, and the small number of ships that touch at the island, money is exceedingly scarce, yet in a few days after the books had been landed, 19*l.* was received, and sent to the society by whom the books had been forwarded. The whole 5000 New Testaments were speedily and joyfully purchased by the inhabitants of Rarotonga, and other islands of the Hervey group.*

Arrangements were also made by Mr. Williams and the

* Writing to the British and Foreign Bible Society, under date, September 4th, 1842, in reference not only to the joy with which the Testaments had been received, but to the happy effects of their distribution, Mr. Pitman observes, "Not a few who have been received into the Saviour's fold, in relating the way in which they were brought to a saving acquaintance with the method of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, have pointed out various portions of Scripture which first impressing their minds, convinced them of the evil of sin, and ultimately led to an unreserved surrender of body and soul to Christ. For the last few years this island has been visited with a disease which has swept into eternity hundreds of its inhabitants. In our visits to the sick and dying, it is a very rare thing not to see by their side some portion of the Sacred Scriptures, which they read as their pains subside, or their weakness will allow: and it is cheering to our spirits to know, that, as they passed through 'the valley of the shadow of death,' the word of God has been their support and comfort. Many, we doubt not, will, through eternity, bless God for this inestimable gift.

"Great portions of it are committed to memory by the people: some, whole chapters; others, a whole gospel; and some, all the gospels.

"One young woman, by repeating a few verses every night at family prayer, has proceeded so far as the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and will, we expect, should her life be spared, ere this reaches you, have committed to memory the whole of the New Testament.

"Our people are very poor; but as soon as they are informed that to the utmost of their ability they must pay for their books, they immediately planted arrow-root for the purpose: and many have brought 'what they could,' in payment for books received." Before the close of 1841, the inhabitants of Rarotonga and Mangaia alone had, out of their extreme poverty, sent to the Bible Society upwards of 100*l.* in payment for the Sacred Scriptures.—*Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1842, p. lxxvi.*

missionaries in Rarotonga, for the establishment of an institution for educating youth of piety and ability to become native teachers. Besides the ordinary kinds of instruction received in the mission schools, it was intended to impart to pupils in this institution a clear and comprehensive knowledge of religious truth, to teach them the English language, and those mechanic arts which would be most valuable among the people to whom they might be sent.

This institution was placed under the care of Mr. Buzzacott, and commenced with eleven pupils,* who, it was hoped, would from the advantages it afforded them, acquire that maturity and stability of character, and those other qualifications which the inviting fields for native labour, not less than the existing state of the Hervey Islands, so imperatively required.

The missionaries, throughout the Pacific, have long felt the necessity of raising the character and qualifications of the native teachers. The latter have generally been intelligent and active men, capable of instructing the people in useful arts, as well as in reading and writing, and the more prominent principles and duties of religion; but higher qualifications than these have been desired, and with a view to affording them, Mr. Howe, at Eimeo, and three of the missionaries among the Navigators Islands, have devoted much of their attention to a number of young men, who are preparing to become native pastors or evangelists. In the mean time, it is highly encouraging to know that the agents hitherto employed have, with but few exceptions, been the means of conferring most important benefits on the communities in which they have laboured, and have secured the respect and esteem of those by whom they have been visited.†

* Life of Williams, p. 547.

† All the captains of the navy who have visited these islands, and seven-

In June, 1840, Mr. Royle, accompanied by Mr. Buzzacott, proceeded to Aitutake,* where he was cordially welcomed by the people, but found that the inefficiency of the native teachers, and the lawless conduct of unprincipled seamen, rendered the presence of a European missionary essential to the prosperity of the people. The moral requirements of the Gospel, as now enforced by the missionary, became obnoxious to a portion of the community, who, by a brief and determined hostility, during which the chapel was twice burnt, endeavoured to destroy the influence of Christianity, and expel its teachers. By the Divine blessing, and judicious and persevering efforts of the missionary, the views of the opponents were changed, and the entire population, about 2000,† became willing to receive instruction. Many have since afforded pleasing evidence that the labours of the Christian teacher had not been in vain, and some have departed from this world, leaving very gratifying reasons to hope that they were, through the experience of the grace and love of the Saviour, prepared for the blessedness of the world which is to come.‡ In the several schools, nearly 1,200 scholars, adults and children, were under instruction. § Maute,

ral of whom have strictly examined these native teachers, bear testimony to the fact of their ability to instruct their pupils in the knowledge of Scripture, the New Testament particularly.—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 159, p. 64.

* About a fortnight before the arrival of Messrs. Buzzacott and Royle, the captain of an English vessel touched at Aitutake. On board the ship was a native of the island, whom the captain had brought from New Zealand, and who, having a wife and children on shore, wished to remain with them. The people sent off another native to go in the ship, also a present of vegetables and fowls; but, notwithstanding this, the captain brought his vessel near the land, fired twice upon the settlement, and threatened to send his men on shore to scour the whole island. One of the shots struck a tree near which the chief and people were assembled, but providentially no lives were lost.—*Miss. Chron.*, August, 1840, p. 115.

† *Missionary Enterprises*, p. 19.

‡ Report for 1843, p. 33.

§ Foreigners visiting the islands have always found the missionaries willing to assist them in every honourable pursuit, and have also expe-

Mitiaro, and Mangaia, continue under the care of native teachers; and two years since, Mr. Krause, a German missionary from Central America, was provisionally engaged to labour in Atiu, but has since removed to the island of Tahaa, Mr. R. Gill having been appointed by the directors to the truly interesting island of Mangaia, sailed with Mr. Heath in the *John Williams*, in June last.

In the summer of 1842, Mr. and Mrs. Gill from Barotonga, spent three months at this island, and were highly gratified with the harmony and good-will prevailing among all classes, with the attention of the people to the instruction and improvement already possessed, and their earnest desires after still greater advantages. Much of Mr. Gill's time was devoted to the schools, in which instruction is given to about two thousand scholars; and to the three native churches, which contained six hundred members. Among the many wonders of Divine goodness, in connexion with missionary exertion which the isles of the Pacific present, few, if any, regarded either in their past history or present circumstances, are more remarkable than that which the island of Mangaia presents.

rienced their hospitality and aid in seasons of affliction. In August, 1833, the ship *Washington* from Sag Harbour, United States, arrived at this island, Captain Osborne, commander, being dangerously ill; Mr. Royle had him brought to his own residence, and endeavoured to supply, as far as possible, the attention and comforts of a home. Speaking of the last hours of the invalid, who then appeared recovering, he says, "In the evening, I spent, as usual, some time with him in prayer, reading the Holy Scriptures, and religious conversation, and left him about nine o'clock. At midnight, I was awoke by the hurried tapping at my door of his attendant, one of the ship's company. I was immediately by his bed-side, but he was unconscious of my presence. Life was fast ebbing. My family and domestics knelt around the dying stranger, while I commended his parting spirit to the grace and mercy of our Heavenly Keeper. In the course of half-an-hour afterwards his soul departed. His remains were deposited within the enclosure of the mission chapel, in the presence of the officers and crew of the *Washington*."—*Report*, 1843, p. 20.

The able and devoted missionaries in Rarotonga, though long and painfully familiar with the ravages of disease and the inroads of death among their people, were in the month of October, 1839, deeply afflicted by the death of Makea, the principal chief or king of the island. He was, among his own countrymen, an extraordinary man, and, since his reception of the Gospel, had taken a prominent part in every effort that had been made to establish it in Rarotonga, or extend it to other islands. To the missionaries he had been uniformly grateful and kind, using his influence to promote the moral and spiritual welfare of his people, and enforcing his wishes, in this respect, by his own consistent and honourable example.

No period of very long duration, since the discovery of the island by the missionaries, has transpired in which the Rarotongans have not been visited by some heavy calamity. But the ravages of a disease, apparently scorbutic and consumptive, have within the last few years swept off many hundreds of the people. In addition to the prevailing mortality, this island was in the month of February, 1842, visited by terrific storms, which not only blew down the native dwellings and the spacious chapels, but destroyed vast numbers of valuable bread-fruit and other trees, threatening the suffering inhabitants with all the terrors of famine as well as disease.

Amidst these successive trials, Mr. Pitman has been enabled to continue his faithful and beneficial labours, at Gnatangia, and its interesting out-station, Tititaveka. The church of which he is the pastor includes one hundred and thirty-four members, and the schools contain two thousand and fifty scholars. From among the inhabitants of these stations, two hundred and seventy-six were removed by death during the year 1842. Under bereavements so great, it was to the devoted missionary and his truly

valuable native assistants, as well as to the survivors of the departed, a source of unspeakable consolation to feel warranted in cherishing the hope that the greater number of those taken away were not strangers to the experience of Divine mercy, nor unprepared for the solemn change.

Mr. Buzzacott, who continues his indefatigable and multiform labours at Avarua, though called upon to mourn over the ravages of death, is not without pleasing evidence that his efforts continue to be honoured by the Great Head of the church, as the means of spiritual good to increasing numbers. In 1842, one hundred and twelve individuals were united in Christian fellowship, and nearly nine hundred were under instruction in the schools. The brethren had also finished the translation of the Old and New Testament; and Mr. Buzzacott, in addition to the efforts he has made to teach the people useful arts, and thus promote their temporal welfare,* had printed the books of Genesis and the Psalms. In this important work the brethren have been greatly assisted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, who have also printed a second edition of five thousand copies of the New Testament, three thousand of which have been sent for circulation in the Hervey Islands.

At Arrorangi, Mr. Gill is encouraged, by increased

* "The natives have not only been instructed in the duties of religion, but also in useful arts; they now manufacture furniture, tables, chairs, and sofas with cane bottoms, so that the visitor is not a little surprised to meet with all the conveniences and the comforts of a well-furnished house. They have a church, capable of accommodating about one thousand persons, a school opposite to it, with a printing press, and a public market-place covered over. 'It was pleasing,' says Captain Belcher, 'to witness the influence Mr. Buzzacott has acquired. Such men by their conduct and labours, improve all around them. They prove their superiority by their ability to instruct others, and they leave behind them historical monuments of their utility, in the increased civilization and happiness of the people.'"—*Edinburgh Review*, No. cxlix. p. 65.

attention to the means of spiritual improvement, especially among the young. The church contained one hundred and seventeen members, and the schools eight hundred and ten scholars; thus presenting, in an island not known twenty years ago, the pleasing spectacle of three thousand seven hundred and sixty-one inhabitants under regular instruction, and upwards of three hundred and sixty individuals united in Christian fellowship.

CHAPTER XIII.

Departure of Mr. Williams and friends from England in the *Camden*—Proceedings at the Cape of Good Hope, and in New South Wales—Arrival of the ship at the Navigators' Islands—Death of Mr. Barnden—Interesting circumstances attending the selection of Mr. Williams's place of residence in Upolu—State of the Samoan mission—Arrangement between the missionaries of the London and Wesleyan Societies, in reference to their future labours among the Navigators' and the Fijii Islands—Honourable conduct of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in relation to the Samos—Importance of unity and confidence among the directors and supporters of missions—Arrival of missionaries—Departure of Mr. Williams on his last voyage—Visit to Rotuma—Favourable reception of the native missionaries at Tanna—Arrival at Erromanga—Intercourse with the natives—Escape of Captain Morgan and Mr. Cunningham—Death of Messrs. Williams and Harris—Detention of the bodies by the natives—Voyage to New South Wales—Departure of H.M.S. *Favourite* for Erromanga—Recovery of the remains of Messrs. Williams and Harris—Effect of the tidings of Mr. Williams's death—His funeral and monument—Estimate of Mr. Williams's missionary character—Second voyage of the *Camden* to the New Hebrides—Landing of native missionaries at Erromanga—Missionary meeting at Sydney—State of the Samoan mission—Third voyage to the New Hebrides and New Caledonia—Landing of Messrs. Nisbet and Turner at Tanna—Hostility of the native priests—Civil war among the natives—Peril of the missionaries—Providential arrival of the means of deliverance—Removal to Samoa—Massacre of Captain Ebril and crew, together with the native teachers at the Isle of Pines—State of the missions in the Hervey and Samoan Islands—Visit of Mr. Heath to England—Departure of the *John Williams* from London.

THE *Camden*, a vessel of about 200 tons burden, in which Mr. Williams had visited Tahiti, had been purchased by the Society, with funds collected by means of the impressive and effective representations of Mr. Williams, whose proceedings while in England belong more properly to the progress of the Society at home, than to the account of its missions abroad. In this vessel, whose equipment

and departure excited feelings scarcely less enthusiastic and extensive than those which attended the sailing of the *Duff*, Mr. Williams, accompanied by nine missionaries, seven of whom were married, had sailed from Gravesend amidst the liveliest demonstrations of affection and interest, on the 1st of April, 1838, and on the 19th of the same month, finally departed from his native shores.

On the 1st of July, the missionary ship reached the Cape of Good Hope, where, in fraternal and affectionate intercourse with Dr. Philip and other friends, and mutual co-operation in furtherance of their great objects, Mr. Williams and his friends remained eighteen days, when the *Camden* pursued her voyage to New South Wales. On the 10th of September, they arrived at Sydney, where they remained until the 25th of October.

Mr. Williams and his companions were cordially welcomed by the Rev. Dr. Ross, Messrs. Crook, Bourne, and the friends of missions in the colony, and received assurances of deep interest in their enterprise, and earnest desires to aid in its accomplishment, from his Excellency the Governor and a large portion of the community. During their stay, multitudes listened with lively joy to the accounts of the progress of the Gospel in the Pacific, and an auxiliary society was formed, which promises the most important advantages to the Society at home, and the missions among the islands.

After a pleasant voyage from Sydney, the *Camden* reached Tutuila, in the Navigators' Islands, on the 24th of November, and shortly afterwards proceeded with Mr. Barnden,* to Upolu, where the vessel anchored in Apia

* Shortly after the arrival of the *Camden*, the mission sustained a deeply afflictive bereavement, in the death of Mr. Barnden, who was drowned while bathing, on the 31st of January, 1839. He was much beloved by the people, and highly respected by his brethren, who had cherished great hopes of lasting and extensive benefit from his valuable labours, and excel-

Bay. Mr. and Mrs. Williams, and his son and daughter-in-law, as well as the brethren for the Navigators' Islands, Messrs. Day, Stair, and Buchanan, were joyfully welcomed by the missionaries, whose number had been diminished by the death of Mrs. Heath; he was also gladly received by the native Christians, who appeared to derive new courage, vigour, and hopes from the return of their honoured friend, and the arrival of additional teachers; more especially, as Mr. Stair, a missionary printer, had brought a printing press, and all the appliances necessary for producing books in the islands, and Mr. Buchanan had been engaged at the Cape of Good Hope, for the purpose of introducing the system of infant school instruction among them.

Mr. Williams rejoiced in the labours of the devoted native teachers, who, with very few exceptions, had been faithful to their sacred calling, and in the success which had attended the labours of the brethren who had entered the field since his departure for England. The missionaries who had reached the islands in the *Camden* repaired to the most necessitous stations, and the joy their arrival had produced was only diminished by the regret that their number was not more adequate to the wants and desires of the nation.

Mr. Williams himself, complying with the earnest solicitations of the people, and desirous to raise the recently returned exiles from the depression which they still felt, took up his abode at Fasetootai, in the vanquished division of Aana. He was journeying through that settlement, when the chiefs and people, in a most affecting manner, implored him to have compassion on them and fix his dwelling

lent spirit. His loss was severely felt, and deeply lamented by his brethren, and especially by the people among whom he had laboured.—*Missionary Chronicle*, August, 1839.

amongst them. As the district seemed eligible, he slightly intimated his assent, and without further delay, nearly five hundred men proceeded to Apia, a distance of twenty miles, where he had been residing, seized every package on which they saw the letter "W.," and without waiting for refreshment or rest, commenced their return in single file along the shore, laughing and shouting, or singing as they went,

"Wiliamu is coming, is coming, is coming,
He is bringing the *Lota** to Faasetootai."†

In a single day they built a commodious house for their teacher,‡ and sought by every possible means to show their grateful sense of his kindness in coming amongst them, not always without danger from the envious feelings of some of those by whom they had been conquered.

At this time, Messrs. Hardie and Macdonald were labouring in the large island of Savaii. Messrs. Heath and Mills, who had been residing in Upolu and Manono, were joined by Mr. Day. The press commenced its operations in May, 1839, at Upolu; and in the same island, the infant school system was commenced by Mr. Buchannan. After the death of Mr. Barnden, Mr. Murray was the only European missionary in Tutuila, but he was about this time greatly encouraged in his efforts to benefit the seamen visiting this land, by the conversion of one who had absconded from his ship. His name is Matthew Hunkin; he has rendered important services to the mission, and

* Gospel, or Christian religion.

† *Life of Williams*, p. 533.

‡ In describing the place of his abode, Mr. Williams observes, "At the back of our house is the large mountain which was in flames and the scene of conflict when I first came. A few paces from the house are large black patches where the fires were kindled in which the bodies of the victims were burnt at the close of the war, and a short distance farther, is the spot where Tamafaigna was killed."—*Life of Williams*, p. 532.

appears anxious to devote his life to the welfare of the Samoans.

Christian churches had been gathered at all the stations, schools were required by the people more rapidly than teachers could be qualified to take charge of them, and those established were well attended. In Upolu and Manono, nearly six thousand scholars were under instruction, and more than double that number attended the preaching of the Gospel, while the communicants amounted to one hundred and thirty-four. At this time, 1838, there were in Upolu twenty thousand natives who professed Christianity; on Savaii, between twelve and thirteen thousand; on Manono, one thousand; and in Tutuila, six thousand: altogether, nearly forty thousand, within the short space of eight years after the visit of the first Christian missionaries to the islands.*

When the missionaries arrived in 1836, they found on the island of Savaii, Mr. Turner, one of the Wesleyan missionaries from Tonga. Some of the chiefs and people having in the interval, between the settlement of the native teachers, by Messrs. Williams and Barff, and the arrival of the missionaries from England, invited Mr. Turner to Samoa, and he had been induced by the prospects of usefulness presented to comply with their wishes; he was afterwards joined by another Wesleyan missionary, from the Fijii Islands. As the missionaries from the two Societies now occupied the same island, and the native teachers under both laboured sometimes in the same village, inconveniences were occasionally experienced, and greater evils feared, should difference on civil or political affairs lead rival chieftains to attach themselves to the missionaries of the different societies.

Missionary Chronicle, March, 1840.

In the mean time, the arrangement of the missionaries of the London and Wesleyan Societies, that the former should occupy the Samoas, the latter the Fijii and other islands in that direction, had been communicated to the directors of the respective Societies in London, and confirmed by them, prior to the departure of the missionaries from the London Society. The committee of the Wesleyan Society sent out instructions to their missionaries to act accordingly, but the Wesleyan missionaries, supposing that the committee of their Society were not fully acquainted with the state of the people, deemed it best to remain in Savaii till further communications, in answer to those they had sent, should be received.

By the friends of both parties in London, it was deemed highly inexpedient, on many accounts, that the missionaries of the two Societies should occupy the same island, or even the same group; and after amicable and fraternal conference between the directors of the London and the committee of the Wesleyan Societies, the previous arrangement was promptly and very cordially confirmed by the latter, who confided to the care of Mr. Williams their instructions to the Wesleyan missionaries, to carry their decisions into effect. Writing on this subject, the former observes: "On my arrival, I waited on our Wesleyan brethren, Messrs. Turner and Wilson, and delivered to them the document intrusted to me by the Secretaries of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and after a pleasing interview, it was resolved by those brethren that they would not only retire from the Samoas, but use every effort to induce all their adherents to seek instruction from us.* The conduct of the Wesleyan missionaries on this occasion was highly commendable, and it is to be

* *Missionary Chronicle*, January, 1840, p. 4.

hoped that no circumstances will induce them to deviate from the intention thus expressed, as the unity, peace, and consequent prosperity of the Samoan churches, as well as the continuance of tranquillity throughout the islands, may depend in a great measure on the absence of all cause of difference or disunion in regard to their religious instructors.

However encouraging the prospects of usefulness to the Wesleyan missionaries in the Navigators' Islands may have been, the course pursued by the Societies at home, in reference thereto, was alike dictated by sound judgment, and correct and honourable Christian feeling. The directors of the London Missionary Society, as soon as they learned that a missionary from the Wesleyan Society had gone to the Samoas, communicated, in all Christian confidence, with that Society, and were met in the same frank and Christian spirit by the members of the Wesleyan committee, who at once stated that the step had been taken without their knowledge, and repeated the assurance of their intention to adhere to the arrangements already made. This intention was afterwards officially communicated in a series of resolutions adopted at a full meeting of the committee on the 6th of December, 1837. From these resolutions the following are selected as illustrative of the just and generous views of the Society:—

“Resolved unanimously,

“That in conformity with the arrangement formerly entered into by this committee with the directors of the London Missionary Society, as recognised in this committee's resolution of February 24th, 1836, and with the instructions soon afterwards transmitted to our missionaries in the Friendly Islands, the Secretaries be directed to take the earliest opportunity of informing the Rev. Peter Turner, who, without the previous knowledge of the committee, and before he had received those instructions, had commenced a Wesleyan mission in the Navigators' Islands, that the committee have fully and carefully considered the new and unforeseen state of things which has arisen in those islands, in consequence of Mr. Turner's visit, and have given due

weight to the considerations and representations connected therewith ; but that, in the fear of God, and in obedience to those principles of unchangeable equity and fair dealing, and of Christian brotherhood and union, which ought to regulate, in such cases, the conduct of kindred societies towards each other, they now deliberately confirm and renew their former decision on this question ; as being, in their judgment, under all the circumstances, both right and fitting in itself, and, eventually, most likely to promote, on a large and general scale, the evangelization of the heathen population of the Polynesian Islands, and the peace and edification of the infant churches already established."

A resolution respecting the removal of Mr. Turner follows, after which the subjoined is added :—

"Third, That the committee take this opportunity of expressing the sincere gratification with which, as disciples of our common Lord, they have learned the cheering fact, that the spiritual wants and claims of the Navigators' Islands have been already so promptly and efficiently met by the London Society, in the appointment to that group of six of their European missionaries, now actually labouring there, and of five others, about to proceed to the same stations ;—and of assuring their excellent and beloved brother, the Rev. John Williams, of their fervent wishes and prayers for his safe and prosperous voyage, and for the abundant blessing of God on himself and his colleagues,—on all their future labours among the heathen,—and on the Society at large under whose auspices and direction they are employed."*

The confidence expressed by Dr. Bunting in communicating the document from which the above is taken, that the principles exemplified would be regarded as sacred by the agents of both Societies, was very cordially reciprocated by the directors of the London Society, and the assurance thus given has since been amply verified by the committee of the Wesleyan Society, in a manner truly honourable to themselves, and worthy of the imitation of other societies who may, by the proceedings of their missionaries, be placed in similar circumstances.

Nothing is more essential to the steady growth of the feeling in favour of missions at home, nothing can more satisfactorily indicate the Divine origin of the work, and the sound principles on which it is prosecuted, than affectionate harmony, frankness, and confidence between

* London Missionary Society MS.

those belonging to the different sections of the church, who are employed in carrying it forward. And in reference to the heathen, in reference to the opponents of missions, whether labouring to supplant truth by the propagation of error, or to counteract its influence by profligacy and crime, and in reference also to the stability of the churches that may be gathered from among the heathen, nothing, excepting Divine influence is more indispensable to success, than affectionate union and harmonious co-operation among Protestant missionaries in every quarter of the globe. No arrangements for securing and perpetuating these advantages will be more effectual than the refraining, as a general principle, from placing the missionaries of different societies in the same locality.

“The field is the world;” almost every part of it is now accessible to the Christian missionary; and while the zeal, devotedness, and liberality of the disciples of Christ in Europe and America, have not yet sent one missionary to every million of human beings destitute of a knowledge of the true God, the instances are rare, with the exception of large cities and great centres of civilization and intercourse, that either require or justify the establishment of missions from several societies in one place, and among the same people. Few who have reflected much on the progress of the Gospel through the world, or who anticipate with the confidence which Divine revelation inspires its ultimate and universal diffusion, can fail to be impressed with the importance of a wise and careful distribution of the labourers over the wide-spreading fields yet awaiting cultivation.*

The missionaries in the Samoas had endeavoured to

* One of the most recent writers on the subject, after representing it as “of the greatest importance that the divisions which unhappily prevail in the Christian church at home, should not be sown among the unestablished converts in missionary churches,” observes: “Most carefully therefore

acquaint their converts with the sacred duty of endeavouring to extend the knowledge of the Gospel. A missionary meeting was held in the district of Aana in 1837, and afterwards at every other station. Shortly after Mr. Williams's return from Tahiti, in May, 1839, he attended a meeting of this kind at Manono, and deeply interested the people with an account of the islands he had visited in his recent voyage. The numerous assembly were also greatly delighted with the exercises of the children in the infant school, under the instruction of Mr. Buchannan. During the summer, a Christian church was gathered at the station occupied by Mr. Williams, whose character and efforts had excited such admiration among the people, that, during the short time he resided there, he was visited by the greater part of the inhabitants of the entire group.*

On the 26th of October, Mr. and Mrs. Pratt arrived in the *Camden* from Tahiti, accompanied by Mr. Harris, a gentleman of piety, education, and respectable connexions in England, who in search of health had undertaken a voyage first to New South Wales, and subsequently to the South Sea Islands, where he remained some time, and became so deeply interested in the progress of the Gospel, that he determined to proceed to England, offer his services to the Society, and, if accepted, devote his life to its propagation among the islands of the Pacific.

On the return of the *Camden*, Mr. Williams prepared to enter upon the great work which for some years past had occupied his thoughts, excited his deepest solicitude, and called forth his most fervent prayer, viz., the introduction of the Gospel to the numerous, extensive, and populous islands between the Friendly Islands and New Holland.

should each society avoid entering on those spheres of labour which are already occupied by other societies with sound principles."—*Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, on Church Missions*, p. 39.

* Life of Williams, p. 552.

At a general meeting of the native teachers, when thirty of the best instructed and most approved amongst them offered themselves, twelve were chosen to accompany their beloved missionary. After several devotional meetings, at the last of which Mr. Williams delivered a farewell address, from Acts xx. 36—38, so deeply affecting, that minister and people wept together, and nothing but sighs and sobbing were heard throughout the assembly, he parted from his beloved and affectionate family on the 3rd of November, 1839, and proceeded to Apia.

Two days afterwards, in company with Mr. Harris, Mr. Cunningham, and twelve native teachers, he commenced his long-projected voyage, and on the 12th of November reached Rotuma, 600 miles from Samoa. Here Mr. Williams found several chiefs who appeared willing to receive native teachers; two from Manono were left among them. The *Camden* pursued her voyage towards the New Hebrides, and reached the island of Fatuna on the 17th of November, when, Mr. Williams having been greatly encouraged by his friendly intercourse with the people, continued his voyage, and reached the island of Tanna on the morning of the 18th. As the natives seemed exceedingly friendly, three native teachers were introduced to the chiefs of the place where they landed. These chiefs appeared highly pleased with the prospect of the teachers residing amongst them. They remained on shore all night, and as on the following morning they reported favourably of the treatment they had received, their little property was brought from the ship, and deposited with great care in the house of the chief under whose protection they had landed. Having committed them in fervent and affectionate prayer to the Most High, their beloved missionary left them, grateful for the favour they had found in the eyes of the heathen, and cheered by the

hopes which the events of the day had inspired in relation to the regions yet to be explored. These hopes were succeeded by a sense of the vastness and responsibility of the work, which caused to Mr. Williams a sleepless night.

On the morning of the following day, the 20th, the *Camden* reached Dillon's Bay, in Erromanga, an island supposed to be about 150 miles in circumference, and, accompanied by Captain Morgan, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Williams proceeded to the shore for the purpose of opening friendly communication with the people. Mr. Harris landed, followed by Mr. Williams and Mr. Cunningham. The frankness of the visitors, and the distribution of a few presents, seemed to have won their confidence; and the Europeans, leaving the spot on which they had landed, walked along the beach for some distance, and then turning by the bank of a stream, proceeded towards the interior, accompanied by a number of natives. Mr. Cunningham was picking up new kinds of shells on the banks of the stream, and Mr. Williams was reciting the Samoan numerals to a crowd of boys, one of whom was repeating them after him, when a terrific yell was heard, and Mr. Harris was seen to rush from among the bushes, and fall in the water under the clubs of the natives. Mr. Cunningham called to Mr. Williams, and ran as for his life towards the boat, which, though closely pursued by a native, he reached in safety at the same moment with Captain Morgan. Mr. Williams ran towards the sea, and fell forwards into the water, followed by a native, who struck him several times with his club; other natives followed with clubs and arrows, and though the boat was not above eighty yards from the spot where he fell, and every nerve was strained to effect his deliverance, his life was destroyed before his friends had passed half the distance. A number of natives immediately dragged the body to the beach, striking it with their clubs in the most furious

manner, and a crowd of boys gathered round and beat the lifeless corpse with stones, till the waves dashed red with the blood of their victim.

His friends in the boat, frantic with agony and horror, proceeded towards the spot in hopes of securing the body, but the stones and arrows of the natives, one of which passed through the boards lining the boat, obliged them to relinquish the attempt, and proceed to the ship, in which they hastened towards the shore. When within about a mile of the beach, on which the body was still lying, a crowd of natives rushing to the spot, and bearing the body away, destroyed all hopes of obtaining it, and left them under feelings of indescribable despondency and anguish, to pursue their melancholy voyage to New South Wales.*

As soon after the arrival of the *Camden* at Sydney as the first pangs of distress which the intelligence occasioned had subsided, the committee of the Auxiliary Missionary Society requested of the Governor that a ship of war might be sent, not to revenge the death, but to recover, if possible, the remains of the martyred missionary and his companion. Sir George Gipps, who had been deeply interested in Mr. Williams's labours, humanely granted the request, and on the 1st of February, 1840, Captain Croker, commanding H.M. ship *Favourite*, accompanied by Mr. Cunningham, sailed from New South Wales. On the 27th they reached Erromanga, when the captain and his second lieutenant, accompanied by Mr. Cunningham, proceeded to the shore; the natives fled in all directions, and when, at length, communications were opened with them, they confessed, that, with the exception of some of the bones, the bodies had been devoured. These bones, including the skulls, were, after considerable delay, obtained; and satisfied that they were the only remains of the murdered men, the Captain hastened from

* Missionary Magazine, June, 1840, p. 82.

the fatal shore, and on the 24th of March, reached the Samoas.

The first canoe that approached the ship was steered by an aged man, who, as soon as near enough to be heard, inquired after Wiliamu; and when the native teachers on board told him he was dead, he involuntarily dropped his paddle, and bowed his head and wept.

At the dead hour of night, the tidings were conveyed to the missionary's beloved and solitary widow, paralyzing for a season all thought and feeling; and as the mournful intelligence spread through the island, it involved every household in the deepest distress. Multitudes resorted to the dwelling of the bereaved and mourning family, to condole with the sufferers and express their own deep sorrow, bewailing their loss, and exclaiming in almost frantic distress, "Alas! Wiliamu; alas! our father."

The remains of Mr. Williams, with those of Mr. Harris, were, at Mrs. Williams's desire, interred at Apia, near the chapel, by the side of those of the beloved and lamented Barnden. At the funeral, Captain Croker, the officers, seamen, and marines of the *Favourite*, preceded the coffin, which was followed by the missionaries, and an immense concourse of weeping natives. A discourse was delivered by Mr. Hardie in English, and Mr. Heath in Samoan; after which, at the wish of the captain, the marines fired thrice over the grave. On the spot where the remains of the honoured man of God repose, a monument was erected, bearing the following inscription, written by Captain Croker: "Sacred to the memory of the Rev. John Williams, father of the Samoan and other missions, aged forty-three years and five months, who was killed by the cruel natives of Erromanga, on the 20th of November, 1839, while endeavouring to plant the Gospel of peace on their shores."*

* Life of Williams, p. 589.

Among the other islands, and especially at Rarotonga and the Hervey group, the melancholy tidings excited feelings of sorrow and distress scarcely inferior to those experienced at Samoa ;* and in England, no event connected with the missionary movements of modern times had produced more solemn, intense, and mournful feelings. All felt that one of the most efficient, indefatigable, and, through the Divine blessing, successful labourers which the great Head of the church had condescended to employ, had been removed at a time and in a manner that silenced all human interrogation ; and while it required all to bow with profound submission to the Divine will, seemed to say, "Be still, and know that I am God."

Mr. Williams's loss was indeed as justly as it was deeply and universally felt. He was richly invested with rare endowments for the high and holy enterprise in which his life was spent and sacrificed. He has bequeathed to posterity an example of activity, devotedness, purity, and love, which all future missionaries may advantageously follow ; while he has left a name and a memorial, in connexion with the loftiest aspirings of the human soul and the future triumphs of the Gospel, that will never cease to be ranked among the choicest treasures which the church can possess. Among the rare endowments which he so richly shared, the most conspicuous were those that were most practical. The love that all hearts cherished for him is the most unequivocal evidence that benevolence and love were among the ruling feelings of his own bosom. His abilities, natural and acquired, his wide-spreading range of aim and action, his admirable and uniform identification of himself with the people, blending inseparably their advancement in everything important and valuable with his own satisfaction and happiness, and his subordina-

* Life of Williams, p. 590.

tion of all attainments, influence, and efforts, to the extension of the Gospel and the spiritual benefit of the people, combine to render him one of the most honoured messengers of mercy that the church has sent forth, or the heathen world has received.*

About the same time that the *Favourite* arrived at Samoa, the pious and sorrowing Captain Morgan returned in the *Camden*, and as soon as the first shock which the tidings of the fatal catastrophe produced had subsided, a meeting of the missionaries was held, at which Captain Croker, who took great interest in the mission, and throughout the whole of the mournful service in which he was engaged, acted with the consideration, affability, and kindness of a gentleman and a true Christian, presided. At this meeting it was decided, in dependence on the Divine guidance and protection, that the great work, in entering upon which their honoured brother had fallen, should be prosecuted by his survivors, and Mr. Heath was requested to visit the New Hebrides and New Caledonia, for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of the people, and, wherever practicable, settling native teachers amongst them.

On the 17th of April, Mr. Heath, with ten native teachers, sailed for Tutuila, touched at Rotuma, and proceeding to the fertile and populous island of Tanna, where he landed two teachers in addition to those previously left by Mr. Williams, took on board a friendly chief to act as

* To the present brief notice of this honoured man much might be added, but to those who knew him it is not needed, and for others, even to the latest posterity, the vigorous and elaborate analysis of his character, and the comprehensive range of its illustrations given by Dr. Campbell in "The Martyr of Erromanga;" together with the truly valuable and circumstantial memoir of the Rev. E. Prout, in his *Life of Williams*, will furnish information and suggest reflections which cannot fail alike to impress and to benefit all by whom they may be read.

interpreter, and then sailed to Niua, or Immar, one of the New Hebrides, where he succeeded in leaving two teachers among the people. As the chief from Tanna had friends at Erromanga, they proceeded thither, and heard from the natives that most of those engaged in the murder of the missionaries were dead. With many prayers and mingled feelings they left, under the care of chiefs who promised to be friendly to them, two teachers, on a part of the island about 50 miles distant from the spot where Messrs. Williams and Harris fell, and then returned to Tanna, where they landed the aged chief Naurita, grateful for the services he had rendered, in enabling them to place messengers of mercy on the very island where their honoured predecessor had sacrificed his life.

On the 13th of May, the *Camden* reached the Isle of Pines, a lofty and exceedingly picturesque island, thickly wooded with groves of pine or cedar trees. After friendly intercourse with the people, and assurances of protection from two of the chiefs, two native teachers, who had remained some time alone among the people, were left to endeavour to introduce among them the knowledge of the true God, and to prepare the way for European labourers in this important island. On the 18th, the *Camden* reached the large island of New Caledonia, supposed to be 220 or 250 miles long, and 50 broad,* inhabited by a thinly scattered, but apparently harmless people. The natives seemed friendly, but the native teachers being unwilling through fear to remain amongst them, the *Camden* pursued her voyage, and reached Sydney on the 9th of June. On the 24th of the same month, a missionary meeting was held in Dr. Ross's chapel, the interest of which was greatly heightened by the statements of Mr.

* Malte Brun, vol. iii. p. 587.

Heath, and the presence of a number of natives of the islands, two of whom addressed the assembly.

On his return to the islands, Mr. Heath visited Pitcairn's Island,* and having been highly gratified with the order, industry, and apparent comfort of its interesting inhabitants, reached Samoa in January, 1841. Mr. Drummond, who accompanied Mr. Heath from Tahiti, entered upon his labours in Savaii, in conjunction with Messrs. Macdonald and Pratt. The progress of education and moral improvement continued to advance at most of the stations; those who were regular in their attention to religious duties, and those who, the missionaries had reason to hope, were sincere in the expression of their desires after greater attainments in personal religion themselves, were using their best endeavours to impress others with a sense of the necessity and importance of the subject; while the difference between those who were in earnest, and those who in adopting the profession of Christianity had merely followed the movements of the multitude with whom they were associated, became daily more conspicuous and definite.

In the island of Tutuila, a deep and general solicitude after the blessings of salvation, commencing in the family of the missionary, and at the village of Vaitagi, about 10 miles distant, in November, 1839, had extended to other districts, and would, it was hoped, be followed by important and lasting results. Numbers who had until recently been careless, immoral, and vicious, some of them notoriously so, having been awakened to a deep concern about the salvation of their souls and their destiny in the world to come, abandoned their former practices, and became humble, docile Christians. The deep and solemn impression produced in

* *Missionary Magazine*, October, 1841, p. 160.

the minds of the people, the holy, decisive, and apparently entire change of character, which, in so many instances, it appeared to produce, encouraged the missionaries to regard the remarkable and delightful transformation which they beheld, as fruits of the extraordinary influence of the Holy Spirit on the minds of the people.

Mr. Murray, the devoted missionary at this island, was, in March, 1840, joined by Mr. Slatyer, who entered upon the station of Leone, formerly occupied by the lamented Mr. Barnden. Mr. Harbut joined the mission at the same time, and commenced his labours in Upolu, in which the district, under the care of one missionary, extended upwards of 60 miles, and some of the native Christians travelled 70 miles in order to attend a meeting of the church, and be present at the administration of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. During the year 1840, the missionaries, among other publications, commenced a periodical in the native language, which promised to become a means of great benefit to the people. During the year 1840, Mr. Heath admitted 251 individuals to Christian fellowship. Mr. Harbut, who, assisted by native teachers, labours in the district of Atua, which extends about 56 miles along the coast, and contains nearly 5000 inhabitants, had the happiness of witnessing in 1841 a remarkable attention to religion among the people, and of admitting to the communion of the church 62 individuals.

In the island of Tutuila, which contains about 4300 inhabitants, of whom 4000 have renounced heathenism, the deep and general religious feeling which had gladdened the heart of the missionary, at the original station, during 1840, was continued throughout the year 1841. The same gracious influence was also experienced by the inhabitants of Leone, and promised equally rich and lasting fruits.

