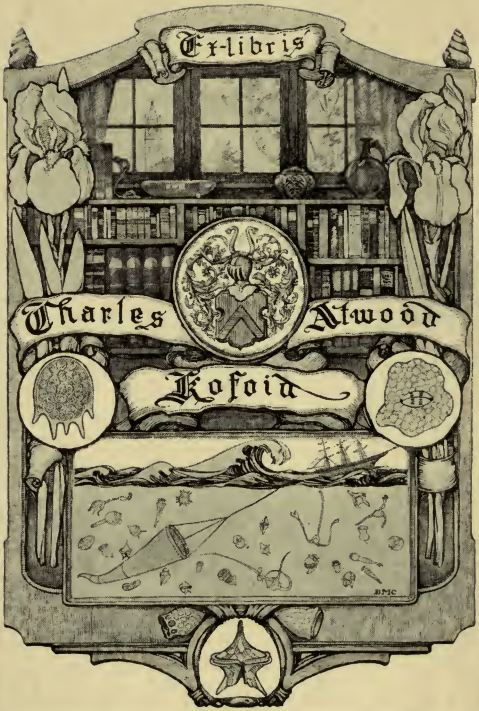
Ex-libris
Charles Atwood
Kofoid
BMC

MEMOIR

OF

REV. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN, D. D.

BY REV. HUGH PEARSON, M. A.

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN SOME PARTS CONSIDERABLY ABRIDGED;

AND, IN OTHERS, MUCH ENLARGED BY EXTRACTS FROM

DR. BUCHANAN'S

Christian Researches in Asia.

PUBLISHED BY

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY,

150 NASSAU-STREET, NEW-YORK.

D. Fanshaw, Printer.

The Memoir of Dr. Buchanan here presented to the christian public is that by Dr. Pearson, much abridged in parts which cannot be of permanent interest in this country; with the insertion, in the order of time, of the most valuable portions of Dr. Buchanan's "Christian Researches in Asia," published by himself, which Dr. Pearson felt constrained to omit. What is retained from Dr. Pearson is given in his own words; except that the narrative of Dr. Buchanan's life after his return to England is condensed by the American editor into one short chapter, with the addition of some concluding remarks; and, in a few instances, connecting sentences have been inserted. The division of the book into parts has been dropped, and the whole included in consecutive chapters. It is believed that every thing of permanent value in the Memoir by Pearson is retained, and that the additions from the "Researches in Asia" will render this volume more valuable than the original; and indeed, in relation to Eastern missions, one of the most instructive and useful works that have been written.

CONTENTS.

MEMOIR.

CHAPTER I.

Early History.—Conversion.

It is by no means uncommon in the history of those who have in any manner distinguished themselves among their contemporaries, to find them deriving no peculiar honor from their ancestors, but rather reflecting it upon them. Of the truth of this observation, an instance is afforded by the subject of the following memoirs. But if the biographer of this excellent man is unable to deduce his descent from the possessors of worldly rank or talent, an honor which may be unjustly depreciated as it is sometimes unduly prized, he may at least assert, that his immediate progenitors were endowed with more than an ordinary share of christian piety; an honor, in his estimation, of a higher nature; and a blessing, which, as he peculiarly valued it, was not only a source of pleasing and grateful recollection, but might not improbably form one link in the chain of causes which led to his own distinguished worth and usefulness.

Claudius Buchanan was born at Cambuslang,

near Glasgow, on the 12th of March, 1766. He was the son of Mr. Alexander Buchanan, a man of respectable learning and of excellent character, who was highly esteemed in various parts of Scotland as a laborious and faithful teacher, and who a few months previous to his death was appointed rector of the grammar-school of Falkirk.

His mother was the daughter of Mr. Claudius Somers, one of the elders of the church at Cambuslang about the period of the extraordinary occurrences which took place in that valley, in consequence of the preaching of the celebrated Mr Whitfield, in the year 1742, by which, it is unquestionable, that many were excited to a deep and lasting sense of real religion. Among this number was the grandfather of the subject of this memoir, whose piety was happily exemplified by his daughter, the mother of Buchanan. By both these excellent persons he appears to have been carefully trained, from his earliest years, in religious principles and habits. He is described, by one of his surviving relatives, as having been distinguished from his youth by a lively and engaging disposition. He is said also to have recollected the serious impressions which were sometimes made upon his mind by the devotions of the paternal roof, and by the admonitions which his grandfather, from whom he derived his name, and who seems to have regarded him with peculiar affec-

tion, was accustomed to address to him occasionally in his study. And though, as it will afterwards appear, the instructions and example of these pious relatives were not immediately productive of any decided and permanent effect, he must be added to the number of those who ultimately derived essential benefit from having been brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord;" and consequently, as affording fresh encouragement to religious parents to pursue a course which has been so frequently crowned with success, and which is seldom, it may be hoped, altogether in vain.

In the year 1773, at the age of seven years, young Buchanan was sent to a grammar-school at Inverary in Argyleshire, where he received the rudiments of his education, and is said to have made considerable proficiency in the Latin and Greek languages. He continued at Inverary till some time in the year 1779, when he was invited to spend the vacation with his school-fellow, John Campbell, of Airds, near the island of Mull; and in the following year he received an appointment as tutor to the two sons of Mr. Campbell of Dunstafnage, one of whom was, in the year 1803, captain of the East India Company's ship United Kingdom. As he had then only just completed his fourteenth year, the very appointment to such an office is in itself honorable to his character, and

his continuance in it during nearly two years may suffice to show that his conduct proved satisfactory to his employer. About this time he was again under considerable impressions of a religious nature, which he communicated to his excellent grandfather, who carefully cherished them, and assured him of his prayers. For a few months he continued in this promising course, spending much time in devotion amidst the rocks on the sea-shore near which he was then residing: but at length his serious thoughts were dissipated by the society of an irreligious companion, and his goodness, like that of many a hopeful youth, vanished "as a morning cloud, and as the early dew;" nor was it till many years afterwards, that painful and salutary convictions led him to seek that God whose early invitations he had ungratefully refused.

The residence of Buchanan at Dunstafnage might probably have been longer, had it not interfered with a necessary attention to the progress of his own education. In the year 1782 he therefore left the family of Mr. Campbell, and proceeded to the university of Glasgow; where he remained during that and the following year, diligently pursuing the various studies of the place. Whether his academical course was interrupted by the failure of his pecuniary resources, or was the result of deliberation and choice, is uncertain. It appears only that he

left Glasgow in the year 1784, and went to the island of Islay, for the purpose of becoming tutor to the sons of Mr. Campbell of Knockmelly. In the following year, from some cause, obviously not unfavorable to his character, we find him removed to Carradell in Kintyre, and performing the same office to the sons of Mr. Campbell of that place. In the year 1786, however, Buchanan returned to the college at Glasgow; and a certificate in that year, from the Professor of Logic, testifies not only that he had regularly attended upon the public lectures of that class, but that, in the usual examination and exercises, he had given commendable proofs of attention, diligence, and success in the prosecution of his studies; and that he had behaved with all suitable propriety of conduct and manners. At the conclusion of the academical session he returned to Carradell, and resumed his employment as a tutor; in which capacity it is presumed that he continued until the commencement of the autumn in the following year; when he quitted his native country, under very singular circumstances, and entered upon a project, on which, as it afterwards appeared, depended the future tenor of his life.