Though not exempt from trials on account of the instances of instability or defection among their converts, the missionaries were encouraged by the increasing numbers of those whom they had reason to hope had become the subjects of a divine and permanent change of heart. Mr. Hardie, at Sapapalii, the largest island of the group, had the happiness of admitting during the year 1842, 131 individuals to the church under his care, which contained 496 communicants. In May, 1842, the venerable chief Maliotoa, who welcomed the first mission, was removed by death.

In the islands of Upolu and Manono, the presence of the missionaries, and the influence of the Gospel of peace on the hearts of the Christians, restrained the infuriated and vindictive feelings of the natives on more than one occasion. Once, after hostilities had commenced, and the combatants were arrayed against each other, when the missionaries appeared, numbers at their entreaties gave up their weapons of destruction,* and substituted negotiation for conflict. Mr. Buller, who reached the Samoas in 1841, commenced his labours in an extensive district of Upolu, containing upwards of 5000 inhabitants. Among other labours of the press, in 1842 an edition of 5000 copies of the Gospel of John was finished, but found extremely inadequate to the wants of the people.

Mr. Murray visited the stations to the west in 1841; Fatuna, or Eranan, and Ekeamu, the most easterly of the New Hebrides, received each two native teachers. At Tanna, the next island, Mr. Murray found that two of the teachers had been removed by death. He endeavoured to encourage the survivors to perseverance, and, leaving an additional labourer with them, sailed for Erromanga,

* Report of the Society, 1843, p. 41.

where he found that the ill treatment the teachers had received from the natives, rendered it necessary to remove them from that fatal shore. This, after considerable difficulty, he was enabled to accomplish, and proceeded to Britannia Island, one of the Loyalty group, where the inhabitants received two teachers with great kindness.*

After visiting the native labourers in the Isle of Pines, and leaving two teachers on the large island of New Caledonia, Mr. Murray proceeded to Sydney, and returning to the island reached Samoa in the month of August, 1841. He was accompanied from New South Wales by Messrs. Nisbet and Turner, appointed by the directors to attempt the introduction of the Gospel to the New Hebrides. These brethren, accompanied by Mr. Heath, and several other missionaries, proceeding to Sydney, left Samoa on the 6th of June, 1842, and reached the island of Tanna on the 30th of the same month. On the day after their arrival they landed, and were received with signs of friendship and pleasure. The chiefs, in a public conference, assured them of their willingness to attend to instruction, promised that their persons and property should be secure from violence, offering at the same time whatever the island provided for their subsistence. Mr. Heath, after remaining about four months on the island, left them with pleasing hopes of their safety and success.

These hopes have since been most painfully and disastrously destroyed, at least for the present. From the first, the missionaries were fully sensible that the desire after European property had prompted the cordial welcome they received; but being kindly treated by the chiefs and people of the district in which they resided, they com-

* Report for 1842, p. 37.

menced the work of instruction, and endeavoured to make the great objects of their mission known to the people.

The inhabitants of Tanna are remarkably superstitious, and, as in all the other islands, the chief element of their superstitious feeling was fear. In the island there is a volcano in constant and at times violent action, and near the base of the mountain in which it is situated, a numerous priesthood reside, who are called "sacred men." As they are believed to possess the power of inflicting disease or death at their pleasure, they are held in great awe by the people, from whom they exact constant homage and costly offerings. These men, many of whom resided about four miles from the mission house, as they became acquainted with the real objects of the missionaries, perceived that if the latter succeeded, their influence and gain would cease, and consequently sought to destroy them.

To prevent this, they endeavoured to prejudice the minds of the population generally against the missionaries, by ascribing to their influence a fearful disease at that time spreading its ravages over the whole island, excepting the district in which the missionaries resided. The lives of the latter had previously been in danger from individual violence, but in the commencement of the year 1843 the multitude seemed bent on their destruction. The chiefs of the district refused to join those hostile to the missionaries, as they believed their presence preserved them from the disease. The priests and their adherents, therefore, declared war against the district, by killing one of the people.

The missionaries, their wives, and the native teachers left the island under the cover of night in an open boat and a canoe, hoping to escape the death that seemed inevitable; but tempestuous weather prevented their leaving the shores of Tanna, and before daylight they were obliged

to return. Learning, on the following day, that the people of the district expected to be attacked, the missionaries urged them to endeavour to prevent actual conflict, and offered to send by them any property they possessed to appease the anger of their enemies, and induce them to desist. These offers were made in vain, and early in the forenoon the hostile party approached, and the chiefs urged the missionaries to convey their wives to the sea-shore for safety. Their own friends now demanded property, and they immediately gave them hatchets, knives, and cloth, on the reception of which the assailants promised to spare the missionaries, but threatened the natives. The next morning, they attacked the district at two points, driving the inhabitants before them, and burning village after village, until there was only one village between them and the mission premises. At this instant a tremendous shout was raised, which the missionaries regarded as the signal of their doom, but on looking towards the sea, they espied a vessel in the distance making for the shore. The sight of the ship occasioned the shout they had heard.

Under feelings which it would be impossible to describe, they sent off a note to the captain. The ship proved to be the *Highlander*, from Hobart Town. Her commander, Captain Lucas, hastened on shore, offered every assistance in his power, and agreed to take the mission families to Samoa. The natives of the district urged them to obtain men and arms from the ship, but this they kindly yet firmly declined, declaring they could take no part in any of their wars. Before they finally left, they informed the chiefs and leading men of the district, that the ship would visit them, and if it was found that peace prevailed, and they would not require them to take part in their quarrels, native teachers would come, and afterwards, if they desired it, white men might again take up their abode amongst

them.* The chiefs seemed depressed at the departure of the missionaries, but did not urge them to stay, though they were evidently affected by the expressions of attachment they received.

Distressed at being thus obliged to depart from a field on which they had so recently entered, but grateful for the means of deliverance so mercifully provided, and cherishing the pleasing hope, that in the course of Divine providence, the mission might be resumed and prosecuted under happier auspices, they sailed for the Samoas, to share the accumulating labours of their brethren in that important field. They reached Samoa in February, 1843, and were cordially welcomed by their friends, from whom scarcely nine months before they had parted.

After remaining a month with Messrs. Turner, Nisbet, and Heath at Tanna, Mr. Buzzacott and his companions sailed on the 8th of July to Niua, where they found the native teachers had made a favourable impression on the minds of a number of the people, though none had renounced heathenism. They had also, on six occasions, prevented war among the people, and by their interference saved a boat's crew from being massacred by the natives.

At Erranan, the voyagers received the joyful intelligence that seventeen individuals had embraced the Gospel, and had remained steadfast; though others, who had likewise made a profession of belief in Christianity, had, in a time of trial, abandoned it. At Ekeamu, they were also grateful to learn from the native teacher, that three individuals professed to be their converts. The accounts they received of the plunder and murders of the white men visiting this island for refreshments, were alike appalling and disgraceful, and prevent any surprise that such sudden and fearful

* *Missionary Chronicle*, January, 1844, p. 41.

vengeance should be taken as New Zealand, Erromanga, Wallace Island, Isle of Pines, and other places have presented. At this latter island, the treachery, plunder, and cruelty of the traders so exasperated the natives, that they determined to seize the next white crew who should place themselves in their power, and consequently, when in the autumn of 1842, the *Star*, owned and commanded by Captain Ebrill, an intelligent and respectable man, son-in-law of one of the missionaries, arrived at the island, himself and his whole crew were, while on shore cutting wood, suddenly and barbarously murdered by the natives. The chief then commanded the native teachers on the island to assist his men in bringing the vessel to the shore, and then ordered them all to be killed. Some of the abandoned and inhuman wretches, who visited the islands as traders, took with them forged letters, purporting to have been written by the missionaries, and directing the native teachers to assist in forwarding the objects of the bearers of the letters.* This, in all probability, led the natives to regard the teachers as deceivers, and as identified with the traders by whom the people were wronged, and to whose base villany the lives of the native teachers were thus cruelly sacrificed.

From the voyage, during which Mr. Buzzacott had left the missionaries at Tanna and the Isle of Pines, he returned in January, 1843, thankful for the protection he had received, and for the measure of attention paid by his people to the means of instruction and spiritual improvement, but grieved on account of the apparent indifference manifested by some, and the lamentable defection in others. His devoted fellow-labourers were exercised with similar trials, and all combined in the use of fervent

* Missionary Report, 1844, p. 7.

prayer, and additional means, among which domiciliary visits were resorted to, in the hope of reviving attention to religion among the people.

While some were careless and some ready to cast away their profession, others appeared anxiously seeking the blessings of salvation, and a considerable number were during the year added to the members of the church. Great activity was manifested by the people at all the stations in cultivating arrow-root for sale in aid of the Missionary Society. Two stations in Rarotonga, with Mangaia and Mauke, contributed during the year 115*l*,* and Makea, the chief who accompanied Mr. Buzzacott to Sydney, in August, 1842, had conveyed 90*l*. for the Society as the contribution of the churches in Rarotonga.† The instances of defection from Christian conduct, though painful, were few in number, and in 1843, nearly 400 individuals were united in Christian fellowship with the three churches in the island, and upwards of 2000 scholars were under instruction. The three churches in Mangaia contained 600 members.

In the Navigators' Islands the weakness of religious principle, and the strength of the propensities and habits of heathen life among those who, upon the whole, they had reason to believe were sincere in their profession of belief in the Gospel, as well as the frequent and open inconsistencies of the merely nominal Christians, and the more active opposition of the portion of the population which still remained heathen, greatly augmented the perplexities and trials of the missionaries.

Mr. Heath having been in the early part of 1843 deputed by his brethren to visit England in the *Camden*, and bring the circumstances of the mission and the

* Report of Society, 1844, p. 15.

† Missionary Chronicle, March, 1843, p. 150.

prospects of extending usefulness to the westward under the notice of the Society, reached London in the month of July. The important advantages which had resulted from the voyages of the *Camden*, together with the urgent necessity that existed for the employment of a larger ship, were made known, and an appeal addressed to the Sunday-school children and other juvenile friends of the Society for assistance in procuring one. The appeal was joyfully and generously responded to, and in a few weeks the sum of 6,237*l.* was presented by the young. With this sum a new, strong, and handsome vessel, which was most appropriately called the *John Williams*, was purchased and fitted out, and with Mr. Heath, Aperaamo, the surviving native teacher, three additional missionaries for the islands, Mr. Durant Philip for India, Mr. Brown for the Cape of Good Hope, sailed from Gravesend on the 5th of June, 1844.

The Samoan mission was strengthened in 1843 by the arrival of Mr. Chisholm, who has commenced his labours in the large island of Savaii, and there are now in the Samoan group fifteen European missionaries, and one European assistant, with a large number of native teachers. The press is in active operation, and since its removal to its present locality in 1842, upwards of 120,000 copies of small books, including editions of 10,000 each of three of the Gospels, and the Epistle to the Romans, have been issued, besides spelling-books, in the dialects of the islands to the west.* The entire population of the Samoas does not exceed 60,000, of whom between 40,000 and 50,000 have renounced heathenism, and the majority of them professing Christianity. More than 25,000 are able to read,† and a considerable number have learned to write.

* Report 1844, p. 35.

† Letter from the Rev. Thomas Heath.

The greater part of those who profess Christianity and attend the schools and other means of religious instruction are, as the missionaries are painfully aware, only Christians in name. There is, at the same time, great cause for thankfulness and encouragement in the increasing number who are earnestly and, there is reason to believe, sincerely seeking after instruction, more especially in those whom the missionaries have after attentive observance and examination admitted to Christian fellowship, and who amount to 1680 individuals.

These form a most important part of the fruits of the Society's efforts in the South Seas, where between forty and fifty European missionaries, assisted by a goodly number of native teachers in connexion with the Society, are labouring in nearly forty islands, containing upwards of 100,000 inhabitants. In thirty islands, idolatry, with all its attendant misery and crime, has been abolished, and Christianity is professed by more than 90,000 of their inhabitants, among whom, in addition to other cheering results of the labours of nearly fifty years, there are at the present time, besides those who have died in the faith and hope of the Gospel, 6135 communicants belonging to the native churches of the South Sea mission.

In addition to the evidence furnished in these pages of the benefits the people have received, their truly exemplary observance of the sabbath, the avidity with which they have sought, and the high estimation in which they hold the Sacred Scriptures, are satisfactory evidences of the extent to which education has prevailed, and of the moral feelings of the people. Their numerous and well-built vessels, their neat and thriving towns and villages, their extensive plantations, their decent and respectable apparel, and the great increase of the conveniences and comforts of domestic life, are so many proofs of their temporal

improvement, while the single fact of the sum of 525*l.* having been, within the last two years, sent from Tahiti alone, in payment for the Bibles and Testaments forwarded by the British and Foreign Bible Society,* furnishes most unquestionable evidence of the astonishing progress that must have been made in civilization and religious feeling, by a people who, prior to their profession of Christianity, not thirty years ago, were equally ignorant of the value of money, the use of letters, the existence of the Bible, and of that ever blessed God whose will it reveals.

* Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1844, p. cxviii.

CHAPTER XIV.

Situation of Gambier's Islands—Endeavours of the missionaries at Tahiti to instruct their inhabitants—Appointment of Roman Catholic missionaries to the islands of the Pacific—Their arrival at Gambier's Islands—The subversion of the Protestant missions the primary object of the Papists—Arrival of a Romish catechist at Tahiti in disguise; his letter to the Romish bishop—Arrival of two priests at Tahiti—Their landing in violation of the law of the island—Their refusal to depart, and removal to their ship by the officers of the Government—Visit of one of the priests to Europe—Presents for the chiefs of Gambier's Islands from the Pope and Louis Philippe—Arrival of Captain Dupetit Thouars at Tahiti—Extortion of the French—Letters from Queen Pomare to the Queen of England and the British minister—Letters from the British Government—Damage of the *Artemis* on the reefs at Tahiti—Outrageous conduct of Captain La Place—Perfidy of the French Consul—Arrival of Admiral Dupetit Thouars at Tahiti—Meeting with the chiefs for the surrender of the external sovereignty of the island—The Queen's signature obtained by intimidation to the treasonable document signed by the chiefs—Immorality of the French at Tahiti—Arrival of the British Consul, and H.M.S. *Vindictive*—The Queen protected by the English vessel—Letter of Commodore Nicolas to the French Admiral—Arrival of the French Admiral—Seizure of the island by the French—Disavowal by the French Government—The calamities of Tahiti originate in the envy of the Roman Catholics—The Queen's letter to the King of the French—Knowledge of the French Government of the real character of the transactions at Tahiti—Dishonourable and deceitful conduct of the French Government—Conduct of the English towards French officers on board the *Duff*—Deception practised by the Romish missionaries—Lessons which the recent events at Tahiti teach all Protestant communities—Why France is isolated—Progress and results of the Tahitian mission.

WHILE the means of extending the Gospel which the vessel supplied, and the measure of success attending the labours of the missionaries in the Hervey and Navigators' Islands, encouraged the extension of the Society's operations in that part of the Pacific, Tahiti, its earliest station, was exposed to new trials, arising from the fraudulent and forcible introduction of Popery, and the seizure

of the external sovereignty of the country by the French. The authors of these evils, the one fabricating the pretext, and the other furnishing the means of accomplishing their respective objects, have involved the island in a calamity deeply and painfully felt, and threatening, to the native population, consequences alike disastrous and fatal.

About 800 miles from Tahiti, in a south-easterly direction, is a cluster of six small islands, containing about two thousand inhabitants: this cluster was discovered by Captain Wilson in the *Duff*, in 1797, and called by him the Gambier's Islands. In April, 1832, Captain Ebrell, returning from Valparaiso, brought a native, named Terouru, from one of these islands, to Tahiti, where he attended the school for about three months, and after having received great kindness from Mr. Davies, the missionary, returned to his own land, accompanied by a Tahitian instructor. On arriving at Mangeneva, the natives plundered their countryman, and from superstitious apprehensions refused to receive the teacher, who returned to Tahiti. In February, 1833, Mr. Orsmond left a native teacher and his wife, and a number of books at Akena, another of the Gambier's Islands. The natives treated the teacher, who was a native of Rapa,* with kindness; a number attended his lessons,† and his efforts, it was hoped, would prepare the way for better qualified instructors.

It was not then generally known that the Protestant mission in Polynesia had become obnoxious to the Papists of Europe, and that their subversion was forthwith to be attempted. A decree of the Propaganda of June, 1833, confirmed by Leo the XII., confided to the Society of

* Rapa is between 500 and 600 miles distant from the Gambier's Islands, yet the first native teachers from Tahiti found on the former a native of the latter, who had traversed that extent of ocean in a native canoe.

† MS. letter of Mr. Davies, March 28, 1835.

Picpus,* a religious association in France, the task of bringing under the power of Popery all the isles of the Pacific Ocean.† In consequence of this decree, three priests of the Society of Picpus, accompanied by an Irish Roman Catholic catechist, together with an apostolic prefect, were in the same year appointed to this enterprise. On the 13th of May, 1834, the prefect, two of the priests, and the catechist, reached Valparaiso, whence the priests and the catechist, Colomban Murphy, a native of Dundalk, sailed soon after for Gambier's Islands, on their way to Tahiti, "in the hope," as they observe, "that those whom heresy had seduced, and placed under a yoke of iron, would submit voluntarily to the soft yoke of the Saviour, and embrace the Catholic doctrine."‡ The Romish missionaries reached Gambier's Islands on the 7th of August, and, as the people of Mangeneva refused to receive them, landed on Akena, where they attracted the attention of the natives so much, that the teachers from Rapa finding it difficult even to obtain necessary food, availed themselves of the arrival of Captain Ebrell, to return to Tahiti.§

One of the priests, Stephen Rouchouse, a native of Chazeau, department of Loire, originally designated to Polynesia, remained in Europe, and was, in December, 1833, consecrated at Rome Bishop of Nilopolis, *in partibus*, and appointed Vicar Apostolic to Eastern Oceanica. Accompanied by six other labourers, the bishop sailed from Havre in the close of 1834, and reached the small island of Akena, which he designated the door of all Polynesia, in the month of May following. Steps were now taken towards more extended operations, and the catechist,

* This Society is connected with three other congregations in France, and the extensive association for the propagation of the faith at Lyons.

† O' Taiti Histoire et Enquête, par Henri Lutteroth, p. 151.

‡ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, No. xli. p. 51.

§ MS. Letter of Mr. Davies, March 28, 1835.

Murphy, disguised as a carpenter, was sent by way of Tahiti to the Sandwich Islands, with a view of preparing the way for the introduction of Popery.

The conduct of the French in landing the Roman Catholic missionaries on the same island, and at the very station occupied by the Protestant missionary at the Marquesas, in utter disregard of the respectful remonstrance of that missionary, has been already noticed; and the present movement furnished additional evidence that the primary object of the Roman Catholic missionaries was not to reclaim the wilderness, but to seize another's field, and rob the labourers who had borne the heat and burden of the day, of the fruits of the peril, privation, and toil of nearly fifty years; not to subvert idolatry and civilize the savage, but to unsettle and perplex the minds of those who had for many years embraced the Christian faith, and to cause divisions and strife among those who, though formerly alienated and hostile, had by the Gospel been brought to live in harmony and goodwill with each other. There were in the same ocean, many islands, and even groups of extensive, populous, and important islands unoccupied by any missionaries, and whose inhabitants were living in all the moral debasement and ignorance of heathenism; but Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands were preferred to these as the fields of the first efforts of the Roman Catholics, for no other apparent reason than that these spots of civilization and moral verdure under Protestant culture, were more offensive in the sight of the Propagandists than the barbarism, moral pollution, and idolatry of all the pagan islands of Polynesia.

On the 22nd of May, the catechist reached Tahiti, but in consequence of a law* which prohibited captains

* The first law of this kind, a copy of which, with an English translation, it was customary to give to every captain on entering the port, was originally

from sending on shore any one from their ships without the consent of the local authorities, he was not at first permitted to land. A vessel arriving shortly afterwards from New Zealand, on her way to the Sandwich Islands, whither he stated he was going, he resided on shore till her departure. During his stay, which was about two months, he wrote to the Roman Catholic bishop in Gambier's Islands, inviting him to come to Tahiti without delay, informing him, at the same time, that the agreement of the queen and chiefs was necessary in order to the reception of any foreigner at Tahiti.* Towards the close of the following year, Messrs. Laval and Caret, the two priests who had been longest on Gambier's Islands, sailing for Tahiti, arrived off Taiarabu, an unfrequented part of the island, remote from the port, on the 20th of November, 1836. In order, as M. Dumont d'Urville supposes,† to evade the prohibition of which the catechist had informed their superior, they hastened on shore, and stating to the chief of the place, who requested them to re-embark, that they had arrived on a visit to the queen,

intended to prevent seamen absconding from their ships, or captains turning men on shore, it was enacted, according to M. Rienzi, in 1826; a printed copy in my possession, was issued in the name of the king, who died on the 11th of January, 1827. A law prohibiting passengers, as well as seamen from landing, without permission, was subsequently added to the original law.

Daniel Wheeler and his son, sent out as accredited members of the Society of Friends, on a religious visit to the South Seas, were at Tahiti in 1835, when Murphy arrived, and referring in his journal to a visit which the catechist paid to their ship, the father observes: "He stated that his coming here was solely for the purpose of procuring a passage to the Sandwich Islands, but that he is not suffered to remain here for want of proper credentials, which are required of such as come to reside on shore. It is one of those cases in which we cannot render any assistance, there being a decided law in this country, that prevents strangers, under such circumstances, from coming amongst the people, and which applies to all foreigners."—*Memoirs of Daniel Wheeler*, p. 323.

* *Annales*, No. xlix. pp. 183, 188.

† *Voyage of Dumont d'Urville*, vol. iii. p. 205.

and would proceed direct to the sea-port, her usual residence, they were allowed to remain. As they travelled along the shores of the island, which they described as "partly idolatrous and partly heretic,"* they hastened to inform the inhabitants, who came to them with their Bibles under their arms, that the missionaries who had wives with them were false missionaries, but that they were the true teachers.

On reaching Papeete, they were received by M. Morenhout, a native of Belgium, then acting as American Consul, for whom they were the bearers of a letter from their bishop. A few days after their arrival, they visited the queen, and requested permission to remain, but were informed that the chiefs would decide on their application. Before they withdrew they presented to the queen a shawl and four ounces of silver, supposed to be nearly equivalent to the sum which foreigners paid on receiving permission to remain on the island, but lest this should be interpreted into an approval of their remaining, it was refused by the queen, and when afterwards accepted, presents were sent in return to prevent misunderstanding as to the light in which the presents of the foreigners had been received.

Three days afterwards the chiefs assembled, and when the priests with the American Consul had taken their seats, one of the judges thus addressed them: "Why have you come to this land? We have teachers who have been here a long time, and have instructed us in the Word. We have no need of you. There is a law which forbids your entrance to this land. Why have you come hither? Return to Mangeneva. You have made presents to the queen, who has made you some in return. Do not be obstinate in remaining." In their reply, the priests and American Consul asserted that the law interdicting foreigners to

* Annales, No. lvi. p. 209.

enter the island without the sanction of the Government was new and unknown to the latter,* but the assembly broke up without granting them permission to stay.

The next day the queen wrote to the priests, stating that they could not be allowed to remain. They used further endeavours to induce her to grant the required permission, observing, in reference to the Protestant missionaries, "They are not the messengers of God, but we are sent to make known to you the true Word; they are, you say, the first. Simon, the magician, also went first to Rome, to teach his errors; St. Peter went there second to confound him, and proclaim the truth."† Refusing to obey the orders of the queen, they entered a small house lent them by M. Morenhout, and when their vessel was ready to depart, barricaded the doors. The officers charged with the execution of the orders went, on the 11th of December, and after repeatedly requiring them to depart, lifted up the thatch of the small house into which they had retired, opened the door, and took them without violence to the shore, whence a canoe in waiting conveyed them to the vessel. Their effects were afterwards taken on board, and the whole was accomplished without the least injury to their persons, or the slightest damage to any article of their property.‡ In their own account of the transaction published at the time, no mention is made of either injury or loss. After attempting to land on an adjacent island, they finally departed, and reached Gambier's Islands on the 31st of December, 1836.

Towards the close of 1837, MM. Caret and Maigret proceeded to Tahiti, but not being allowed to remain, sailed for Valparaiso, whence the former departed for France, to interest the Government in his wrongs, and secure

* *Annales*, No. lvi. p. 219.

† *Ibid.* p. 220.

‡ Brief statement of the aggression of the French in Tahiti, by the directors of the London Missionary Society, p. 13.

redress.* From France, M. Caret proceeded to Rome, and having received encouragement and assurances of deep interest in his proceedings, he departed with presents for the newly-converted king and queen, and the high priest of Gambier's Islands, including, among other gifts from the pope, a gilt bronze image of the Virgin. At Paris, he was well received by the queen and the king, who sent a sword of honour as a present to the king of Gambier's Islands; and having further obtained from the Government the promise of redress and assistance, M. Caret, towards the close of May, 1838, departed for the Pacific.

Acting on the statements of M. Caret and the supporters of the Propaganda, and anxious to attach the Catholic clergy more firmly to its interests, the French Government forwarded its instructions to the naval officers in the Pacific, and Captain Dupetit Thouars sailed forthwith for Tahiti, to demand reparation for the injury pretended to have been sustained by the two priests, who had not been allowed to remain on the island. This, as the captain himself stated, was the principal object of the visit to Tahiti.† Having landed two missionaries at the Marquesas, the *Venus*, a sixty gun frigate, reached Papeete on the 27th of August; and after conferring with M. Morenhout, Captain Dupetit Thouars, on the morning of the 30th, demanded of the queen reparation alike exorbitant and humiliating, for the injury alleged to have been received by the French priests,‡ simply

* Dumont d'Urville, vol. iii. p. 209.

† Correspondence relative to the proceedings of the French at Tahiti, laid before Parliament, May, 1843, p. 4.

‡ The following is extracted from Captain Dupetit Thouars' letter:—

“ August 30th, Ten o'clock, A.M.

“ MADAME,—The King of the French and his Government, justly irritated for the outrages offered to the nation, by the bad and cruel treatment which some of his members who did come to Tahiti have suffered, and especially Messrs. Laval and Caret, apostolical missionaries, who called at this

because they had not been allowed to settle at Tahiti, in open violation of an existing law, with the requirements of which they were fully acquainted before they made any arrangements for proceeding to the island.

An embargo was laid on the vessels in the port, the boats of the frigate were fitted up with swivels, and the queen narrowly escaped being made a prisoner on a small island in the bay, until the conditions should be complied with. The queen wrote to the commander, soliciting investigation and an extension of the time, but the bearer of the letter was informed that no communication could be received, no explanation heard; that if the queen did not comply with the captain's demands, war would commence, and that he should carry devastation and death through the islands. As the queen had not the means of complying with the conditions imposed, two or three of the foreign residents, in order to avert the fearful vengeance of the priests, which the power of France seemed impatient to wreak upon a helpless people, furnished the sum required; the captain of the frigate furnished the powder for saluting his own flag, and the queen wrote the required letter to Louis Philippe. The captain then went to the humbled queen, and adding insult to plunder, introduced the individual who had been one of the most active promoters of all the calamities endured, as the Consul of the French. The dejected queen did not allow

island in 1836, has sent me to reclaim and enforce, if necessary, immediate reparation, due to a great power and a valiant nation, who was gravely insulted, and without provocation.

“The King and his Government demand:—

“First, That the Queen of Tahiti write to the King of the French, to excuse for the violence and other insults offered to Frenchmen.

“Second, A sum of 2,000 Spanish dollars will be paid within the twenty-four hours of the present notification, unto the cashier of the frigate the “*Venus*,” as an indemnification for Messrs. Laval and Caret, for the loss occasioned to them by the bad treatment they received at Tahiti.”—

Parliamentary Paper, p. 4.

him to remain ignorant of the light in which she regarded the appointment, by observing, that it would have been more agreeable to her if some other individual had been chosen for the office.

Having thus avenged the refusal to receive the Romish missionaries, the next object of the captain was to make arrangements for their return, and for this purpose, the queen was compelled to sign a convention dictated by the French commander, and obliging her to receive and protect all Frenchmen who might wish to reside on the island.*

The French commander departed about the middle of September, the queen in the beginning of November addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston, inquiring whether the Roman Catholic missionaries, as they themselves stated, were sanctioned by the British Government in coming to Tahiti; she also requested the British Consul to inquire of his lordship, whether any government could compel her to receive a body of foreigners who might be disposed to reside in her dominions, stating at the same time that existing laws forbade any foreigner to settle without the consent of the native Government.

On the 18th of the same month, the queen and chiefs of Tahiti addressed a communication to the Queen of England, describing their difficulties and fears, and earnestly imploring the protection of the British flag.† To this letter, as well as to the definite inquiries previously forwarded, a vague and unsatisfactory answer was returned by Lord Palmerston, affirming the right of every "Government to refuse to any foreigners permission to reside within its dominions, if the presence of such foreigners was considered hurtful to the state."

In reference to the letter imploring protection, his

* Parliamentary Papers, p. 5.

† Ibid. p. 6.

lordship observes : "That, however strong the Queen of England's interest in the prosperity of the Society Islands might be, she must decline entering into any engagement of the kind suggested, but would be ready to attend to any representations that Queen Pomare might make, and give the protection of her good offices in any differences, which might arise between the Queen of Tahiti and any other power."

Mr. Canning, when Secretary of State, had in 1827, in answer to an application to be allowed to use the British flag, informed the king and chiefs, that, although the customs of Europe did not allow the use of the flag as solicited, his majesty George IV. would be happy to afford Pomare and his dominions all such protection as his majesty could grant to a friendly power at so remote a distance from his own kingdoms.* On this assurance the king and chiefs had reposed the most implicit confidence ; it was in harmony with the declarations and proceedings of the British authorities in New South Wales, and the deportment of all the naval officers who had visited the island since its discovery. It was, therefore, with equal disappointment and distress, that the queen and chiefs, suffering from aggression and violence, and threatened with still greater wrongs, now learned, in their own utter helplessness, that all the protection the British Government could give was to intercede with their oppressors.

At the same time that the queen wrote to England, the Government of Tahiti passed a law forbidding the inculcation by natives or foreigners of any other religious doctrines or forms of worship, than those already received by the people. This law does not appear to have been

* Parliamentary Papers, p. 2.

enforced, and its promulgation is to be regretted as erroneous in principle, and after the results which had followed the attempts of the Government to exclude the Popish missionaries on other grounds, was not likely to be respected by foreigners.* No application of the law was made to the Roman Catholic bishop of Western Polynesia, who, with a number of priests, called at Tahiti on his way to New Zealand, early in the following year, and remained some time on shore, without objection or interruption, till the day of their departure.†

Three days after the departure of the bishop and his companions, Captain La Place arrived in the *Artemise*. The frigate struck on a rock in approaching the harbour, and was greatly damaged. Every accommodation that the island afforded was rendered during three months. One hundred and twenty natives were for some time employed in assisting the mariners, whose profligacy and licentiousness produced appalling scenes of evil in the neighbourhood, until the repairs of the vessel were completed.

The captain then assuming a hostile attitude, requested that a meeting of the chiefs should be called, at which he demanded that the Catholic worship should be

* The origin of this law was as follows:—When Captain Dupetit Thouars had received the required reparation for the injury done to the priests, he proposed what he called a Convention, to which he required the queen's signature. Pomare objected to Frenchmen of all professions coming to her islands. She had no objection to French merchants and mechanics settling in Tahiti, but she did not wish French priests to settle among her people. To this the captain replied:—"I don't care about their religion. If you don't wish priests to settle here, you can enact a law making the Protestant religion the religion of the country, and prohibit other religions being taught in your dominions." Deeming themselves safe in following advice from such a source, on such a subject, the queen and chiefs enacted the law in question soon afterwards. Many of the missionaries were much opposed to the law.

† O' Taïti Histoire et Enquête, par Henri Lutteroth, p. 259.

unrestricted throughout the dominions of the queen, and that ground should be given by the Government for the erection of a Catholic church. The statement of M. Baty shows that no restrictions had been imposed on the Catholics up to the time of the arrival of the *Artemise*. Only one native of France was then found on the island;* it could not therefore be for Frenchmen that the church was required, and Captain La Place was, by this most ungrateful return for native hospitality and assistance, by the authoritative demand of land without payment, and by the most corrupting and debasing profligacy of those under his command, acting as the pioneer of the Roman Catholic missionaries, who were preparing to return to Tahiti. Well may M. Lutteroth remark that there is not, perhaps, in the history of the church a fouler page; libertinism and, he might have added, robbery, serving as the precursors of religion.†

The queen and chiefs of Tahiti had no alternative but to comply with the demands of the captain, and since that period, every Catholic at Tahiti has shared in the liberty enjoyed by the Protestants. Having thus repaid the kindness of the Tahitians, and leaving a name and a character justly odious among the people, Captain La Place sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where his conduct was more dishonourable to the French nation, and more disgraceful to himself, than the previous transactions at Tahiti.

In 1841, M. Morenhout having excited unfriendly feelings in the minds of some of the chiefs against the American Consul, persuaded them that through his, M. Morenhout's influence, they might secure valuable assistance from France in any difficulty that might arise. At his suggestion, four of the chiefs signed a letter which he had prepared; these chiefs, on ascertaining afterwards the nature of the letter, which was to establish

* O' Taïti, &c. p. 254.

† Ibid. 258.

the French authority in the island, revoked their signatures, and wrote to the British Consul, Cunningham, declaring that they had affixed their signatures to the letter, in utter ignorance of its actual contents, which had been represented to them as totally different.

The queen, who was absent at the time, as soon as she heard of the transaction, wrote to the Queen of England and the President of the United States, informing them that the chiefs had been deceived by the French Consul, and soliciting protection against any foreign power that might invade her country. Pomare also sent a letter to the King of the French at the same time.

Captain Dupetit Thouars, who returned to France in 1839, and who was, in testimony of the approval of his conduct in the Pacific, raised to the rank of Admiral, received from his Government the commission, at the instigation, according to M. Reybaud, of the Society of Picpus, to take possession of the Marquesas. He sailed from France in *La Reine Blanche*, in the close of 1841, took possession of the Marquesas in May, 1842, and subsequently, at the solicitations of M. Morenhout, as stated by M. Reybaud,* proceeded to Tahiti, where he arrived on the 1st of September.

For some time the intercourse between the French and the natives wore every appearance of friendship; the queen and chiefs were invited to Papeete, that the Admiral might pay his respects to them. On the 8th of September, the chiefs arrived, and dined with the Admiral on board his ship. A letter was, the same day, addressed to the queen and chiefs, complaining of the violation of the treaty, and ill-treatment of the French,† and requiring

* *Revue des Deux Mondes*, du 15 Mai, 1843, p. 579.

† The vague charges in the letter were utterly false. The only specific accusation refers to the murder of a Frenchman, when that very Frenchman had neither been murdered nor injured, but was about that time married at the British Consul's house, and living on the island.

within forty-eight hours the deposit of 10,000 Spanish dollars, as a guarantee for future good conduct, or the surrender of the fort, and other establishments to be occupied by French troops, till satisfaction should be given for the wrongs pretended to have been suffered.

On the evening of the same day, information was forwarded to the British and American Consulates of difficulties between the French and Tahitian Governments, which might lead to hostilities. The next morning it was ascertained that an expected public meeting had been superseded by a private conference during the night, between four of the chiefs and the French,* at which the following document, prepared by the latter, had been signed by the chiefs present :—

“ Tahiti, September 9th, 1842.

“ TO ADMIRAL DUPETIT THOUARS,

“ As in the present state of affairs, we can no longer govern so as to preserve a good understanding with foreign governments, without exposing ourselves to the loss of our islands, our authority, and our liberty, we, the undersigned, the queen and the principal chiefs of Tahiti, address the present letter to you, to solicit the King of the French to take us under his protection, under the following conditions :—

“ First, The sovereignty of the queen and her authority, and the authority of the chiefs over their people, shall be guaranteed to them.

“ Second, All laws and regulations shall be issued in the queen's name, and signed by her.

“ Third, The possession of land belonging to the queen and to the people shall be secured to them, and shall remain in their possession ; all disputes relative to the right to property or lands shall be under the special jurisdiction of the tribunals of the country.

“ Fourth, Every one shall be free in the exercise of his form of worship, or religion.

“ Fifth, The churches at present established shall continue to exist, and the English missionaries shall continue in their labours without molestation ; the same shall apply to every other form of worship, no one shall be molested or constrained in his belief.

“ Under these conditions the queen and the principal chiefs solicit the protection of the King of the French, resigning into his hands, or to the care of the French Government, or to the person appointed by him, and approved by Queen Pomare, the direction of all relations with foreign governments,

* Brief Statement, p. 17.

Government continued to take that interest in their prosperity which had heretofore been professed," and by the proceedings of Commodore Nicolas, of her majesty's ship *Vindictive*, who, acting on the instructions he had received from Admiral Thomas, and having ascertained the real character of the events which had led to the surrender of the sovereignty of the island, refused to acknowledge the assumed power of the French, issued a proclamation exonerating all English subjects from obligations of obedience to the French authorities, requesting them to apply on all occasions to the officers of their own nation.

Alarmed for her personal safety, by the harsh and menacing conduct of the French, the queen had left Papeete, her usual residence, for another part of the island, but returned on the arrival of the *Vindictive*, and placed herself under the protection of the commodore. Disappointed in meeting Admiral Dupetit Thouars at Tahiti, Commodore Nicolas on the 4th of June, addressed a letter to him, stating the reasons why he could not acknowledge the treaty enforced on the queen until he received orders from his Government, and expressing his conviction that the French Admiral had been deceived by the individual holding the office of French Consul, whom he justly charged as the sole cause of all the misunderstandings which had arisen in the island.

This manly and straightforward letter shows the views with which the British officers regarded the relations between England and Tahiti, and the conduct of the French,* and as the letter would be forwarded not only

* In reference to the signing of the letter, Commodore Nicolas observes:—

"The queen, however, having most solemnly declared again and again, and which declarations have been transmitted by her, both to the King of the French, as well as to the Queen of England, that it was through fear, and fear alone, arising from the menaces that overwhelmed her, that her Majesty put her name with agonizing reluctance, as she herself states (and

to the Admiral, but to his Government, it would, had no other means been used, prevent their remaining ignorant of the real character of the transaction which they had sanctioned, and the perpetrators of which they had decorated with honours.

But notwithstanding the feelings of strong and general indignation which the tidings occasioned in England, and the efforts of the enlightened friends of humanity and religion, including some of high rank and station, members of both Houses of Parliament, of different political opinions and religious denominations, and the prompt and vigorous exertions of the friends of Protestantism in France, the French Government received with high satisfaction the sovereignty of Tahiti, as a valuable acqui-

this is confirmed by those who were then around her,) to the paper that was sent to her to sign, I feel convinced, Sir, that when your Sovereign is made acquainted with this important fact, his Majesty will withhold his ratification, until further explanation has been had on this grave question.

“In addition to this painful circumstance, I have further to observe, that I have been credibly assured, that, some days subsequent to her Majesty’s having, after many hours’ refusal, at length, through threats on the one side and urgent entreaties on the other, put her name to the first document, that was forwarded to her at Eimeo, (the treaty,) and which act she did, as she then declared, and still declares, solely to save her subjects from the fire of your guns; a second (the proclamation) was laid before her Majesty for her signature, and which at last her Majesty also signed, through the menacing demands of the Consul of France; and these insulting threats were offered, it cannot be forgotten, at a time when the Queen’s *accouchement* was hourly looked for, and, in truth, within one hour of her Majesty’s signature being so unfeelingly and so harshly obtained, she was actually taken in labour, the pains of which were hastened, as it is universally believed, by the great distress of mind, together with the offensive conduct of the French Consul towards this unhappy, defenceless woman! And her Majesty gave birth to a child, after great suffering, on the following day.

“France, Europe, the world, Sir, will form its opinion of these unexampled proceedings.

“I consider it right that I should now assure you, Sir, that I am confident England seeks not, desires not, to possess a paramount influence in Tahiti. All she seeks, is to see the sovereign of the island free and independent, giving the same favour and protection to the subjects of every state.”

sition.* The British Government, although acknowledging that the queen had been deprived of her independence, "partly by intrigue and partly by intimidation,"† offered no remonstrance against this violation of the most sacred rights of a sovereign, to whom it had promised all the protection it could give to a friendly power. With a want of information as to the extent of the interests involved, and the evident designs of the French, or a degree of indifference to British commerce and British influence, as unaccountable as it appears incapable of justification, the British Government decided not to interfere with the proceedings of the French; and seemed satisfied with the assurance of the French Minister, that the English missionaries should be protected in the free exercise of their religious duties. Commodore Nicolas was removed to another station, and his place occupied by an officer with different instructions.

Among the natives, with few exceptions, these transactions produced still stronger detestations of the French, not unaccompanied with increased respect for the missionaries, whose disinterested benevolence was now more than ever apparent, as they remained after nearly fifty years of labour among them without a single inch of ground that they could call their own, while the French and other foreigners were eagerly striving which, by securing land or otherwise, should profit most by the depressed and helpless state of the people.‡

On the 1st of November, 1843, Admiral Dupetit Thouars arrived at Tahiti, with Captain Bruat, governor of the Marquesas and commissioner to the Queen Pomare! Two days after his arrival, the admiral addressed a letter of complaint to the queen, chiefly with regard to the flag,

* Parliamentary Papers, pp. 24, 25.

† Ibid., 1844, p. 2.

‡ Report, 1843, p. 4.

which, as the emblem of her sovereignty, she had hoisted over her own dwelling, declaring it to be a violation of the treaty, and demanding that it should be taken down. The offence was not in the flag, but in the simple fact that it was said to have been received from England. As the queen maintained that the hoisting of the flag was no infringement of the treaty, and refused to take it down, the admiral, on Sunday, November 4th, issued his order for deposing the queen and taking absolute possession of the island, which was accomplished on the following day, when the British Consul lowered his flag, stating that he was not accredited to a French colony. This seizure has been disowned by the French Government; but the sovereignty under the name of a protectorate remains in all the odiousness of the violence and treachery which marked its assumption.

The events thus briefly noticed shew that the calamity which has fallen so heavily upon the Tahitians originated in the envy and intolerance of popery, which could behold, in the astonishing change that has taken place among this once heathen and barbarous people, only the work of heretics, to be mourned over, counteracted, and destroyed. "Our hearts are distressed," writes one of the priests, "in approaching Tahiti. The inhabitants of this isle groan under the yoke of heresy;" and, "the august Mary," adds another, "whom the church calls the destructress of all heresies, knows well how to annihilate that at Tahiti."*

The agents and the means employed with approval, rather than objection, diminish in no degree the disgraceful character of the whole transaction. The pecuniary and other advantages received and expected by M. Moren-hout from the priests secured his active co-operation, unimpeded by any regard to the principles of truth or

* Annales, No. 56, p. 234.

justice, and rendered him not only an efficient coadjutor in executing the orders, which, on the instance of the papists, the French commander had received from his Government, but also the perfidious proposer or the iniquitous instrument of robbing the Queen of Tahiti of her independence.

It has not yet transpired whether, in tampering with the chiefs, and fraudulently obtaining in August, 1841, their signatures to a forged document, soliciting the establishment of French supremacy under the name of protection in Tahiti, M. Morenhout acted from the spontaneous promptings of his own mind, or the suggestions of another, but it is certain that he calculated on the approval of the French, to whose favourable regard his zeal for their interests could not fail to commend him.

In expecting approval he was not mistaken, for as soon as Admiral Dupetit Thouars reached Tahiti in 1842, and had conferred with M. Morenhout, the attempt to establish the French authority under the name of a protectorate was repeated, and the terror inspired by the guns of the frigate secured, what, without this aid, the treachery and falsehood alone of the French Consul had failed to effect. The queen, on becoming acquainted with the treachery that had been practised by M. Morenhout, wrote immediately to the Queen of England, the President of the United States, and the King of the French, disclaiming all knowledge of such document.* The queen's letter to the King of the French was placed in his majesty's hands by Sir George Simpson, and as it would prevent his remaining ignorant that the application from Tahiti for the protection of France was a traitorous forgery, it ought,

* A detailed account of this nefarious transaction is given in *Le Semeur*, for the 23rd and 30th of March, 1842; also in the *Edinburgh Review*, for January, 1844, pp. 52, 53.

certainly to have deterred his majesty's receiving, at least without some inquiry, the second pretended offer of the external sovereignty of that island, when the only evidence that such an offer had been made was a document prepared by the same parties, signed by the same chiefs, and bearing in its first declarations a self-evident contradiction * to the despatches of the admiral sent home by the same conveyance.

The letter from the Queen of Tahiti contained positive proof of the treasonable character of the attempt of Morenhout in 1841, the despatches and documents from the admiral in 1842 bore strong internal evidence of fraud, and, besides other means of becoming acquainted with the real character of the proceedings at Tahiti, the directors of the Missionary Society immediately after the arrival of the intelligence in this country, conveyed direct to the French ambassador, in London, on the most unquestionable authority, explicit information of the means of intimidation and intrigue by which the document purporting to have been written by the queen had been obtained, informing him that the queen's signature was only obtained at the last hour from extreme fear, and a desire to prevent the indiscriminate slaughter of an unprotected people. Yet notwithstanding all this evidence to the contrary, the French Ministers declare to the Houses of Legislature, that the king has directed them to state that the protec-

* The admiral's despatches stated that 10,000 dollars were demanded, and unless paid within twenty-four hours, hostilities would commence. The letter to which, by intimidation and bribery, the signatures were obtained, stated, that "lest our land, our kingdom, and our liberty should become that of another—we, whose names are written below, write to ask that the shadow of the King of the French may be thrown over us;" viz., to protect them from the intrigues and insolence of his own consul, the plunder of his own admiral, and the guns of his own frigates; for by no other had they ever been threatened, and against no other had the need of protection ever been apprehended.

torate of Tahiti had been *offered* and accepted in his majesty's name, and to demand 5,987,000 francs, and 1,200 troops, artillery and infantry, for the maintenance of the protectorate of Tahiti, and the possession of the Marquesas. The notorious falsehood respecting the offer of the protectorate was more than once repeated by the French Minister, with the assurance that France in accepting the external sovereignty of the island was only complying with the spontaneous wishes and deliberate choice of the native authorities. The dastardly and ruffianly behaviour of the French admiral and consul towards queen Pomare, the wanton abuse of power against a defenceless people and a helpless female sovereign, the forcible seizure of the external sovereignty of the island, the hypocrisy of pretending by such seizure to afford protection, and the audacious profligacy of declaring such seizure to have been made in compliance with the spontaneous wishes of the oppressed and plundered victims of this treachery and violence, presents an instance of perfidy and plunder which has been but rarely surpassed.

The remoteness of the region in which this conduct has been pursued, and the smallness of the population affected thereby, increases rather than diminishes the moral turpitude of the whole affair. The weak and the helpless have a natural and acknowledged claim upon the consideration and protection of the strong, and it would have redounded far more to the honour of the King of the French, giving to his name a charm and a power vastly more advantageous to his own reputation and the interests of his people, to have restored to Pomare that independence of which his misguided representatives had wantonly deprived her, than to have made all the parade of friendship and goodwill which marked the entertainment of Queen Victoria at the Château d'Eu. The claims of Queen Pomare to the

kindly feelings of Louis Philippe were stronger than those of Queen Victoria. The latter did not need them. The rights of the Queen of Tahiti were as sacred, and her title to the crown as valid, as those of the Queen of England. It had been derived from no feverish ferment of three short days, but was her undisputed birthright, voluntarily and cheerfully recognised as such by the people over whom she reigned; and the only reason why the Queen of England received the most flattering homage and the most marked attention, at the same time that the Queen of Tahiti was insulted, degraded, plundered, and driven as an outcast from her house and home, is to be found in the power of the one, and the helplessness of the other. If France wanted a naval station in the Pacific, where her trading vessels, which are still very few, were never seen till after the arrival of the Catholic priests, there were other islands in which this might have been secured, and ample scope afforded for developing the civilizing and humanizing influence of French enterprise and effort, as well as for the zeal and devotedness of Roman Catholic missionaries. This might have been effected in a manner that would have commanded admiration, instead of exciting those feelings of just indignation, and that deep sense of wrong with which the humane and religious portion of the English people must continue to regard the aggression on Tahiti.

Or, if no place but Tahiti would satisfy the French Government, it would have been far more honourable to have told the unoffending and unprotected queen so, and to have assumed at once the sovereignty of the island, without attempting to conceal the design by demanding reparation, which it was well known could not be made for injuries that had never been received, and losses that had never been sustained, without compelling signatures

to a document framed by another, and purporting to have been voluntary, while enforced at the mouth of the cannon.

When the *Duff* was captured by the *Bonaparte*, the captain, on learning the benevolent character of her errand, regretted that he had fallen in with her, and the officers treated the missionaries and their wives with the greatest respect and attention. Several of these officers were afterwards taken and brought as prisoners of war to England; and as soon as this circumstance became known, the missionaries and their friends addressed the British Government on their behalf, and they were liberated without exchange,* in consideration of the respect they had shown to the missionaries in captivity. And, beyond this, M. Sabathier was released from the French prison at Plymouth without exchange, in consequence, as stated in the certificate for his liberation, "of an application from the London Missionary Society, and in return for the liberal and humane conduct of his friend, Captain Carbonelle, towards the British missionaries."† This occurred in a time of war, when no feelings of amity were professed, and no relations of friendship existed between the two nations, which presents it in striking contrast with the recent conduct of the representatives of France towards the unoffending Queen of Tahiti, and the missionaries, who, after nearly fifty years of labour, are threatened with expulsion from the country, if any act or word is capable of being construed into an attempt to prejudice the minds of the natives against their new and self-constituted rulers.

The recent events in Tahiti, though affecting a remote and comparatively insignificant community, afford some of the most instructive lessons of their kind, which the

* Letter from the Rev. J. Jerard, of Coventry, one of the captured missionaries.

† MSS. of the Society; letter from one of the Commissioners.

church of God has received during the last half-century. They show in the strongly marked and unaltered character of popery, that Christian charity is as alien as ever from its nature; that it cannot tolerate, even in the most isolated portions of the globe, the existence of any other creed than its own, and that wherever such appears, its earliest and most energetic efforts are employed for its annihilation. They show, also, that disguise and deception are as eagerly used now, as during the most corrupt periods of its history. The first teacher of popery landed at Tahiti under the disguise of a carpenter, and some of the earliest converts in the Pacific were baptized and regenerated unconsciously to themselves, and unsuspected by their relatives around.*

These events convey, also, a lesson of fearful import in the unquestionable evidence they supply that, where popery can, it is as ready, and as reckless in employing the weapons of worldly power as in the periods of its fiercest persecution. At the call of popery, to avenge an insult which it pretended had been offered to its agents, and to secure its introduction where it wished to enter, the civilized world has seen the disciplined power of France arrayed against an unarmed, undisciplined people, more especially against a defenceless woman, whose very helplessness ought to have secured for her the sympathy and support of a gallant and generous nation.

Civilized nations have also seen, as in the conquest of

* M. Bataillon, one of the priests, describing his own proceedings under date May, 1839, states:—"In order to experience no difficulty in administering baptism, even in presence of the mother, I act in the following manner:—I have always with me one bottle of scented water, and another of plain water; I pour at first some drops of the former on the head of the child under pretext of soothing it, and whilst the mother pleases herself in softly spreading it with her hand, I change the bottles, and shed the water which regenerates, without their suspecting what I have done."—*Agression des Français contre l'Île de Tahiti, Appendice*, p. 78.

the New World, the claims of popery preferred, and the bayonets and artillery of one of the first nations of Europe employed to demand apology and reparation for refusing to receive it, and to enforce its admission, protection, and encouragement. If, said Captain Dupetit Thouars, in his letter to the Queen of Tahiti, when demanding reparation and apology for no other wrong than the refusing to receive the emissaries of popery, if the apology and reparation be not given in twenty-four hours, I will declare war and commence hostilities immediately against all places in your majesty's dominions, which will be continued by all French vessels of war that may arrive here, till satisfaction has been received.* And when the queen sent a letter by the British consul begging for longer time and explanation, the only alternatives were devastation and death, or compliance with the requisitions.†

These events show further, that so potent is the spell by which popery controls its adherents and supporters, that laws the most needful and salutary, rights the most sacred, justice the most unquestionable, truth the most clear, and the claims of humanity in its most affecting and requiring circumstances are alike disregarded, when the aims of popery or the interest of its adherents can be promoted thereby. These and other lessons, though painful, are valuable, and to the Protestant churches of both hemispheres they will not have been given in vain. Deeply as the best friends of England and France must deplore the occurrence of anything that would interrupt the growth of amicable feelings which the happy continuance of peace has so satisfactorily promoted, by all in Europe and America who cherish any regard for the principles of truth and justice, the laws of nations and the rights of man-

* Papers laid before Parliament relative to Tahiti, p. 4. † Ibid, p. 3.

kind, as well as by all religious men, the unprovoked aggression of the French on the Queen of Tahiti can be viewed only with unqualified condemnation, and, if continued, will excite, as the injury proves more deep and extensive, indignation as general, as it is virtuous and just.

France has complained of being isolated : and recently appeared ready to rush into war with the rest of Europe, rather than not be included in a convention for preserving the integrity of the Ottoman empire. But the French Government must know that by proceedings such as those pursued at Tahiti, and approved in Paris, France was most effectually isolating herself, not from formal compacts and engagements with the European family of nations, but from a participation in the purest and loftiest sympathies, the most noble and generous feelings of all honourable men—showing the feeble influence, if not the entire absence of those principles of humanity, integrity, and honour, which form the basis of all amicable relations, and of all respect and confidence among nations, as well as individuals.

The French government have thus practically exemplified their own principles of action, have shown how entirely the sacred and inalienable rights of nations, which lie at the foundation of all public security, are openly violated when their proceedings are uncontrolled ; and, self-isolated thus, they cannot be surprised if other nations regard their movements with suspicion and their professions with distrust.

English benevolence and piety sought, with what peril, privation, and labour, the preceding pages will have shown, to convey to one of the most morally degraded, savage, and idolatrous of nations the blessings of Christianity, and the intelligence and comforts of civilized life. With what success the efforts of half a century have been followed, the preceding pages will also have declared, and

whatever defects may attach to the record, the result in its broad and unquestionable features, in the cruelty, suffering, and fatal delusions, now for ever swept from the face of the earth, in the seeds of virtue implanted, the genial affections quickened into life and action, the intelligence acquired, the individual and social comfort, as well as in the public order, harmony, and tranquillity enjoyed, a most grateful result has been secured. Beyond this, in the industry, enterprise, and talent developed, and in the resources thus created, evidence unequivocal and abundant is supplied, that the effort has not been in vain.

But when, in addition to this, the extent to which the sublimer verities of the Christian faith are understood is considered, together with the indirect influence which even the profession of Christianity exerts, the number who there is reason to believe have experienced its transforming power, besides those who in the hour of death have been soothed by its consolations, and animated by its hopes, it exhibits a change unparalleled during an equal period amongst any portion of mankind. Drawn originally from their remote obscurity by scientific enterprise, the South Sea islanders were exhibited to the civilized world under all the charms of novelty and imagined felicity, as objects of curiosity and wonder, to be gazed at, abandoned, and forgotten. Subsequently sought with higher aims, and acted upon by other influences, the Tahitian race has appeared rising from mental and moral debasement, superstition, and barbarism, receiving its hitherto oral language in a written form, rendering a knowledge of the use of letters almost universal, elevating the female sex to its just position in society, recognising and guarding with scrupulous care the domestic virtues as the perennial springs of individual and social happiness, enacting simple but salutary laws, advancing in intelligence and acquaint-

ance with the arts, and prizing the Bible as its richest treasure, and its safest guide in relation to time and to eternity. In this course of improvement it has often appeared struggling with difficulties arising from the feebleness of its own character, its long-cherished opinions, time-matured habits, and the greater difficulties arising from unfriendly and often uncontrollable foreign influence. The progress of this remote and hitherto unknown race, through these important changes in its social existence, its persevering endeavours, often feeble and apparently fruitless, to attain a position that should entitle it to receive and enable it to maintain a name and a place among civilized nations, has exhibited a spectacle which the philosopher and the scholar, the philanthropist and the Christian, of every country, has beheld with equal admiration and delight.

This deeply interesting process was advancing; not, indeed, unattended by difficulties, but yet under circumstances affording ample ground for encouragement and hope, until at the instigation of the adherents of Popery, the representatives of France, a nation which has wished to be regarded as the centre of civilization and the source of improvement, most iniquitously interfered; broke down the safeguards of virtue which the nation had provided, degraded the sovereign, under the pretence of affording her protection, fraudulently and forcibly robbed her of her independence, and finally of her dominions.*

* Since then, because the queen wrote to some of the chiefs, recommending them to refrain from all violence, to wait patiently till they should hear from England, the port has been declared in a state of siege, a number of the highest chiefs of the country have been confined in irons, others deprived of their rank, for receiving her letter; and the queen herself has only escaped incarceration and fetters, by taking refuge on board a small English vessel in the harbour. The Consul was imprisoned, and has only been liberated on condition of leaving the island instantly, without even taking his family with him.—*Times*, July 30th, 1844.

Of these calamities, the final issue is yet uncertain ; but in whatever way Providence may develop the result of the present crisis in the people's history, the good already accomplished is accomplished for ever. Other evils may arise, disastrous and destructive to the body and the soul, but in Tahiti the heathen temple will never again rise ; the human sacrifice will never bleed. The rank and putrescent profligacy now let loose upon the people, may destroy domestic happiness, inflict misery, and entail disease ; but the simple fact of not destroying her offspring will never be the mother's disgrace ; nor the foul stain of infanticide, the passport to privilege and honour. Infidelity, or the pantomimic ceremonies, and the heartless observance of religious forms, may be substituted in process of time for the sublime and soul-restoring truths of the Bible ; but while the light of Divine truth in its native purity and lustre exists among the people, it will prove to some, few though they may be, the light of life. Those who have experienced its transforming power, and whom it has made wise unto salvation, will, however fiery or revolting the ordeal by which they may be tried, be preserved to the end. The goodly company, who, proving the Gospel to be a savour of life unto life, lived and died under its influence, have passed beyond the reach of all the changes and uncertainties of time ; they have been and will be, through all future ages, evidences on earth of the efficacy of the Gospel, and in heaven the everlasting monuments of redeeming mercy and renovating grace.

Should France, from any latent promptings of equity, or other considerations, be induced to render even tardy justice to the queen, and restore her absolute sovereignty, or should the Government of Paris and their agents at Tahiti, true to their own honour, and faithful to their own solemn professions, confine themselves strictly to the control

of external regulations, leaving to the native authorities the unfettered administration of the government of the country, and should improvement and civilization mark the future progress of the people, so long as the difference shall exist between the Tahitians, who, according to the statement of the French Minister himself, have attained the highest point of civilization in the Archipelago; and the Marquesans, whom all the fear of French power and all the love of French property, could not restrain from wreaking fatal vengeance on their invaders, so long will evidence be furnished to the civilized world, of the utility of the unostentatious and unaided labours of the missionaries in Tahiti.

Should the course be more disastrous, should demoralization and disease enervate, and extortion and military despotism oppress the people, until, after gradually languishing under their accumulated sufferings and wrongs, a remnant only shall remain, or the race become extinct, the records of what they were when discovered by Wallis, and visited by Cook, of what they are at the present time, and of the instrumentality by which the remarkable change has been effected, will remain an object of attention and interest to the philosopher and the scholar, and an imperishable memorial of the value and utility of Christian missions. And while evidence will remain that this disastrous result arose from causes against which the Christian missionary could not contend, and which could be restrained only by other forces than those which he could legitimately employ, the history of the South Sea mission will continue to present to the church of God an example of fidelity and perseverance, ultimately crowned with unparalleled success, and an earnest of the blessings in reserve for the world.

The calamitous circumstances into which these events

have brought the Queen of Tahiti, the British-missionaries, and the native churches, have called forth extensive and generous sympathy. That deep and general sympathy has found expression in supplication to the Supreme Ruler among the nations. The prayers of the righteous have never ascended in vain, the providence of the Almighty is as vigilant and certain as ever, and He who frequently overrules even the wickedness of men for the furtherance of his own designs, and who has given so many tokens of his favour towards this now oppressed and suffering people, is as able as in any former period, to effect their deliverance, to cause the wrath of man to praise him, while the remainder of that wrath he restrains.

In whatever way this may be accomplished, besides the advantages already noticed, besides showing the adaptation of the Gospel to the circumstances of man in his lowest state of degradation; besides demonstrating its efficiency as applied by the instrumentality of missionary agencies, for all the great purposes for which it was originally announced, the progress and results of the South Sea mission have effectually removed some of the chief objections occasionally urged even by their friends against modern missions.

The present position of affairs in relation to Tahiti furnishes indubitable evidence that missionaries are neither the emissaries of government nor its enemies. Foreigners have frequently stated, and in connexion with recent events, French writers appear fond of insinuating, that, though professedly the agents of a voluntary and purely religious association, established for the purpose of diffusing the knowledge of the Christian religion, the missionaries are virtually the agents of the British Government, which has been thus covertly extending the political and commercial influence of England. The want of information

manifested as to the extent and effect of the labours of the missionaries in the South Seas, and the unhesitating manner in which they have been abandoned by their own government to the arbitrary and irresponsible control of the French, on whose sufferance their very continuance in the field they have cultivated for nearly fifty years is now made to depend, will most effectually prevent their being regarded as the agents of their government.

A prejudice has existed against missionaries among their own countrymen of a diametrically opposite character, but equally unfounded. They have been represented as dangerous individuals, whose influence would sap the foundations of the public tranquillity, whose movements required to be narrowly watched, and discouraged rather than favoured by the governments under which they laboured, and whose efforts would tend rather to the injury than advantage of society. The conduct of the missionaries in the South Seas towards the native authorities, and towards the representatives of their own government, from the adjacent colony as well as from home, show, as their conduct in other parts of the world has invariably shown, the utter groundlessness of such prejudices. While the extent to which their labours have encouraged the commerce of their country, afforded security to the mariner among tribes formerly the most hostile and ferocious, and the extent to which the civilization which has followed their exertions has created a demand for the manufactures of their native country,* entitle them to a place among its sincerest friends, and will in all unprejudiced minds ensure for them approval and respect.

* Mr. Williams stated before the Common Council of the City of London, that as the result of missionary efforts, articles of British manufacture were in use among upwards of 100,000 of the natives of the islands of the Pacific. That in nearly one hundred islands missionaries had been instrumental in introducing industry and security for shipping, and as the influence of missionaries prevails a demand is created for articles of British commerce.

The Tahitian mission has also shown that no civilizing process was necessary to prepare the natives to receive Christianity, that the attempt to teach the people reading and writing, and a knowledge of the useful arts, was unproductive of any beneficial result, until they received the Gospel, and were brought under the motives to industry and improvement which it alone supplies, and that afterwards education, industry, improvement, and civilization, followed in its train.

It has also been frequently objected to Christian missions, that they do not civilize the people among whom they are established, that they are directed to the inculcation of religious truths, and the wants of the soul, to the utter neglect of mental culture, industrious habits, useful arts, and all temporal improvement. The Tahitian mission presents the most satisfactory answer to this objection, and shows that while the communication of religious truth, and the welfare of the soul, have been its primary objects; it has, according to the concurrent testimony of enemies and friends, raised the people to a degree of civilization superior to that which any other portion of mankind, who were in similar circumstances fifty years ago, has in that interval been able to attain. This mission has favoured the developement of the human mind, called into existence a literature, where before the use of letters was unknown, and diffused the blessings of liberty where savage despotism alone reigned. It has introduced a knowledge of the mechanic arts, opened new avenues for commerce, and guaranteed security to the merchant and the seamen engaged in its pursuit; it has aided the progress of science, and enlarged the field of discovery; and has raised the objects of its regard to the exercise of benevolent affections, and the practice of virtue in the present life, while directing them to seek the glory and blessedness of that which is to come.

ULTRA GANGES MISSIONS.

CHINA.

CHAPTER XV.

China not exempt from the changes that have affected the civilized world—Character of the events affecting China—Influence of England, instrumentality of the Missionary Society—Increasing acquaintance with China, and attention to the study of the language—Interpreters for Lord Macartney's embassy—High estimate of letters in China—Importance of literary distinctions—Public literary examinations—Extent of education—Chinese literature—Character of the sacred books—Claims of China on the scholar and the christian—The religions of China—Early introduction of Christianity by the Nestorians—Efforts of the Roman Catholics—Character and talents of the Jesuits in China—Causes of their expulsion from the empire—Estimate of their character and labours—Moral and social state of the people—Attention of the Society early directed to the nations beyond the Ganges—Proposal to the late Rev. J. Campbell to proceed to China—Appointment of Mr. Morrison—His preparatory labours before leaving England—Transcription of Chinese books in the British Museum—His views on leaving England—Arrival at New York—Departure from America and arrival at Canton—Friendship of Sir George Staunton and the American Consul—Difficulties attending his residence in China and acquisition of the language—His privations and self-denial—Mr. Morrison's appointment as translator to the British Factory—His marriage—Missionary and literary labours—Extent of his attainments in Chinese.

THE last half-century has been a period of mighty revolutions throughout the civilized world; and remote as the Chinese empire is from the western nations, and unaffected as it has seemed to be by the stirring and rapidly succeeding movements by which they have been agitated, events have, during the same time, occurred, in relation to

China, as important as any that have transpired in other quarters of the globe. China claims a higher antiquity than any existing nation. Coeval with Egypt and the earliest monarchies of the earth, the Persian, the Grecian, and the Roman empires, as well as all the modern dynasties of Europe, have risen into being since the foundations of the Chinese empire were laid. The most renowned among these empires has prospered, declined, and disappeared, while China has enlarged her territory, consolidated her institutions, and rendered the principles of adhesion which combine, as in one vast family, her mighty population, apparently more firm and durable.

This lengthened term of national existence, extending back to the first dispersion of mankind, has been marked by unnumbered and strongly diversified occurrences; but it is probable that the events affecting China which have taken place, even within the last quarter of a century, will be followed by consequences more momentous and lasting to the millions of her people, than any that have occurred during the previous 3000 years.

Among the most prominent of these events, is the destruction of that absurd assumption of a sovereignty and power which admitted of no equal under heaven, stigmatizing as barbarians all other nations, and requiring, in its intercourse with them, acts of homage and acknowledgments of vassalage.

The wealth and commercial character of these nations were already known; and the Chinese, concluding that these furnished their only claim to consideration, treated them with arrogance and contempt. But the importance and power of Europeans have now been felt and acknowledged, and China, abandoning her assumed and unapproachable pre-eminence, has, on her own soil, shown to those hitherto treated as barbarians the deference and

respect of equals ; has entered into reciprocally binding engagements with them, for mutual advantage ; and has opened the ports of her heretofore impenetrable territory for amicable and honourable intercourse and trade.

The array of hostile forces, the conflict, the conquest, the conferences between the plenipotentiaries of the contending empires, the cession of territory, and the ratification of treaties, forming the basis of future relationship and intercourse, have attracted very general attention ; but far more important, though comparatively unnoticed, have been the feelings of interest excited on behalf of China, the desire manifested for information respecting the country and the people, and the attention beginning to be paid to their language in Europe and America.

The vast amount of power possessed by the nations of Europe over other parts of the world, and in particular by England over India, is one of the most remarkable features of the present time ; and when the extent to which the proceedings of Europe will, in all probability, affect the destinies of Asia is considered, the multiplication of works relating to China in the languages of Europe, together with the degree of attention already given to that vast empire by the statesman and the merchant, the scholar and the Christian, and the unprecedented success with which the language of China has been studied by Europeans, results the most important may be expected.

The advantages secured by the present generation for influencing the Chinese, as compared with those of the past, conferred by the knowledge of the language, the only medium of intellectual, moral, and spiritual benefit to China, is strikingly shown by the fact, that, when, in 1792—only three years before the formation of the Missionary Society—Lord Macartney's embassy to Pekin was appointed, England contained no individual acquainted with the

Chinese language, and at only one spot in Europe could an interpreter for the embassy be found. Important as the trade of the East India Company with China had at that time become, to them the language was unknown, and Sir George Staunton, the accomplished and learned secretary and historian of the embassy, proceeded in search of some individual competent to act as interpreter, first to Paris, thence to Rome, and subsequently to Naples; where, in the college of the Roman Catholic missionaries, he found two natives of China acquainted with Latin and Italian, whom he engaged to return with him to England, and accompany the embassy.

Since that time, besides the valuable and voluminous Chinese dictionary, grammar, and philological works of Dr. Morrison, the dictionary of Medhurst, and the works of others in the same field, the labours of the Serampore missionaries, and the publications of learned Chinese scholars in Europe, professorships for teaching the Chinese language have been established in Munich, Berlin, Paris, and London; the increase of Chinese works on the Continent, and the valuable and extensive Chinese library of Dr. Morrison, now in University College, London, have placed the means of acquiring a knowledge of a language, understood probably by 400,000,000 of mankind, within the reach of all who are able to devote to its study the requisite attention and time.

The communication of the knowledge of the science and literature, the inventions and discoveries, the resources and the institutions of Europe, and the extended intercourse for which existing commercial relations will prepare the way, will be ultimately followed by highly important results. But far more important than the achievements of European skill and valour in China, the acquisition of her language, the increased facilities for amicable inter-

course, and the communication of the science and philosophy of the western nations, are the efforts which the Protestants of Europe and America have commenced for the introduction of the Christian faith among the Chinese.

These efforts, insignificant as they have been in comparison with the objects contemplated, have already issued in results of incalculable value; and without mentioning others, the translation of the entire Bible into the Chinese language is an event unequalled in its deep and far-reaching consequences by any which the history of China has hitherto recorded. The prominent part which, in the course of Divine Providence, England has taken in the proceedings which have led to the former class of these results, and the extent to which the instrumentality of the London Missionary Society has been employed in accomplishing the latter, render them increasingly interesting to all classes of our countrymen, and identify them in a peculiar manner with the proceedings of the Society. Events such as these could not have occurred among any people without producing great and lasting consequences; but they may be expected to operate with peculiar force among the Chinese, on account of some of the most remarkable characteristics of that peculiar people. Literature holds a higher place in China than in any other country; and difficult and tedious as the peculiarity of their written language renders its acquisition, even to the natives themselves, the arts of reading and writing are understood and practised by a greater proportion of the people than in most other countries.

Dr. Morrison supposed that one-half the entire population was able to read; others have stated that three-fourths of the inhabitants of China are educated. All represent the Chinese as a reading people; and taking the lowest estimate of the numbers acquainted with letters, it is not

possible to calculate the effects that may be produced by the circulation throughout the country of books in the Chinese language.* The estimation in which letters are held by the Chinese is sustained by the highest antiquity, and in no country is antiquity so venerated, or its sanction so binding. The sages whose writings contain the principles of their religion, the maxims of their government, and the elements of all their social institutions, assign the highest honours to literary eminence. The whole patronage of government is dispensed in reference to literary merit, and its possession qualifies for the power and emolument of office throughout the empire, without respect to the family, wealth, or rank of its possessor.

The high honour and advantage attainable by eminent scholarship, the avenue to the highest distinctions in the empire which it opens to all classes, the publicity of the competitions, and the impartiality of the decisions of the censors, or literary judges, the highest being determined by the emperor himself, are cherished by the

* The creed and the customs of the people both favour this mode of influencing the public mind. The fifth article of the Chinese decalogue forbids the throwing away characters, and the blotting of good books; hence the Chinese attach a sort of sacredness to the characters of their language, and consider it exceedingly wrong to tread on printed paper. The tenth article requires the diffusion of instruction and renovation. One of its injunctions is, "Print a number of good books." Hence, also, among other customs, "the Chinese print good books by voluntary subscription. A few persons subscribe, and have the blocks cut; or, in fact, have the work stereotyped. They then cast off a few copies, in which it is stated where the books are deposited; and all good people are invited to have a few struck off, to give away for the instruction of the age. The names of the subscribers to the blocks are inserted. A person who wants fifty or a hundred copies sends to the warehouse, and has them cast off on purpose. His name is also inserted in the list of subscribers. I received, the other day, five volumes from a person who had just received thirty copies of a collection of moral essays, from all the religious sects. It is a maxim with them, that all who know letters ought to teach women and young people that which is right."—*Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 404.

Chinese themselves as among their most valued institutions, and regarded as demonstrating their superiority over other nations.

Twice in every three years the students of every district, the whole number of districts exceeding 1500, meet for public examination. The most advanced of these are subsequently examined before the chancellor in the public hall of the province of their respective districts, when the first degree of literary honours is awarded to the most accomplished. The attainment of this distinction immediately alters the position which the successful candidate holds in civil society, as it exempts him from corporal punishment, and confers other privileges. Those only who have attained the first honour are entitled to compete for the second, for which examinations are held once every three years in all the provincial cities, when 10,000 aspirants to the rank of "elevated men" frequently assemble. The competitors on these occasions occupy separate cells, of which there are several thousands at the place of examination. Before entering they are searched, to prevent their carrying with them books or papers; and during the examination they are guarded by soldiers, to prevent communication or fraud. The candidates thus secluded are required to write themes or compositions on texts, or maxims of the sages, in prose and poetry; and all in whose productions the least mistake or fault is discovered are not eligible for further trial. The successful candidates on the first day compete again on the second, and those who excel in this trial enter the lists again on the third day, when, after a severe scrutiny of their papers, seventy-two out of the 10,000 competitors from the whole province are raised to the second degree of literary rank.*

* When the announcement of the successful candidates is published, the multitudes rush forward to gain the intelligence, and handbills are printed

The third degree is the result of a still more rigorous examination at the capital itself, and takes place once in every three years, when about 10,000 competitors of those who have attained the second degree again enter the lists, and after an examination similar to those in the provincial cities, the third literary degree is awarded to three hundred, who are designated "advanced scholars." These are immediately eligible to office, and are generally appointed, without delay, to the civil superintendency of a district; and according to the statement of Medhurst, there is not a district magistrate throughout the Chinese empire who has not passed through the ordeals now noticed, and attained the third literary degree. The fourth, or highest literary honour is awarded only after a severe examination at the imperial palace, in the presence of the emperor. Essays on given theories are composed, and the authors of a small number of compositions of the highest excellence are admitted to the national institute, where they are liberally supported, employed by the emperor to prepare public documents, and to deliberate on all questions of politics and literature, and are frequently appointed to the highest offices in the state.

The three successful candidates for this highest degree are after the examination mounted on horseback, and proceed in grand procession for three days round the capital. The chief of the three is one of a million, occupying the most envied post in the empire, yet invested with

and circulated far and wide, not only for the information of the candidates themselves, but their parents and kindred also, who receive titles and honours in common with their favoured relations. Presents are then made to the triumphant scholars, and splendid apparel prepared for them, so that they soon become rich and great. To-day they are dwelling in an humble cottage, and to-morrow introduced to the palaces of the great, riding in sedans or on horseback, and everywhere received with the greatest honour. — *Medhurst's China*, p. 175.

a distinction and honour to which the humblest member of the vast community is eligible, and after which every student may aspire. When the peculiarity of the Chinese written language is considered, and the length of time which it is requisite to study, probably ten or twelve years, before the student is qualified to compete for the first or lowest distinction, and thus obtain "a name in the village," is taken into the account, together with the limited range of subjects to which the genius and learning of the scholar is confined, it is evident that distinction can only be attained by prodigious efforts and the most untiring application. Long before day the Chinese student may be heard chanting his sacred books, and till late at night the same task is continued.

The achievements of those who, in spite of indigence, and what would be generally considered as insuperable difficulties, have attained distinction are carefully recorded by their celebrated writers in the history of the empire; and these, together with the not unfrequent instances in which individuals from the lowest classes of society, by assiduity and perseverance, rise through different grades of literary honours, till they become ministers of state, and sway the destinies of the empire, furnish at once examples and stimulus to the ardent and laborious student. So powerful are the motives thus supplied, that many persevere to the end of their days in the pursuit, and men of eighty years of age have been known to die of excitement and exhaustion in halls of examination.*

In this thickly-peopled country, where the avenues of wealth and distinction are few, and labour indispensable for the support of the great body of the people, the pre-eminence and substantial advantage which literary dis-

* Medhurst, p. 179.

tion confers, the number of those who throughout life are devoted to letters, have at once required and produced a most abundant literature, considering the limited number of the subjects embraced. The Chinese press, Dr. Morrison observes, has been prolific, and the accumulation vast. They have their standard works on Chinese history and politics, some of them extending to 3000 volumes, their Encyclopædia amounting to 450 volumes,* works on topography, antiquities, and dramatic compositions, and works of fiction.

Extensive as this catalogue appears, the literature is probably more defective than that of any other nation in which it has been equally cultivated. This arises from that principle of exclusiveness which refuses intercourse with the rest of mankind, and has hitherto prevented the Chinese from recognizing, much less adopting, the literature of other nations. With many of the physical sciences, and the inductive philosophy, the Chinese remain, to a great extent, unacquainted. Their systems, if such they may be called, of science and philosophy are, like their government and domestic institutions, considered incapable of improvement; and all the facts of nature and of science, instead of forming the basis of their systems, are considered as referable only to ancient opinions, or established and mystical theories. For anything beyond the elements of astronomy they are indebted to foreigners, who have resided at Pekin; and their works on medicine and botany, though voluminous and abundant, are either exceedingly defective, or crude and often fanciful vagaries of quackery and superstition.