It was the desire of the parents of Mr. Buchanan, from his earliest years, that he should be prepared for the ministry in the church of Scotland: but being naturally of an ardent and excursive turn of mind, he, at the age of seventeen, during his first

residence in the university of Glasgow, conceived the design of *making the tour of Europe on foot;* that being the only method of traveling, upon which his slender finances would allow him to calculate. His chief view in this romantic project was, doubtless, to see the world; yet not, as he afterwards declared, without some vague and undefined intention of applying the information which he might collect during his tour to some useful purpose. It was not, however, till nearly four years afterwards, during which, as we have seen, he was diligently employed in acquiring and imparting knowledge, that a circumstance occurred, which, though it did not originally suggest this design, certainly tended to hasten his departure from Scotland. This was an imprudent attachment to a young lady, who happened to be on a visit to the family in which he was then residing, and who was superior to himself in birth and fortune. The affection was mutual, but the disparity of their rank and station seemed to form an insuperable barrier to their union. Mr. Buchanan became in consequence very unhappy, and in the height of his passion recurred to his favorite and long-cherished plan of a foreign tour; in the course of which, with all the sanguine expectation and the inexperience incident to his feelings and his age, he hoped to advance his fortune, and returning to his native country, to obtain the object of his wishes. Strange and unpromising as this pro-

ject undoubtedly was, he was eager to accomplish it. But though his thoughtless ardor reconciled him to the culpable expedient of deceiving his parents, he was unwilling to leave them clandestinely. For the purpose, therefore, both of avoiding any opposition to his scheme, and of relieving them from uneasiness, he invented a story, which, engaged as he had long been in tuition, seemed by no means improbable. He pretended that he had been invited by an English gentleman to accompany his son upon a tour to the continent; and as this engagement not only offered some present advantages, but held out flattering hopes of his future advancement in life, not inconsistent with their original intentions, his friends consented to the proposal, and permitted him to leave Scotland.

Of this singular expedition, and of his subsequent history during several years, Mr. Buchanan long afterwards gave several distinct but consistent narratives, from which the following account is extracted: After briefly mentioning the circumstances which have been previously stated respecting his education and studies, and the schemes which he had devised for effecting his departure from his native country and friends, and his intended travels upon the continent, Mr. Buchanan suggests the obvious question, how he was to accomplish such a plan, destitute as he was of pecuniary resources. To this he replies, that the greater his difficulties

were, the more romantic would his tour appear; and then proceeds as follows.

"I had the example of the celebrated Dr. Goldsmith before me, who travelled through Europe on foot, and supported himself by playing on his flute. I could play a little on the violin, and on this I relied for occasional support during my long and various travels.

"In August, 1787, having put on plain clothes becoming my apparent situation, I left Edinburgh on foot with the intention of travelling to London, and thence to the continent: that very violin which I now have, and the case which contains it, I had under my arm, and thus I travelled onward. After I had proceeded some days on my journey, and had arrived at a part of the country where I thought I could not be known, I called at gentlemen's houses, and farm-houses, where I was in general kindly lodged. They were very well pleased with my playing reels to them, (for I played them better than I can now,) and I sometimes received five shillings, sometimes half a crown, and sometimes nothing but my dinner. Wherever I went, people seemed to be struck a little by my appearance, particularly if they entered into conversation with me. They were often very inquisitive, and I was sometimes at a loss what to say. I professed to be a musician travelling

through the country for his subsistence: but this appeared very strange to some, and they wished to know where I obtained my learning; for sometimes pride, and sometimes accident would call forth expressions, in the course of conversation, which excited their surprise. I was often invited to stay for some time at a particular place; but this I was afraid of, lest I might be discovered. It was near a month, I believe, before I arrived on the borders of England, and in that time many singular occurrences befel me. I once or twice met persons whom I had known, and narrowly escaped discovery. Sometimes I had nothing to eat, and had no where to rest at night; but, notwithstanding, I kept steady to my purpose, and pursued my journey.

"Before, however, I reached the borders of England, I would gladly have returned; but I could not: the die was cast; my pride would have impelled me to suffer death, I think, rather than to have exposed my folly; and I pressed forward.

"When I arrived at Newcastle I felt tired of my long journey, and found that it was indeed hard to live on the benevolence of others: I therefore resolved to proceed to London by water; for I did not want to travel in my own country, but on the continent.

"I accordingly embarked in a collier at North Shields, and sailed for London. On the third night

of the voyage we were in danger of being cast away during a gale of wind; and then, for the first time, I began to reflect seriously on my situation."

During the violence of the storm, as he afterwards acknowledged to a friend, Mr. Buchanan felt as if the judgment of God, as in the case of Jonah, was overtaking him; but, unlike the repenting prophet, no sooner had the tempest of the elements subsided, than the agitation of his mind also passed away. He arrived safely in London on the second of September.

"But by this time," he continues, in one of his letters referred to, "my spirits were nearly exhausted by distress and poverty. I now relinquished every idea of going abroad. I saw such a visionary scheme in its true light, and resolved, if possible, to procure some situation, as an usher, or clerk, or any employment, whereby I might derive a subsistence: but I was unsuccessful. I lived some time, in obscure lodgings, by selling my clothes and books; for I did not attempt to obtain any assistance by my skill in music, lest I should be discovered by some persons who might know me or my family. I was in a short time reduced to the lowest extreme of wretchedness and want. Alas! I had not sometimes bread to eat. Little did my mother think, when she dreamt that she

saw her son fatigued with his wanderings, and oppressed with a load of wo, glad to lie down and sleep away his cares on a little straw, that her dream was so near the truth! What a reverse of fortune was this! A few months before I had lived in splendor and happiness! But even in this extremity of misery my eyes were not opened. I saw indeed my folly, but I saw not my sin; my pride, even then, was unsubdued, and I was constantly anticipating scenes of future grandeur, and indulging myself in the pleasures of the imagination.

"After I had worn out many months in this misery, observing one day an advertisement in a news-paper for a 'clerk to an attorney,' I offered myself and was accepted. I was much liked, and soon made friends. I then obtained a better situation with another gentleman in the law, and, lastly, engaged with a solicitor of respectable character and connections in the city, with whom I remained nearly three years. During all this time I had sufficient allowance to appear as a gentleman; my desire for going abroad gradually abated, and I began to think that I should make the law my profession for life. But, during a great part of this time I corresponded with my friends in Scotland, as from abroad, writing very rarely, but always giving my mother pleasing accounts of my health and situation.'