Besides works of the kind now noticed, they have their classics and sacred books. "The text of the five sacred

* This, according to Gutzlaff, is an abridgment of a work in 6000 vols.—*China Opened*, p. 418.

books, and of the four books which were compiled by four of the disciples of Confucius, and from which circumstance the books receive their title, contain the doctrines and precepts which their master, Confucius, approved and communicated to them. In respect of external form, the five books of the Chinese correspond to the Pentateuch of Moses; and the four books, in respect of being a record of the sayings of a master, compiled by four disciples, have a slight resemblance to the four Gospels. But the contents—how different! With the exception of a few passages in the most ancient part of the five books, which retain apparently something of the knowledge which Noah must have communicated to his children, the rest appears a godless system of personal, domestic, and political moralities, drawn only from the pride of the human heart, or the love of fame, or present expediency. The sanctions of the eternal and almighty God, arrayed with every natural and moral perfection, wise and good, and just and merciful; and the fears and the hopes of immortality; and the grace of a Saviour, are wholly wanting in these ancient Chinese works.”*

In the peculiarities now noticed, no less than in others equally remarkable, China presents a spectacle of surpassing interest. The defects and errors which vitiate the very fountains of knowledge, whence the intellectual and spiritual wants of her population are supplied, furnish at once powerful and active inducements to the friends of truth and virtue, even when the higher obligations which Christianity supplies are not recognized, to pour upon the benighted mind of the largest united portion of mankind the light of true science and philosophy, and enrich them by imparting of those stores of knowledge which happier

* Morrison's Chinese Miscellany, p. 34.

circumstances and more enlightened principles have enabled them to possess.

But however desirable the renovation of the mind of China by the communication of the true principles of human learning may be, the Christian will feel that in his bosom China should awaken sympathies more profound, enkindle aspirations more sublime, while it claims and encourages from him devotedness, exertions, and sacrifices, to communicate the principles of a purer faith, and the foundations of a more glorious hope, as far surpassing any that the most enlightened and ardent votary of science and philosophy can feel, as the immortal spirit is more precious than the body, and the realities of eternity more grave and important than the transient vicissitudes of time. And while the Christian admits these solemn claims, and regrets that they have hitherto received a measure of attention so vastly disproportioned to their urgency and weight, he will rejoice that the rank which learning holds in China, the universal diffusion of education, the estimation in which books are held, and the extent to which the habit of reading prevails among all classes, the facility with which the pen and the press are employed throughout the Chinese territory, favours in a manner unequalled in any other nation the labours of learned, holy, and devoted men, to diffuse by these means the knowledge of those lively oracles which bring life and immortality to light.

Inducements to attempt this, present themselves in prodigiously accumulated force, when the fatally delusive systems of religion which have so long prevailed in China are considered. Atheism or superstition, in different degrees, prevails among all ranks, to whichever of the religious classes in the country they may belong. In religious belief, the Chinese are divided into three distinct

orders or sects. The most esteemed among them are the followers of Confucius, one of the most celebrated of their ancient sages, called by them the "Teacher of ten thousand ages," who lived about 500 years before the Christian era. His writings are considered as the highest authority in ethics, politics, and religion, if the latter can be included among the subjects of which he treats, for his code seems rather to be a system for the regulation of human conduct than of religious belief, beginning and ending with the relations and responsibilities of the present life, deriving all things from nothing, and leading to the belief of their ultimate return to nonentity. Filial reverence and obedience are the great principles according to which all duties in public and social life are regulated; and however valuable any of the maxims relating to human conduct may be, the entire system is destitute of any just views of the character, or even existence of God, and conveys no information respecting the destiny of the soul after death.

Equally ancient, though less popular among the higher ranks of society, is the visionary system of Leoukeun, the founder of the Taou sect, or advocates of eternal reason, who are visionaries and sometimes ascetics, greatly addicted to alchemy and magic, worshipping a variety of idols, and believing in demoniacal possession, amulets, and charms. All just ideas of the only living God are as foreign from their system as from that of Confucius.

The third form of religious belief is Buddhism, which was about the commencement of the Christian era introduced into China, and is now spread over the length and breadth of the land, perpetuating the credulity and delusion of its votaries. It maintains in China the characteristic features which it exhibits in other parts of the world, slightly modified by local circumstances. To sup-

press all human emotion constitutes its greatest excellence, and to suffer annihilation its ultimate aim and highest happiness. The country swarms with priests; and the religious acts of these Buddhists, as well as those of the votaries of eternal reason, often manifest a puerility and foolishness, more resembling the conduct of infants or idiots, than that of adult and rational beings.*

Viewed under this aspect, what a profoundly exciting subject of reflection does China present to the Christian mind! The mighty mass of her vast population passing the days appointed unto men upon earth, through an uninterrupted series of thousands of years, united as one people, imagining themselves under the guidance and favour of Heaven; their imperial rulers designated as the sons of Heaven, regarded as the fathers of the people; and yet, monarchs and people, under delusive idolatries, passing in successive generations to the eternal world, "untaught of life to come, unsanctified, unsaved." The history of our species presents no equally appalling spectacle.

Not that China has been absolutely and entirely given up to atheism and idolatry throughout the long period of her political and social existence. The light of Christianity has beamed upon the wide-spread empire, but its influence has been so feeble and partial, as scarcely to affect the character or the destiny of its vast population. According to Mosheim, the knowledge of Christianity was conveyed to China by the Nestorians, in the seventh century,† and must have existed there for a period of 800 years. On the same, and other authorities, it is stated that the Roman pontiffs sent missionaries to China in the thirteenth century, who penetrated as far as Peking, and established churches, of which in the beginning of the

* Medharst, p. 215.

† Mosheim's History, vol. i. p. 499, and vol. ii. p. 819.

fourteenth century, John de Monte Corvino was appointed archbishop.*

The discovery by the Portuguese of the passage to India, by the Cape of Good Hope, was followed by vigorous attempts on the part of the Romish church to establish the papal faith in China. With this object in view, the celebrated Jesuit, Xavier, approached the celestial empire, but died on the coast in the year 1553. He was followed, in 1579, by three Italian Jesuits. The most able and talented among them, Ricci, after remaining a few years in the Canton province, made his way to Peking, where his learning and address secured the patronage of the emperor, and favoured the establishment and diffusion of his faith. Thus supported, the principles and tact of the order to which Ricci belonged rendered his labours eminently successful: he died in 1610.

Eighteen years afterwards, Adam Schaal, a member of the same order, reached the capital, and by his great learning, skill, and devotedness, preserved for the cause of Christianity all the advantages which his predecessor had secured, and extended its influence still more widely. Verbiest, another distinguished Jesuit, was associated with Schaal, in the presidency of the tribunal of mathematics, and the propagation of the Catholic faith. Great success attended the efforts of the missionaries, and hopes were entertained that China would be added to the nations that yielded subjection to the Papal See.

In the meantime, other orders of teachers had entered the field, and disputes arose among the missionaries themselves about the terms employed to express the Supreme Being, the rites and ceremonies in honour of Confucius, and the worship of homage to departed ances-

* Mosheim's History, vol. ii. p. 320.

tors, which Ricci and the Jesuits had allowed.* Successive popes interfered, and attempted by bulls and decrees to determine the matters in dispute; but the missionaries on some points, and the King of Portugal in others,† refused to acknowledge the Papal authority, and the Emperor of China declared, that as the decrees of the Pope were contrary to the usages of the empire, the Christian religion could not subsist there. Ultimately, in 1723, the missionaries, three hundred in number, were required to leave the country, and their converts, it is said, amounting to 800,000, were deprived of their spiritual instructors.

The force and beauty with which divine truth was sometimes exhibited by the early Roman Catholic writers when the interests and influence of their church were not affected, are frequently apparent in their works. One of these writers, after speaking of the glory connected with the dignity and voluntary humiliation of the Saviour, thus illustrates this important truth:—

“A drought continued seven years under the Shang dynasty; during which the emperor, on behalf of the people, interceded with heaven for rain. To do this effectually he covered his body with rushes, assumed the position of a bullock devoted to sacrifice, cut off his hair, paired his nails, inflicted punishment on his own body for sins, and debased himself to the uttermost. But notwithstanding this degradation, the glory with which he was surrounded rendered it imperceptible to his ministers and people; because he sought to remove a direful calamity under which the whole nation had long groaned. The deeper, therefore, his personal humiliation became, the more resplendent was the honour to which it exalted him.

* Mosheim's interesting treatise on the Catholic Missions in China, published in 1748.

† The nomination of bishops.

An ordinary individual could not have displayed the same eminence of character, even though his abasement were yet more profound; for, if he deserved to suffer, his degradation would only render him a fitter object of reprobation and contempt; and as humiliation derives its character from the deserts of the subject of it, its merit must be regulated by his dignity and worth.

“Now, Sir, you do not ask whether Jesus, the Son of God, is in glory or in ignominy? This question is clearly understood; but you allege it is impossible to believe on him, and submit to him. If I had said Jesus’s deep disgrace shadows forth his exalted honour, his voluntary abasement displays his supreme dignity, his unparalleled ignominy proclaims his infinite glory, I might not have produced conviction; therefore to illustrate the subject more fully, I borrowed an allusion from historical recollections of Tang, which is, after all, like taking a particle of dust to represent the western mountains, or a drop of water to symbolize the eastern ocean. Still small and great things compared together in a few particulars may tend to corroborate the evidences of truth. Tang was the prince of a country; Jesus Christ is the Lord of the Universe. To estimate Tang’s merit by his virtue, he only delivered one nation from famine at a peculiar era; Jesus is able, by his virtue and his merit, to rescue the inhabitants of ten thousand provinces, or even ten thousand worlds, from everlasting misery. Tang only charged upon himself the six calamities incident to the body; but Jesus congregated in his own person the curses due to the sins of all mankind. Tang’s sacrifices only aimed to prolong the mortal existence of the people for a short period; Jesus endured concentrated agonies from the scourge, the nails, the spear, and the cross on which he expired, to procure for guilty

multitudes the blessings of eternal life. It is needless to point out which is the superior of these two characters ; and if the inferior, without previous degradation, be honourably distinguished, then must the superior rise from his voluntary humiliation to infinitely higher honour and glory. This is already manifest ; further discussion is unnecessary.”*

Severe persecutions have been, at various times, directed against the Catholic missionaries ; and though there are a number in the country, they generally remain concealed in places known only to their disciples, or they exist by the connivance of the local authorities. The Catholics in Pekin are said to amount to 26,000, under the care of two French missionaries. In most of the provinces there are Catholic communities, and in some places chapels in which the rites of the church are performed by native priests. When the rulers do not suspect the presence of foreigners, they are represented as indulgent towards the native converts.† The Portuguese and Spaniards have establishments at Macao for educating missionaries for China, and aiding their introduction to the empire.‡

* Kidd's China, p. 388.

† Medhurst, p. 244.

‡ Speaking of the early Catholic missionaries, Dr. Milne observes, with a truth and charity which all must approve :—“ The learning, personal virtues, and ardent zeal of some of them, deserve to be imitated by all future missionaries—will be equalled by few—and, perhaps, rarely exceeded by any. Their stedfastness and triumph in the midst of the persecutions, even to blood and death, in all imaginable forms of terror, which they endured in Japan, China, &c., show that the adulterated Christianity which they taught is to be ascribed to the effect of education, not to design ; and also afford good reason to believe that they have long since joined ‘ the noble army of martyrs,’ and are now wearing the crown of those ‘ who spared not their lives from death, but overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of their testimony.’ It is also not to be doubted, that many sinners were, through their labours, turned from sin to God ; for we have abundant cause to think, that wherever the great

The modern Catholic missionaries appear in every respect inferior to their predecessors, and their converts, except in name, differ but little from the heathen around them; and notwithstanding the learning and talent of the missionaries, and the high patronage which they received, the Chinese still remain wholly given to idolatry; and though exhibiting in their industry, urbanity, docility, and many of their domestic relations, numerous estimable traits of character, yet presenting on a broad and appalling scale a vast amount of the degradation, vice, and suffering of paganism. The depressed state in which the female sex is held is one of the strongest evidences of the small progress they have made in true civilization; and the extent to which infanticide in relation to female children prevails, adds painful confirmation to the truth, that the "dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty." It has been denied that they are addicted to the latter crime; but the admissions of their own writers, the official papers of the officers of government, and the recent testimony of the natives themselves, leave no doubt of the practice, whatever uncertainty may exist as to its extent.*

lines of the Gospel are made known, should there even be a mixture of error with the truth, God will not suffer his word entirely to fall to the ground. They will finally have due 'praise from God;' and let us never cherish a reluctance to consider them as fellow-workers in his kingdom."—*Milne's Retrospect*, pp. 12, 13.

* The answer of Dr. Morrison to the inquiry, "What then do the Chinese require from Europe?" affords melancholy confirmation of these statements. "They," he replies, "require the knowledge of Christ. For with all their antiquity, and their literature, and their arts and refinement, they are still infatuated idolaters; they are still given up to what Heaven regards as abominable idolatry, and to vile affections, working that which is unseemly. Not liking to retain God in their knowledge, they worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator; they are haters of the true God, are filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, and wickedness. With all their civilization, still envy and malice, deceit and falsehood, to a boundless

Such was the state of a nation spread over a territory 8,000,000 square miles in extent, and amounting to upwards of 300,000,000 of human beings,* when the Missionary Society was established, and this ancient and wonderful race became the object of its solicitude and efforts. Missionaries from different parts of Europe had proceeded to India, but none of the Protestant churches had directed their efforts to China; and though England had maintained an increasingly lucrative commerce with that distant country, for upwards of one hundred and fifty years, she had sent no single messenger to make the blessings of Christianity known to its inhabitants, and the London Missionary Society was honoured by the great Head of the church to take the lead in the efforts which it is believed the churches of Britain, the Protestants of Europe and America, will yet put forth in behalf of this vast empire. The operations of the Society were in the first instance directed to uncivilized and barbarous countries, not because these were considered in themselves the most eligible, but because others were inaccessible. This was peculiarly the case in relation to China and the adjacent

extent—pride and boasting—a selfish, ungenerous, scarcely honest prudence—and a cold, metaphysical inhumanity, are the prevalent characteristics of the people of China. Their well-known backwardness to assist persons in imminent danger of losing their lives by drowning or otherwise; the cruel treatment of domestic slaves and concubines in families; the tortures both of men and women before conviction in public courts; and the murder of female infants, connived at, contrary to law, are the proofs I offer of the truth of the latter part of my accusation. Their principles are defective, and hence their vicious practice. The philosophy of their celebrated ancient sage, Confucius, acknowledges no future state of existence; and concerning the duties of man to his Maker, presents a complete blank.”—*Sermon before the Missionary Society, 1825.*

* One of the latest official accounts of the population of China was published in 1832, by the late J. R. Morrison, Esq. It was translated from statistics of the Ta-tsing dynasty, issued in 1825, and states the population to be 361,000,000. This estimate is also adopted by Medhurst.

countries, to which the Society's attention was directed at a very early period after its formation.

The first step towards an Ultra Ganges mission was taken by the Society in February, 1799,* when the desirableness of attempting a mission to Sumatra, among other parts of the East, was brought under the notice of the directors by Joseph Hardcastle, Esq., their treasurer, at a meeting specially convened for the purpose, when a committee was appointed to obtain information, and consider the best means of accomplishing these objects.

The want of correct information respecting the dispositions of the inhabitants of these countries,† the prejudice that existed against missions, the unfavourable light in which their operations were regarded by the East India Company, and the high order of qualification which the enterprise required, constituted the chief difficulties. The capture of the *Duff*, also, and the disasters of the South Sea mission, occurring soon afterwards, and demanding immediate attention, were probably instrumental in postponing the attempt at that time. Two years afterwards the printing of the New Testament in the Chinese language ‡ was noticed in the correspondence between the Missionary Society in Holland and the directors.

Mr. Campbell, then of Edinburgh, but afterwards of Kingsland, who in subsequent years twice visited South

* Directors' Minutes.

† The directors used every available means for obtaining information, applying personally to individuals who were favourable to their object, and had been in China, and even sending a series of questions to Pinang to ascertain on what conditions or by what means a missionary could gain access to the Chinese. Captain Henry Wilson, who brought over Yong Sam-tak; Dr. McKinnon, who had held a medical appointment at Canton; Mr. Scott, of Pinang; and Mr. Grant, the father of Lord Glenelg, are among those from whom they received the greatest assistance.

‡ Directors' Minutes, September, 1801.

Africa, on behalf of the Society, attended the annual missionary meetings in London in the month of May, 1802. During this visit, Dr. Bogue, in company with Dr. Haweis, and Dr. Mason of New York, brought the state of the Chinese under Mr. Campbell's notice, and urged him to become the first Protestant missionary to Canton. Dr. Bogue's proposal was seconded by others, but did not commend itself to Mr. Campbell's own judgment.*

In the year 1803, a memoir was read to the directors recommending a mission to India and China, and a committee was appointed to ascertain the most eligible place for the residence of missionaries, the means of conveyance, &c. In the month of July, 1804, the subject was again brought under the notice of the directors by a letter from the Rev. W. Mosely,† respecting a mission to China, and the translation of the Scriptures into the Chinese language. A letter from Mr. Scott, jun., was also read, recommending a mission to Pinang; and it was at that meeting decided to send missionaries to China, Pinang, or Macao, as soon as practicable, and Dr. Bogue, the tutor of the Missionary Seminary, was also, by a resolution of the same meeting, requested to direct the studies of Mr. Morrison, with reference to that mission,‡ while the directors used their best endeavours to engage the services of one or two suitable companions for Mr. Morrison. Dr.

* Life of the Rev. J. Campbell, by R. Philip, p. 321.

† The Rev. W. Mosely, a dissenting minister at Hanley, in Staffordshire, one of the directors of the Society, was the author of a memoir on the practicability of acquiring the language of China, for the purpose of communicating a knowledge of Christianity to the people, which was favourably noticed at the time, and greatly encouraged the attempt. His memoir is noticed by Dr. Milne in his Retrospect of the Chinese Mission.

‡ Mr. Morrison commenced his studies at Hoxton, but having in the preceding month of May been accepted by the Society as a missionary student, he was then at Gosport.

W. Brown, then a student in Edinburgh, was subsequently accepted by the Society, and commenced a course of preparation for labour among the Chinese; but he subsequently dissolved his connexion with the Society.

In the meantime, Mr. Morrison, of whose high Christian character, and peculiar qualifications for the arduous duty to which he was appointed, the directors had formed a just estimate, applied with indefatigable industry and assiduity to whatever was deemed essential to the success of his mission. With this view he attended to mathematics and astronomy, under Dr. Hutton and other distinguished teachers; but his chief attention was directed to the Chinese language.* In the latter pursuit he derived some assistance from an educated native of China, Yong Sam-tak, who had been recently brought to England, but he derived far greater advantage from a Chinese book,—a harmony of the Gospels,—the work of some Catholic missionary, which he found in the British Museum,† and a Latin Chinese dictionary, in the library of

* His own views on these pursuits are thus expressed in a letter to Mr. Hardcastle: “I wish to have it clearly understood that I have not the least desire for anything of the kind apart from the consideration of helping forward the introduction of English and Protestant missionaries into China. Were I to consult my own wishes, I should prefer to everything besides, giving myself, from this day, to the close of life, entirely to the study of the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, and of the Chinese language.”—*Letter to J. Hardcastle.*

† At that time Joseph Butterworth, Esq., M.P., frequently visited the British Museum, and saw a young man deeply engaged in studying books in a language and character totally unknown to him. His curiosity being excited, he asked the student what the language was which engaged his attention so much. “The Chinese,” he replied. “And do you understand the language?” “I am trying to understand it,” was his answer, “but it is attended with singular difficulty.” “And what is your object?” continued his friend. “I can scarcely define my motives,” he remarked; “all that I know is, that my mind is powerfully wrought upon by some strong and indescribable impulse; and if the language be capable of being surmounted by human zeal and perseverance, I mean to make the experiment. What

the Royal Society, which through the favour of Sir Joseph Banks he was permitted to copy.

Unwilling to send their beloved brother alone, and deeply sensible of the extent to which the success of the mission would depend upon the character and qualifications of the first representatives of the Protestant church, the directors invited Dr. Vanderkemp to proceed to China, under an impression that the veneration in which the Chinese hold learning and age might secure a measure of attention which would be denied to a younger missionary. Dr. Vanderkemp not perceiving it his duty to leave Africa at the time, and the directors being unable to obtain a suitable companion for Mr. Morrison, he prepared to embark alone.

No individual could at that period proceed to India or China, in an English ship, without the permission of the East India Company. That permission had been asked by the Baptist Missionary Society, and refused; and as the refusal which the directors understood they might expect would only increase their difficulties, Mr. Morrison, and Messrs. Gordon and Lee, appointed to India, proceeded to their respective destinations by way of America. On the 20th of January, 1807, Mr. Morrison left his native shores, the first messenger of mercy from Britain to one third of mankind.

The mental exercises of which he was at this time the subject, as recorded in his letters and other papers, show the just views he entertained of the vastness and responsibility of the work on which he was entering, and the consolation and support which he found in reliance on the

may be the final result, time only can develop." Twenty years afterwards, when Dr. Morrison presented to the annual meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society a copy of the Chinese Bible, Mr. Butterworth was present, and alluded to the subject.—*Life of Morrison*, vol. ii. p. 270.

Divine faithfulness and care. His emotions as his native land receded from his view are at once solemn and affecting.

“This,” he observes, “is, in all probability, the closing prospect of a land I shall visit no more. Oh, may the blessing of God rest upon it! the land that gave me birth; the land that till this hour has nourished me; the land of my fathers’ sepulchres; a land I esteem most precious, because there I trust I was born again, and there the saints in numbers dwell. Happy land! may the light of the Gospel never be removed from thee! The prayers of a departing missionary are ended. Amen, and Amen!”*

In the truly valuable letter of instructions to Mr. Morrison, which Mr. Hardcastle had been requested to prepare, the directors thus speak of their own expectations and hopes in relation to his mission: “We hope you will find an opportunity of exercising the profession of a mathematician, and delivering lectures on its various branches; and also of giving instruction in the English language, which must be an attainment of great value to many, whose concerns lead them to hold intercourse with our countrymen who stately reside in China, or occasionally visit that empire. We trust, that no objection will be made to your continuing in Canton, till you have accomplished your great object of acquiring the language; when this is done, you may probably soon afterwards begin to turn this attainment into a direction which may be of extensive use to the world; perhaps you may have the honour of forming a Chinese dictionary, more comprehensive and correct than any preceding one; or the still greater honour of translating the Sacred Scriptures into a language spoken by a third part of the human race. We

* Introduction to a sermon before the Missionary Society, 1825.

Chinese manner, and dined with the person who taught him the language. His mode of living was most rigidly economical. A lamp, made of earthenware, supplied him with light, and a volume of Matthew Henry's Commentary, set up on its edge, afforded a shade to prevent the wind from blowing out the lamp. His nails were at first suffered to grow, that they might be like those of the Chinese. He had a tail (*i. e.* a tress of hair) of some length, and became an adept with the chop-sticks. He walked about the Hong with a Chinese frock on, and with thick Chinese shoes. In this he meant well, but, as he has frequently remarked, was soon convinced that he had judged ill. He did not find that dining with a native increased his knowledge of his language; in the time of taking a hasty meal, little advantage was gained. The same reason which led him to pare his nails, cut off his hair, and give away his Chinese dress, induced him to desist from being singular in his manner of eating also.*

Mr. Morrison continued with increased devotedness the study of the language, manifesting, at the time that he was taxing his own mental powers to the utmost limit, a sacred and scrupulous regard to the funds of the Missionary Society that was in keeping with the noble and generous self-denial and devotedness of his whole character; and though his friends could not but regret that this disregard of the comforts and conveniences, and even necessities of life, was carried to an extent that injured his health, they could not but respect and admire the motives from which it arose. His health having suffered by close application, he was, by the earnest recommendation of Dr. Pearson, and an invitation of the chief of the British fac-

* Retrospect of Chinese Mission, p. 65.

tory, induced to remove to Macao, where he arrived in the beginning of June, 1808, and remained till the month of August following. Here the extreme jealousy of the Romish priests rendered more caution necessary than at Canton; and it was not until his health had suffered by confinement, that he ventured out even for air or exercise. The first time that he ventured out in Macao, was by moonlight, attended, for protection, by two Chinese.* Soon after his return to Canton, the arrival of a British force, to protect Macao against the French, occasioned serious differences between the Chinese and the English; and as the latter were obliged to leave Canton, he returned to Macao, in November,† reoccupied his dilapidated dwelling, and resumed, with unabated ardour, but very inefficient assistance, the study of the language. He felt, as Dr. Milne states, in his Retrospect, “a zeal which bore up his mind, and enabled him, by the blessing of God, to persevere. He possessed rather fortitude than enterprise, and a severe judgment, rather than a vivid imagination, or inventive fancy; hence, to use his own words, ‘he plodded on.’ So desirous was he to acquire the language, that even his secret prayer to the Almighty was offered in broken Chinese. The place of retirement is often fresh in his memory, and he always felt a sort of regard for it, as being the childhood of his Chinese existence. Bad as

* Milne's Retrospect of the Chinese Mission, p. 74.

† Yong Sam-Tak, with whom Mr. Morrison had been acquainted in England, and who returned to Canton soon after the missionary's arrival, behaved with great civility towards him, and on several occasions rendered him valuable assistance, which was seldom more acceptable than on the present occasion. The differences between the English and the Chinese obliged Mr. Morrison to leave Canton in haste, and prevented his taking a single Chinese book with him. His books, both English and Chinese, and other effects, he left in the care of Yong Sam, who promised to send the books to Macao by the first opportunity, and was faithful to the trust reposed in him.

it was, he would not probably have left it, had not the landlord been displeased with him for 'turning his house into a chapel.'

"The very delicate circumstances in which he was placed at the time referred to, required the most rigorous caution. Indeed, ever since his arrival, this was requisite; to relax for a single day, or in a single instance, might have proved fatal to the mission."

"The patience that refuses to be conquered, the diligence that never tires, the caution that always trembles, and the studious habit that spontaneously seeks retirement, were best adapted for the situation of the missionary to China." The necessity of the particular kind of talents which have just been mentioned will appear still more clearly, if it be considered, that the difficulty did not arise from the Chinese alone, but also from various other quarters. The apprehension that it might interfere with the interests of commerce, or the influence of his countrymen. It is easy to perceive, Dr. Milne adds, "how these things taken together would operate against the Gospel under such circumstances, especially where there also exists a considerable degree of scepticism with regard to religion in general. Mere literary or philosophical views would be sanctioned and supported; while the man whose aim is to lead his fellow-creatures to think rationally of the Deity, and to act piously towards him; to venerate the Saviour, and to behave conscientiously in all the relations of life, would be looked upon with marked suspicion; all his proceedings narrowly watched, and the most dangerous consequences to commerce and government dreaded as the result of his endeavours; hence double caution and prudence on his part are rendered necessary. If, at the commencement of the mission, a certain portion of this spirit existed in the commercial bodies, connected with Canton, it is the less to

be wondered at, when we reflect how general it then was throughout India, England, and other countries." *

The severe and solitary labours of Mr. Morrison were at this time cheered by the arrival of Mr. Morton and his family from India, who were the bearers of a letter from Mr. Loveless, at Madras. In their agreeable society he found relief after his laborious studies, and was gratified and encouraged by their uniting with him in the means of spiritual improvement, and the observance of the ordinances of the Gospel. On the 20th of February, 1809, he was united in marriage with Miss Morton, whose society was a source of unspeakable comfort to him in his lonely and arduous labours.

The difficulties and extreme expensiveness of his residence at Canton and Macao induced Mr. Morrison to decide on proceeding to Pinang, with a view of pursuing the study of the language, and promoting the spiritual benefit of the Chinese residing there. After his arrangements had been made, he was prevented from removing to Pinang, by receiving, on the day of his marriage, an appointment as translator to the British factory at Canton. This appointment he gladly accepted, as it secured his uninterrupted residence in the country, favoured his acquiring the most perfect knowledge of the language, and thus furthering the great object of his mission, the preparation of works for the use of his successors, and the translation of the inspired writings. It was also peculiarly welcome, as it enabled him to relieve the funds of the Missionary Society of the heavy expenses which the continuance of the mission at their sole charge would have occasioned. The duties of the office he now held were at first exceedingly oppressive, as his own knowledge of the

* Milne's Retrospect, p. 73.

language was but partial, and he could place no reliance on the natives ; and it is not surprising that he at times felt almost overwhelmed by the responsibilities of the position he occupied. To the utmost of his ability his duties were discharged with fidelity, and their pressure was materially alleviated by the consideration, that whatever increased his acquaintance with the character of the people, or the peculiarities of their language, favoured the accomplishment of the great objects of his life.

So valuable was the assistance which Mr. Morrison rendered to the British merchants in China, and so strong their representations of the importance of his services, that the East India Company confirmed the appointment, together with the augmented salary of 1,000*l.* per annum, which, since the departure of Sir G. Staunton, he had, in consequence of additional duties, received, though neither the directors of the Company at home, nor their agents at Canton, approved of the missionary efforts which Mr. Morrison still continued for the benefit of the Chinese.* The objection arose chiefly from apprehension, lest by his frequent personal intercourse with the Chinese officers, as the representative of the Select Committee, the latter should be implicated in any efforts he might deem it his duty to make for promoting the knowledge of Christianity among the Chinese. But the extreme prudence of Mr. Morrison prevented his exertion for the spiritual benefit of the Chinese ever proving detrimental in the slightest degree to the interests of those on whose behalf he was so frequently the medium of communication with the Chinese authorities.

He had accepted the appointment subject to the approval of the Missionary Society, and was happy to find

* *Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 316.

that it received their entire concurrence. Large as the demands were which the office made upon his energies and time, the Society regarded the appointment as highly favourable to the ultimate objects of his mission, and assured him of their entire confidence, that whatever connexion he might form, or patronage he might receive, would be employed in furtherance of the great objects which the grace and providence of God had induced him to cherish, and conveyed him to China to fulfil.* In the same letter the directors observe, "We do not wish that honourable, and apparently advantageous, connexions of a political nature should be pursued and enjoyed by our missionaries, if they at all be found to interfere with their designative, and proposed exertions for the spiritual good of the souls of the heathen among whom they dwell. But there appears to be a peculiarity in your situation and circumstances which makes a degree of political patronage and support almost essential to the existence of your mission, and to the facility and support of its operations. We therefore thank God and take courage, on account of all He has graciously done for you, and for the great cause in which you are embarked, and we pray that your missionary path may gradually be illuminated, till it shall shine forth in perfect day."†

Although the preaching of the Gospel was not the primary object of Mr. Morrison's mission, such was his estimate of the importance of this appointed means of spiritual benefit, that he had always endeavoured to read or speak on the sabbath-day to the Chinese who attended him as teachers or servants, on the character and will of the living God, and the way of salvation by Jesus Christ. This was often attended with difficulty, on account either

* Life of Morrison, vol. i. p. 306.

† Ibid. p. 307.

of the vigilance and jealousy of the native authorities, or the disinclination of the Chinese themselves to receive Christian instruction.

It was, however, faithfully continued, and ultimately attended with beneficial results. About this time he was visited by some Roman Catholic Christians, who readily received his books, and appeared interested in his work. They were censured by the Romish priests, and informed that it was sin to visit him. One of them, in return, replied, that there could be no harm in visiting the missionary, as the only thing remarkable in his conduct was, his strict observance of the sabbath day.*

While the duties of the office now held by Mr. Morrison made large demands on his time and strength, he found it favoured the ultimate accomplishment of his great objects, the acquisition of the language, and qualified him in a peculiar manner to compile the grammar, dictionary, and other works, which would prepare the way for his successors; and to undertake the translation of the Holy Scriptures into Chinese. We have already noticed the ardour of his temperament, which made him ever ready to undertake, rather than avoid, the most onerous labours, and the firm resolve he made, in dependence on the Divine favour, to acquire the Chinese language for the purposes here specified. This was not his determination, only while at home, surrounded with the encouragements arising from

* If the unfriendly feelings of the Romish priests, who, on another occasion, anathematized one of the converts for visiting Mr. Morrison, arose from apprehension of his aiming to proselyte them, they were groundless. Those now engaged in the Chinese mission, Dr. Milne afterwards stated, do not consider it as any part of their object to make proselytes from one Christian communion to another. When an opportunity offers of turning the attention of professing Christians to the love of God in Christ Jesus, to the importance of practical piety, and to the great realities of eternity, they wish to embrace it; but to instruct the heathen, not to proselyte Christians, is the principle on which they ever wish to act.—*Retrospect*, p. 80.

the notice and approval of the wise and the good, and practically a stranger to the effort and the sacrifice which its fulfilment would require. It was as fondly cherished and as firmly held when alone: disappointed, annoyed, and interrupted by the jealousy of the native government,* and the impression that those around him, instead of sympathising with him in the vast designs which absorbed his own soul, regarded them as the reveries only of a benevolent and well meaning man, but on this subject a visionary enthusiast. In his letters and journals he more than once alludes to his progress and his aims.†

* " We experience great difficulties from the Chinese officers of government. We have to learn in secret, and have often had to hide our books, &c. My assistants have again and again run from me through fear. Lately, for a few days, we had much difficulty to procure the necessaries of life. Our man was taken up when he went to market."—*Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 288.

† " My application to the language has been unremitted. I have in the house a regular schoolmaster. I am still labouring in the same work. Perfection in the Chinese language, or as near perfection as possible, is my object. To this I have not yet reached. Yet, without assuming, I can say that I have been diligent; and I moreover think, without ostentation, that the Lord has given me, in respect of language, a mediocrity of talent." Speaking of his labours at Canton in 1810, he observes in a private letter:—" I continued there till March, carrying on a discussion with the Chinese government, respecting the alleged murder of a Chinaman, and obtained great eclat by the public examination of the witnesses; everybody was astonished that, in two years, I should be able to write the language, and converse in the Mandarin and vulgar dialects."—*Life of Morrison*, pp. 284—293.

CHAPTER XVI.

First portion of the Scriptures in Chinese sent to England—Grant of the British and Foreign Bible Society—Chinese tract and catechism printed—Completion of the Chinese grammar—Appointment of Mr. Milne to China—His arrival at Macao, and expulsion by the Portuguese—Voyage to the Malayan Archipelago—Completion of the New Testament, and a compilation of Old Testament History—Printer, press, &c., sent out to China by the East India Company, for the printing of the Chinese Dictionary—Baptism of the first convert—Departure of Mr. Milne for Malacca—Dissatisfaction of the East India Company with Dr. Morrison's missionary labours—His reply—Dr. Morrison's journey to Peking with Lord Amherst's embassy—Completion of the Chinese Bible—Importance of the work—Qualifications of the translator—Character of the translation—Dr. Morrison's reflections on the work—Establishment of an hospital at Macao—Completion of the Chinese Dictionary—Dr. Morrison's visit to Malacca and Singapore—His visit to England and return to China—Labours of Le-ang-afa—His sufferings and steadfastness—Arrival of missionaries from America—Departure of Mrs. Morrison and family for England—Baptism of converts—Termination of the East India Company's Charter—Arrival of Lord Napier—Death of Dr. Morrison—Letter of his son—Sketch of Dr. Morrison's character—Persecution of the native Christians—Peril of Afa—Edict against distributing Christian books—Voyage of Mr. Medhurst along the coast of China—Arrival of Mr. Lockhart—Mr. Milne and Dr. Hobson at Canton—Visit of Dr. Lockhart to Chusan and Ningpo, and Mr. Medhurst to Shanghai—Removal of Anglo-Chinese College to Hong-Kong—Death of the Hon. John R. Morrison.

AMONG other duties, the compilation of a grammar, and the preparation of a translation of the New Testament in Chinese, engaged Mr. Morrison's attention, and, in September, 1810, having, with the assistance of learned and skilful natives, transcribed, revised, and corrected the translation of the Acts of the Apostles, which he had brought with him from England, and having attained such an acquaintance with the language as to feel satisfied that

they might be published with advantage, he attempted what had hitherto been considered doubtful, the practicability of having the works of foreigners printed by the natives. The attempt was successful, 1000 copies were printed, and though in consequence of the risk incurred by the printer, as the book was prohibited by the native government, the expense was great, yet the missionary felt encouraged, not only to pursue his work, but to solicit assistance from home, as he was able to supply conclusive evidence that the printing by the natives of books prepared by missionaries might be accomplished. Three copies of the book, the first portion of inspired truth presented by the Protestant church to the Chinese, the first fruits of missionary labours there, were sent to the Missionary Society. One of these copies was presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society, who generously voted 500*l.* to aid in printing the Scriptures in Chinese, and so great was the interest manifested in the work that a second copy was taken to pieces and sent in small portions to the friends of literature and missionary operations in different parts of the United Kingdom.* Before the close of the year, Mr. Morrison composed in Chinese a tract on the Redemption of the world, of which 1000 copies were printed. He also compiled a catechism, a translation of the Assembly's shorter catechism. In the following year, 1811, his Chinese grammar was completed, and sent by the Select Committee to the Governor-General at Calcutta to be printed. In 1815, it was printed at

* As a specimen of Chinese typography, the directors observe in their letter to Mr. Morrison, "It could not fail to excite more than ordinary attention, as an oriental curiosity, but to the eye of every friend of missions, it presented ocular demonstration of the existence of the *Book of Books* in the language of so large a portion of the human race."—*Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 321.

Serampore at the expense of the East India Company. In the same year, the translation of the Gospel by St. Luke was finished, and printed. The tract has been widely circulated, and is highly esteemed; the catechism is used in the schools.

These labours were prosecuted amidst severe domestic affliction; the health of Mrs. Morrison frequently suffered, and their first-born died on the day of its birth;* but cheered by the Divine promises, and occasional indications that his labour was not altogether in vain, the devoted servant of the Most High was able to persevere.† In the following year, the Emperor of China issued a severe edict against Christianity, or rather against the teaching of the Roman Catholics. By this edict all printing of religious books and preaching was prohibited on pain of death, and banishment was threatened to such as should receive the doctrines taught. The Romish missionaries at Peking were silenced, some of them were imprisoned, and sent to Europe.‡ Mr. Morrison was not recognized as a missionary, and his books had not yet attracted the attention of the native authorities; he therefore deemed it his duty to persevere, not, however, without still greater caution, to avoid implicating with their own government

* There was at this time no Protestant cemetery at Macao, Mr. Morrison had to dig the grave for his child on the top of a hill, at the north end of Macao; at first the Chinese forcibly opposed him, but afterwards allowed the interment to take place.—*Chinese Repository*, August, 1824.