Notwithstanding the preceding brief observation

that his allowance from his employers enabled him to make a genteel appearance, there are various intimations, in a memorandum-book kept by Mr. Buchanan, during a part of this period, that he was frequently a sufferer from the pressure of poverty; nor is this to be wondered at, when it is known that the utmost salary which he received amounted only to forty pounds per annum. Accordingly, it appears, from several notes in the account-book which has been referred to, that he was sometimes under the necessity of pledging articles of clothing, and in one instance his watch, for the purpose of procuring a little ready money; and even this painful expedient did not always afford him such a supply as to prevent him from occasionally recording that he had been obliged to go without a breakfast or a supper; and once that he had neither breakfasted nor dined. It must, however, be acknowledged, that while this humble cash account is chiefly made up of his expenditure upon the necessaries of life, Mr. Buchanan seems to have wasted not a little of his scanty allowance on public amusements; amongst which the theatre frequently occurs, and sometimes debating societies.

From one of the brief memoranda contained in a pocket-book, from which the preceding circumstances are derived, and which are chiefly written in Latin, it appears that Mr. Buchanan's father died on the 24th of August, 1788, precisely a twelve-

month after his own departure from Scotland. This event was probably communicated to him by his excellent mother, and must, it may be reasonably supposed, have awakened some peculiarly distressing feelings in the mind of her absent son, conscious as he must have been of the deception which he was practising upon their unsuspecting confidence. No symptom, however, of the ingenuous shame, which, it may be hoped, he could not but occasionally feel for such misconduct, is apparent in his diary. He merely mentions that his widowed parent had written to him in the spring of 1789, upon the mournful subject of a monument to his late father; to which he replied by a letter dated the 12th of May, *from Florence*, which he despatched on the 25th following. A subsequent entry notices his disappointment in not again hearing from his mother, whom, amidst all his wanderings from the path of integrity and virtue, he evidently regarded with unfeigned reverence and affection; while another states the arrival of an answer from her to a recent letter of inquiry from himself, which, either from the favorable account of his parent's welfare, or its salutary influence upon his own mind, appears to have afforded him much pleasure.

It cannot, however, be a matter of surprise to any one who considers the imprudent manner in which Mr. Buchanan had left his native country,

the deceit which he was practising upon his friends, the faint prospect which he could reasonably entertain of any considerable success in the world, and, above all, the pious education which he had received, to find that the memoranda in question exhibit frequent marks of his inward perplexity and unhappiness. Thus, on the 10th of May, 1789, he records, in Latin, with an emphasis of expression which evidently proves the depth and sincerity of the feelings with which he wrote: "I have lived, I know not how—in a state of forgetfulness, or intoxication—to this day!" And on the 15th of July following, he briefly extends the same painful confession to that time. Within three days after the first of these dates, Mr. Buchanan was seized with a severe attack of fever, during which he observes that he had experienced, as might very naturally be expected, most uncomfortable reflections on his present situation. These, however, appear to have made no deep or lasting impression upon him, but, as in too many similar instances, to have vanished with the temporary alarm which occasioned them. Accordingly he soon afterwards states that he had on that morning written part of a letter to his mother, and with the careless levity which in irreligious and impenitent minds returns, when they are relieved from the immediate fear of punishment, had altered his "plan of death and misfortune, to that of fortune and festivity."

He laments also, that on his recovery he had broken some salutary resolutions which he had made during his illness, and adds, with that fretful and impotent violence which characterizes those who are irritated rather than humbled by the consciousness of their weakness, and are ignorant of its only effectual remedy, "I *swear* I'll do so no more. O! that I knew how to persevere in good resolutions, as well as to make them! This has been my failing from my infancy." Who has not been compelled to make the same humiliating reflection, until acquainted with Him of whom the subject of these memoirs was as yet practically ignorant! without whom we can do nothing, but by whose gracious assistance the christian can do all things!

Among the various notices of his feelings and engagements, which occur in these memoranda, there are several, which prove that, amidst the incessant labor of an employment which occupied nearly twelve hours of each day, Mr. Buchanan occasionally contrived to devote a part of his scanty leisure to literary pursuits. Unhappily, indeed, he was at this period so little under the influence of religion, that the Sabbath was too often spent in the study of Virgil and Horace; though at other times his reading on that sacred day appears to have been of a graver nature. But the latter hours of his evenings, which were not dedicated to amuse-

ment, seem to have been laudably employed in storing his mind with classical and general knowledge, and occasionally in improving his memory by artificial rules and practice.

Though the irreligious state, in which Mr. Buchanan was at this time living, led him too generally to neglect public worship, his early habits still induced him sometimes to enter the house of God. Upon one of these occasions he appears to have been much struck with the conduct of a young friend, who was so deeply alarmed while the preacher was displaying the terrors of the Lord in the future punishment of the wicked, that he rose up, leaving his hat behind him, and walked out of the church. It is understood that Mr. Buchanan considered this person as having been afterwards made spiritually useful to him.

Two short notes in the summer of the year 1789 indicate that there were, even at that period, seasons in which he thought much and seriously upon his own state, and upon religious subjects; during which his reflections were sometimes gloomy and desponding, and resembling "the sighing of the prisoner" for deliverance; and at others cheered by a faint and distant hope of one day enjoying, through the infinite grace of God, the comforts of religion.

In the following year some traces occur, in the brief journal from which the preceding circum-

stances are extracted, of seriousness in his mind. He notices a religious conversation with a friend, and adds, that he had in consequence thought seriously of a reformation. He mentions emphatically a season of private prayer, and his intention of purchasing a new Bible, when he could afford it; and while he confesses, on one occasion, with evident regret, his disinclination to religion, and alleges as one of the immediate causes, or symptoms, of this evil, the indulgence of morning slumbers, he observes, on another, that he had declined the invitation of a friend to a visit in the country on the following Sunday, upon religious principle, though he did not at the moment distinctly avow it. All these are circumstances indicative of a mind awaking from the deadly sleep of sin to the life of righteousness, and introductory to that important change of sentiment and conduct which was now approaching.