† “I feel happy,” he observes, in a letter to the directors, referring to these labours, “that I have published the history of our Lord’s life, and the Acts of the Apostles; that in the catechism and tract I have given an outline of Christian truth: when I am dead, God may raise up some Chinese who will republish these, and thereby proclaim to the millions of his countrymen the unity of God, the redemption that is in Christ, with all its preceding and consequent doctrines, and these may lead to the eternal life of many. If the labour had been a million times more, I should not have regretted it.”—*Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 311.

‡ Medhurst, p. 260.

any of the natives who assisted in carrying forward his work. The desirableness of sending forth additional labourers has been already noticed. Besides his application to the directors in London, Mr. Morrison had, soon after his arrival in China, recommended to Dr. Mason of New York to send out American missionaries to Asia, and was informed in reply that the attempt would be deemed chimerical.* Two months only after Mr. Morrison's departure from England, the Rev. Donald Morrison, Independent minister at Huntly, wrote as follows to the Rev. Dr. Philip, now of South Africa, then of Aberdeen : " We have a young man, a member of our church, William Milne, aged 23 years, who has had for some time a great desire to offer himself to the Missionary Society. He has genuine piety, clear views of the doctrines of the Gospel, and good natural talents ; an ardent desire for the glory of God, and the salvation of his fellow men. He wishes me to write to the directors concerning him ; I hope as you will have an opportunity of seeing them, you will bring his case before them. If more information is necessary, I shall be ready to give it." † This was in April, 1807.

Mr. Milne subsequently appeared before a local committee of the Society at Aberdeen, consisting of some of the professors of the college, and ministers of religion, who were directors of the Society, was accepted, and sent to the Missionary Seminary at Gosport, under the care of Dr. Bogue. Here he pursued his studies with fidelity and success. He was ordained to the Christian ministry, and appointed to the Chinese mission. He sailed from England with Mrs. Milne on the 4th of September, 1812, and reached Macao on the 4th July, 1813.

Their arrival was a source of unspeakable joy to Mr.

* Life of Morrison, vol. i. p. 353.

† MSS. of the Society.

and Mrs. Morrison, but it was not long a joy unmingled with sorrow. The Portuguese governor at Macao, at the instigation of the senate and the priests, refused to allow Mr. Milne to remain, and required his departure from the place first in eight days, and then by a message ordering him to depart in a vessel then leaving the port. Every effort was used to obtain a revocation of the order; Mr. Morrison bent his knee, and even supplicated the governor to allow his friend to remain, and several of the English and other residents used their influence, but in vain: though at that very time England was not only in alliance with Portugal, but was making no common sacrifice of life and treasure to preserve the integrity of Portugal, a British subject, who was ready to observe every regulation of the place, and was even unaccused of any crime, was inhospitably expelled from their settlement, only because he was a Protestant. Mrs. Milne was allowed to remain with Mr. and Mrs. Morrison, but her husband was forced to proceed to Canton, where he found more toleration from the heathen than he had experienced from those who professed to be Christians.

Though deprived of the valuable advice and assistance of his friend, Mr. Milne applied with the utmost assiduity to the language, the study of which, when afterwards joined by Mr. Morrison, he pursued with eminent success. He possessed qualifications of a high and varied order, with a soul stedfastly devoted to his work. His abilities and character were fully appreciated by his honoured brother, and they planned and laboured with the most entire confidence in each other, and the utmost harmony and affection. When the time arrived for foreigners to leave Canton, unable to remain there, and forbidden to return to Macao, it was deemed best that Mr. Milne should undertake a voyage to the chief Chinese settlements

in the Malayan Archipelago, with a view of distributing the New Testament, ascertaining the disposition of the people, and seeking the most eligible spot for his future labours.

The printing of the New Testament was finished, without hinderance by the native authorities, in January, 1814. In announcing its completion to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and acknowledging a second grant of £500, Mr. Morrison, after expressing his opinion of the translation, observes: "The Gospel, closing Epistles, and the Book of Revelation, are entirely my own translating. The middle part of the volume is founded on the work of some unknown individual, whose pious labours were deposited in the British Museum.* I took the liberty of altering and supplying what appeared to me to be requisite, and feel great pleasure in recording the benefit which I first derived from the labours of my unknown predecessor."† On receiving the New Testament entire in the Chinese language, the Bible Society generously voted £1000 in aid of the work, which encouraged Mr. Morrison to print another edition of the Testament in a smaller form. He also printed a compilation of Old Testament History, and a collection of hymns in Chinese.

The representations of the Select Committee respecting the importance and value of the dictionary, which had occupied so large a portion of the missionary's solitude and labour, induced the East India Company to send out this year, a press with types, and the requisite materials for printing it at Macao, under the eye of the compiler. Some difficulty was at first experienced in arranging the Chinese characters and English letters, but by the

* Mr. Morrison had copied the manuscript before his departure from England.

† Appendix to Report of Bible Society, for 1815.

skill and assiduity of Mr. Thoms it was surmounted, and the work satisfactorily commenced.

Steadily keeping in view the grand and ultimate object of his mission, that to which all other labours were considered as subservient, the conversion of souls to Christ, this devoted missionary had availed himself of every occasion that offered, especially on the Sabbath day, to direct the minds of those natives to whom he had access, to the great truth of salvation, and he was encouraged this year by noticing in some an increased degree of attention to these truths, and receiving from one a request to be baptized. This individual, Tsae-a-ko, was in his 27th year, and furnished what was deemed by his beloved teacher, satisfactory evidence of sincerity in the profession he made of belief in the Gospel. Mr. Morrison complied with his request, he also furnished a brief outline of his character, and transcribed his confession of faith, the first sentences of which are, "Jesus making atonement for us, is the blessed sound. Language and thought are both inadequate to exhaust the gracious and admirable goodness of the intention of Jesus. I now believe in Jesus, and rely on his merits to obtain the remission of sin. I have sins and defects, and without faith in Jesus for the remission of sins should be eternally miserable." The solitary missionary thus describes the administration of the initiatory ordinance of Christianity, to this his first convert. "July 16th, 1814. At a spring of water issuing from the foot of a lofty hill, by the sea-side, away from human observation, I baptized, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, the person whose character and profession has been given above. Oh that the Lord may cleanse him from all sin, in the blood of Jesus, and purify his heart by the influences of the Holy Spirit! May he be the first-fruits of a great harvest; one of the millions

who shall believe and be saved from the wrath to come."*

Tsae-a-ko maintained his profession of the Gospel until his death, which occurred four years afterwards. He was then at a distance from his instructor, who had no means of knowing the state of his mind in the prospect of eternity.

Towards the close of 1814, the sum of 1000 dollars was bequeathed by W. Parry, one of the East India Company's Factory at Canton, to Mr. Morrison, to aid in promoting the knowledge of the Christian religion among the Chinese, and was partly employed in printing a second edition of the New Testament. In the work of translation, Mr. Morrison had completed the Book of Genesis, which was printed early in the following year.

In September, Mr. Milne returned to Canton, from his voyage to Java, Malacca, and other parts. He had received much attention and encouragement from the local authorities, and had distributed the Christian books which he took with him, as well as others printed in the course of his route. During the winter he remained at Canton, studying the language, with the valuable assistance which Mr. Morrison was able to afford, and having much enjoyment from his society; but as he could only occasionally reside at Canton, and was not allowed to remain at Macao, it was, after mature deliberation, deemed advisable to commence a new station at Malacca, as a healthy, quiet, central place adjacent to China, and affording facilities for frequent intercourse not only with Canton, but with Pinang, Java, and other parts. They wished the station to become a centre of communication with other parts that might be occupied, and to furnish it with such means

* *Missionary Magazine*, October, 1815.

as should secure its permanence and utility. He regarded their labours as bearing on the welfare of the largest united portion of mankind, and though it was necessary to commence on a small unassuming scale, it was their endeavour constantly to direct their aims and efforts towards great ends. After receiving many attentions and much kindness from English and other friends while in Canton, Mr. Milne prepared for his departure; he was also laid under great obligation to Mr. Carrington, American Consul, for a letter granted to him, under the seal of the United States, requesting that, if by the war, (which then existed between Great Britain and America,) Mr. Milne should on his passage fall into the hands of any American vessel of war, cruising in these seas, he might be treated with kindness, and landed at some port, as near as practicable to his destination. The Consul thought, that as Christianity was no national thing, the war, which unfortunately existed, ought not to throw obstacles in the way of those whose sole object was to promote the Gospel, and who devote their lives for the instruction and benefit of mankind.* Mr. and Mrs. Milne left China, on the 17th of April, 1815, and after a tedious voyage of thirty-five days, reached Malacca, where he was kindly welcomed by the resident, Major Farquhar. Mr. Morrison felt his situation increasingly solitary, in consequence of the illness of Mrs. Morrison having obliged her, in the previous month of January, to embark for England with her two children; but favoured himself with ordinary health, was enabled to persevere, occasionally encouraged by indications that his labours were not altogether in vain.† Among other

* Milne's Retrospect, p. 140.

† Of the strong desire he cherished for the spiritual benefit of the people, his letters and journal bear abundant evidence. Passages such as the following, frequently occur. "Pray for my health of body, and

trials this year, the natives employed in casting type for the dictionary, having indiscreetly attracted the notice of the Chinese authorities, the person in whose possession the blocks* of the New Testament had been left for security, fearing the consequence of discovery, destroyed the greater part of them, occasioning thereby a loss of 500 dollars.

Copies of the first edition of the New Testament had been sent to England, as soon as it was finished, and one of these, with a volume of the Transactions of the Society, were presented to the librarian of the East India Company. The Transactions contained an account of an edict against the Roman Catholic religion, which in 1812 had been issued by the Emperor, stating also that Mr. Morrison was still pursuing his important work. The volumes were intended for the librarian's personal use, but he immediately brought the subject under the notice of the Court of Directors, who judged it necessary to discontinue Mr. Morrison's connexion with their representatives in China, in order to guard their commercial interests. The

for my growth in grace. Still continue to cry unto the Lord in my behalf. I long to be more engaged in the spiritual part of my work ; but I look forward to lasting benefit in the church of Christ, it may be when I am no more on earth. I know that the labours of God's servants in the gloom of a dungeon have illumined succeeding ages, and I am cheered by the hope that my labours, in my present confinement, will be of some service in the diffusion of Divine truth amongst the millions of China. In myself, I have no hope. I trust that all my expectation is from Jehovah my God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit."—*Life of Morrison*, vol. i. p. 275.

* All the characters in the page of a Chinese book, are cut or carved, on a single piece of wood, which is called a block ; these pages of wooden letters, or characters, will serve for many editions of the same work, and are consequently, preserved by the bookseller or printer. In the present instance, the blocks of the New Testament had been intrusted to the keeping of a bookseller, who, when he heard of the interference of the government officers with the printers employed on the dictionary, burnt the blocks to prevent detection.

correspondence on the subject at Canton, in 1815, shows the high estimation in which the missionary's character and abilities were held by those who understood them best, and prevented their discontinuing his services, or impeding his missionary labours.

The views of the East India Company are expressed in the subjoined portion of the letter from the Select Committee at Canton, to Dr. Morrison.

"We feel it necessary to acquaint you, that the Honourable the Court of Directors, having been informed that you have printed and published in China the New Testament, together with several religious tracts, translated into the Chinese language; and having further understood that the circulation of these translations has been effected in defiance of an edict of the Emperor of China, rendering the publisher of such works liable to capital punishment, are apprehensive that serious mischief may possibly arise to the British trade in China, from these translations, and have in consequence directed that your present connexion with the Honourable Company should be discontinued. The Honourable Court remark, at the same time, that they nevertheless entertain a very high respect for your talents, conduct, and character; and are fully sensible of the benefits derived from your services; in consideration of which, they have directed us to present you with four thousand dollars, on the occasion of carrying their orders into effect.

"Notwithstanding the tenor of these orders, which we have thus implicitly communicated to you, we are under so strong an impression of the importance of your services to the affairs of our honourable employers; and so well assured, from our personal knowledge and past experience, of your prudence and discretion in forbearing to place yourself in a situation which may be calculated to implicate the national interests, through your connexion with the Factory, that we have resolved to postpone giving effect to any part of the above instructions, until we receive further orders on the subject."

The following paragraphs comprise the chief parts of Dr. Morrison's reply :

"From the strong language made use of, viz. that what I have done has been 'in defiance' of an edict of the Emperor of China, it appears that there exists some degree of misapprehension. That there have been edicts against the Roman Catholic missionaries in China, threatening them with severe penalties, is a fact; but my name and pursuits (any further than as translator of various official papers from the select committee, and interpreter on numerous occasions) are, I believe, wholly unknown to the

Chinese Government. There never was an imperial edict directed against me. I am not the Tëen-choo keaou, (the distinguishing appellation of the Roman Catholic religion,) nor do I publish the books of that religion. Should the Chinese Government be displeased with what I have done, still my conduct could not be fairly construed into 'defiance' of his Majesty's edict. Should my proceedings ever come under the notice of the Chinese Government, it is probable that they would not approve of them: though a native teacher of the language, who has read the New Testament, has told me that the highest officers of the Government would, in his opinion, read the book without finding in it cause of offence. As to circulating the books which I have printed, there is nothing done in this respect, but with the utmost secrecy and caution, and in a way that could not be easily traced to me. Should it even be so, I should not expect the protection of the Committee. Whatever I have done has not hitherto, I believe, occasioned a moment's trouble to the Honourable Court's Representatives in China.

"I entered on the situation which I have filled in the Company's Factory, from a wish to serve, as well as to be benefited myself, and have proceeded in a uniform exercise of prudent caution, studiously endeavouring not to excite the notice of Government, or give offence; as translator, interpreter, and assistant of the Honourable Company's servants desirous of learning Chinese, I have served with zeal and promptitude.

"Thus far was my duty, and I claim no praise; I have been rewarded with liberality, and I am not insensible of it. My private pursuits are the same as they were at the commencement of my connexion with the Company's Factory. I have not, subsequent to that period, entered on the pursuit of any new object."

In the negotiation with the Chinese authorities, Mr. Morrison being the chief and frequently the only medium of communication, the ability and integrity with which his duty was discharged was not always agreeable to the Chinese, whose conduct towards others, sometimes gave him just ground for apprehension,* which the Select Committee diminished by the assurance that they held themselves

* On a former occasion Mr. Flint, who had acted as the medium of communication between the English and the Chinese, had been seized by the latter, and imprisoned for three years; and very recently, in consequence of the success with which Sir G. Staunton had resisted the attempts of the local officers to impose on the English, the Mandarins had procured a secret order from Pekin, for his assassination, but the weight and influence of the English character prevented their carrying the order into execution.—*Life of Morrison*, p. 420.

responsible for whatever might result from the discharge of his duty on behalf of the Company.

The labours of Mr. Morrison were, during the following year, diversified by his accompanying, as Chinese secretary and interpreter, Lord Amherst's embassy to Peking. In company with Sir George Staunton, he embarked on board the *Alceste*, in July, 1817, and returned to Canton in the beginning of the following year. The embassy failed in its object, and, through the intrigues of the great officers, who kept the Emperor in ignorance of the real circumstances of the embassy's arrival at Peking, was not admitted to the imperial presence. The journey was advantageous to Mr. Morrison; his health required some relaxation, and was benefited by the change of scene and pursuits, while it afforded an opportunity of increasing his knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, the forms and language of the court and the capital, which was highly serviceable in the prosecution of the important works in which he was engaged. Mr. Morrison's acquirements and labours had already attracted considerable attention, and the Senatus Academicus of the University of Glasgow, conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity. Besides other labours, Dr. Morrison, in 1817, published "A View of China for Philological Purposes," in English; and in Chinese, a translation of the Morning and Evening Prayers of the Church of England, to which the Psalter was added.

Loss of health rendered it necessary for Mr. Milne to visit Macao in the autumn of the year. Dr. Morrison enjoyed the pleasure of affectionate intercourse with his fellow labourer from Malacca, which was improved by fraternal conference on the best mode of accomplishing the great objects of the mission. Such was the proficiency of Mr. Milne in the language, that he was able to under-

take the translation of a part of the remaining portions of the Old Testament, as well as to prepare other works for the benefit of the Chinese. Assistance had already arrived from England, and additional labourers were expected. Messrs. Morrison and Milne, therefore, availed themselves of the opportunity now afforded for fraternal conference, to mature and frame more distinctly those plans, which they considered most conducive to the permanence and extensive utility of the Ultra-Ganges mission. One of the most prominent and important of these was the establishment of an institution, or college, for the benefit of European and Chinese students, and the promotion of literature and the diffusion of Christianity throughout Eastern Asia.

In February, 1818, Mr. and Mrs. Milne returned to Malacca, and Dr. Morrison applied with unremitting labour to the compilation of his Dictionary, and the translation of the Scriptures; and in the month of November, 1819, had the happiness of witnessing the completion of the entire Bible in the Chinese language. In the completion of the New Testament, Dr. Morrison had availed himself of the labours of the unknown translator, already noticed. The Old Testament was translated by Mr. Milne and himself. The historical parts of the Bible, and the book of Job, were translated by the former, the remainder by Dr. Morrison, who, with his beloved fellow-labourer, was honoured by the Most High to accomplish one of the most astonishing works which modern times have witnessed. Until recently, the language of China had been deemed unattainable by a foreigner, except after the laborious study of a protracted life; and when it is considered that that language, including China and the nations beyond the Ganges, by whom it is read, is understood by at least one third of the human race; that the Bible, besides surpassing all other books in

the principles it inculcates and the precepts it enforces in relation to the present life, is the only book that reveals the existence and will of the living God, as well as the certainty of a future state of existence, and is the only true and safe guide to happiness in that future state, the translation of the entire volume for the first time into this language appears one of the most important events that have occurred during the existence of the Chinese people.

Apart from its own intrinsic worth, the value of a translation of the Bible depends upon the qualifications of the translators, and the principles on which it is made. The concurrent testimony of all parties capable of forming an opinion assign to Dr. Morrison qualifications of the highest order. Ever since his attention had been directed to China, the acquisition of the language had been the object of his chief and constant attention; for its attainment his energies had been continually taxed to the utmost practical limit, and his official and philological engagements favoured in an eminent degree the accomplishment of his wishes. To this subject he at different times alludes in his correspondence.

Literary eminence constitutes the qualification for office in China, and the Chinese authorities bore testimony to the extent of his attainments. The Viceroy of Canton on one occasion declared that from their style and excellence, the communications from the representatives of the Company could not have been prepared by a foreigner, but must have been written by a native, demanding the name of the guilty party. The name of Dr. Morrison was returned, with an intimation of his readiness to be examined on the subject if required. To the testimony already adduced in the correspondence of the Select Committee; to the opinions of the most eminent Chinese scholars

of Europe, and of Sir George Staunton, who, in 1813, after alluding to some of the translations which he had read, observes, "You are, in fact, the only person who can be considered to unite in any degree the various qualifications for such an undertaking;"—it is superfluous to attempt any addition.

The principles on which the translation was made, and his own reflections on its completion, are stated by himself in his correspondence, and by his colleague in the "Retrospect of the Chinese Mission." Addressing the directors of the Missionary Society, in November, 1819, Dr. Morrison thus writes:—

"By the mercy of God, an entire version of the books of the Old and New Testaments into the Chinese language was this day brought to a conclusion.

"If Morrison and Milne's Bible shall, in China, at some subsequent period, hold such a place in reference to a better translation, as Wickliffe's or Tyndale's now holds in reference to our present English version, many will for ever bless God for the attempt; and neither the Missionary Society nor the Bible Society will ever regret the funds they have, or shall yet expend, in aid of the object.

"It is not yet 500 years since Wickliffe's bones were dug up and burnt, chiefly because he translated the Scriptures; and it is not yet 300 years since Tyndale was strangled by the hands of the common hangman, and then burned, for the same cause. The alleged inaccuracy of Wickliffe's and of Tyndale's translations was the ground of cavil with all those who were adverse to any translation of the Scriptures. And it is but 277 years since the English parliament decreed, that 'all manner of books of the Old and New Testaments, of the crafty, false, and untrue translations of Tyndale, be forthwith abolished, and forbidden to be used and kept.'

“ If such things occurred so recently, more modern translators need not be surprised if their works are censured or condemned.

“ The learned of China think, as the learned of Europe thought in darker times, that every respectable book ought to be written in a sort of Latin, not in the vulgar tongue. Choo-foo-tsyé, indeed, departed from this practice in his *Philosophical Essays*; for new ideas cannot be communicated so well as by the simplest language. Classical phraseology, concise as the Chinese is, can do little more than revive old ideas.

“ To put the Book of God into such a style, either out of compliment to the learned, or to exhibit one's own classical attainments, seems to be acting over again the usage of the Egyptian priests; who, it is said, expressed their doctrines by hieroglyphics, intelligible only to themselves, or to a small sect of the initiated; or, as it is said that other priests did in the Rhemish translation of the New Testament into English, in which they retained many Eastern, Greek, and Latin words, and introduced so many difficult expressions, that they contrived to render it *unintelligible* to the *common people*. This censure is, perhaps, too severe; but the principle that plainness and simplicity are requisite in a biblical translation is fully recognised. The duty of a translator of any book is twofold; first, to comprehend accurately the sense, and to feel the spirit of the original work; and, secondly, to express in his version faithfully, perspicuously, and idiomatically, (and, if he can attain it, elegantly,) the sense and spirit of the original.

“ In my translations I have studied *fidelity*, *perspicuity*, and *simplicity*; I have preferred *common* words to rare and classical ones. I have avoided technical terms, which occur in the pagan philosophy and religion. I would rather be deemed inelegant than hard to be understood. In difficult

passages I have taken the sense given by the general consent of the gravest, most pious, and least eccentric divines, to whose works I had access.

“To the task I have brought patient endurance of long labour and seclusion from society; a calm and unprejudiced judgment, not enamoured of novelty and eccentricity, nor yet tenacious of an opinion because it was old; and I hope somewhat of an accurate mode of thinking, with a reverential sense of the awful responsibility of misrepresenting God’s word. Such qualifications are perhaps as indispensable as grammatical learning in translating such a book as the Bible.

“I have made no departure, in any remarkable degree, from the sense of the English version; which circumstance I judge more satisfactory to the friends of the Bible in England, than if I had affected to make a ‘*new translation*,’ or an ‘*improved version*,’ immediately and solely from the originals, and indulged a disregard of old and approved translations.

“To have Moses, David, and the prophets, Jesus Christ, and his apostles, using their own words, and thereby declaring to the inhabitants of this land the wonderful works of God, indicates, I hope, the speedy introduction of a happier era in these parts of the world; and I trust that the gloomy darkness of pagan scepticism will be dispelled by the dayspring from on high, and that the gilded idols of Budh, and the numberless images which fill this land, will one day assuredly fall to the ground before the force of God’s word, as the idol Dagon fell before the ark. These are my anticipations, although there appears not the least opening at present. A bitter aversion to the name of our blessed Saviour, and to any book which contains his name or his doctrine, is felt and cherished. However, that does not induce me to despair. I remember Britain, what

she was, and what she now is, in respect of religion. It is not 300 years since national authority said, that 'the Bible should *not* be read *openly* in any church (by the people), nor privately by the *poor*;' that only 'noblemen and gentlemen, and noble ladies and gentlewomen might have the Bible in their own houses.' I remember this, and cherish hope for China.

"Tyndale, while he was tying to the stake, said with a fervent and loud voice, in reference to the Eighth Henry, 'Lord, open the king of England's eyes;' and his prayer seems to have been heard and answered. Let us be as fervent in a similar petition in reference to the sovereign of this empire."*

Separate portions of the work had been printed as the translation advanced, and the whole soon afterwards issued from the press.† It was the intention of the translators to meet at some future period, and revise the whole, but the death of Dr. Milne prevented this; and though Dr. Morrison continued to make corrections until the time of his death, so anxious was he that the version should have every benefit which increasing knowledge of the language could confer, that before his removal he expressed his wish that his son should undertake the revision of the whole. The lamented removal of the latter has frustrated this desire; but it is to be hoped, that the Divine Author of the sacred volume will endow those on whom the important work will now devolve, with those solid acquirements, that clear perception, sound judgment, and patient application, which are indispensable in a work of such import-

* Report of Missionary Society, 1825, pp. 126—133.

† So deeply was Dr. Morrison's mind affected by the value of the work he had been honoured to accomplish, that in the record he has left he observes, "I could have died when I had finished the translation of the Bible."

ance. The expense attending the earlier labours of the missionaries in this department was borne by the Missionary Society; this was subsequently shared by the Bible Society and private individuals, and for some time past the whole cost of transcribing, printing, and circulating the inspired writings has been defrayed by the British and American Bible Societies.

Anxious to exemplify the benevolence of Christianity, and while pursuing higher objects to mitigate existing suffering, Dr. Morrison, in 1820, established a dispensary at Macao, for the benefit of the poor. He engaged a Chinese medical practitioner to attend to the patients, under the superintendence of Dr. Livingstone. It proved beneficial to many, but was afterwards discontinued for want of support.

The devoted missionary at Canton was, during the following year, visited with the heaviest affliction which, amidst his many trials, he had yet been called to bear: the death of his beloved wife, who had recently returned from England in improved health, but was removed by cholera in June, 1821. This stroke was keenly and deeply felt, but his mind was supported by the consolations which religion alone supplies; these enabled him to pursue his arduous labours; and, in 1822, his herculean task, the Chinese and English Dictionary, in six quarto volumes, was completed. A large portion of thirteen years of his life had been devoted to this work, by which, and by his Grammar, Dialogues, and other publications, he had furnished a complete key to the Chinese language, provided facilities for its acquisition by all future students of incalculable worth, and had achieved a work in importance and value inferior only to the translation of the sacred volume. It has been already stated that press and types for the work were sent out from England, and the whole expense of printing the work, amounting to 15,000*l.*, was

defrayed by the East India Company, who generously placed nearly the entire edition at the disposal of the author for his own benefit.*

In the course of this year very serious differences arose between the Chinese and the English, when the learning, integrity, and judgment of Dr. Morrison were eminently serviceable, not only to the Honourable Company, but to the British nation. Amidst the anxieties inseparable from these onerous duties, and the bereavement and solitude in which the missionary continued his efforts on the sabbath, and at other times, for the spiritual benefit of those attending his instructions, he was called to mourn the death of his beloved and justly-valued colleague, Dr. Milne, who died at Malacca, on the 2nd of June, 1822. The affairs of the mission and college at Malacca rendering the presence of Dr. Morrison desirable, he visited that settlement in the beginning of the following year, and though deeply afflicted by the evidence he everywhere met of the extent of the loss his beloved friend's death had occasioned, was greatly encouraged by the state of the college and the character and attainments of the Chinese scholars. Having visited Singapore, and co-operated with Sir Stamford Raffles in the establishment of a literary and religious institution, he returned to Macao in the month of August, and at the close of the year embarked on a visit to England. His labours had been attended with spiritual advantage to some of the natives, and for their benefit and the promotion of the spiritual objects of this mission, Dr. Morrison

* Any eulogium on the value and importance of this great work would be superfluous here, but it is a remarkable fact that seven years afterwards, Dr. Morrison heard by M. Burgher, a Dutch surgeon, from Japan, that Japanese translators were rendering his Dictionary into the Japanese language; and that the Japanese at Nagasaki were at that time writing on their fans extracts from Morrison's Dictionary arranged alphabetically, which arrangement was new to them.—*Life of Morrison*, vol. ii. p. 413.

ordained the intelligent and consistent Chinese Christian, **Le-ang-afa**, as an evangelist to his countrymen.

The circumstances attending the return of the first Protestant missionary from China to his native land, after an absence of sixteen years, belong properly to the notice of the home rather than the foreign proceedings of the Society. It may therefore be sufficient here to state, that this honoured servant of God was welcomed by the directors and members of the Missionary Society with gratitude and joy, as well as by the committees of the Bible and Tract Societies. He had the honour of presenting a copy of the sacred volume in Chinese to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and to his Majesty, to whom he was introduced by his friend Sir George Staunton and Mr. Wynn. He was received with marked attention by the East India Company, and treated with the highest respect by some of the most distinguished Oriental scholars of London and Paris, and after forming an institution in London for studying the different languages of other nations, cheering the hearts of the friends of Christ throughout the country by the benevolence of his character, as well as by his sermons and public addresses, and having his own spirit refreshed by Christian ordinances and Christian intercourse, he returned to his important post, accompanied by his present widow, in the year 1826.

On his arrival, the native evangelist welcomed him with gladness, and placed in his hands a volume of notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which he had composed during the absence of his teacher; to whom he also presented a small essay, which he had written, entitled, "The True Principles of the World's Salvation;" and gave also pleasing accounts of his labours for the spiritual illumination of his countrymen. Dr. Morrison soon entered fully upon his literary and missionary duties. Besides daily

instructing the native Christians, resuming his services in Chinese and English on the sabbath, he devoted his attention to the revision of his translation of the Scriptures and the preparation of "Notes on the Holy Scriptures" in Chinese, which he called his great work. The gentlemen of the factory testified their satisfaction on his return by a liberal and unsolicited subscription of 500*l.* towards the Anglo-Chinese College. In 1827, two volumes introductory to the reading of the Scriptures were composed by Dr. Morrison, and a Paraphrase on the Epistle to the Romans, by his native assistant. This devoted Chinese convert thus speaks of himself in a letter to the directors :—

" I thank the Lord for his wondrous mercy, in converting my whole family. Having been made a partaker of this great grace, my chief happiness consists in obeying the precepts of the Lord, and in loving others as myself; the greatest expression of which is to teach them to know the true God and the grace of our Lord Jesus, in redeeming the world. The men of my country are bigoted to the worship of idols, ignorant of the true God, and of the preciousness of the soul: hence, my heart is stirred up to learn the true way, that I may teach it to them, and thus, not render nugatory the grace of God in preserving me and providing a salvation for all mankind.

" I have a partial knowledge of the Gospel, but the field of inquiry is unlimited; the more thought that is bestowed upon it, the more profound it appears. I therefore entreat the Lord, by his Holy Spirit, to open the perceptions of my mind, if, perhaps, I may learn the art of repressing passion, diminishing excesses, correcting self, and admonishing others."

This year Dr. Morrison commenced a missionary prayer-meeting in China, completing, as he expressed it, the chain of assemblies for supplication on behalf of

the heathen which now encircles the globe. Early in 1828 Le-ang-afa baptized a native convert, a young man brought up to the learned professions, who in a letter to Dr. Morrison wrote as one who understood and felt the truth and grace of the Divine Redeemer. In 1830, another was added to the little Christian band, Keuh Agang, who had been connected with the mission press ever since its first establishment. After satisfactory evidence of his renunciation of idolatry, and belief and love of the holy doctrines of the gospel, he was baptized by Afa, who, in the course of the summer, went to a city about 150 miles from Canton. They entered the city on the 11th of June, followed by three porters, loaded with their Christian books. It was the season of literary examination, and they distributed their books throughout the city and among the students in great numbers. During the journey they put into circulation 700 volumes. Before the year closed the hitherto solitary missionary was cheered by the arrival of Messrs. Bridgman and Abeel, missionaries from America, as fellow-labourers in the work to which he was devoted, and with whom he had the happiness of labouring in affectionate harmony till the close of his life.

In 1832, animated by the tokens of good which appeared, Dr. Morrison thus wrote :—" I have been twenty-five years in China, and am now beginning to see the work prosper. By the press, we have been able to scatter knowledge far and wide. Agang has been engaged with the lithographic press, and Afah, in printing nine tracts, of his own composition; besides teaching his countrymen daily, three of whom he has baptized during the year."* Dr. Morrison was also happy to assist Mr. Bridgman in

* Memoir of Dr. Morrison, p. 275.

a periodical, "The Chinese Repository," which is still continued. These labours were prosecuted with great activity and zeal, and during the following year 60,000 sheet tracts, chiefly extracts from Scripture, and 10,000 prayers and hymns were printed. Afah circulated these and printed others.

The unfavourable effect of the climate rendered it necessary this year for Mrs. Morrison to embark with her children for England. Her devoted husband remained to pursue his solitary toils, cheered by the tokens of Divine favour with which they were attended. Among the instances of a cheering nature, a Chinese teacher, Choo-seen-sang, who had been employed at the college, returning to China, experienced deliverance from apprehended shipwreck, and on reaching Canton, professed his belief in Divine truth, and after a suitable trial, was baptized by Dr. Morrison. He now became a missionary to his own countrymen, diffusing among them the knowledge of that Saviour in whom he had believed, and has ever since continued stedfast in his adherence to the doctrines of the Gospel. The native evangelist, his beloved teacher, and other labourers in the field, were encouraged in their work, and Dr. Morrison thus expressed his feelings under date December 15th, 1823 :—"I purpose to give myself wholly to Chinese, and especially, as I before resolved, to the Bible; I should like to print an edition at our own press. May the Lord prosper the work of my hands."

There is something peculiarly affecting in the close of his last letter to the Society, which was dated on the 11th of March. In connexion with the labours of his native assistants and the approaching changes, he observes,— "I wait patiently the events to be developed in the course of Divine Providence. The Lord reigneth. If the kingdom of God our Saviour prosper in China, all will be well,

other matters are, comparatively, of small importance. May the Lord bless and prosper the London Missionary Society; may we all be prepared for 'that day' which is fast approaching. Farewell!"

In April, 1834, the East India Company's trade with China, after having continued for exactly 200 years, terminated, and the relations between the English and Chinese were placed on a different footing. Dr. Morrison was recommended by some of his friends to apply to his Majesty's government for an appointment, but he declined, being apprehensive that there might be objections to his missionary character; "and that," he observes, "is a character I cannot sink; no, not if my daily bread depend on it." *

In July, 1834, Lord Napier reached China, for the purpose of carrying into effect the recent decisions of the British government. His Lordship was the bearer of his Majesty's commission appointing Dr. Morrison Chinese secretary and interpreter to the establishment at Canton. On the 27th of the same month, Dr. Morrison accompanied his Lordship to Canton, when the fatigues and exposure during the passage, and the anxieties connected with public transactions operating on a constitution already enfeebled by long and laborious application, as well as recent indisposition, brought on a fever, which terminated his honoured and valuable life on the 1st of August, 1834.

His honoured son, who inherited and exemplified his talents and his virtues, and who has so soon been called to follow his revered parent to the grave, in the letter announcing the mournful tidings, after describing his sufferings and death, continues:—

"It would be superfluous to say that my father was prepared for death. But I may tell you that, though he did not think the Bridegroom was so near him, his thoughts had for some time been fixed upon the subject. He

* Memoir, p. 507.

wrote, I may say, his own funeral sermon. It was penned about forty days before his death, to be preached on the following sabbath. But his increasing debility caused him to relinquish the sabbath services in English, which he had kept up at Macao for several years in his own house: and he was never permitted to resume them. The subject, taken from the first three verses of the fourteenth chapter of John's Gospel, was, 'Heaven the Believer's Home.' I hope soon to be able to send you a printed copy of it, appended to a brief sketch of his life, and account of his last moments. In a letter written not long before his death, he spake of his apprehension that his work was finished, expressing his gratitude to God for what he had been permitted to accomplish for the Redeemer's cause; and adding, that he knew but of two surviving missionary seniors, Drs. Carey and Marshman. I have this morning learned, with great sorrow, that about the time he wrote that letter the venerable Carey also was called home. While the Lord is thus removing one, and another, and another of his aged servants, will not the young crowd forward to walk in their steps, and take up the good work of making known the everlasting Gospel to those who are perishing for lack of knowledge? 'Oh, that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the affliction of the daughter of my people.'

"I have said that a short time before his death, my father was obliged to relinquish his sabbath services in English. But he continued to the last his services in Chinese with the assembly of his domestics and dependants. On the last of his earthly sabbaths, two days after he had come up, in attendance on the Superintendent of British Trade to Canton, about a dozen were assembled together in 'an upper room' of the house in which I am now writing. Two of these are professing Christians, (one of them, I hope, really devoted to the Saviour,) and two or three others well affected towards our holy faith. Afa's family met separately within the city, and were not, therefore, of the number, with the exception of his son, a boy of about thirteen years, who was living with me. During the service, which lasted about an hour, the Spirit of God appeared to be indeed among us. We sang our Redeemer's praises in Chinese with unusual ardour, and my beloved father, notwithstanding his extreme weakness, read and exhorted out of the word of God, with more than his usual warmth, warning us to flee from the wrath to come. By the aid of my father's writings and translations, I am enabled to continue, in a feeble degree, his Chinese services with my little family.

"It may, perhaps, be remarked, that my father has been spared to see the conclusion of the first era of reformation in this country, which commenced with the establishment of the Protestant Christian Mission by himself in China, and ended with the arrival of his Majesty's Superintendent. He no sooner saw what we may term the second era fairly commenced, than he was removed—mercifully removed—from the world and all its troubles. May grace be granted to those who labour here at the work commenced by my father, that they may walk wisely, and labour diligently!

"I cannot conclude without repeating to you, what pleasure I enjoy in the

contemplation of that glorious state into which my beloved father has entered. May we all be there re-united to him, and join with him in singing the praises of the Lamb that was slain and is alive again, and that liveth for evermore. Oh, it is a subject on which I could for ever dwell!"

The important and responsible position which Dr. Morrison had so long held, with equal honour and advantage to his own country and the interests of Christianity in Eastern Asia, would have rendered his removal at any time a public loss of more than ordinary magnitude; in the critical state of affairs between the Chinese and the English at this time, and the commencement of the difficulties arising out of the dishonourable and destructive importation of opium by the latter, it was peculiarly so. But while his friends in England and America, who had relied on his matured experience, his sound judgment, and supreme devotedness, sorrowed in devout submission over his departure, they rejoiced in the services he had been honoured to render, and the important works which he had achieved. Those works, especially the translation of the Sacred Scriptures, the imperishable monument of his talents and his toil, will preserve among the Chinese to remotest generations the memory of his devotedness and his worth, and cause his name to be held in deserved veneration as the greatest benefactor of their race.

To the testimony borne to his acquirements by Sir G. Staunton, the present governor of Hong Kong, and others, by whom he was regarded as "confessedly the first Chinese scholar in Europe," it is needless to add. He may be surpassed by his successors, but they will never have to contend with the difficulties which he met and vanquished. In this respect his name will possess a charm and a power that will prove to the solitary labourer, under the greatest discouragements, the inspiration of hope and the earnest of success. But, distinguished as Dr. Morrison was by rare attainments, the chief features of his character were

of another and superior kind ; and if the elements of character were fewer than in some of his contemporaries, all were of the highest order and most intrinsic excellence. Nothing little or eccentric ever appeared in him ; all bore the impress of sincerity, solidity, and moral greatness, in remarkable harmony with the position he occupied as a scholar and a Christian, the apostle of China, and the forerunner of that goodly number who shall hereafter, by the living voice, or the labours of the pen, proclaim among the millions of that wonderful nation the great truths of Divine revelation.