It is possible, indeed, that some may be at a loss to understand the meaning of this language, or to conceive the necessity of any other alteration in the religious character of Mr. Buchanan, than the correction of a few venial errors and trifling irregularities, or the supply of certain obvious omissions in his conduct. The determination of this question must undoubtedly depend upon the general views of those who consider it. In proportion as the standard of practical religion is either elevated or

depressed, will be the judgment of every one as to the actual state, at this period of his life, of the subject of these memoirs. If slight views are entertained of the evil of sin, of the guilt, misery, and danger of a sensual and worldly life; and of the nature and extent of christian faith and holiness; the moral and religious deficiencies of Mr. Buchanan will certainly appear trivial and unimportant. But if, as the Scriptures unequivocally assert, to live in the habitual neglect of God, though a formal acknowledgment of his being and attributes may be professed, is virtual impiety; to avow the name of christian, but to refuse the homage of the heart to Jesus Christ as a Saviour, is real unbelief; and occasionally to indulge in wilful sin, though the external manners may be decent and correct, is practical ungodliness; then was it evidently necessary that *a great and radical change* should be effected in Mr. Buchanan's dispositions and conduct; then was it essential to his present and future happiness that he should "repent and believe the Gospel."

That this was the conviction of Mr. Buchanan himself, plainly appears from his own declarations in the letters from which some preceding extracts have been made. "Since my coming to London," he observes, "until June last, I led a very dissipated, irreligious life. Some gross sins I avoided; but pride was in my heart; I profaned the Lord's

day without restraint, and never thought of any religious duty. Thus I lived till within these few months, exactly three years since my voluntary banishment from my native country; three tedious years; and for any thing I could have done myself, I might have remained in the same state for thirty years longer. But the period was now arrived when the mercy of God, which had always accompanied me, was to be manifested in a singular manner. I had a very strong sense of religion when I was about the age of fourteen; and I used often to reflect on that period; but I had not, I believe, the least idea of the nature of the Gospel. It was in the year 1790 that my heart was first effectually impressed, in consequence of an acquaintance with a religious young man."

Of the person thus briefly mentioned, and of the important effects which resulted from one remarkable meeting with him, the following is a more distinct and detailed account:

"In the month of June last," observes Mr. Buchanan, writing in February, 1791, "on a Sunday evening, a gentleman of my acquaintance called upon me. I knew him to be a serious young man, and out of complaisance to him I gave the conversation a religious turn. Among other things, I asked him whether he believed that there was

such a thing as divine grace; whether or not it was a fiction imposed by grave and austere persons from their own fancies. He took occasion from this inquiry to enlarge much upon the subject; he spoke with zeal and earnestness, and chiefly in scripture language, and concluded with a very affecting address to the conscience and the heart. I had not the least desire, that I recollect, of being benefited by this conversation; but while he spoke, I listened to him with earnestness; and before I was aware, a most powerful impression was made upon my mind, and I conceived the instant resolution of reforming my life.

"On that evening I had an engagement which I could not now approve: notwithstanding what had passed, however, I resolved to go; but as I went along, and had time to reflect on what I had heard, I half wished that it might not be kept. It turned out as I desired: I hurried home, and locked myself up in my chamber; I fell on my knees, and endeavored to pray; but I could not. I tried again, but I was not able; I thought it was an insult to God for *me* to pray; I reflected on my past sins with horror, and spent the night I know not how. The next day my fears wore off a little, but they soon returned. I anxiously awaited the arrival of Sunday; but when it came I found no relief. After some time I communicated my situation to my religious friend: he prayed with me, and next

Sunday I went with him to hear an eminent minister. This was a great relief to me; I thought I had found a physician: but, alas! though I prayed often every day, and often at night, listlessness and languor seized me. Sometimes hope, sometimes fear presented itself, and I became very uncomfortable.

"Going one morning to a bath, I found on a shelf Doddridge's Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. This book I thought just suited me. I accordingly read it with deep attention, and prayed over it. I next procured Alleine's Alarm to the Unconverted, and dwelt on it for some time. My religious friend then gave me Boston's Fourfold State. This I read carefully, and I hope it did me some good. I now secluded myself entirely from my companions on Sunday; and during the week, the moment business was done, I went home to my studies; and have since wholly withdrawn myself from pleasure and amusement. In this manner have I passed the seven last months, continually praying for a new heart, and a more perfect discovery of my sins. Sometimes I think I am advancing a little, at others I fear I am farther from heaven than ever. O the prevalence of habit! It is not without reason that it has been sometimes called a second nature. Nothing but the hand of the Almighty who created me can change my heart."

"About two months ago I wrote my mother some particulars of my state, and requested her prayers, for she is a pious woman. In her answer, written by my sister, is the following passage, 'My mother has heard much of Mr. NEWTON, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, and wishes that you would cultivate an acquaintance with him, if it is in your power.'"

It was, in fact, to this venerable man that the letter, from which these as well as some preceding extracts have been made, was addressed. Nor must the occasion be omitted of paying a passing tribute of respect to the memory of that eminently pious and useful minister of Jesus Christ. The chosen and highly valued friend of Cowper could not indeed have been a common or uninteresting character. He was, in truth, far otherwise. However a world, incapable of appreciating spiritual excellence, may be disposed to treat his faith as a delusion, and his character as enthusiastic, the history of Mr. Newton will convince the candid inquirer that the Gospel is still "the power of God" to the conversion and salvation even of the chief of sinners; while the unblemished purity, the active benevolence, the exemplary fidelity, and the undeviating consistency of a course of more than forty years, sufficiently illustrate the holy and practical tendency of the doctrines which he embra-

ced; and prove that the grace which brought peace to his conscience, and hope to his soul, at the same time effectually taught him "to live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world."

The lively and substantial interest which Mr. Newton took in the situation and welfare of Mr. Buchanan, is one amongst many other instances of the christian kindness which habitually warmed his heart. The person who was thus addressing him was at that time an utter stranger. After mentioning, therefore, some of the particulars respecting his family, and his early history, which have been already stated, Mr. Buchanan thus proceeds:

"On the receipt of my mother's letter I immediately reflected that I had heard there was a crowded audience at a church in Lombard-street. Thither I accordingly went the next Sunday evening; and when you spoke, I thought I heard the words of eternal life: I listened with avidity, and wished that you had preached till midnight." Mr. Buchanan laments, however, that this pleasing impression was too soon effaced; and that, although he constantly attended Mr. Newton's sermons with raised expectations and sanguine hopes that he should one day be relieved from the burthen which then oppressed his mind, he had hitherto been disappointed. "But," he adds, with genuine humility, "I have now learned how unreasonable was

such an early expectation: I have been taught to *wait patiently* upon God, who waited so long for *me*."

"You say," he continues, "many things that touch my heart deeply, and I trust your ministry has been in some degree blessed to me; but your subjects are generally addressed to those who are already established in the faith, or to those who have not sought God at all. Will you then drop one word to me? If there is any comfort in the word of life for such as I am, O shed a little of it on my heart. And yet I am sensible that I am not prepared to receive that comfort. My sins do not affect me as I wish. All that I can speak of is a strong desire to be converted to my God. O sir, what shall I do to inherit eternal life? I see clearly that I cannot be happy in any degree, even in this life, until I make my peace with God: but how shall I make that peace? If the world were my inheritance, I would sell it to purchase that pearl of great price.