The strength and the purity of Dr. Morrison's social affections appear in every page of his domestic correspondence. His singleness of aim and steadiness of purpose as an ambassador for Christ are conspicuous in the undeviating constancy with which he rendered every attainment subordinate to the spiritual benefit of the Chinese ; from the commencement to the close of his missionary life, he viewed all events relating to himself as important or otherwise, according to their probable influence upon China. Before his departure from England, he observes, in one of his letters respecting an individual who had been proposed as a fellow-labourer : " If really he loves China, I am willing to be his companion ; but if he does not love China, no qualification for the work would or could be sufficient recommendation." " I could have died," he exclaimed, " when I had finished the Bible : " and in the last letter which he ever wrote to the Society, regarding as insignificant, in other respects, the great changes about to take place, he remarks, " If the kingdom of God our Saviour prosper in China, all will be well ; other matters are comparatively of small importance." To selfishness he was an entire stranger ; his heart was generous, his hand was liberal, ready to distribute to the temporal as well as

to the spiritual wants of the needy. The evidence of this is not more apparent in his munificent donations to the Anglo-Chinese college, the establishment of the hospital at Macao, than in his affectionate and considerate remembrance of his kindred, and in the circumstances of his own family after his decease. There was a truth and sincerity also in his benevolence, that shed a hallowed brightness over every other feature of his character. But the crowning excellence of all was his early, steady, sincere, and ardent piety. This could never be doubted by any who knew him, and commanded respect and esteem even from those who made no pretension to religion themselves. The frame of his mind was habitually devotional, and his love to the Saviour uniform and sincere. This imparted stability to his character and consistency to his career. He walked with God, and has been honoured to leave a bright example that may be followed with advantage by all succeeding labourers in the missionary field.*

Le-ang-afa, the devoted fellow-labourer of Dr. Morrison, was, soon after the death of his teacher, involved in serious difficulty during the literary examinations at Canton. Afa took his station in front of one of the halls to distribute Christian books, as he had done on former occasions; a petty officer interfered, took some of the party before a magistrate, by whom, after a time, they were dismissed, and Afa returned to his home. In ordinary circumstances no further notice would have been taken of the occurrence, but a few days after, a lithographed placard was posted by Lord Napier,† which being the first time anything of the kind

* An extended, instructive, and valuable account of the life and labours of Dr. Morrison, in two vols., 8vo, has been published by his widow.

† His lordship did not long survive his arrival in China. He died on the 11th of October following, and was at his own request interred beside the remains of Dr. Morrison.

had been done, greatly irritated the Chinese authorities: ignorant of lithography, they supposed it must have been prepared by some native. Afa, though ignorant of the placard, yet having distributed books relating to the religion of the foreigners, was supposed to be connected with them. Le-ang-afa thus describes the occurrence :—

“ For three or four years I have been in the habit of circulating the Scripture lessons, which have been joyfully received by many. This year the triennial examination of literary candidates was held in Canton, and I desired to distribute books among the candidates. On the 20th of August, therefore, accompanied by Woo Achang, Chow Asan, and Leang Asan, I distributed more than five thousand volumes, which were gladly received, without the least disturbance. The next day we distributed five thousand more. On the third day, after several hundreds had been circulated, a police officer seized Woo Achang, with a set of books, and took him before the magistrate of Nun-hee; who, after examining them, bade the officer not interfere with a matter of such little importance. On the fourth day we proceeded with our work, when the police officer again seized ten sets, while the distributor happily escaped and returned. The next day, I heard that the police officer had taken the books to the chief magistrate of the city; and apprehending a search, we put the rest of the books into boxes, and removed to another place. On the 25th, the chief magistrate sent officers to my house, and seized Chow Asan, with his partner Akea, and brought them up for trial. Akea refused to afford any information, when the magistrate commanded the attendants to give him forty blows on the face, which rendered him unable to speak. When Chow Asan was examined, he disclosed everything. The next day, the magistrate sent a number of men in pursuit of me, but being unsuccessful in their search they seized three of the printers, with four hundred copies of the Scripture lessons, and the blocks, which were taken to the office of the chief magistrate.

“ On the 8th of September, I fled with my wife and daughter to Keang-mun, a large town west of Macao. The next day, the magistrate sent two government boats, and a hundred men to my residence, to seize all my family, male and female; but not finding us, they seized three of my kindred, and sealed the doors of my house. On hearing this I fled to Chih-kan, (a more secluded sea-port, in the same direction,) where I remained several days.”

His friends being apprehensive for his life, if taken by the natives, readily assisted him in escaping to Malacca; and a heavy fine procured the liberation of his companions.

"Thus situated," he continues, "I call to mind that all who preach the Gospel of our Lord Jesus must suffer persecution; and though I cannot equal the patience of Paul or Job, I desire to imitate the ancient saints, and keep my heart in peace."

The proclamation of one of the magistrates of Canton, the first ever issued against the books prepared by the Protestant missionaries, shows the means resorted to by the native authorities, of affixing opprobrious epithets to the Christian books, to deter the people from receiving or reading them.*

Mr. Gutzlaff, sent out originally by the Netherlands Missionary Society, had already made several voyages along the shores of China, distributing books among the natives; and in June, 1835, Mr. Medhurst, having been requested by the directors to proceed to China for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of the people on the coast, reached Macao. He found the native Christians driven by the persecution into concealment; and had some difficulty in making a voyage along the coast, the primary object of his visit, as the only vessels in which he could proceed were engaged in the disgraceful and contraband traffic in opium. A passage in any of these he declined, as derogatory to his character, and destructive of his objects. In the month of August, by the kindness of an American merchant,

* "Whereas the printing of obscene and idle tales by booksellers has long been a matter of legal prohibition—it having now been discovered, that there are persons who fraudulently make depraved and obscene books of the out-side barbarians, and falsely assuming the pretence of admonishing to virtue, print and distribute them, which is in a high degree contrary to law; orders are therefore hereby given to the police runners, to make strict examination for them, to ascertain correctly the shop where the books have been printed, and to burn and destroy the blocks used. If any rashly presume to print and distribute such books, they shall assuredly be seized, and punished with the utmost rigour of the law. Decidedly no indulgence shall be shown."

Mr. Oliphant, a passage in an unobjectionable vessel was provided, and Mr. Medhurst, in company with Mr. Stevens, an American missionary, proceeded as far north as Shantung, and visited Shanghae, Che Keang, and Fokien.

Mr. Medhurst and his companion were generally received with civility, and distributed 6,000 copies of portions of the Scriptures, and 12,000 tracts, but were forced to the unwelcome conclusion, that it would not be possible to reside for a length of time on any part of the coast. In the previous year, 40,000 tracts and portions of the Scriptures, including 100 copies of the New Testament, and 5,900 of the Scripture Lessons of the British and Foreign School Society, had been circulated in the province of Canton, besides 2,500 volumes, which had been sent to Kwangse, on the coast.

In the same year, the son of Agang had been apprehended and imprisoned, and in 1836 a commission from the Emperor arrived to bring to punishment the natives who had assisted the foreigners in preparing the books which had been distributed along the coast, threatening with the utmost rigour any who should profess or favour the Christian doctrines.

Shortly after the conclusion of his voyage, Mr. Medhurst proceeded to England for the purpose of conferring with the directors, relative to the Chinese missions. During his stay, he published an interesting work on China, including the narrative of his visit to the coast; and in July, 1838, embarked for Batavia, accompanied by Mr. Lockhart, a medical missionary, appointed to Canton. Choo-tih-lang, a native Chinese who had accompanied Mr. Medhurst to England, having, during his residence there, received the ordinance of baptism, returned to his native land.

Mr. Lockhart reached Macao in January, 1839, and on proceeding to Canton, was cordially welcomed by J. B. Morrison, Esq.; who had, since his honoured parent's death, given every possible attention to the native Christians, and the interests of Christianity among the Chinese. After applying a short time to the language, Mr. Lockhart proceeded to Macao, to take charge of the hospital belonging to the Medical Missionary Society, established by the foreigners at Canton, for the benefit of the natives, and with a view of favouring the introduction of Christianity among them. But the unhappy disputes between the English and the Chinese, in relation to the fearfully destructive traffic in opium, interrupted all friendly relations between them, and ultimately obliged the missionary to retire to Batavia. Mr. W. C. Milne, son of the late Dr. Milne, and Dr. Hobson, medical missionary, arrived at Macao on the 26th of December, 1839. Most of the English had, at this time, sought for safety on board their vessels; but, after advising with Mr. Morrison and the American missionaries, who hailed their arrival with the most grateful feelings, they decided on attempting to remain, although hostilities, arising out of the contraband trade in opium, had commenced between the English and Chinese.

Mr. Lockhart returned to Macao in the month of June, 1840, and in September proceeded to Chusan, then in the possession of the British forces. Here, during the five months that he remained at Tinghae, his medical aid was most gratefully received by the afflicted and the dying, among whom, as well as among other portions of the community, he circulated portions of the Scriptures and religious books: 6,000 volumes were soon distributed. Le-ang-afa returned to Canton, and, as opportunity offered, laboured among his countrymen, not without

tokens of Divine favour: four individuals, during the year, receiving the rite of baptism at his hands.

Hostilities between the English and the Chinese having ceased, and Hong Kong, an island about thirty miles in circumference, lying at the mouth of the Canton river, and containing about 2,500 inhabitants, having been ceded to the British, Mr. Milne, with a number of missionary friends, visited the island early in the year 1841, and on his return resumed his duties at the house belonging to the "Morrison Education Society," an institution for the education of Chinese, established by the foreigners in China, in testimony of esteem and veneration for the character and labours of Dr. Morrison.

In February, 1842, Mr. Milne proceeded to Tinghae, in Chusan, and in December of the same year removed to the populous city of Ningpo, where he endeavoured to acquire the local dialect, become acquainted with the people, and ascertain the practicability of prosecuting his labours amongst them. He remained until the month of July, 1843, when parting with his fellow-labourer, Dr. Lockhart, who had visited him from Chusan, he commenced his journey through the interior to Hong Kong. During his stay in Ningpo, a city containing 70,000 inhabitants, Mr. Milne was treated with the utmost civility and respect by the native authorities, and with great personal kindness by many of the respectable inhabitants.*

* Speaking of the difference between the treatment received by himself, and those who had previously visited the people, Mr. Milne observes:—"The late war has left an indelible impression on this part of the country; and the awful dread of the British soldiery and arms, in which all alike share—high and low, rich and poor, man and woman, young and old—is, I think, almost a sufficient guarantee that the peace will be kept, until the benefits reaped from commercial and friendly intercourse shall have strengthened the alliance against further violation."—*Missionary Magazine*, November, 1843.

The ratification of the treaty of peace between England and China having guaranteed, besides the transfer of Hong Kong to the former, the residence of British subjects at four other principal cities on the coast of China, the London Missionary Society felt it their incumbent duty to concentrate their efforts on the borders of the Chinese empire, and to send thither additional labourers. In the meantime, they requested the missionaries in the Ultra Ganges stations to meet and deliberate on the most effectual means of introducing the Gospel to China. In the month of August, 1843, most of the missionaries assembled at Hong Kong, and after mature deliberation recommended the occupancy of one or two stations on the northern part of the coast, and the removal of the Anglo-Chinese College to Hong Kong. In accordance with these recommendations, Drs. Lockhart and Medhurst removed to Shanghai, in 1843; Drs. Legge and Hobson remain at Hong Kong, where the objects of the College, it is hoped, will be promoted by the exertions of the Morrison Education Society, already in active operation.

In the midst of the deliberations, already noticed, the mission to China was called to sustain the heaviest bereavement it has suffered since the death of Dr. Morrison, in the removal, after a short illness, of his son, the Hon. John Robert Morrison, who was born at Malacca, in 1815, and commenced in England that education which it was the pleasure and the honour of his venerated father to complete in China. At the time of his father's death he was only nineteen years of age, yet such was his maturity of character, general knowledge, vigour of intellect, and high attainments in the Chinese language,—knowledge of the forms, usages, and principles of the Chinese government,—that he was immediately appointed to succeed his father. He was employed by

Sir Henry Pottinger as chief interpreter in all his negotiations with the Chinese authorities, during the whole of the war; and was the chief instrument in arranging with the Chinese the treaties which form the basis of the present relation between the two countries.

Mr. Morrison's career throughout was that of a devoted Christian; he was the adviser and protector of the defenceless native converts, the companion and friend of the missionaries, as well as the liberal, enlightened, and uniform advocate and supporter of all efforts for advancing the intellectual, moral, and spiritual renovation of the nations of Eastern Asia. The public duties of his high and responsible office were so discharged as not only to give satisfaction, but to secure at once the confidence and admiration of those with whom he was associated. His health had been affected by the fatigues of public duty, and he had received leave of absence for its restoration; but his devotedness to the public good induced him to delay, until he was seized with the fever which at that time proved so fatal to many of the British, and died at Macao, on the 29th of August, 1843.

In addition to the office of interpreter and Chinese secretary, he had been appointed a member of the Legislative Council, and officiating colonial secretary of the Government at Hong Kong. In announcing his death, Sir H. Pottinger, Her Majesty's plenipotentiary, expressed his conviction that it was a national calamity; and also stated his belief, that no man living could supply his place. Sir Robert Peel afterwards, speaking in the House of Commons, in reference to the father and the son, expressed his belief, that in the whole range of the public service, two men could not be found more remarkable for their high character and fidelity.

MALACCA.

CHAPTER XVII.

Commencement of missionary labours in Malacca—Prejudices of the Chinese—Mr. Milne's visit to Pinang—Grant of land from the Government for the use of the mission—Arrival of Mr. Medhurst—Mr. Milne's visit to China—The Anglo-Chinese college founded by Dr. Morrison—Mr. Milne's address on the laying of the foundation stone—Means employed in furtherance of its objects—Literary labours of Mr. Milne—Conversion and baptism of Le-ang-afa—His imprisonment and suffering—Christian books sent to Japan—Efforts of Mr. Thomsen on behalf of the Malays—Circulation of the Chinese Magazine—Religious services among the natives—Arrival of Mr. Humphreys—Death of Dr. Milne—Brief notice of his character—Arrival of Mr. Collie—Dr. Morrison's visit to Malacca—The printing of the entire Bible in Chinese completed by Le-ang-afa—Transmission of books to Cochin China—Native application for a school—Enlargement of the college buildings—Arrival of Messrs. Kidd, Smith, Tomlin, and Miss Newell—Death of Mr. Collie—Printing of Premeire's Grammar—Progress of the mission—Return of Messrs. Humphreys and Kidd to England—Arrival of Messrs. Hughes and Evans—Increase of students in the college—Number of native converts—Arrival of Mr. Dyer—Activity of the press—Visits to the tin mines—Arrival of Mr. Legge—Death of Mr. Evans—Removal of the college to Hong Kong.

MALACCA, one of the earliest European settlements in the East, and favourably situated for communication with China, India, and the Malayan Archipelago, was selected by Dr. Morrison and his colleague as next to China itself, the first station of the Missionary Society in that part of Asia. Mr. Milne's departure from China in 1815 has been already noticed. On the 22nd of May he reached

Malacca, and was cordially welcomed by the resident, Major Farquhar, and other authorities.

Malacca appeared well adapted for the purposes of the mission, for though its Chinese population was not equal to that of Java, it was a place of quiet and security, where the existing authorities were exceedingly favourable; it also afforded facilities for frequent communication with the Chinese colonies or settlements throughout the Archipelago, and with Cochin China and Pinang, as well as with India and Canton.

The Dutch Protestant Christians at Malacca having been for some time destitute of a minister, the president and the deacons of the church invited Mr. Milne to become their pastor, and though the latter did not feel it his duty to become the minister of their church, he cheerfully promised all the assistance which his attention to missionary duties would allow.

One of Mr. Milne's earliest objects was the establishment of a school; a Chinese teacher, who had formerly been employed as a schoolmaster, was engaged to assist in teaching. This school, though opened on the 5th of August, 1815,* with only five scholars, increased in the course of

* In the commencement of this school it was necessary to take into account the extreme respect of the Chinese for judicial astrology, in consequence of which they cannot be induced to commence any important undertaking except on a *lucky day*. This rule is, of course, strictly adhered to in the opening of a school, as neither parents nor teachers could expect to meet with success, if the day on which the school should begin was not marked in the Imperial Calendar as a fortunate one. "In addition to this," observed the teacher employed at Malacca, "it is customary to give the children a cake (literally a heart-opening cake) to expand their minds, and secure their progress in learning." Though surprised that such absurdities should influence those whose profession it was to expand the mind, Mr. Milne, reflecting that the period had not then arrived when such prejudices could safely be opposed, deemed it best to suffer the people to take their own way in such unimportant matters, rather than run the hazard of losing those opportunities of future usefulness, which the school seemed to promise. The

the following year to seventy, under the care of Mr. Thomsen, whose arrival with Mrs. Thomsen had been gratefully welcomed by Mr. Milne.

Having already composed and printed in the Chinese language, a History of the Life and Doctrines of Jesus Christ, Mr. Milne commenced a monthly publication in the Chinese language, in which the great doctrines of the Gospel were plainly stated, and such information communicated as was deemed likely to render it interesting and instructive. Besides the preparation of the Chinese Magazine, and proceeding with the translation of the Scriptures into Chinese, Mr. Milne imparted religious instruction to the children in the school, and held a religious service in Chinese on the sabbath.

In January, 1816, Mr. Milne, visited Pinang, waited on the governor and the members of council, who received him favourably, and readily granted a piece of land at Malacca for the use of the mission. This land was exchanged for a piece more eligible for the mission house and other requisite buildings; and the grant was confirmed by the Dutch government on taking possession of Malacca shortly afterwards. The visit to Pinang afforded good opportunities for sending the Chinese New Testaments and tracts to Siam, where 20,000 Chinese were supposed to reside, as well as to Rhio, Cochin China, and other places. In Pinang, also, Mr. Milne went from house to house distributing Scriptures and tracts, his chief

difficulty of introducing Christian books into the school was also overcome by bending a little to the strong prejudices of the people. By allowing them to use their own elementary books, the schoolmaster was prevailed upon to teach them a Christian catechism, at first on sabbaths, and afterwards occasionally on other days, and Chinese youths being accustomed to commit to memory everything acquired at school, the catechism was thus learned as a matter of course, when a full explanation of the principal words, such as God, creation, soul, &c., at length grew into a sort of catechetical exercise, to which sabbath afternoons were devoted.

“The promotion of literature, by affording to Europeans the means of cultivating the Ultra-Ganges languages, especially that of China and its tributary kingdoms; and to natives of China, the means of becoming acquainted with the English language, and with the practical and most useful parts of the science of the west.

“The vast empire of China, in its natural and moral history, in its chronology and topography, in its laws and jurisprudence, in the peculiarity of its manners and customs, and in the antiquity and singularity of its language, presents, without exaggeration, the amplest field on the face of the globe, for the researches of the naturalist, the historian, the antiquary, and the philosopher.

“But the investigation of mere abstract questions, and the gratification of speculative curiosity, are among the inferior objects of knowledge. In its application to commerce, to governments, to the intercourse of nations, and to the practical purposes of life, we behold objects vastly more important; and yet its views rise infinitely higher than even to these. It points upward to Deity, and forward to eternity. It is intended to conduct man to God, and to make him happy for ever. Most of those things about which our thoughts are now engrossed, our talents employed, our property expended, and our time exhausted, are destined to perish:

“Mortalia, facta, peribunt.

“We can look forward to the period when the most magnificent works of art, on which the skill and wealth of nations have been exhausted, shall be destroyed, and not a single vestige of human greatness, or human science left about them; and when the richest and most extensive collections of books, and curiosities, and apparatus, which literary, philosophical, and antiquarian industry has heaped together, through a long succession of ages, shall be melted down in the flames of the dissolving universe, and no longer distinguishable from the confused mass of its ashes!

“That knowledge, therefore, which terminates in objects merely material and temporary, however useful in its place, is far from being adequate to render man a truly wise and happy being—which leads me to observe,

“That the diffusion of Christianity is the chief object of this institution. Christianity is that divine science which teaches man how to be virtuous in this world, and happy after death. It opens to the view of his ever active soul, the prospect of a felicity which exceeds the comprehension of the most enlarged intellect—which will more than fill his most unbounded desires, and be commensurate with his existence. If, then, it be important to communicate common knowledge, the advantages of which are confined within the limits of a short and uncertain life, how much more so to diffuse divine knowledge, the benefits of which stretch forward in endless and increasing progression, through infinite ages beyond the grave?”

The chief means by which the founder of the college proposed to accomplish these valuable and far-extending results, was the preparation and printing of books in

Chinese, the teaching of European students the Chinese language, and the preparation, by a judicious and complete course of education, of native converts possessing the requisite abilities for becoming writers, schoolmasters, evangelists, preachers, and pastors of the Christian churches, which it was then hoped the great Head of the church would gather from among the Chinese.

An address by Dr. Morrison was circulated in Europe and America, for the purpose of making known the formation and objects of the College, and soliciting the co-operation and aid of all who felt interested in the intellectual and spiritual renovation of China. Writing on behalf of this institution, Dr. Morrison observes, in a letter to the directors of the Society: "It is my anxious wish to see the Ultra-Ganges mission well arranged and consolidated, so that there may be a succession of co-operation in the same line, and directed to the same point. The desirable thing is so to arrange matters that there shall be present co-operation, and continued effort. The work is too great for much to be done in a single lifetime. May our blessed Saviour direct to such plans as He will eventually own and bless! We think the Anglo-Chinese College a very important means, and allow me to recommend it to your kind auspices. I am persuaded that the more we can bring Christendom and China in contact with each other, the more probable is the diffusion of Divine revelation in this quarter of the world."

And again, "Let me beseech you, by the tender mercies of God our Saviour, to continue your parental care of these missions, and particularly to deal kindly with the infant seminary, the Anglo-Chinese College. It is the offspring of the Missionary Society, its ultimate end, and the ultimate end of all connected with it, is the reign of Christ upon earth. Literature is the means, not the end. Its

principle is borrowed from that of the Missionary Society; it is devoted to the cause of our common Christianity, not to the interests of a party. God grant that it may prosper, that it may be an honour to my country, and a blessing to China; and thus unite in its name and in its benefits, the west and the east; and finally, blend in peaceful intercourse, the extremities of the world, the islands of Great Britain and Japan."

For the benefit of the young, Mr. Milne about this time, composed a valuable compendium of truth, entitled, "The Youths' Catechism," which was printed and used in the schools, as well as widely circulated. Besides Dr. Milne's translation of the Book of Deuteronomy, of which he speaks with his accustomed modesty, as having been undertaken at the suggestion of Dr. Morrison, and revised by him for the press, a tract entitled, "The Strait Gate," and another "The Sin of Lying," were printed.

On removing from China to Malacca, Dr. Milne had taken with him a printer, of the name of Leang-kung-fah. For some time, after the establishment of the mission at Malacca, he did not appear much interested in the instruction imparted, but in the summer of 1816, this individual having expressed his wish to become a disciple of the Lord Jesus, his devoted teacher appointed frequent seasons for instruction, conversation, and prayer with him, in order to convey to his mind clear views of the nature, requirements, and responsibilities of a Christian profession; and having pleasing grounds for hope that his profession was sincere, and his heart changed, on the 3rd of November, Mr. Milne baptized him in the name of the adorable Trinity, the service being performed privately in a room of the mission-house.

Leang-kung-fah, or, as he is more frequently called,

Le-ang-afa, was a native of Canton, and thirty-three years of age at the time of his baptism. Although of common education, he could read a simple book with ease, and was steady, industrious, and frugal. His temper had formerly been unsociable, and somewhat obstinate, but for some time previous to his profession of the Christian faith, there had been nothing of this kind to complain of. His own confession was, that he had never been much given to idolatry, seldom went to the temples, and though praying occasionally towards heaven, he had lived in a state of careless indifference. His desire was to be baptized *exactly at* twelve o'clock, "when," to use his own words, "the shadow inclines neither one way nor the other."

"What his view was," observes Dr. Milne, "in fixing upon that precise time I cannot tell; but I suppose it arose from the remains of that superstitious regard to 'times,' which prevails so generally among the Chinese. I told him, God had not distinguished one hour from another, and that he, as a disciple of Christ, must in future regard every day and hour alike, except the sabbath, which is to be devoted especially to God. Aware that some superstitious attachments may, for a considerable time, hang about the first converts from paganism, and that, *it is in the church, and under the ordinances thereof*, that these attachments are to be entirely destroyed, I did not think it advisable to delay administering the initiatory ordinance."

Subsequently to the baptism of Leang-kung-fah, private means were carefully employed to increase his knowledge, and to impress the truths of the Gospel more deeply on his heart; with this view he and his instructor met once a-week, for reading the Scriptures, conversation and prayer, on which occasions Le-ang-afa

brought such passages of Scripture as he was unable to understand in his private reading, to have them explained. Many important truths were thus clearly and forcibly exhibited to his view ; his deeply solicitous teacher considering that to fix his mind on the word of God itself, was of vastly more importance than to employ the time in conversation about the mere feelings of the mind, although these were not neglected.

In April, 1819, Afa returned to China,* to visit his family, where, constantly witnessing their superstitions and idolatry, his desires for their conversion were greatly increased. In hopes of effecting this, he prepared a little tract, in which he embodied a few of the clearest and most important portions of Scripture respecting idolatry, the need of repentance, and faith in Christ, &c. ; and having submitted the manuscript to Dr. Morrison, he engraved the blocks, and printed 200 copies, intending to circulate them among his acquaintance. The police having been informed of what he was doing, seized Afa and took him with the books and blocks before the magistrates ; the

* In a letter to Dr. Morrison, written soon after his departure from Malacca, Dr. Milne, who appeared to feel his removal as a great loss, thus referred to Le-ang-afa :—" He told me that he hoped to bring round his old father to embrace the Gospel. What a comfort and help an individual or two would be to you should they prove faithful. Should Afa's efforts be successful with his father, he will, of course, bring him to you. You will see in the magazines two papers written by Afa : one on ' God so loved the World,' another on ' Repentance.' His understanding is of a superior cast. He once said he wished to become a preacher ; but as he did not mention it again, and had determined to see his father, I could only say that if such was his determination, I would most gladly continue to him his wages, (or part of them,) and spend a portion of time daily, to advance him in theological knowledge. Should he talk to you on the subject, you will know how to act. I was suggesting to him the idea of getting some poor trusty person to carry our books about the villages of China to sell for his (the poor man's) own benefit. I think you may, after giving Afa your best advices and orders, safely trust to his prudence."— *Morrison's Life of Milne*, p. 213.

books and blocks they destroyed, and shut up Afa in prison; the mandarin declaring that his believing in Jesus, and printing Christian books, were both violations of the law. While in prison, Le-ang-afa observes, "I thought with myself, this book contains the true doctrine of Jesus, the Saviour of the world, who exhorted men to become good. Why, then, should I be persecuted for printing it? I suppose it is because my sins have provoked God to punish me. Therefore I heartily repented and prayed that God would pity and pardon me. The missionary afterwards interested some person to speak to the mandarin on my behalf; who, after giving me thirty blows with the bamboo, on the soles of my feet, till the blood flowed, liberated me. The police-officers also extorted from me seventy dollars. After I had suffered this persecution and loss of property, I did not dare to turn my back on the Lord Jesus, but accounted that I suffered the just punishment due for my sins."

Afa's imprisonment and suffering in Canton appeared to make him more humble and more devoted to the cause of his Redeemer. Soon after he was released from prison he visited his family, after which he returned to Malacca, continued there a year, and then proceeded to China. Feeling much concerned for the spiritual welfare of his wife, he read and explained to her the Scriptures, prayed with and for her, and had at length the sacred pleasure of witnessing her belief in the Saviour, and administering to her the rite of baptism. "From that time," says Afa, "we have been of one heart and one mind in worshipping and serving the one only living and true God, the ruler and governor of the universe, and in endeavouring to turn those around us from the service of dumb idols."

To prepare himself in some measure to labour for the

conversion of his countrymen he proceeded to Malacca, and applied with great assiduity to the study of the Bible, under the direction of Dr. Milne, until the valuable life of the latter closed. Having then no one at Malacca to whom he was attached, he returned to his own family; and when his son, who had been born in his absence, was about two years old, he carried him to Dr. Morrison, and in the ordinance of baptism consecrated him to God, in the hope, as he declared, that he might grow up and become a virtuous man, thoroughly acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, and able to preach the Gospel to his countrymen.

In the year 1819, the Chinese books printed at the Malacca press amounted to about 43,000, exclusive of 12,000 of the Chinese Magazine. In the Malay language, about 22,000 copies of tracts, and in English, 3,000 books and tracts. Two New Testaments and several tracts were conveyed by Captain P. Gordon to Japan, and left in the hands of the Japanese at Jeddo.

The different schools at this time connected with the mission were increasing in a steady and encouraging manner. The care of the Chinese schools, containing, in the summer season, from eighty to a hundred boys, devolved entirely upon Mr. Medhurst; while the Malay and Malabar, or Tamul schools, remained under the superintendence of Mr. Thomsen.

Mrs. Thomsen, the amiable, pious, and devoted wife of the missionary to the Malay, had been removed by death, in 1818. On the 20th of March, 1819, the mission was again afflicted by the death of Mrs. Milne, thus early called away from her beloved family and devoted husband, who, oppressed with the accumulating duties of his station, needed more than ever the solace and support of her companionship and affection.

With a view to greater comfort and encouragement in their work, as well as to the increased efficiency of the mission, the missionaries now in this region formed, in the year 1819, the Ultra-Ganges Mission Union. Connected with this was a fund, towards which part of the profits of the "Indo-Chinese Gleaner" were devoted, for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the missionaries of the London Society, labouring in the Ultra-Ganges stations.*

Having accomplished the translation of those portions of the Sacred Scriptures which he had undertaken, Mr. Milne commenced an "Exposition of the Epistle to the Ephesians," which he considered as better adapted to the heathen than any other part of the New Testament. The printing of the Old Testament in Chinese was still carried forward at the mission press, as well as the Chinese Magazine and other works. The mission was, in 1819, reinforced by the arrival of Mr. Flemming; and, at the same time, Mr. Medhurst was relieved from the superintendence of the press, and enabled to direct his attention to other labours in the mission, by the arrival of Mr. Huttman, who added to his practical acquaintance with every department of printing a knowledge of the British system of education. Dr. Milne composed this year a valuable essay on the Nature, Immortality, and Salvation of the Soul, in 2 vols., 12mo, calculated to meet the sceptical objections and metaphysical reasonings of the Confucians, and to convey just views on a subject so deeply interesting and important.

Religious services were held daily in the Malay language at the mission-house, besides others in a pagan temple. Christian instruction was also imparted to the Chinese

* Milne's Retrospect, p. 343.

daily in the Mandarin and Fokien dialects, and in Dutch and English occasionally. The catechetical exercise on the sabbath was still continued, and attended by several learned Chinese connected with the college. These men had been born and educated in China, and expected to return thither. Dr. Milne encouraged their attention, in the hope that they would report to others what they themselves had learned.

In the same year a young Mahomedan and his sister, who were Malays, renounced their erroneous creed, and openly professed their attachment to the Christian faith. Two younger sisters of the same family appeared to be under similar convictions, while several other Malays were candidates for baptism. Describing the state of the mission at this time, Dr. Milne observes, "Knowledge is spreading; the number of youth connected with the mission is increasing; opportunities for the circulation of tracts are more numerous than ever, and the heathen are more frequently visited in their own habitations."*

Among other works Dr. Milne printed this year a valuable letter, entitled, the "Three Pearls," being an

* The chief means of communicating religious instruction to the Chinese was by conversation at their own dwellings. Great difficulty has always been experienced in collecting a congregation. Writing on this subject, Dr. Milne observes,—“The Chinese spend the whole day in hard labour; and their evenings are very commonly devoted to gambling, where that ruinous practice is permitted. When a few persons came to hear, it was no easy matter to fix their attention. Some would be talking; others laughing at the newness of the things spoken; others smoking their pipes; others, on coming in and going out, would pass through the usual routine of their ceremony just as they act in the temples of their own gods, before which nothing like reverence is ever seen. They did these things, it was believed, more from habit or ignorance, than from intentional disrespect to the word of God; but the difficulty to the speaker was nearly the same. The few, indeed, who attended regularly, became, after a short time, remarkably decorous and attentive. But this can never be expected at first.”—*Milne's retrospect*, p. 165.

account of the Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies. The completion of the building of the college-house in the autumn of this year, added much to the comfort of the missionaries and the convenience of all connected with the institution. In the year 1820, the University of Glasgow conferred on Mr. Milne the degree of doctor of divinity.

In the following year Dr. Milne had the pleasure of welcoming Mr. Humphreys, who had been appointed to the Chinese department of labour in Malacca.

Although grateful for the encouragement from home which the arrival of so many fellow-labourers afforded, and for the indications of Divine approval on the work of his hands which the aspect of the mission presented, Dr. Milne found that his own health was failing under the anxieties and accumulating duties of his responsible position. Two years before, the state of his health had induced the directors to encourage his visiting the Cape of Good Hope, or his native country, with a view to its restoration. But as a degree of temporary improvement inspired hopes that this might not be necessary, his deep solicitude for the prosperity of the mission and the college, together with his anxiety to complete his portion of the Chinese version of the Holy Scriptures, and other important works in hand, induced him to remain at his post, not without great weakness and much suffering. In reviewing the year at its close, he observes, "Considering the debilitated state of my body and the disorder under which I am suffering, a great and painful uncertainty hangs over me, but I wish to look above."*

His disorder increased so fearfully, that the only hope of life arose from the effect of a change, and on the 20th of February, 1822, he embarked for Singapore, whence he

* Morrison's Life of Milne, p. 105.

proceeded to Pinang. But although all the attention and assistance that affection and friendship could afford were kindly and constantly rendered, his symptoms became so alarming that he desired to return. The Pinang government considerably sent him in one of their own vessels to Malacca, where he arrived on the 24th of May.

It was now evident to all around him that his useful and laborious life was drawing to a close. The nature of his disease being such as to render all attempts to speak intensely painful, he conversed but little. The few words which he uttered, in reference to eternity, were in unison with the principles he had held and the doctrines he had preached. The merits of the Saviour alone formed the foundation of his hope. He experienced peace but not joy, and without a struggle or a groan, his happy spirit left this world of suffering and sin on the 2nd of June, 1822.

The ways of Divine Providence are often to us inscrutable, and seldom more so than in the removal of individuals from stations of the highest importance and influence in the church, for which they appeared to have been, by a long series of preparations, eminently qualified; it was so in the present instance, and the survivors and friends of Dr. Milne, while they mourned their loss, rejoiced in the good he had been favoured to accomplish.

As a missionary, this honoured servant of God has been excelled by few. The foundation of all his excellences consisted in his sincere and entire devotedness to God. The genuineness of his piety appeared conspicuous in every part of his brief but honourable course. To natural abilities of no common order, most sedulously cultivated, he added a steadiness of purpose and a perseverance in labour that enabled him to vanquish difficulties which others would have deemed alike appalling and insuperable. He is a noble instance of the amount of good

that may be accomplished, not by high and early advantages and brilliant talents, so much as by the constant, judicious, and undiverted pursuit of great objects. The papers he has left are creditable alike to his industry and talent,* and show the general correctness of his views on all subjects connected with Christian missions.† To his attainments in Chinese, which he studied without intermission from his arrival in Canton until his death, Dr. Morrison has borne repeated testimony, and vast as the claims of China were by him allowed to be, his benevolence extended to adjacent nations. He rejoiced in the opportunity of sending Christian books to Japan, in securing their translation into Cochin Chinese, and longed and prayed for the introduction of the Gospel to Siam.‡

There was in Dr. Milne a degree of ardour and enterprise, of activity and tact, together with a versatility of

* "I am quite happy," he observes in a letter to Dr. Morrison, June, 1821, "having Chinese, Siamese, Cochin Chinese, and Malay teachers, all about me—Japanese alone is wanted: Chinese, Cochin Chinese, and Japanese constitute our literary triad."—*Morrison's Life of Milne*, p. 227.

† On the subject of correspondence, some admirable rules for a missionary's guidance are given in his *Life* by Dr. Morrison, and in regard to the early letters of a missionary after reaching his appointed sphere of labour, he elsewhere observes: "To write first impressions is wise, for a missionary's own improvement; but his first views should be given to others with great reserve and moderation, till a knowledge of the language and of the people enable him to write with more certainty and confidence. To act otherwise, lays the foundation of much future sorrow, and hurts his own peace of mind. If he be a young man, his best friends, and the friends of the cause in which he is engaged, should publish his first letters, with reserve and care, and perhaps not without some modification. The same cautious reserve is necessary in what he writes, respecting his personal feelings and his labours. Regard to *truth*, the most sacred of all things, should ever prevent from exaggerating the circumstances even of the most important and striking facts, with the view of producing an effect on the Christian public. There will always be enough in the statement of actual facts, and in the inferences which naturally arise out of them, to interest the church of Christ at home, and to keep its zeal alive, without recourse to heightened representation."—*Milne's Retrospect*, p. 49.

‡ *Morrison's Life of Milne*, p. 110.

genius, not often found in connexion with that solidity and correctness of judgment, and that patient application and labour which marked his career. Another quality, one of incalculable value in a missionary, was the faculty of rendering every species of influence within his reach, and every occurrence in the course of Divine Providence, subservient to the furtherance of his great object. This endowment ranked high in his own estimation,* and he appears to have possessed it in an eminent degree.

His eldest son is already in the field to which his father led the way. May he, under happier auspices, follow in his father's steps, and under the Divine favour be the honoured instrument of still more abundant blessing to mankind.

A few weeks after the death of Dr. Milne, Mr. Collie reached Malacca, and entered with ardour and application on the study of the Chinese, in which he soon made encouraging progress.

Dr. Morrison visited Malacca early in 1823, and one of his first acts was to raise a monument to the memory of Dr. Milne, as a memorial of his own affection and esteem. His presence was seasonable and welcome, and

* In one of his letters, he thus alludes to this subject—"The favour of the great—the knowledge of the learned—the discoveries of the traveller—the extent of commercial intercourse—the prayers of the saints—the civilities of the indifferent—the pounds of the rich—the pence of the poor—the records of history—the conquests of war—the smiles of friends—the sneers of enemies, &c. may all be turned to our account as missionaries. In the hands of wisdom and prudence, these things are as clay in the hands of the potter. How mighty is the power of wisdom and prudence, which can turn the world upside down, and make conquerors, statesmen, kings—the great and small—the learned and the ignorant—friend and foe, all contribute to the promotion of the missionary's object. This omnipotence (shall I call it?) of character, I desire much to obtain. As missionaries we must yoke all things to the pole of our car."—*Morrison's Life of Milne*, p. 208.

his aid at this time was important to the institution, more especially to the Chinese students in the college.

In 1821, Le-ang-afa, accompanied by workmen from China, arrived at Malacca, and commenced the printing of the entire version of the Holy Scriptures in Chinese, which, in May, 1823, he was honoured to finish. Copies of the Chinese Bible were forwarded to England and other parts of the world, and portions of the sacred volume and other religious books continued to be widely circulated.* In the same year, a weekly paper, in the sheet form, was commenced, for the purpose of giving a wider circulation to Christian instruction.

About this time, the inhabitants of a small village in the neighbourhood sent a petition to the missionaries, requesting them to establish a school.† “This petition,” as the missionaries observe, “exhibited a striking contrast

* Writing to the directors under date of June, 1824, the missionaries remark, “We lately sent to Cochin China, nearly 3,000 copies of the mission books, in Chinese. We have been visited several times by some Cochin Chinese, said to be sent out by the Government of that country to observe what is doing here. After receiving several supplies of Chinese Bibles and tracts, they requested more, and were particularly desirous to obtain a considerable number of the ‘Three Pearls,’ (a tract written by Dr. Milne, containing an account of the London Missionary, Bible, and Tract Societies;) they said they understood our tracts very well, and mentioned, that some Roman Catholics in Cochin China, had obtained more rational and satisfactory views respecting the Lord’s Supper, from reading some of the Chinese tracts which had been sent to their country, than they had before possessed.”—*Miss. Chron.* May, 1825.

† The following paragraphs extracted from this petition may serve to show in what estimation the schools were held.

“The Fuh-Keen men, whose names are mentioned below, earnestly entreat that a school may be established at their village, to promulgate heavenly principles and practical virtue, that education and renovation may become illustrious, &c.

“Benevolent Sir, we rejoice that you have come to Malacca; not only the widower and the widow, the orphan and the destitute, have been moistened by your rich beneficence, but also in every place, righteous schools have been established by you for the purpose of disseminating heavenly principles and true virtue, and many have been instructed and renovated,” &c.

to the universal jealousy with which Dr. Milne was viewed by the Chinese, when he first attempted to establish schools for their children, and shows the favourable impressions the mission had produced." The number of Chinese scholars under Christian instruction at this time exceeded 200, and the students in the college amounted to twenty-six.

On the 21st of November, 1824, Mr. Kidd arrived at Malacca; and in the same year, by an arrangement with the King of the Netherlands, the settlement of Malacca was placed under the authority of Great Britain.

The flourishing state of the college required an enlargement of the building, which was effected in 1825, when the number of students amounted to twenty-eight, whose progress was in general highly satisfactory, some of them being able to translate from English to Chinese with ease and accuracy. This year the station was visited by the deputation, who appeared highly gratified with its general appearance, especially with the progress of the youth in the schools. The mission was reinforced in the year 1826, by the arrival of Mr. Smith from the University of Glasgow, who was shortly afterwards followed by Mr. Tomlin, from Cambridge. In the Malay department, Mr. Humphreys was encouraged by the attendance of the people on the preaching of the Gospel. A new mission-chapel was opened for public worship, in April, 1827. Upwards of 30,000 copies of different Chinese books were printed during the year, of which nearly 3,000 were Bibles and Testaments. In the month of August, Miss Newell arrived at Malacca, for the purpose of attempting to promote female education among the Chinese.

In 1828, the mission was called to mourn the death of Mr. Collie, who had for some years sustained, with zeal, efficiency, and eminent advantage to the pupils, the

office of principal in the Anglo-Chinese college. He died at sea, off Singapore, on his way to England, whither he was proceeding for the benefit of his health.

Mr. Collie was a truly pious, as well as a devoted man. Besides his labours in the college, and writings in Chinese, among which may be noticed a translation of Dr. Bogue's "Essay on the Divine Authority of the New Testament," he published an English translation of the "Four Books," one of the sacred classics, consisting of a compilation of the lessons of Confucius, by four of his disciples. This work has been highly commended. This devoted missionary is also reported to have spoken Chinese with the fluency and intonations of a native. Loss of health obliged Mr. Humphreys to proceed to England, but Mr. Kidd was enabled to remain at Malacca, continuing his important duties as principal in the college, in which the number of students was now thirty-three. He devoted as much of his time as the engagements at the college would allow to the religious instruction of the people in the settlement, and had the happiness, in April, 1829, to administer baptism to a native Chinese, who has ever since adorned his Christian profession. Miss Newell having become the wife of Mr. Gutzlaff, the female schools were placed under the care of Miss Wallace, who had been sent out from England, with a view to engage in that department of effort.

The retrenchments in the public expenditure throughout India, introduced by Lord W. Bentinck, caused the Pinang Government, in the year 1830, to discontinue the allowance of 100 dollars monthly, which had been made towards the support of the college. When this was known to the Select Committee at Canton, they immediately forwarded that sum in behalf of the East India Company, with a note to Dr. Morrison, expressive of their high sense of the value of the institution, and an intimation of their having

recommended it to the patronage and support of the directors of the Company in England.

The valuable Chinese Latin Grammar of Premeire, extending to upwards of 300 quarto pages, the original of which is in the library of the university at Paris, having been copied, and confided to the care of Dr. Morrison, to be printed at the Anglo-Chinese college, was completed in the year 1831, and is justly ranked amongst the most valuable productions in the languages of Europe and China.*

The superintendence of the press, and the preparation of works in Chinese, the teaching in the college, where religious exercises were attended daily, the services on the sabbath, which, since the death of Mr. Collie and the departure of Mr. Humphreys, had devolved on Mr. Kidd, proved so injurious to his health, as to oblige him to remove for a time to Singapore. The amendment which he experienced was but partial, and in 1832, he was under the necessity of seeking the preservation of life, by returning to his native country, where, after filling the office of pastor to a Congregational church, he became professor of Chinese in University College, London, and published a valuable book on China, but in the midst of his useful labours was suddenly removed by death in 1843. After the departure of Mr. Kidd, Mr. Tomlin undertook the duties of the college and the Chinese services. The Malay department was under the care of Mr. Hughes, who had reached Malacca in 1830. In November, 1833, Mr. Evans arrived, and entered, with zeal and assiduity, upon the general duties of the college and the study of the language, to which his attention had been already directed. The press was in active operation, and during the

* The expense of transcribing and printing was defrayed by Lord Kingsborough.

year 1833, upwards of 10,000 copies of different works in Chinese had been printed, and nearly 2000 copies of portions of the Scriptures, and 17,000 tracts sent to the different stations for distribution. Le-ang-afa was devoted, and indefatigable, as an evangelist among the multitudes of his countrymen in Malacca and its vicinity. On the 4th of May, 1834, Mr. Evans commenced preaching in Chinese, and was soon after enabled to engage in all the departments of labour connected with the Chinese branch of the mission, as well as to discharge the duties of the college. In the month of July, four natives, three Malays, and one Chinese, were baptized, and pleasing evidence of piety appeared among the students, whose number was between thirty and forty. These had, from the commencement, formed the hope of the mission; to them a large measure of attention and time was devoted; and the result has amply justified the procedure.

Mr. Hughes, accepting the appointment of chaplain, ceased to be connected with the Society; but in 1835, the mission was joined by Mr. Dyer, in whom the favourable state of the station and the college inspired the most pleasing anticipations. The depression which loss of health, the mortality among the missionaries, and the limited success in their labours, had occasioned, began to give place to feelings of encouragement and hope. The public services were well attended, several were baptized, and the demand for books was greatly increased.

Eight adults were baptized during 1835, of whom two were students in the college. Four other students publicly renounced heathenism during the following year, and received the rite of baptism. The Chinese congregation amounted to 250, nearly thirty of whom had publicly professed their belief in the Gospel, and testified their sincerity by uniform consistency of conduct. The Divine

blessing seemed to rest in a remarkable manner on the labours of the missionaries at this period. The daily attendance on the services of the college was regular and encouraging; and the chapel on the sabbath morning was crowded with attentive Chinese worshippers. Nearly 500 children, Chinese and Malay, were under Christian instruction; and during the year, thirty individuals, by receiving baptism, publicly professed their faith in Christ. Two of these were students in the college, of whom the total number was seventy.

Some of the Chinese Christians were exposed to persecution from their idolatrous countrymen, but remained steadfast.* One was a venerable schoolmaster, sixty-five years of age, who was first convinced of the folly of idolatry by reading books distributed by the missionaries; after many months of inquiry and deliberation, he publicly professed himself a believer in the Lord Jesus Christ, and was gladly welcomed by the missionaries among those whom they could not but regard as the firstfruits of China unto Christ.

The same pleasing attention to religious instruction among the people continued throughout the year, on the last day of which a number of Chinese publicly abjured heathenism, and professed their faith in the Redeemer. It was a novel and gratifying sight to the missionaries to behold Christian Chinese parents bringing their infants in their arms, to dedicate them to the Lord, by the solemn rite of baptism.

On the first sabbath in January, 1838, twenty-nine Chinese converts united with the mission families in commemorating the dying love of Christ, by partaking with them of the ordinance of the Lord's supper.† The

* Missionary Chronicle, August, 1837.

† Missionary Magazine, February, 1839.

college was, during the year, visited by the Bishop of Calcutta, who expressed himself highly gratified with the institution, and the means it provided for the spiritual benefit of China.

In the same year, the missionaries visited the tin mines in the Mohamedan state of the Rajah of Selangore, for the purpose of distributing Christian books, and communicating religious instruction to the numbers of Chinese by whom the mines are wrought. The missionaries were received with respect by the Chinese, who sought after their books with great eagerness, and appeared interested in the important subjects to which they endeavoured to direct their attention. The Christian students in the college frequently visited their countrymen residing at the tin mines in the neighbourhood of Malacca.

At the mission station the number professing Christianity continued to increase, and in 1839 exceeded sixty individuals.* Mr. Werth, a German missionary, who had been residing some time at Malacca, was engaged to labour among the Malays, but was in 1841 obliged, on account of illness, to return to Europe. Female education, under the superintendence of Mrs. Dyer, continued to advance among the people.

In the month of January, 1840, Mr. Legge reached Malacca, and applied with great industry to the study of the language, engaging in the tuition of some of the senior pupils of the college. In the month of November, Mr. Evans fell a victim, after a very short illness, to an attack of malignant cholera, at that time raging in the settlement. After his death, the charge of the college and other responsibilities of the station devolved on Mr. Legge, who though called to mourn the imperfections and incon-

* *Missionary Magazine*, July, 1840.

sistencies of some of the converts, yet found cause for encouragement, and was not without hopes that his labours were attended with the Divine blessing.

The great objects for which the station had been originally occupied, and the college founded, were the spiritual benefit of the Chinese at Malacca, and the indirect communication of the knowledge of Christianity to the inhabitants of China itself. The locality afforded the best facilities that could then be obtained, but the vast changes that have since taken place, more especially the recently concluded treaty of peace between the English and Chinese having issued in the establishment of a British settlement on the shores of China, and opened five of its principal ports to British subjects, it appeared to the directors and the missionaries on the spot, that the objects originally contemplated would be best accomplished by the removal of the college. With this view, Dr. Legge, accompanied by some of the native Christians, left Malacca in the month of May, 1843, and proceeded to Hong Kong, where it was proposed to establish the Anglo-Chinese college, and where its chief object, the training of native preachers and writers, could be most effectually promoted. The institution has occupied an important place, and has rendered efficient aid in the preparation that has been made for the efforts to which the church of Christ is now invited on behalf of the Chinese; and its best friends most earnestly desire, that under the superior advantages it will hereafter enjoy, its usefulness may be proportionally increased, and the objects of its founder and supporters more fully accomplished. If the college has not been instrumental, directly or indirectly, in the conversion of every Chinese who has embraced Christianity, most have derived from it important advantages. In 1835, forty students had completed their edu-

cation in the institution; several of these had become sincere Christians, and all were respectable members of society. One of the students who had distinguished himself by his knowledge of English, and his skill in translation, had, on leaving the college, proceeded to Peking, where he was employed as imperial interpreter of western languages.

J A V A.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Voyage of Mr. Milne to Java in 1814—Encouragement afforded by Sir Stamford Raffles—Preaching to British troops—Farewell address to the Chinese—Appointment of Messrs. Kam, Supper, and Bruckner to Batavia—Their arrival and labours in Java—Distribution of books—Death of Mr. Supper—Mr. Bruckner's connexion with the Baptist Missionary Society—Labours and success of Mr. Kam in Amboyna—Arrival of Mr. Slater in Batavia; failure of health—Mr. Medhurst's arrival—Operations of the press—Labours among the people—Origin of the Christian village, Depok—Completion of Mr. Medhurst's Fokeen dictionary, and other works—Method of distributing books among the Chinese—Visit of the deputation—Opening of a dispensary and depository for books—Progress of education—Publication of tracts on the superstitions of the Chinese—Difficulty of collecting a Chinese congregation—Tour to the eastern coast—Voyage to the Malayan Peninsula—Perils from pirates—Voyage to Borneo—Notice of the Dayaks—Visit to China and England—Chinese boarding school—Discontinuance of the Society's labours in Batavia—Removal of Mr. Medhurst to China.

DRIVEN from Macao by the intolerance of popery, and prevented from remaining at Canton by the jealousy of the Chinese authorities, it was deemed desirable by Messrs. Morrison and Milne, that the latter should undertake a voyage to the principal Chinese settlements in the Malayan Archipelago, to distribute among them copies of the New Testament and other books, to observe the disposition of the people towards Christian teachers, and to ascertain the most eligible place for commencing those operations

by which they hoped ultimately to accomplish the great purposes of their mission.

With these objects in view, Mr. Milne, leaving his wife at Macao, and taking with him 2,000 Testaments and 15,000 other books, sailed on the 11th of February, 1814, in the ship *James Drummond*, on board of which were 450 Chinese emigrating to Banca, in consequence of the difficulty they found in obtaining the means of subsistence at home. Their fellow passenger, Mr. Milne, presented, on parting, some Chinese Testaments, with an affectionate letter recommending the volumes to their careful perusal. In recording this circumstance, he observes: "Perhaps these were the first twenty-five complete Chinese Testaments ever distributed, and it is not a little remarkable that this should have happened to be among a shipful of poor men, wandering from their mother country in search of bread."*

From the conversations he had with the emigrants, and from other circumstances, Mr. Milne was of opinion that one in four of the whole number was capable of reading and writing; and as those who leave their native country in search of subsistence are generally from the lowest grade of society, a hope was very reasonably entertained from this circumstance, that in the country at large a far greater number of persons would be found capable of reading than had been generally supposed, and all preaching of the Gospel being prohibited, the discovery of such a fact was the more cheering and important.

On the 10th of May, Mr. Milne arrived at Batavia, and took an early opportunity of calling on the governor, Sir Stamford Raffles, and explaining to him the various objects of the voyage. Sir Stamford Raffles received the missionary with the utmost cordiality, and kindly pro-

* *Missionary Transactions*, vol. iv. p. 247.

mised not only his permission to pursue them, but his powerful aid in carrying them out, a promise which he was ever ready and zealous to fulfil.

By the kindness of the government, Mr. Milne obtained a temporary home at a short distance from the town, in a more pleasant and healthful situation, where he enjoyed the privilege, esteemed the more highly in that distant region of the globe, of near neighbourhood and Christian fellowship with the Rev. Professor Ross, of the Dutch Reformed Church, and the Rev. William Robinson, a member of the Baptist Mission in India.

A Chinese handbill composed by Dr. Morrison having been printed, 700 copies of it were circulated by Mr. Milne in Java. To one of these he added, in large letters—"A place where books are given away," posted it up on the outside of his door, and thereby induced a number of persons to call daily.

About the middle of May, the proportion of books allowed for Batavia were all circulated; and Mr. Milne proceeded to several villages, some at the distance of thirty miles, supplying the inhabitants with catechisms, tracts, and Testaments.

Sir Stamford Raffles, with that enlightened and benevolent spirit which marked his administration, had furnished Mr. Milne with the means of travelling free of expense through the interior and eastern parts of Java, and also proposed to afford further facilities for visiting Pontiano, Sanibas, and Banjermasin, on the island of Borneo, where many thousands of Chinese are settled. A war with Bali and Macassar, in addition to other circumstances, prevented this last proposal from being carried into effect. Arrangements, however, were made, on Mr. Milne's departure from Java, for sending Testaments and tracts to the Chinese colonies settled in these places.

Before leaving Batavia for his proposed journey, Mr. Milne had an opportunity of addressing the governor, both personally and by letter, on the subject of forming a Bible Society at Java, which was happily established on the 4th of June.

On the 18th of May, Mr. Milne commenced his journey, kindly furnished by the governor with letters of introduction to several English residents on different parts of the island; and accompanied in his travels by Dr. Robinson, a medical gentleman, whom he found an intelligent and agreeable companion, and who afterwards fell a victim to the Batavian fever.

While at Solo, a city containing nearly 50,000 inhabitants, Mr. Milne had several opportunities of preaching in English to the Scotch soldiers, of the 58th regiment, who were all by command of Major Forbes marched in order to a grove, where he addressed them under the shade of large trees, on which occasions the Major and many of the officers attended. He also catechised the children belonging to the regiment, and distributed many small tracts amongst them. These services were rendered more solemnly important to the missionary, from the fact that many of his own countrymen, who formed his attentive audience, had not heard a sermon nor attended Divine service for the space of eight years.

Having visited the chief settlements in Java, Mr. Milne returned to China, which he reached on the 5th of September, 1814, in health and safety, grateful for the Divine goodness, and not without hopes that his being prohibited remaining in Macao would eventually turn out for the furtherance of the Gospel among the Chinese. Before leaving Java, he addressed and printed a farewell letter to the Chinese, urging their attention to

the truths contained in the books he had left, of which the following is a translation :

“ A General Address to the Respected People of the Ta-tsing Dynasty, who dwell in Pa (Batavia), and in other places (in Java).

“ BENEVOLENT ELDER BRETHREN,

“ Peace, prosperity, ten thousand blessings, and all the good which you desire.

“ Your younger brother, intending to visit other parts, presents this parting token of respect ; but his eyes will constantly look towards you ; his heart, always ruminating, will remember you, and resolves to pray, that the Deity may bless you, your children, and your children's children, and ten thousand generations.

“ Your younger brother thinks, that the Maker of the heavens and the earth is the one only true and living God, and there is none else.

“ The past, the present, and the future, are fully known to God. He rewards goodness, punishes wickedness, and can do all things.

“ The gods who have not made the heavens and the earth cannot endure, as the heavens and the earth (*i. e.* must perish) ; but the true and living God will exist eternally. He made and nourishes all men under heaven, and he will judge all. When we sit, when we sleep, when we speak, and when we think, God observes all.

“ No man can at any time see God ; therefore, no man understands his form.

“ All human beings under heaven have often sinned against God, and deserve to suffer his displeasure. But God, being merciful and gracious, sent his only Son, Jesus, into the world to practise virtue, and to redeem them from their iniquities, in order that all who repent of their sins, and trust in Jesus, should obtain eternal life in heaven. Those who do not believe his doctrine, but work iniquity, must go down to hell (*i. e.* earth's prison), and suffer undefined punishment.

“ These are the doctrines of the holy books which your younger brother has presented to you, his respected friends.

“ These books teach men about the affairs of ancient times, concerning the character of men of the present age ; the happiness and misery of the life to come, the temple of heaven, and the prison of hell.

“ Some parts of these books are, perhaps, not easily understood at present ; but pray to God to unfold them—every day read a little—perhaps some person will come to explain them to you, then you will be able to understand.

“ Remember that the sages have said,—‘ Do not blot or destroy good books.’

“ Brethren, this life is temporary ; still things under the sun are vanity ; therefore do not set your hearts upon them.

“ While we live, the riches of the world have their use ; when we die, they are altogether useless after death. We cannot carry away a single van (i. e. none at all) ; seek God’s gracious favour ; deal justly with all ; let not the rich greedily oppress the poor, nor the poor discontentedly complain of their lot ; for both rich and poor must shortly die.

“ Parents, teach your children to read the sacred book, to write, to trust in Jesus Christ, to venerate the aged, to discharge filial piety to you, to love their brothers and sisters, to pity the poor, and do good to all men, then all will be well.

“ Your younger brother,

ME-LEAN,

“ *Batavia, 19th day of the 5th moon
of the 19th year of Kea-King ; or July 5th, 1814.*”

“ Bows and pays his respects.

Contemplating the condition of the populous island of Java, at that time subject to the British Government, the directors of the Missionary Society felt a strong desire to become instrumental to the communication of the blessings of the Gospel to its inhabitants, of whom it was stated 100,000 were Chinese. Suitable agents for commencing this work were furnished in a remarkable manner. At this time Messrs. Kam, Supper, and Bruckner, natives of Germany, had completed their education as Christian missionaries at Berlin and Rotterdam, with a view to their being sent out to India by the Netherlands Missionary Society. The war existing at the time prevented this ; they came over to England, and were gladly received by the London Missionary Society, and appointed to Batavia, for which place they were peculiarly qualified, being able to preach in Dutch to the Europeans, while preparing to instruct the heathen. These missionaries were ordained at the Dutch church in London, on the 14th of November, 1813, by Dr. Wernink, and embarked for Java on the 31st of the following month.

While preparations for this mission engaged the attention of the directors, two gentlemen on a visit for their health at the Cape of Good Hope expressed to Mr. Thom, the missionary there, their earnest desires that

missionaries should be sent out to Batavia. So deep was their feeling on this subject, that one of these friends offered one thousand rix-dollars, to be given to the first missionary who should be sent to that place, and a bill for the amount was placed in the hands of Mr. Thom, who lost no time in communicating the agreeable intelligence to the Society in London. These circumstances, together with advantages anticipated from the enlightened and philanthropic government of Sir Stamford Raffles, greatly encouraged the directors in their first efforts on behalf of the inhabitants of this important island.

On the arrival of the missionaries at Batavia, Mr. Supper was appointed to the Dutch church there. He also exerted himself in the distribution of Bibles committed to his care. Chinese tracts having been sent to him by Mr. Milne, were received by the people with respect and gratitude, some of them bowing to the ground, and kissing the volumes placed in their hands.

At Samarang, about 200 miles from Batavia, Mr. Bruckner was employed as minister among a people, whose low state of religious feeling appears to have greatly depressed his mind. His fellow-labourer, Mr. Kam, was appointed for a time minister of Sourabaya, and afterwards removed to Amboyna, in which island he officiated as pastor of the Dutch church. In this place he found the professing Christians in a destitute condition, the Lord's supper not having been administered amongst them for the space of thirteen years. Bibles and Testaments were also much needed. He expressed his opinion that 20,000 copies would scarcely be sufficient for the demand, and that that number would be cheerfully purchased by the people.

Under the able government of Sir Stamford Raffles, whose memory is held by the inhabitants of Java in

affectionate and universal veneration, the prosperity of the island rapidly increased. In the year 1816, the island was restored to its former possessors, and though some apprehensions were entertained, the successor of Sir Stamford Raffles, Baron Vander Campellan, proved himself a sincere friend to the Bible Society and the missionaries. Mr. Supper being at that time minister at the Malay church, he had not only an opportunity of preaching to great numbers of nominal Christians, Malay, and Portuguese, the former at Depok, and the latter at Toegoe, but also to the Chinese and Mahomedans.

In this sphere of usefulness, as well as in the distributions of tracts and Testaments, he was still cheered by the eagerness with which the latter were received, and in one of his letters he writes, "I have often found Chinese parents reading the New Testament to their families, and requesting instruction about some passages. One merchant delayed his departure from Batavia for some days, in order to read with tranquillity and reflection a Bible which he had received; he promised to recommend it to his countrymen, and implored a thousand blessings on the Bible. One of the most opulent Chinese observed, 'I have read the New Testament with pleasure; it is very fine; and it would be well if every one led such a life as Jesus Christ taught us to lead.' This man on his return home tore down all the painted images from his walls, and threw them into the fire."*

Though suffering from repeated attacks of indisposition, Mr. Supper was cheered by the beneficial effects which appeared to result from his labours. On one occasion he thus writes: "My occupations are many. The more, however, my circle of operation expands, the more pleasing

* Medhurst, 330.

and gratifying it is to me ; so much so, that I would not exchange it for an empire." Amongst the blessings by which his unremitting efforts were attended, he had gratefully to record the profession of Christ by four of his catechumens, whose uniform conduct was such as to justify their being admitted members of the church. One of these individuals was in the habit of reading the Holy Scriptures, and conversing with the Mahomedans, three times every week. To him one of the upper servants of a Mahomedan mosque observed one day, "I have served many years in our temples, but have never yet heard so many agreeable truths from the priests as are contained in your Christian Koran."

The orphan school at Batavia was an object which claimed the attention of Mr. Supper, and the improvements he was the means of effecting in this institution were such as to obtain the approbation and thanks of the governor. But while encouraging circumstances on every hand marked the widening sphere of usefulness occupied by this promising missionary, the Society had to lament his removal by death, after three years of active service. The labours of Mr. Bruckner had, as an agent of the London Missionary Society, previously been terminated at Samarang, in consequence of his change of views on the subject of baptism. He subsequently joined the Baptist Missionary Society, and became a faithful labourer amongst the Javanese.

The labours of Mr. Kam in Amboyna were also attended with many tokens of the Divine favour. His congregation increased to double its original number, and when preaching in the Malay language, the people were so anxious to hear that many would enter the church an hour before the time of service, in order to secure places. The missionary prayer meetings were usually attended

by a thousand persons. At his own house, also, large assemblies were convened thrice a week for the purpose of catechising, both in the Dutch and Malay languages. The attention of the people to religious instruction was greatly increased by the alarm which a fearful earthquake occurring about this time produced, and a great obstacle to the usefulness of the missionaries was also removed by the willingness with which the masters of slaves began to allow the latter to attend worship. This privilege had hitherto been greatly restricted, and often entirely refused; but the masters having found by experience that the instructed were more diligent and trustworthy than the ignorant, many of them even went so far as to request that their slaves might be taught.

In the autumn of 1817, Mr. Kam made a voyage to the island of Banda, touching at many others, where a great portion of the inhabitants, with a multitude of slaves, were employed in spice plantations. Here he preached to the people, and found a general disposition to listen. He observed several places erected for Christian worship, which had long been neglected, and had occasion to lament over many thousands of natives bearing the Christian name, who were as sheep without a shepherd: the want of the Scriptures was also everywhere evident. In some places, even the schoolmasters had only a few leaves of the Scriptures, and many were wholly destitute; yet such was the feeling amongst these neglected people, that the missionary was everywhere received as a messenger from Heaven; multitudes flocking around him to hear the joyful tidings of salvation, and even kings and chiefs using their utmost endeavours to forward his benevolent plans: such also was the desire evinced to possess the Sacred Scriptures, that he was under the necessity of dividing his copies of the New Testament, giving to

some a single Gospel; to others, an Epistle, and at last to distribute single leaves.

Mr. Kam baptized in the several islands more than 5,000 children, and nearly 500 adults. On returning from this voyage, which was attended with many perils, Mr. Kam was gladly received by his own congregation at Amboyna, then consisting of 1,000 persons.

Mr. Kam continued to enjoy the kind patronage of the Dutch Government, by whom his stipend was augmented, in consideration of his abundant labours. For some years, a very considerable part of his time was occupied in the instruction of promising young men for the office of schoolmasters and teachers. This naturally suggested the idea of a seminary, exclusively for such a purpose, for the establishment of which the permission of Government was obtained, and a building for the purpose having been erected, it was opened for the admission of students in January, 1819. Several of the young men who had previously been educated under the care of Mr. Kam in the mission-house were stationed as schoolmasters in different places among the Moluccas with encouraging prospects of usefulness.

It was with great satisfaction that the directors received about this time the pleasing information that idolatry was entirely abolished in the island of Amboyna. The images which had been objects of worship were collected by the natives, placed in a large chest, and sunk at the entrance of Amboyna Bay. When this was done, the people to whom they had formerly belonged, amounting to about 800, repaired to the church, and publicly united in the worship of the true and living God.

Mr. Kam was subsequently associated in his labours with three missionary brethren sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society; and, though his valuable and zealous

exertions still continued to be blessed to the multitudes around him; yet, being in more direct correspondence with that society, and not having, for a considerable time past, derived any pecuniary assistance from the London Missionary Society, it was deemed best by the directors, in the year 1828, that his connexion with that Society should be considered as dissolved, at the same time that a deep interest was felt in his indefatigable exertions.

In the year 1819, Mr. Slater arrived at Batavia. Touching on his voyage at Singapore, Rhio, Lingen, and Banca, he had an opportunity of distributing Chinese and Malay books, with which he had been provided, to the amount of 15,000. Many of these places had never been visited by a missionary, and the books were received with eager curiosity.

On arriving at Batavia, the missionary provided himself with a dwelling-house made of bamboos, in which he had scarcely found a home before it was burned to the ground; a quantity of Testaments and tracts were also destroyed. Mrs. Slater was at that time suffering extreme weakness, and the alarm she experienced was followed by a dangerous fever. Several kind individuals rendered acceptable service to the missionary on this trying occasion, and the subscriptions of the inhabitants soon enabled him to repair the loss he had sustained. In 1821, a small bamboo chapel was built for the use of the mission, at the cost of £200, which was raised principally by the English inhabitants.

In the beginning of 1822, Mr. Medhurst and his family arrived at Batavia, and were cordially welcomed by Mr. and Mrs. Slater. Chinese preaching was immediately commenced at four different places. In Malay and English preaching the brethren engaged alternately. With a view to relieve Mr. Slater, under the increasing duties of the mission, Dr. Milne had previously sent from Malacca two

Chinese teachers, one of whom had participated in the advantages of the Anglo-Chinese College; but Mr. Slater's health proving unequal to the requirements of his important station, he was under the necessity of undertaking a voyage; on returning from which, in 1823, he discontinued his connexion with the Missionary Society.

The responsibilities and duties of the mission now devolved upon Mr. Medhurst, one of whose first efforts was to induce the parents to pay half the expense of the education of their children in one of the schools. This plan, producing the desired effect of increasing the interest of the parents, as well as aiding the funds of the Society, proved highly advantageous to the mission afterwards.

Having procured printers from China, books were now published in the native language. The Chinese Magazine, which since the death of Dr. Milne had been discontinued at Malacca, was resumed at Batavia, and of this one thousand copies were published monthly. A house having been engaged in the centre of the Chinese town, as a depository for Christian books, the missionary spent there a great portion of each day in exhorting all who came to embrace the Gospel.

During this and the following year, the mission at Batavia received great assistance from the gratuitous services of Mr. Diering, a resident at Batavia, who occasionally preached in the Malay language. A European gentleman also built a small bungalow, for the accommodation of the natives. The missionary attended at this building once a week, and the people, most of them natives of Bali, paid great attention to his instruction, and expressed themselves delighted with the service. In two adjacent villages, Tugoe and Depok, inhabited by native Christians, which were also visited, the attendance was encouraging. The latter of these villages, according to Mr. Medhurst, originated in the

following manner:—"More than a century ago, a Dutch gentleman, named Chasterling, having an estate about six miles long, by two wide, cultivated entirely by slaves, proposed to liberate them and make them a present of the land, if they would consent to be instructed, and, on a profession of their faith, baptized. In compliance with his part of the proposition, he made over the whole of his estate to his former bondmen, built a church for them, established a schoolmaster over them, subject to the pastoral oversight of the Dutch clergy, and left them and their families free. In the beginning of the present century the inhabitants of Depok amounted to about 200 souls. The village was orderly and quiet, the people inoffensive, and though the majority may be attached by interest or education to Christianity, a few appear to be lovers of the Saviour, and some have already found their way to the haven of rest."*

Mr. Medhurst had now completed a small English and Chinese dictionary—the Chinese portion in the Fūkeen dialect. A small compilation entitled, "The Sayings of Jesus," had been sent to Malacca to be printed; and of a little book entitled, "The Three Characters Classic," also composed by Mr. Medhurst, 300 copies had been printed at the Java mission press. These works, formed on the model of some used amongst the Chinese, were highly approved by Dr. Morrison, as a medium of imparting Christian knowledge. Of the last, comprising three words in each sentence, he observed that it was well calculated to instil into the tender minds of Chinese children correct ideas of the true God and the Saviour of men.

In order more effectually to insure the attention of the Chinese to the books distributed amongst them, Mr. Medhurst was in the habit of seating himself in some public

* Medhurst's China, p. 333.

place, with a few tracts in his hand, from which he read aloud to those who happened to be near; and when others had, by this means, been drawn around him, he then addressed them on the subject of the tract, in conclusion offering them a few copies, which were generally well received. In this manner the Chinese town was visited every day, and every passing event improved. The religious feasts of the Chinese, their visit to the tombs, and sacrifices to the dead, afforded favourable opportunities for conveying religious instruction, as, on such occasions, their accustomed eagerness for business being relaxed, they listened more willingly to the missionary.

In the year 1825, the deputation from the London Missionary Society visited Java, when Mr. Medhurst accompanied them on a tour to the eastern part of the island, during which they visited Samarang, Solo, and other important towns. At Buetenzorg they had an interview with His Excellency Vander Campellen, the Governor-General, who received them with great kindness, and manifested a lively interest in their communications.

The object of this journey, on the part of the deputation, was to ascertain the spiritual condition of the people, and the openings which might appear available for the spread of Christianity; while the design of the missionary was to distribute Chinese books and tracts, which were extensively circulated through every town and village along the coast, as well as in the more populous towns and cities.

Before quitting Batavia, the deputation were invited to attend a meeting of the committee and various officers of the Dutch Missionary Society. This meeting was specially convened for the purpose of communicating to Messrs. Tyerman and Bennet a report of the Dutch Society's proceedings, of answering any inquiries which the deputation might be desirous of proposing, and of receiving from them

such information as they might be able to impart on missionary subjects.*

For the benefit of those connected with the mission, Mr. Medhurst commenced, about this time, an English school under his own immediate superintendence. He also printed "An Exposition of the Ten Commandments," which had been previously delivered in the form of lectures. Two new tracts were also prepared, "On the New Year," and "On the Feast of the Tombs;" which having reference to the native festivals, were more extensively read than any that had been previously circulated. A tract was also prepared and printed, "On the Redemption by Jesus Christ; a dialogue between an Englishman and a Chinaman," and a reply to a printed handbill of a Chinese, which maintained the absurd proposition, that because European governments and natives of Europe, in certain alleged particulars violated the principles of justice, therefore the Christian religion was not to be adopted. The object of the two latter tracts was, therefore, to show, that not Europeans as such, but those only who in character resemble Jesus Christ are really Christians.

In relation to these publications, Mr. Medhurst observes, "The tracts on the feasts of the Chinese, bearing so directly on their superstitions, had awakened all the wrath of the advocates of idolatry; and one of them sat down to write a tract against the missionary. In this, he argued, that it was monstrous in barbarians to attempt to improve the inhabitants of the celestial empire, when they were so miserably deficient themselves. Thus, introducing among the Chinese the poisonous drug, opium, for their own benefit, and the injury of others, they were deficient in benevolence: sending their fleets and armies to rob other nations of their possessions, they could make no preten-

* Missionary Society's Report for 1826.

sions to rectitude: allowing men and women to mix in society, and walk arm in arm through the streets, they showed that they had not the least sense of propriety; and, rejecting the doctrines of the ancient kings, they were far from displaying wisdom: indeed, truth was the only good quality to which they could lay the least claim. Deficient, therefore, in four out of five of the cardinal virtues, how could they expect to renovate others? Then, while foreigners lavished much money in the circulation of books for the renovation of the age, they made no scruple of trampling printed paper under foot, by which they showed their disrespect for the inventors of letters. Further, these would-be-exhorters of the world were themselves deficient in filial piety, forgetting their parents as soon as dead, putting them off with deal coffins, only an inch thick, and never so much as once sacrificing to their manes, or burning the smallest trifle of gilt paper for their support in a future world. And, lastly, they allowed the noble to enter office without passing through the literary examinations, and did not throw open the road to advancement to the poorest and meanest in the land; by all which it appeared that foreigners were inferior to the Chinese, and, therefore, the most unfit to instruct them.”*

During the stay of the deputation in the island of Java, the cause of religion sustained a serious loss in the death of Mr. Diering, whose character stood deservedly high for integrity, benevolence, and piety. This generous individual, who had gratuitously afforded the accommodation of a house for missionary purposes, though himself incessantly engaged in worldly business during the week, was accustomed to spend his evenings and his sabbaths in unceasing exertions to spread the Gospel, and to benefit his fellow-men; performing as much in direct labour as most mission-

* Medhurst's China, p. 338.

aries, while contributing liberally to the support of the mission.* Mr. Medhurst, in common with his brethren in the Ultra Ganges missions, experienced great difficulty in obtaining a congregation. He hired a place in a populous situation, called the Chinese Campong, for the purpose of conversation with the people. The Chinese, never having been accustomed to meet for purposes of social worship or mutual edification in their own country, could scarcely be induced to attend the stated ministry of a foreigner; especially to hear doctrines which were wholly opposed to their pre-conceived prejudices. Finding, however, that the heathen would not come to the missionary, Mr. Medhurst continued his unceasing exertions amongst them; and what could not be effected by preaching to large assemblies, was made up by frequent addresses to small auditories.

In the course of a tour made about this time along the eastern coast of Java, many appearances, highly encouraging to the missionary, were observed amongst the inhabitants, particularly those of Soerabaya, who appeared to be more intelligent than in other parts of Java. One family of considerable influence in this place had abstained from the worship of images during six generations. A small body of Dutch Christians had here formed themselves into a missionary society, holding regular meetings, and using every effort for the dissemination of religious truth. Amongst other works which they had composed for this purpose, they had made a translation of the New Testament into low Malay, which version Mr. Medhurst thoroughly revised, and having obtained the use of the government printing-office, carried through the press.

In the year 1829, Mr. Medhurst set sail with a large cargo of books, intending to accompany Messrs. Tomlin and Gutzlaff to Siam, where the former remained nearly twelve

* Medhurst, p. 336.

months. Mr. Tomlin having departed for Siam, Mr. Medhurst sailed in a Chinese prau to the east coast of the Malayan peninsula. This boat, without deck or shelter of any kind, was attacked by two pirate vessels which had advanced during a calm, and being provided with a battery and guns, threatened the destruction of the vessel. The Chinese, however, evinced extreme coolness on the occasion, plying their oars with the utmost steadiness, while the master and mate returned the fire of the enemy. Knowing that no quarter would be given to the Chinese, a dreadful conflict was expected; but at this crisis a breeze suddenly springing up, the Chinese caught the favouring gale, and, by the merciful care of Divine Providence, were soon out of sight of their pursuers.