"How I weep when I read of the prodigal son as described by our Lord! I would walk many miles to hear a sermon from the 12th and 13th verses of the thirty-third chapter of the second book of Chronicles."*

* The following are the affecting verses alluded to by Mr. Buchanan: "And when he was in affliction, he besought the Lord his God, and humbled himself greatly before the

After apologizing for thus intruding upon one to whose attention he had no personal claim, Mr. Buchanan concludes as follows:

"My heart is overburthened with grief, and greatly does it distress me, that I must impart my sorrows to him who has so much himself to bear.* My frequent prayer to God is, that he would grant you strong consolation. To-morrow is the day you have appointed for a sermon to young people. Will you remember *me*, and speak some suitable word, that, by the aid of the blessed Spirit, may reach my heart? Whatever becomes of me, or of my labors, I pray God that *you* may prove successful in your ministry, and that *your* labors may be abundantly blessed."

The preceding letter was addressed to Mr. Newton anonymously; but so simply, yet so forcibly does it describe the state of a penitent, awakened to a just apprehension of his sin and folly, and earnestly desiring relief, that it could not fail to excite in the mind of a man of so much christian benevolence, a degree of lively sympathy with the feelings, and of interest in the welfare, of the

God of his fathers, and prayed unto him: and he was entreated of him, and heard his supplication."

* Mr. Newton was at this time suffering under one of the severest domestic calamities.

writer. His letter, however, being not only without any signature, but without any reference to the place of his residence, the only method which occurred to Mr. Newton of conveying any reply to him was, by giving notice in his church, that if the person who had written to him anonymously on such a day were present, and would call upon him, he should be happy to converse with him on the subject of his communication. This intimation Mr. Newton accordingly gave, and an early interview in consequence took place between them.

"I called on him," says Mr. Buchanan, in a letter to his mother, "on the Tuesday following, and experienced such a happy hour as I ought not to forget. If he had been my father, he could not have expressed more solicitude for my welfare.

"Mr. Newton encouraged me much. He put into my hands the narrative of his life, and some of his letters; begged my careful perusal of them before I saw him again, and gave me a general invitation to breakfast with him when and as often as I could."

Of the meeting immediately subsequent to this first interview no account has been preserved. That it was mutually pleasing and satisfactory, is evident from the intercourse which afterwards took place between them, and which was ultimately productive of such important consequences.

"I cultivated," says Mr. Buchanan, "a close acquaintance with Mr. Newton, and he soon professed a great regard for me."

The grand subject, which would of course immediately occupy the attention of both, was the reality and the completion of the recent change in the moral and religious character of Mr. Buchanan. Though the public and private instructions of Mr. Newton would, from his well known views of christian doctrine, incline him to exhibit to the awakened and trembling penitent the free and full forgiveness of the Gospel, he would doubtless urge with equal solemnity and earnestness the necessity of ascertaining the sincerity of his repentance, the genuineness of his faith, and the stability of his resolutions of obedience to the divine precepts. That such was the general tenor of the counsel which was imparted upon these occasions, plainly appears from several succeeding letters of Mr. Buchanan; and though it is to be lamented that those of his pious correspondent to which he refers are not now to be found, it is evident, from various traces of their contents, that they were admirably calculated to remove the difficulties, and to direct the conduct of his new disciple.

Thus, in the venerable person to whom the providence of God had introduced him, Mr. Buchanan found an enlightened and experienced guide, a

wise and faithful counsellor, and at length a steady and affectionate friend; while the latter discovered in the stranger who had been so remarkably made known to him, one who displayed talents and dispositions which appeared to him capable of being beneficially employed in the service of their common Lord and Master.

The change in Mr. Buchanan was radical. It not only redeemed him from a sinful and worldly course, but gradually introduced him to a state of "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." It rendered him, in short, "a new creature." He felt the powerful influence of the love of Christ; and cordially acquiescing in the unanswerable reasoning of the great Apostle, "that if one died for all, then were all dead," he resolved no longer to live unto himself, "but unto Him that died for him, and rose again."

CHAPTER II.

Preparation for the Ministry—Aid of Rev. Mr. Newton and Mr. Thornton.

About a fortnight after the date of his first letter, Mr. Buchanan again wrote to Mr. Newton, for the

purpose of communicating to him a strong inclination, which he had lately felt, to devote himself to the ministry.

"Yesterday morning," he observes, "I went to hear Dr. S——. Near the conclusion of the service I was insensibly led to admire this passage of the prophet Isaiah, 'How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace!' It occurred to me, that that enviable office was once designed for *me;* that I was called to the ministry, as it were, from my infancy. For my pious grandfather chose me from among my mother's children to live with himself. He adopted me as his own child, and took great pleasure in forming my young mind to the love of God. He warmly encouraged my parents' design of bringing me up for the ministry. I particularly recollect the last memorable occasion of my seeing this good grandfather. The first season of my being at college I paid him a visit. He lived but five miles from Glasgow. After asking me some particulars relating to my studies, he put the following question to me: 'What end I had in view in becoming a minister of the Gospel?' I hesitated a moment, thinking, I suppose, of some temporal blessing. But he put an answer into my mouth. 'With a view, no doubt,' said he, 'to the glory of God.' I recollect no other particular of the conversation but this. It made a strong

impression on my mind, and even often recurred to my thoughts in the midst of my unhappy years; and lastly, I thought of my present profession and prospect in life. It suddenly came into my mind that I might yet be a preacher of the Gospel. I began to consider the obstacles that had hitherto deterred me from attempting it; but they appeared to have vanished.

"These things passed rapidly through my mind. I wondered that I had not thought of them before. Your suggestion occurred to me, and I seemed clearly to perceive the hand of providence in my not having been articled to the law. I now beheld it as an unkindly and unprofitable study; a profession I never cordially liked, and was thankful that I might shake it off when I pleased. These reflections filled me with delight, and, as I walked home, the sensation increased; so that by the time I entered my chamber, my spirits were overpowered, and I fell on my knees before God, and wept. What shall I say to these things? At first I feared this change of sentiment might be some idle whim that would soon vanish. But when I began to deliberate calmly, reason pleaded that the plan was possible; and the wisdom and power of God, and my love to him, pleaded that it was probable. I thought that I, who had experienced so much of the divine mercy, was peculiarly engaged to declare it to others. After fervent prayer, I endeavor-

ed to commit myself and my services into the hands of Him who alone is able to direct me.

"This day I still cherish the idea with delight. But I am much discouraged when I reflect on my weak abilities, my slender knowledge, my defective expression, and my advanced age. I am now four-and-twenty, and if I prosecute this new desire, I must return to the studies of fourteen."

At the close of this letter Mr. Buchanan expresses the lively interest with which he had read Mr. Newton's narrative of his own life. "I am the person," he says, "out of ten thousand, who can read it aright; for I can read it with self-application. What a balm to a wounded conscience are your healing leaves! To-day I have felt a tranquillity of mind to which I have been long a stranger. I trust this peace has a right foundation."

It appears, that upon an early interview with Mr. Newton, in consequence of the preceding letter, he warmly approved the rising disposition of his young friend to change his profession, and to devote himself to the ministry of the Gospel.

"He received me," says Mr. Buchanan, "with open arms; and in his family worship remembered me in a very affecting manner, and prayed for the divine direction in his counsels to me. We then

passed a considerable time together. He observed that this was a remarkable season with me, but that I must leave every thing with God; that I must use the means which he had appointed for those who aspire to his service; that I must devote the principal part of my leisure hours to meditation and prayer, and the remainder to the study of the languages; that I must persevere in this course for a considerable time, and then, if it pleased God, he would open a door to me. 'In the meantime,' added Mr. Newton, 'I would advise you to acquaint your mother with every circumstance of your situation, and to request, in the first instance, her advice and approbation.' "

To this suggestion Mr. Buchanan yielded without hesitation, and employed a great part of several nights in communicating to his affectionate parent an ingenuous narrative of his proceedings from the period of his departure from Scotland to the present time. At the close of this varied history, in which he strongly condemns himself for his past misconduct, he thus expresses himself:

"And now, my dear mother, how are you affected by this account? Is your heart ready to welcome the return of your long lost son, or does it reject, with just indignation, so much unworthiness? Whatever may be your emotions, I pray God, who

has been so gracious to *me*, to bless this dispensation to *you*. The veil which was between us is at length rent, and I am now in peace; for, believe me, I have not enjoyed a day of peace since I left my father's house. I once thought I would rather suffer torture than betray my secret; but my 'sinews of iron' are now become like those of a child. Nothing less than what I have suffered could have softened so hard a heart as mine; and not even that, unless accompanied by the power of God."

Mr. Buchanan had no sooner made this disclosure to his excellent mother, than he communicated the result to Mr. Newton in a letter, which closes in the following terms:

"My desires of entering the ministry still continue, and I think increase. Blackstone says somewhere, that to have a competent knowledge of the law requires 'the lucubrations of twenty years.' I once had the low ambition of being such a lawyer, but I am now so impressed with the dignity and importance of the office of the ministry, that I would with pleasure sit down to-morrow and devote, not the lucubrations of twenty years alone, but all my life to it. But, alas! my present situation militates much against my wishes. O that He, who has led me thus far, would graciously direct my steps!"

During the three following months Mr. Buchanan continued his employment in the law; diligently and devoutly cultivating the spirit of real religion, and anxiously revolving in his mind the practicability of accomplishing his wishes respecting the change of his profession. In the month of July, however, he addressed another letter to Mr. Newton, who was then absent from London, in which he laments, with much humility and feeling, the painful discoveries which he had been making in self-knowledge, and the slowness of his progress in his christian course. "I have but sipped," he modestly observes, "at Salem's spring—*nec fonte labra prolui.*" He then informs his kind correspondent and friend, that his late letters from Scotland had afforded him much comfort. "My mother," he says, "writes thus:

"The hint you gave me in your last, of your probably joining the church of England, caused me, at first, some uneasiness. I hope you will forgive this. I find now that the difference between the two churches consists in discipline only, not in doctrine. I am, therefore, easy in mind, whichever way the providence of God may see fit to guide you. I am happy that you consulted your Bible, and sought the Lord's direction upon this occasion. If you cast your burden upon him, he will direct you aright. Since you were a boy, it was impressed upon my mind that some time or

other you would be a good man. I own, of late years, I was beginning to lose my hope, particularly on the supposition of your going abroad. I thought, this is not God's usual way of bringing sinners to himself. But the word of consolation often came in remembrance, that God is a God 'afar off.' O how merciful has he been to you, and how merciful to us, in concealing your miserable situation till grace brought it to light! I do believe the discovery a year ago would . . . . but these recollections are painful; therefore I forbear. What comforting letters have you sent us! Could a thousand pounds a-year have afforded an equal consolation? Impossible. It might, indeed, have tied us down faster to the earth, but it could not have set our hearts upon the unsearchable riches that are in Christ Jesus. Your friends in Glasgow are rejoicing with us: some of them saying, 'Had the good old people (meaning his grandfather and mother) been alive, how would this have revived them!' Among your grandfather's papers I find the enclosed letter, written by Mr. Maculloch to him in a time of distress, when the sins of his youth oppressed him. Read it with care, and may God grant a blessing in the perusal."

It was surely with good reason that Mr. Buchanan added, "It is not the smallest of my comforts that I have such a mother as this;" who, though

evidently grieved at his past misconduct, was, as he afterwards expressed it, "overwhelmed with joy, that her son, who was lost, had been found."

It appears, by the subsequent part of this letter, that Mr. Buchanan had a short time before been introduced, by the kindness of his friend, to the notice of a gentleman to whose munificent patronage he was afterwards indebted for the means of accomplishing the prevailing desire of his heart, in entering upon the ministry of the Gospel in the church of England. This was the late Mr. Henry Thornton; who, to talents of a superior order, and to various and extensive acquirements, devoted during a laborious and honorable course to the most important duties of public life, united a warm and enlightened attachment to genuine christianity; which, while it formed the basis of his religious character, not only supplied the rule and the motives of his general conduct, but prompted him, in an especial manner, to support with calm and steady zeal whatever a remarkably sound and vigorous understanding deemed calculated to promote the glory of God and the present and future happiness of his fellow-creatures. It was to this distinguished person that Mr. Buchanan, happily for himself and for others, was now made known and recommended. Mr. Newton had been largely indebted to the friendship and patronage of the excellent father of this gentleman; and justly

thought that he could not render a more important service to his young friend, or one which might eventually be more useful to the world, than by introducing him to the son; who, with higher mental powers, inherited that enlarged and generous spirit of benevolence which had associated, in almost every mind, the name of Thornton* with that of philanthropy and christian charity.

The liberal education which Mr. Buchanan had already received, and his advanced age as a student, naturally led his friends to wish that it might be practicable for him to obtain ordination without so long a preparation as a residence at an English university for a degree would require. The bishop, however, to whom an application was made for this purpose, discouraged any such plan, and it was accordingly abandoned. It was afterwards thought that holy orders might be procured for Mr. Buchanan at an early period, on the condition of his going abroad; and Mr. Thornton desired him to consider whether his health would allow him to accept the chaplaincy of the colony at Sierra Leone. To this proposal Mr. Buchanan, after requesting Mr. Newton's advice, signified his cordial assent; but, for reasons which do not appear, this design was also relinquished. For a short time the mind of Mr. Buchanan seems to have been somewhat depressed by the failure of these attempts.

* See Cowper's "Charity."