Mr. Medhurst, during this voyage, visited the settlements of Panang, Kamaman, Trihgano, Patani, and Songora; in which latter place the Siamese language and manners abound. Failing in his attempt to enter Siam, Mr. Medhurst returned to Singapore on the 6th of October, after distributing many tracts, and preaching to the people the word of life. From Singapore, Mr. Medhurst proceeded to the island of Borneo, when he visited Pontianak, Mandoor, and Sambas. The Chinese at Mandoor, consisting of about 2,000 or 3,000, he found chiefly employed in working the gold mines. They received him in a hospitable manner, and seemed eager to obtain his books. Borneo appeared to present a vast field for missionary operations, both amongst the Chinese and the natives; even the savage tribes called Dayaks, were desirous of receiving instruction concerning Christianity.*

It is stated by Mr. Medhurst, that the Dayaks in the presidency of the west coast alone amount to 240,000, besides those which are found in the north and east parts

* Quarterly Chronicle, vol. iv. p. 208.

of the island. Altogether a wild and uncivilized race, their institutions are the most sanguinary and cruel that can well be conceived; their houses being adorned with the skulls of slaughtered victims, and their necks garnished with strings of human teeth hung around them. It is not surprising that these people willingly join themselves to bands of Malay pirates, fighting hard in their service for no higher reward than the beads and the iron found in the captured vessels. But since the Chinese emigrants have begun to visit the gold mines, and the Malays have settled along the banks of the principal rivers, the Dayaks appear to have become ashamed of their cruelties, and have evinced a disposition to exchange their barbarous habits for a milder system. To the Mahomedan system, however, they are strongly averse, because it restricts them from eating pork, and numbers have in preference embraced the idolatry of the Chinese.

The charge of the mission at Batavia was left, during the absence of Mr. Medhurst, to the care of Mr. William Young, a pious young man, who had for some time acted as his assistant.

Soon after Mr. Medhurst's return, in the year 1829, a Chinese, *Lae-san-tsoo*, applied to him for baptism. This man, though experiencing much opposition from his relatives, appeared to be decided in favour of Christianity. Another young Chinese, a head-man of the bazaar, encouraged the hopes of the missionary; and a poor leper also gave evidence of receiving Christian instruction with attention and thankfulness. Four Chinese schools, containing nearly 100 scholars, were at this time connected with the mission, and had been efficiently superintended during the absence of Mr. Medhurst.

Another missionary tour was undertaken by Mr. Medhurst, in company with Mr. Tomlin, in the year 1829,

when they visited the north-eastern coast of Java, and the island of Bali; and distributed hundreds of Javanese, and thousands of Chinese tracts in places never before visited by a missionary. Shortly after returning from this tour, the efforts of the missionaries at Batavia were blessed to the conversion of one of the convicts, who died professing his faith in the Lord Jesus. An Amboynese, also, who had long attended their preaching, manifested earnest desires for salvation with strong evidence of sincerity.

At this time the Malay congregation meeting for worship on the sabbath had greatly increased; and amongst three individuals of this class who had given evidence of a change of heart, there was one who possessed an extensive and accurate acquaintance with the Scriptures, with a zeal for the diffusion of Divine truth rarely witnessed in these countries.

Instead of the old bamboo chapel, a neat and commodious brick building was this year erected on the Society's ground. This was accomplished by the liberality of the Dutch government and the inhabitants of Batavia, who subscribed with great cheerfulness the amount required for the completing the building.

The total number of Scriptures, books, and tracts distributed during the year 1833 amounted to 18,000 copies, consisting of Chinese, Malay, Javanese, Dutch, English, and French. From these Mr. Gutzlaff, in China, had been supplied with 4,557 Chinese Scriptures and tracts; and 2,785 had been disposed of by Mr. Monton, a native assistant of Mr. Medhurst, in the course of a voyage along the coast of Java and the island of Madura.

Native preaching in the Malay language, by Mr. Medhurst and Mr. Young, had been continued without interruption; the native Christians who attended amounting to

about 120, and the convicts, who were Mahomedans, to 300. By the Divine blessing these labours were not in vain. Several among a number of soldiers, originally from Menada, in the island of Celebes, who, two years before, were ignorant heathens, had now become serious inquirers after the way of salvation, and six were received by the ordinance of baptism into the communion of the Christian church, while twelve more were desirous of the same privilege.

Early in the year 1835, Mr. Medhurst, in compliance with the instructions of the Directors in London, proceeded to China, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of more direct missionary labours in that important country. His proceedings at Canton and along the coast have been already noticed. In 1836, Mr. Medhurst visited England, and after rendering important service to the missionary cause, and publishing an interesting and valuable account of China, returned to Java.

On arriving at Batavia, Mr. Medhurst resumed his accustomed duties, assisted, in the absence of Mr. Young, by an American missionary, and by the native, Lucas Monton. The day-schools being at this time in an inefficient state, were discontinued, and a Chinese boarding-school opened for twenty-three pupils, to be instructed in various branches of knowledge. Mrs. Medhurst, also, had a school of twelve Chinese girls, instructed in the Chinese and Malay languages, as well as in the art of embroidery.

In the Chinese seminary the progress of the scholars was steady and encouraging, and their conduct unexceptionable. They began early to acquire a clear understanding of the truths communicated to them through the English and Chinese languages, while their views and feelings on the important subject of religion frequently inspired the most pleasing anticipations.

The several duties connected with the mission at Batavia, continued to be discharged with little variation for some years. A few were added to the church, of which the members, in 1842, amounted to forty-one. On the announcement of the treaty of peace with China, the Directors of the London Missionary Society, impressed with a solemn conviction of the duties and responsibilities devolving upon the church of Christ in connexion with that vast empire, forwarded instructions, in 1842, to the missionaries connected with the Chinese departments of the Ultra-Ganges mission to proceed to Hong Kong, for the purpose of considering the best means for conducting their future operations.

After mature deliberation it was deemed best to discontinue the operations of the Society at Batavia; and instructions for carrying this recommendation into effect were subsequently forwarded to Mr. Medhurst; the property of the Society at Batavia was sold; and here, as well as at Malacca, the mission-chapels were so placed in trust for the benefit of the inhabitants, that, in the event of the Society's mission being resumed at any future period, the chapels would be available for the use of the missionaries.

PINANG AND SINGAPORE.

CHAPTER XIX.

Situation of Pinang—Visit of Dr. Milne, in 1816—Establishment of Chinese schools by Mr. Medhurst—Arrival of Mr. Beighton—Favourable attentions of the Governor—Opening of Malay Schools—Arrival of Mr. Ince—Efforts to promote education among the Chinese—Labours of Mr. Medhurst at James' Town—Voyage to the Coast of Quedah—Eagerness of the natives after Christian books—Dr. Milne's estimate of the mission—Extension of the means of education—Opening of the mission chapel—Death of Mr. Ince—Visit of Mr. Kidd to Pinang—Arrival of the deputation—Mr. Dyer's labours among the Chinese—Great improvement introduced in the mode of conducting the Chinese schools—Female education—Dispensary—Conversations with the Chinese—Arrival of Mr. Davies—The mission joined by Mr. Stronach—Extremely limited success in the mission—Death of Mr. Beighton—Occupation of SINGAPORE by the English—Mission commenced by Mr. Milton—Arrival of Mr. Thomsen—Visit of Dr. Morrison—Proposed Singapore Institution—Views of Sir Stamford Raffles—Visit of the deputation—Distribution of Books—First convert—Arrival of Messrs. Tomlin and Smith—Labours among the Chinese and Malays—Departure of Mr. Tomlin—Death of Mr. Wolff—Messrs. Stronach and Keasbury—Baptism of Ali, a Malayan teacher—His letter to the Society—Death of Mr. Dyer—Notice of his missionary character—His efforts in preparing Chinese metal type—Estimation in which he was held by his brethren—Review of the Ultra-Ganges missions—Claims of China on the Christian church.

PULO PINANG, (*i. e.*, betel-nut island,) or Prince of Wales' Island, is situated about a mile and a half from the coast of the Malayan peninsula, nearly at the entrance of the Straits of Malacca. It is a beautiful and mountainous island, containing a population of about 40,000, the chief portion of whom are Chinese and Malays.

In the year 1814, Dr. Milne undertook a voyage to Java and the islands in the Malayan Archipelago, with the intention of circulating the New Testament and tracts, as well as seeking a place on which the chief seat of the Chinese mission should be fixed. Unable to visit Pinang during this voyage, Dr. Milne forwarded, through the kindness of Major Farquhar, a number of Testaments and tracts to that island.

In 1816, Dr. Milne visited Pinang, and presented a memorial to the government, soliciting a grant of land for the mission at Malacca, and other favours, which were most kindly accorded; and in the year 1819, Mr. Medhurst removed from Malacca to Pinang, for the purpose of commencing a mission. Having received the warm countenance of the governor and council, he proceeded to establish two Chinese schools at George Town, in which he soon collected about forty scholars. The Chinese gratuitously offered the Temple of Ta-fuh-kung for a school-room, and the government promised to allow 20 dollars monthly for these schools, as well as 10 dollars monthly for a Malay school. Mr. Medhurst distributed about 3000 tracts amongst the Chinese inhabitants of the town; and having thus prepared the way for his brethren, returned to Malacca.

In April of the same year, Mr. Beighton, who, with Mr. Ince, had reached Malacca in 1818, and had commenced the study of the Malay language at the college, proceeded to Pinang, as his future sphere of labour. On his arrival, he met with the kindest reception from the governor, Col. Bannerman, as well as from W. J. Cracroft, Esq., in whose house Mr. and Mrs. Beighton were hospitably entertained until a suitable dwelling could be secured for their accommodation. Mr. Beighton prosecuted with diligence the study of Malay, and erected among the dwellings of the

people of that nation a shed, as a school for their children. The parents appeared pleased with the attention they received and the instruction offered to their children free of expense, although some expressed apprehensions of Mr. Beighton's intention to induce them to change their religion. Another Malay school was soon afterwards commenced in a Mahomedan mosque. In July, 1819, Mr. Ince arrived at Pinang, having remained in Malacca in order to make himself better acquainted with the Chinese language. He immediately took charge of the Chinese schools which had been commenced by Mr. Medhurst. A part of the mission-house was also appropriated to the instruction of adult Chinese and Malays in the English language. A free school, in which all classes were taught English, writing, and arithmetic, was previously in existence at Pinang.

Receiving the countenance and assistance of the local government, the missionaries, having overcome the difficulties of the language, entered on their labours under peculiarly encouraging prospects. The loss which the brethren sustained soon after their arrival by the death of their friend, the governor of Pinang, was greatly mitigated by the kindness of his son-in-law, W. E. Phillips, Esq., who succeeded to the government.

Towards the close of 1820, Mr. Medhurst, accompanied by a few Chinese and Malay youths, again visited the island, residing at James' Town, where he established a dispensary for the relief of the sick poor, and took charge, also, of a native orphan school, containing about twenty scholars. While here, Mr. Medhurst visited the heathen in their own dwellings, and conducted Divine worship regularly with the inmates of the mission family and others who could be induced to attend. Under the sanction of the government, a small printing-press was erected,

which it was hoped would prove advantageous as a means of diffusing religious and useful knowledge. A female Malay school was also commenced by one of the female missionaries.

Early in the year 1821, Messrs. Beighton and Ince sailed over to the opposite coast of Quedah, visiting most of the principal towns, in the hope of being able to introduce the Gospel among their inhabitants. At the first place at which they landed the chief of the district urged them to commence a Malay school, offering to provide a place and obtain scholars, if they would superintend the schools and pay the teacher. In general, great ignorance prevailed among the people. At Qualla Moodah, the inhabitants crowded around the missionaries to inquire their object in coming; and on being told that they had books to distribute, were eager to obtain them. Their only copy of the Malay New Testament was given to the best reader, and a number of tracts were distributed among the rest. The following day they conversed with the people about the books, asking and answering questions, and speaking to them of Jesus, the Saviour of the world, deeming it, in all probability, the first time the tidings of the Gospel had ever been made known to them. The missionaries paid their respects to the rajah, who received them with kindness, and requested a copy of the New Testament. Not having a copy, they promised him one, which they sent on their return to Pinang. Their voyage was not unattended with perils from robbers, and perils on the deep; but, through the watchful care of Divine Providence, they reached Pinang in safety.

The schools at George Town were now increased to six, an additional Chinese school having been commenced under the care of a master, who willingly taught the Holy Scriptures, and received instruction himself from the missionaries.

In the spring of the year 1822 the health of Mrs. Ince began to decline, and in June following she was removed by death. A missionary prayer-meeting was about this time established, and public worship held regularly on the sabbath. Dr. Milne, referring to the mission at Pinang, which he visited shortly before his own death, observes: "This mission is doing well. There seems a good deal of *Christian truth* communicated directly to the heathen daily as well as weekly, (*i. e.*, on the sabbath,) a thing of much importance in this stage of our missions. We are already in possession of many books: more preaching, catechizing, &c., is wanting. The brethren have set up the form of public worship, by which I mean regular sabbath services, consisting of public prayer, preaching, reading the Scriptures, singing, &c. I consider this as high missionary attainment in these parts, and a good sign at a mission."*

Deeply affected by the ignorance, idolatry, and vice prevailing among the inhabitants of the adjacent country, the missionaries willingly availed themselves of the aid of the government in opening four native schools on the coast of Quedah; and although they were unable to appoint Christian masters, or use exclusively Christian books, they were gratified by the progress of the scholars.

In the year 1824, the prospect of usefulness assumed a much more encouraging aspect. The schools were increased to seven, viz., two Chinese, four Malayan, and one Chinese and Malay. A new chapel was opened on the 20th of June, 1824, when the service was attended by a numerous and respectable congregation. The contributors towards the expense of the building included nearly twenty Mahomedans, which encouraged the missionaries to hope that their labours among that class of the inhabitants to which

* Report, 1823, p. 40.

these individuals belonged had not been in vain. Mr. Ince, the truly pious and devoted missionary to the Chinese, was removed by death on the 24th of April, 1825; and his colleague, Mr. Beighton, having devoted his attention exclusively to the Malays, was unable to superintend the Chinese schools, which were for a time discontinued, though another Malay school was soon afterwards opened. The attendance upon the Malay services was encouraging, but the laborious missionary was uncheered by any evidence of decisive spiritual good among his hearers. In addition to this, health failed under the increased weight of duty now pressing upon him, and he was under the necessity of leaving the schools in the care of a native assistant of the name of David, and undertaking a voyage to Malacca, as the most likely means of recovery. In the meantime Mr. Kidd proceeded to Pinang, to assist in carrying forward the objects of the mission. Mr. Beighton returned in improved health in December, 1825, and found the Malay schools, which appeared the chief means of good that he could employ, increased to six, in which upwards of 160 children were instructed. English service continued to be well attended, and a Christian church was formed. Messrs. Bennet and Tyerman, the deputation from the Society, visited Pinang in July, 1826, and during their stay Mr. Tyerman preached every sabbath evening to a large and attentive English audience.

Mr. Dyer, who had been educated at Cambridge, and had also studied the Chinese language previous to his departure from England, found himself on his arriving at this station, in 1827, able to converse with the Chinese at their own habitations, and thus to commence without delay a most valuable part of his labours. An important change was at this time made in the course pursued for the benefit of the children of the Chinese; and though fewer schools

were maintained, the instruction was more entirely Christian than it had hitherto been. Two schools were opened, one for boys, and one for girls. These were conducted on the British and Foreign system, and in them Christian books alone were used. The girls' school was placed under the superintendence of Mrs. Dyer, who devoted much of her time and attention to the improvement of the pupils. In 1828, a Malay female, the first convert from heathenism, was baptized.* Mr. Beighton also remodelled one of his schools, and conducted it on the British system. Several Mahomedans at this time renounced Islamism, but were prevented by the fear of their companions from professing their belief in the doctrines of Christianity. The patient and laborious missionaries perseveringly superintended the schools, visited the natives in their own abodes, and frequented the bazaars, for the purpose of distributing Christian books and conversing with the people. Under great discouragement they contended with the inveterate prejudices of the Chinese, and the ignorance and vice of the Malays, cheered by the support which the promises of Divine revelation afforded, and the conviction that ultimately their labours would not be in vain.

Depressed as the devoted and faithful missionaries often were on account of the want of success in their labours, in August, 1830, Mr. Dyer observed, "Concerning the Chinese mission at Pinang, I write with more pleasure, as things with me have taken a more interesting turn. The small house, or bungalow, in the bazaar has been opened for some time, and I make it my daily practice to go and sit there some hours. I generally go in the morning. Immediately on my arrival I am surrounded by a group of patients, whom I supply with medicines. These medicines

* *Missionary Chronicle*, May, 1829.

were granted by the government on my application. I perceive that this has already had some influence on the minds of the people, as many of them now believe I have no sinister end in view. After distributing medicines for a limited time in the morning, I remain to converse with the Chinese, and for this purpose I go again in the evening. Some of these seasons have refreshed me much, and my mind has been comforted and encouraged in this interesting work.* In the following year, on returning from a visit to Malacca, in 1831, Mrs. Dyer had the satisfaction of re-opening the Chinese girls' school, which had been closed since 1829. The desire after books appeared to increase, and in 1833 the missionaries a second time established a press, in hopes of being able more readily to meet the demand.

In the year 1835, Mr. Dyer left Pinang for Malacca, and was succeeded by Mr. Davies, who arrived in September of the same year. In November, he commenced a Chinese boarding-school, in which the number of scholars ultimately increased to nineteen. A temperance society was formed in the same year, including at first thirty members, some of whom had been previously addicted to intoxication. In November, 1836, a society was formed for promoting Christian knowledge among the Chuliahs and Bengalees inhabiting the island; connected with which a female school, containing 25 scholars, was commenced, under the care of Mrs. Beighton. Mr. Beighton, in the year 1839, published a tract, entitled, "Christ and Mahomet compared," which excited among the Mahomedans considerable attention. Mr. Davies' health proving unequal to the climate, he was under the necessity of returning to England, where he arrived early in the year 1840. Shortly

* Report for 1831, p. 29.

after Mr. Davies' departure, Mr. Alexander Stronach entered upon the vacant field, in which, sustained by the assurance that the word of the Lord shall not return to Him void, he continues his faithful and unremitting labours.

The mission at Pinang was commenced under circumstances highly encouraging, and has been continued, with many advantages, for five and twenty years, yet with less apparent success than any other station sustained by the Society during an equally protracted period. The local authorities, and many of the respectable European residents, have been uniformly favourable to the mission, and have liberally promoted its objects. Neither Chinese nor Malays appear to have manifested, at any time, very active hostility to the missionaries; and some of the Malays, as in the instance of contributing towards the erection of the mission chapel, have manifested a degree of liberality not often shewn by the followers of Mahomet. Books have been unsparingly circulated, and schools regularly maintained, some of them taught by Christian teachers from Christian books. The devoted Christian and native teacher, T. J. Ince, who was highly esteemed by the missionaries, was employed as a Malay schoolmaster seventeen years; and Mr. Beighton, though often enfeebled by illness, and discouraged by want of success, steadily pursued the great object of his mission, from his arrival in Pinang, in 1819, till his decease, in 1844. The faithful missionary was cheered, by tokens of good to the Europeans at the station, from among whom a small church of above twenty members had been gathered, but was called to labour in hope, and without witnessing that success among the heathen for which he toiled and prayed even to the end of his days. Thirteen converts, chiefly Malays, were brought to the knowledge and reception of the Gospel chiefly through his instrumentality, and will, it is hoped, be his crown of rejoicing in the day of the

Lord Jesus. In the Chinese department the mission was favoured with the labours of faithful men. Mr. Ince was peculiarly devoted to his work, and the amiable, pious, and indefatigable Mr. Dyer employed, during the space of eight years, his best energies for the benefit of the Chinese; and though encouraged by the favourable attention with which their efforts were in general received by the heathen, both these devoted men finished their labours without beholding, in the conversion of souls to God, the fruit of the seed they had sown and watered with their ceaseless anxieties and fervent prayers. They were faithful unto death and have received their reward.

SINGAPORE.

Singapore, a small island at the southern extremity of the Malayan peninsula, originally inhabited only by a few wanderers from Sumatra, was, in February, 1819, taken possession of by the English; and such were the advantages which its geographical position afforded, and the confidence which the British character inspired, that before the close of the year in which the settlement was formed, it contained not fewer than 5,000 inhabitants, of whom 2,500 were Chinese. The advantages which the protection of the British rule afforded, and the facilities which, from its situation and increasing commerce, it promised for visiting and forwarding Christian books to all the chief settlements of the Malayan Archipelago, pointed it out, at an early period after its occupancy by the English, as an eligible spot for a missionary station.

In October, 1819, Mr. Milton, who, having enjoyed for some time the advantages of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, had become acquainted with the rudiments of the Chinese language, arrived at Singapore, and was enabled, without delay, to commence his missionary labours among the Chinese. He also commenced the study of Malay, and

preached on the sabbath in English to the Europeans residing in the settlement. He received much encouragement from the British Resident, who cheerfully made a grant of land for the use of the mission. A school was opened for Malay boys, and another for Chinese in 1820; and though the number of scholars was but small, their progress was encouraging, as some of the scholars in the former school were soon able to read in the New Testament. The mission was strengthened, in 1822, by Mr. Thomsen, who devoted himself to the instruction of the Malays. Besides erecting buildings in furtherance of the objects of the mission, Mr. Milton employed a number of Siamese writers, by one of whom he was assisted in preparing a Siamese version of part of the New Testament.

In January, 1823, when on his way to Malacca, Dr. Morrison visited Singapore, and was happy to co-operate with Sir Stamford Raffles in the establishment of an institution for the promotion of general literature, more especially for the Malays of Singapore and the adjacent countries. With this institution, it was then supposed, that the Anglo-Chinese College might be advantageously united, and Dr. Morrison, at a meeting of the principal inhabitants, held for the purpose of establishing the institution, very warmly advocated its claims. Sir Stamford Raffles thus concludes a minute which he made on the formation of the Singapore Institution:—

“ If commerce brings wealth to our shores, it is the spirit of literature and philanthropy that teaches us how to employ it for the noblest purposes. It is this that has made Britain go forth among the nations, strong in her native might, to dispense blessings to all around her. If the time shall come when her empire shall have passed away, these monuments of her virtue will endure when her triumphs shall have become an empty name. Let it still

be the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light; let her not be remembered as the tempest whose course was desolation, but as the gale of spring, reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling them to life from the winter of ignorance and oppression. Let the sun of Britain arise on these islands, not to wither and scorch them in its fierceness, but like that of her own genial skies, whose mild and benignant influence is hailed and blessed by all who feel its beams."

The requisite buildings were forthwith commenced, but in consequence of the removal of Sir Stamford Raffles from the government, which occurred shortly afterwards, the interest in the object declined, and little has since been attempted in furtherance of his enlightened and benevolent designs. Sir Stamford Raffles used his best efforts for the permanent prosperity of the settlement, by endeavouring to raise the tone of moral feeling, as well as to advance intellectual improvement by withholding the countenance and sanction of Government from gaming and other vices, to which the Chinese especially were peculiarly addicted; but his early removal deprived the rising settlement of the benefits which his wise and salutary regulations were peculiarly adapted to secure.

In the same year, Mr. Milton, having obtained from Calcutta a Chinese printer, and the requisite apparatus, commenced printing a Siamese version of Genesis, and a tract on redemption which he had composed.

On the 27th July, 1824, the Malayan chapel was opened for public worship, which was regularly attended on the sabbath by between fifty and sixty Malays. Mr. Thomsen, about this time, commenced the study of Bugguese, in which language a tract had been prepared for the press. The mission wore rather a discouraging aspect at the time of the visit of the deputation in the following year, in

consequence of the influence of the Mahomedan priests, who were at that period exceedingly active in their endeavours to prevent the progress of the Gospel. The missionaries were stimulated to every effort they could possibly make, by the increasing population, which in 1825 amounted to 17,000, of which number between 5,000 and 6,000 were Malays, and upwards of 4,000 Chinese. Among these, since the commencement of the mission, 1,500 copies of the gospel of Matthew, printed at Malacca, had been put into circulation, and in the following year upwards of 6,500 books and tracts were distributed. In this year, a Malay female, who had shared in the advantages of the school, was baptized. She was the first adult native whom the missionaries had reason to hope had been benefited by their labours.

Messrs. Smith and Tomlin removed from Malacca to Singapore in the year 1827, and introduced the British system into two Chinese schools, which had been previously opened by Mr. Thomsen and Mr. Burns, the resident chaplain. The failure of Mr. Thomsen's health greatly interrupted his work. When Mr. Smith removed to Malacca in the spring of 1828, Mr. Tomlin undertook the Chinese department of labour, and devoted much of his time to conversation with the people, and visits to the vessels entering the port. The number of Malays baptized was three. The missionaries greatly lamented the little success that attended their labours among the Malays, who were Mahomedans of the class called Somnites, or traditionists, by whom it is declared that to reason whether Mahomedanism be true or false, is mental apostasy.

In 1829, the state of Mr. Thomsen's health rendering a sea voyage necessary, he proceeded a second time to Bengal, and was enabled, on his return, to resume his labours with renovated health and vigour. In 1830, a Chinese female

school was commenced, and placed partly under the superintendence of Miss Martin, who had visited Singapore for the benefit of her health. The scholars were twelve in number, and their progress was encouraging. In the years 1832 and 1833, the state of Mr. Thomsen's health was such as to incapacitate him for the duties of the mission, except in the distribution of tracts and the superintendence of the press. The printing of the revised Malay New Testament was completed, together with 15,000 tracts. In 1834, Mr. Thomsen left Singapore for England, and shortly afterwards returned to Saxony, his native country. Mr. Tomlin, who besides his labours at Malacca and Singapore, had been actively engaged in distributing Christian books, and forwarding them to different parts of the Archipelago and adjacent countries, and who afterwards proceeded to Siam, ceased to be connected with the Society after the year 1832.

In September, 1835, Mr. Wolfe arrived at Singapore, and entered at once, with ardour and devotedness, upon the duties of the mission, by opening a Chinese school and distributing tracts until the failure of his health rendered it necessary for him, in the year 1836, to leave that station for Pinang. Deriving but little benefit from the change, he embarked, early in 1837, on board the American brig *Himmaleh*, engaged in a missionary voyage to several islands in the Archipelago, and having on board Mr. Lay, agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and several American missionaries. The hopes of improvement in health from the voyage, which he had indulged, were disappointed. He continued sinking under the progress of disease until the 27th of April, 1837, when he died at Sumboangan, a Spanish settlement on the island of Mindanao, where his remains were interred on the following day. He was a young man of great promise, and had been

enriched by the great Head of the church with many rare endowments for extensive usefulness in the missionary field. His early removal was deeply deplored by all who knew him, but for him to die was gain.

In March, 1838, Messrs. John and Alexander Stronach arrived at Singapore, and commenced with unremitting application the study of the Hok-keen dialect, which was in general use among the Chinese of the settlement. Le-ang-afa, who had been for some time at the station, laboured diligently among his countrymen, distributing books, and conversing with them at their habitations; preaching also every week to a congregation of between thirty and forty Chinese. After the departure of Mr. Davies from Pinang, Mr. A. Stronach removed to the latter station, and Mr. Keasberry, who had been educated in America, was, in 1839, engaged to assist in the Malay department of the mission. During the summer of the same year, Ali, a Malay assistant in the mission, who appeared a sincere convert, professed his faith in Christ, by receiving the rite of baptism. Speaking of the means which led to his conversion, Mr. Keasberry observes, "Truth gradually dawned upon his mind and affected his heart. 'The religion of Jesus,' he has often said, 'is the only true one given to men, because it changes the heart, which the Koran and the study I have given to it for twenty years could not produce.' He was baptized on the 21st of July, and immediately afterwards publicly declared in the presence of his countrymen that he had renounced the Mahomedan faith and embraced the religion of Jesus as the only true way to everlasting life." Such a solemn confession, Mr. Keasberry adds, "I never heard before from the lips of a native."*

* In a letter to the directors, under date April 4th, 1840, he thus describes the commencement of that process which ultimately led to his belief in the Saviour. After stating that he was employed in teaching Europeans

Another convert from Mahomedan error encouraged the missionaries at this station. He left the settlement on a voyage to Macassar, intending to return with his wife and family to Singapore. Two additional converts, who had been baptized during the preceding year, gave decisive evidence of having experienced a change of heart; and a number of others seemed earnestly desirous of the same blessing. Soon after his connexion with the mission, Mr. Keasberry commenced a Malay boarding-school, in which fourteen pupils received regular Christian instruction.

In March, 1842, Mr. Dyer arrived at Singapore, and continued his valuable labours until 1843, when he proceeded to the conference of the missionaries at Hong Kong, where a malignant fever terminated his valuable life. This honoured and valuable missionary, whose education, acquirements, amiable disposition, and eminent piety, had secured for him, wherever he was known, high esteem and sincere affection, had, in addition to his constant endeavours to communicate the Gospel to the heathen, devoted for many years

the Malay language, he continues, "When the wife of Mr. John Stronach was desirous to learn Malay, I went to instruct her, and while I did so I was still a follower of Mahomed. In the meantime I had my New Testament in my hand, and read it every day; but I was not willing to receive its meaning, for I thought it had been corrupted by the Europeans. My countrymen said to me, "Do not follow that false way and become a Kafir," (an infidel,) so that I hated the contents of the New Testament. When I began to read it with Mrs. Stronach, she explained to me the meaning of it every time I read it with her. Whenever I returned home, I endeavoured by the Koran to refute the Gospel, but I could not succeed. While I was in that state, the sorrow of my heart increased more and more; for my affections were loosened from the religion of Islam. When engaged in instructing Mrs. Stronach, I said to her, 'Let us have worship in the Malay language every sabbath day.' She replied, 'Very well.' Many people came with me to her house every sabbath day. With joyful heart I approached the divine presence of Jesus Christ. Continuing my examination of the religion of Mahomed, I wished to turn into the true way, for my belief, conduct, and disposition were very different from what they were before."—*Miss. Mag.*, Nov. 1840.

a large portion of his attention and time to the proportioning and preparing metal types for printing in the Chinese language, with a view to diminishing the disadvantages arising from the native mode of preparing books, by carving all the characters of a whole page on a single block of wood. In the calculations for determining the relative numbers of the different characters required, and the means of economically and expeditiously preparing the type, he had been eminently successful; and the Christian missionaries from Europe and America now labouring for the benefit of the Chinese, anticipated the most advantageous results, especially in reducing the size of Chinese books, from his talent, ingenuity, and unwearied application. In announcing his death, Dr. Legge observes:—"John Morrison, alas! is no more. Dear Mr. Dyer has too soon followed him. He died at Macao, on the 23rd of last month. His death is an almost irreparable loss to our mission. No one can take up his peculiar department of type-casting; and it will probably be a century before a missionary with his genius and qualifications for all sorts of mechanical contrivances enters the field. But our loss is his gain. He is now happy in the enjoyment of the presence of that Saviour whom he served; and, if like attracts like in heaven as on earth, a kindred fellowship has been established between him and the disciple whom Jesus loved. May his afflicted widow and orphan children find support from the all-sufficient God!

"Sincere devotedness, ardent zeal, disinterested benevolence, eminently characterized him. I had not only an esteem for him, but a deep affection; and both these feelings were, I have reason to believe, fully reciprocated by him.

"At Macao he died, far from his family, and there he is buried, as much a saint as ever Francis Xavier was."

His honoured widow continues her devoted efforts for the

promotion of female education at Singapore, where Mr. Stronach and Mr. Keasberry still prosecute their important labours.

One great means of usefulness which Singapore presents, and of which the missionaries continually avail themselves, consists not only in the opportunities afforded for distributing books to the residents in the island, but transmitting them, by means of the numerous native vessels constantly resorting to the settlement, to every part of the Eastern Archipelago; and of unfolding, in familiar conversation, to traders and seamen from the adjacent countries, the great truths of Divine revelation, and the way of salvation by Jesus Christ.

CONCLUSION.

Had it been possible forty years ago, when the Society planned its first movements in favour of the millions of China, to have planted its missions on the shores or the borders of the celestial empire, it is probable that the stations which have now been briefly noticed amongst the colonies of Chinese in the Eastern Archipelago, would not have been formed. The Society would have concentrated its energies on the parent country, sensible that any favourable impression made there would speedily extend to its remotest settlements.

The introduction of the Gospel to China has ever been the ultimate object of the Society in its efforts among these settlements. When the Scriptures were translated, it was hoped they would circulate in China; when books were printed it was with the earnest desire that they might find their way into China; and when a Chinese embraced the Gospel, next to the joy which the salvation of a soul is always adapted to produce, was the expectation fondly cherished that the convert would return to his native land an ambassador for Christ to his countrymen. And, though,

so long as China rigorously excluded the Christian missionary from her shores, the directors sought to benefit the Chinese through the medium of the colonists settled in the adjacent countries, they felt fully assured that under the most favourable circumstances the labours of their missionaries at so great a distance could but very feebly and partially affect the inhabitants of China itself.

The amount of good, in actual conversions from heathenism, has, though less than in some of the other stations of the Society, been such as to demonstrate the faithfulness of the Most High, and the efficacy of the Gospel; while the high and lasting value of the varied preparatory movements, which have been carried forward during the interval between the commencement and close of these outside or colonial stations, can be at present but very imperfectly appreciated. Their importance and their influence on the evangelization of China will continue to become more apparent as the churches advance in the work on which Divine Providence now calls them to enter.

Among the operations of the Society, the labours of Drs. Morrison and Milne and Mr. Dyer, without disparaging others, appear most conspicuous amidst these preparatory movements. The former, in facilitating the acquisition of the language to an extent that will secure for him the admiration and the gratitude of all who may be honoured to labour for the spiritual benefit of China, and in the translation of that sacred volume by the truths of which its vast population will ultimately be numbered with the nations that shall acknowledge and adore the living God.

Dr. Milne, by his intelligence, acquirements, industry and character, rendered the missionary name and office respected wherever he was known, while his talents and judgment enabled him practically to carry out the generous intentions of his friend, by organizing and establishing

the Anglo-Chinese College, with a simplicity of apparatus and a comprehensiveness of range, suited to the high position which it occupied, and the far-extending objects which it contemplated. It has not only rendered important aid to the European student of Chinese, but has demonstrated the practicability of combining the study of the languages and literature of China and of England; it has also pointed out the process by which the pious and devoted native preachers and writers must be trained, from whom China more directly must receive the knowledge of the Gospel. This institution has never been favoured with the encouragement and support which its importance and utility demand, and which it is hoped it will hereafter receive.*

Mr. Dyer's unostentatious but unintermitted labours in commencing those calculations and experiments which promise to issue in the introduction of the European mode of preparing books for China, will be attended with incalculable advantage to future missionaries. There is every reason to believe that the press will be extensively employed by Divine Providence in effecting the moral and spiritual renovation of China, and whatever tends to diminish the cost and bulk, and to increase the number of books, will aid in no ordinary degree in providing the supply which the wants and the welfare of the nation will demand.

The extent to which the labours of the press have been employed, under all the impediments arising from the long-cherished prejudices against the productions of foreigners, the imperial edicts prohibiting the circulation of Christian books, and the perils to which both printers and distri-

* It would be an appropriate and permanent expression of the grateful joy with which the first Jubilee in the Society's existence is regarded, if a number of Jubilee scholarships, in the Anglo-Chinese College, were to be founded, in which pious and otherwise suitably qualified Chinese might receive an education that, under the Divine blessing, would render them able expositors or ministers of the word of God unto their countrymen.

butors have been exposed, will assist in forming some opinion as to what, under happier auspices, the future demands will be. Prior to the year 1836, according to Mr. Medhurst, 751,763 books and tracts had been printed, including upwards of 2,000 complete Chinese Bibles, nearly 10,000 Testaments, and 31,000 portions of the Scriptures. Since that time, though the Society's printing operations in Canton have been discontinued, and the returns from the other stations are incomplete, 239,610 books and tracts have been printed, making altogether a total of 991,373 publications in Chinese and Malay, but chiefly in the former language. This is exclusive of the productions of the presses under the direction of the devoted labourers whom the American churches have sent forth to this important field.

The astonishing changes which have within the last few years taken place, into a detail of the origin and progress of which it would be unsuitable to enter here, having altered, in a manner as unexpected as it has been accelerated and favourable, the relation between Europeans and the Chinese, the civil protection which the British flag now spreads over the missionary on the shores of China, as well as the means of intercourse which solemn treaties guarantee, require and encourage the combination, on the borders of that mighty empire, of all the energy which, not the Missionary Society only, but the Protestant churches of Europe and America can put forth.

Europe and America have long drawn the gains of commerce from China, and the present circumstances of the latter urge powerfully upon a commercial people the consecration of a portion of these and other treasures to the communication of the blessings of the Gospel to that vast but still atheistical or idolatrous people. The present circumstances of China—the bright examples of those who

have laboured and died on her borders—the voice of events, and the commands and encouragements of the Saviour, call upon pious, devoted, and qualified men, to enter the vast field which He who openeth and no man can shut has opened before them. The present is a period which would justify and furnish appropriate range for a zeal and devotedness, in connexion with a purer faith, which the votaries of Popery have often shown in behalf of the Chinese.* May the claims which China now prefers receive the attention which their magnitude and importance demand.

The last fifty years has been to the inhabitants of both portions of the world to which the contents of these pages refer an eventful period; an important era in the history of both has been brought to a close, while the issue of the events of the past half-century on their future destiny has yet to be developed. The conduct of these widely differing races has been as different as their own character and the result of the recent unforeseen but deeply affecting events are dissimilar. The rude untaught barbarians of the South Sea Islands received the Gospel, and rose from idolatry and degradation to the position and the privileges of a Christian and civilized community, but are now deprived of

* "After my return to Europe," said one of their Chinese missionaries, "when my intention of seeking labourers for this vineyard was divulged, immediately there were so many candidates, that there is scarce a province of our Society from which I have not received many letters from several fathers, not only offering themselves, but earnestly requesting me to accept them as soldiers in this enterprise. As if the trouble and pains of these long and dangerous voyages, and the persecution so certainly to be undergone, were as nothing to this undertaking. In Portugal, from the two colleges of Coimbra and Ehora alone, I had a list of ninety persons, so desirous to labour in this mission, that many of them have sent me very long letters, all written and signed with their own blood, witnessing in this manner that they had a holy courage that could despise the threats of martyrdom; offering cheerfully to the Lord that little blood, as a testimony of the great desire they had to shed it for his sake."—SAMEDO's *History of China*, quoted by *Abeel*, p. 382.

their liberty, and threatened with oppression and the loss of those privileges which they have now so long enjoyed. The refined, educated, intellectual, and civilized Chinese, who refused the Gospel, expelled its messengers, inflicted stripes and imprisonment, and threatened death to any of their countrymen who should embrace its hopes, or propagate its doctrines, are now accessible to the missionary of the cross and the message which he bears. If the first half-century of the Society's existence closes in uncertainty and apprehension upon Tahiti, it ends in brightness and in hope upon China. May the churches of the Lord have wisdom to discern the signs of the times and communications of Divine benediction, to enable them to meet the solemn responsibilities of their present position; and, while they bow with profound submission to the calamities which require the exercise of their patience and their faith, may they go forward in their efforts to evangelize the world, "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



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