"Notwithstanding," he says, at the close of the letter last quoted, "your endeavors in my behalf, I have little expectation that you will succeed. Providence, I think, has a few more trials and difficulties for me to encounter before I am led into so pleasant a path; and I know that they are needful to make me more humble."

He felt, too, the absence of his paternal friend and guide, and looked around among his acquaintance for a companion in vain. "I have but one serious friend," he observes, "and him I only see once in a week or fortnight. Next to the blessing of communion with God on earth, must surely be the society of his children. Yet I shall not complain if I can enjoy the former privilege; for then, *Ille solus turba erit.*"*

Amidst these discouraging circumstances, however, Mr. Buchanan assures his venerable correspondent that he was never so truly happy in his life, having been guided into "the way of peace," relying on the direction of divine providence, and being animated "by 'the hope set before him.'"

But it was not long before the kindness of the generous patron to whom he had been introduced opened to him a prospect which his most sanguine expectations had never ventured to anticipate: instead of any further attempt to obtain ordination

* God shall be my all in all.

for him under his present circumstances, Mr. Thornton determined to send him to the University of Cambridge at his own expense; that he might thus enter the church with every possible advantage, and be prepared for a higher and more extensive sphere of usefulness than any for which he could otherwise be qualified. This resolution was scarcely less honorable to the character of Mr. Buchanan than to the liberality of his patron, whose discriminating judgment afforded no slight presumption in favor of any one to whom his protection was extended, and whose penetration was, in the present instance, amply justified by the event.

Early in the month of September Mr. Buchanan communicated to his mother, and his friend Mr. Newton, who was still in the country, the joyful news of Mr. Thornton's munificent intention. He had been so much depressed by the failure of former plans, and the present offer so far exceeded any hopes which he had indulged, that he was at first almost tempted to think it a delusion; but on Mr. Thornton's assuring him personally of the reality of the proposal, which he appears to have originally made to him by letter, he received it with those mingled feelings of gratitude and humility which were the surest pledges that the benevolent exertions of his patron would not be made in vain.

"I was emancipated," he writes to Mr. Newton,

"from the law a few days ago, and am now willing to enter into the eternal bonds of the Gospel. I have been endeavoring to arrange my studies, in some measure, preparatory to my going to Cambridge; but I find so much to do, that I know not where to begin. I wish to devote my greatest attention to the Bible, and am desirous of adopting some regular plan in studying it; but I cannot please myself, and I am a perfect stranger to the system which is usually followed. The Bible appears to me like a confused heap of polished stones prepared for a building, which must be brought together, and each of them fitted to its place before the proportion and symmetry of the temple appear. I would fain hope that the foundation-stone is laid with me; but the raising of the superstructure appears an arduous undertaking, and the pinnacle of the temple is quite out of sight, even in idea. I conjectured that probably the articles and creeds of the church contain the first principles of the oracles of God; and on this presumption I have begun to prove all the articles of my faith by Scripture. Whether I am right in this mode of study I know not.

"I never felt myself in more need of divine direction than now. When I consider myself so evidently called forth on the Lord's side, my heart is faint; and I am apt to say, 'Who is sufficient for these things?' I find I am unable to go through

the important studies before me, unless I am led every step. At present it appears to me that my sole business at the university is contained in one line of St. Paul, 'to be enriched with all utterance, and all knowledge;' or in other words, 'to be eloquent, and mighty in the Scriptures;' which are said to have been the accomplishments of the preacher Apollos. But I find that I must attend to various branches of human learning, for which at present I have no relish. Alas! sir, if St. Paul had sent Timothy and Titus to such a college as this, they would have complained to him of such a plan. But he would perhaps have answered, as he does somewhere, 'Till I come, give attendance to reading'—'that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man.'"

The sentiment expressed in the latter part of the preceding extract will not appear extraordinary to those who consider the state of Mr. Buchanan's mind at this period, and the one great object which he had in view in accepting Mr. Thornton's offer of a university education. The same train of thought occurs in his next letter to Mr. Newton; and although he afterwards acquiesced, upon principle, in the usual course of university studies, it may not be without its use to develope somewhat more fully his present dispositions and feelings.

"Permit me," he observes to his first excellent friend, "to thank you for your letter. It is a mark of your regard, of which I am unworthy, and has affixed a seal to the truth of your interest in my welfare, which I hope will never be broken. Like Hezekiah, I spread it before the Lord, but with a different purpose; not to avert a curse, but to improve a blessing. The words in Hezekiah's letter were 'to reproach the living God;' but the words in my letter were to assure me that his name is *love;* that he is very gracious, and that I should serve him with a cheerful heart. I have prayed that I may be enabled to do so. Your letter is a silent monitor, which I hope at the university often to consult. It will, I trust, serve as a counterpoise to the parade of worldly wisdom, and teach me to reverse the motto of the schools, *Ubi philosophus cessat, illic incipit theologus.** Chrysostom was of your opinion; he says, Οπου σοφια Θεου, ουκετι χρεια ανθρωπινης.† I think so too; but I also think that the fault is not in the studies, but in the manner of pursuing them. If a student could wed himself to the Bible, and court the sciences merely as handmaids to her, I think this would do very well; but when we are seized by the *cacoethes philosophandi,*‡

* Where the philosopher ends, the theologian begins.

† Where the wisdom of God is, human wisdom will not be wanting.

‡ Thirst of philosophy.

and devote ourselves to what Luther calls the *idola carnalium studiorum*,* our taste becomes vitiated. Since I received your letter I have seen something of this.

"I was introduced yesterday to the acquaintance of a clergyman's son, who has been two years at —— college, Cambridge. His father, I understand, sent him to that college that he might be under the care of religious tutors. From this account I hoped to find him a suitable companion; but I soon discovered that he had no inclination to talk of divinity, or of any thing that bore relation to it. His whole conversation turned on experimental philosophy and mathematics. I have not seen a young man so mathematic-mad in my life. During the whole evening I spent with him, his head was (as Omicron expresses it) continually wool-gathering after rhomboids and parallelograms. He assures me that if I do not study mathematics very diligently, I shall have no chance, at the end of my course, of obtaining 'the honors.' I told him that I had heard college fame was very intoxicating; that perhaps it might be prudent to sip gently of it; and that, as for myself, if I could pass my examination with a mediocrity of applause, I should be content. He observed that *seven* hours a day studying mathematics would be sufficient for *that*.

* Idolatry of science.

"How much reason is there for that 'double guard of prayer and close walking with God' which you mention, in order that I may be enabled to pass through this fire unhurt! It is happy for me that I am not under my own guidance. It seems it is necessary for me to be somewhat 'learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians;' but I trust it is that I may be able to see and set forth 'the wisdom that is from above' in a more transcendent light.

"The method you propose for my studying the Bible approves itself much to my judgment, and I desire to follow it. I have begun it this day in a solemn manner. O that my ardor for contemplating the truths of Scripture may never abate!

"What you say of a daily retrospect of my past life is an instructive lesson. Is it possible that for forty years it should have been so with you? I fear I shall come far short of this; and yet how much reason have I to sing of the mercies of the Lord all the day long? Is there any one of his children who is more indebted to him as the God of providence and of grace than I am? Who can 'sing of mercy and of judgment' as I can, when I remember him from the land of my nativity, all the way by which I have been led? How few are there who would believe that a man could be found capable of displaying so extraordinary an act of munificence as that with which Mr. Thornton is

now honoring me? Were I possessed of both the Indies I could scarcely do more for myself than he is now doing. And how unworthy I am of all this? When I think of these things, it is the grief of my heart that I cannot more admire and love that gracious Saviour, who has so highly favored me. As yet I have a very imperfect view of what I have passed through; but I trust these things will be shown me as I shall be able to bear them.

"Mr. Thornton intends that I shall go to Queen's college; chiefly, I believe, because he is acquainted with the President, Rev. Isaac Milner, D. D. and thinks that circumstance may be advantageous to me. I am happy to hear so favorable an account of Cambridge. It will be an encouragement for me to maintain my ground when I see some around me who dare to be singular. It shall be my endeavor to attend to your advice with respect to my conduct to my superiors. I shall often pray to be endued with a meek and quiet spirit; and endeavor implicitly to comply with every rule and every injunction in the university, for the Lord's sake."

CHAPTER III.

Residence at Cambridge University.

Such were the views with which, in the autumn of 1791, Mr. Buchanan was admitted a member of Queen's college, Cambridge. "The day of my leaving London," he observes in a letter to his brother, "was very solemn. It was on Monday, the 24th of October, exactly four years and two months since my entering that city. But with what a different spirit did I leave it, compared with that with which I entered it! Had I seen at that time, in the book of providence, all that I was about to do and to suffer in that city, I suppose I should hardly have dared to approach it: but God wisely conceals from us a knowledge of the future.

"On the morning and evening preceding my leaving London, I was earnest in prayer for a blessing on my intended journey and its consequences. One request in particular was, that I might be favored with the acquaintance of some pious companions in my studies. To this prayer I had an early answer. A gentleman set out with me from London in the same coach for Cambridge. He studied two seasons at Glasgow, as I did; then, like me, passed some years in vanity; and

now comes to the university to qualify himself for preaching Christ, as I hope I do. This singular similarity in our circumstances occasioned a happiness of which none but ourselves could partake."

With a modesty and regard to frugality which reflect upon him much credit, Mr. Buchanan was at first disposed to enter as a sizer; but upon the representations of the tutors, and of the friends to whom he had been recommended, he determined on being admitted as a pensioner. In a letter to Mr. Newton, written soon after his arrival at Cambridge, he very feelingly describes the perplexity which he had anticipated from the contrariety of the studies to which he was called, to the prevailing dispositions of his mind. Until he was actually at college he cherished the hope of being permitted to devote his chief attention to divinity, and to the mathematics only secondarily. But he found that the reverse was expected from him; and that the excellent friends, to whom his patron had introduced him, were quite as strenuous as his tutors in representing to him the necessity of complying with the established course of study in the university. Independently of the repugnance which Mr. Buchanan felt to this plan from the peculiarly serious frame of his mind at this period, he feared that by yielding to it he should disappoint the expectations of the friends who had sent him to Cambridge, and eventually frustrate the great ob-

ject which he and they mutually had in view. The comparatively advanced age, too, at which he entered the university, would naturally tend to strengthen this apprehension, and to dispose him to dedicate his time exclusively to theological pursuits. The state of doubt and uneasiness produced by these circumstances affected both his spirits and his health; but after stating the reasonings of his Cambridge friends, and his own feelings and inclinations, he expressed to his respected correspondent his resolution to follow that course of conduct, which, after mature deliberation, should appear to him to be the path of duty.

In the case of students in general, entering at the usual period at either university with a view to the clerical office, however religiously they may be disposed, there can be no doubt either as to the duty or the wisdom of devoting their chief attention to the prescribed studies of the place. A competent acquaintance with the learned languages, and with the stores of historical and ethical knowledge which they contain; the principles of sound reasoning, and the elements, at least, of general science, are essential to the formation of an enlightened and able theologian. The basis of such a character must, indeed, be deeply laid in an experimental acquaintance with real religion; and it were devoutly to be wished that this were always considered an indispensable qualification

in the candidate for the ministry, and that more effectual encouragements and facilities were afforded in our universities for its attainment. But if to the spirit of piety be not added the advantages which are to be derived from the wise and temperate pursuit of human learning, there is great danger that religion itself will suffer in the hands of those who are thus unprepared to teach, to defend, and to adorn it. In the present instance, Mr. Buchanan was already possessed of such a share of learning as might have been sufficient to qualify him for the discharge of the ordinary duties of a christian minister; but it was obviously desirable that this should be strengthened and enlarged by fresh accessions at the seat of science, to which the providence of God had so remarkably conducted him. Nor was it long before his judgment was convinced by the arguments of his friends, that the very honor of religion required his acquiescence in such a measure; and that, however the appointed studies of the university might appear to be foreign to the important purpose for which he had entered it, they would ultimately tend in the most effectual manner to promote it. Among those who concurred in this salutary advice was Mr. Newton himself; and to him Mr. Buchanan early in the following year announced his disposition to yield to their suggestions.

"I think," he observes, "that my way is clearer than it was, and I hope soon to have little doubt of my path of duty at college. Your letter helped to pave the way for me. I have now taken up the study of the mathematics *ex animo*, that is, from a persuasion that God wills it. And for them I have made a sacrifice of some other studies truly dear to me. I tried, for a time, to continue them both, but I found it impossible; so that now, that portion of the day which I have set apart for divine things is extremely short, compared with what I once thought it would be; and yet I dare not tell some of my friends here that it is so long."

It will be readily imagined that Mr. Buchanan had various difficulties to encounter on commencing his academical course. He had indeed been received by the Vice-President, in the absence of Dr. Milner, and by the tutors, with much attention and kindness; but having been entirely unacquainted with the mathematics before his entrance at college, it was only by hard study that he could contrive to keep pace with the lectures. "I once thought," he says, "that I should have been obliged to acknowledge my inability, and to have fallen behind, and was wishing for the last day of term as eagerly as ever truant did for a holiday. However, I was enabled to keep my ground, and my difficulties were never known, even to my tutor

This vacation will give me room to have some little beforehand; so that I hope to pass with more ease and credit through the succeeding terms."

From the time of his coming to college, according to the information of a contemporary friend, Mr. Buchanan was exceedingly regular and studious, keeping but little company, for the sake, he supposes, of economy, both as to expense and time.

His situation, too, was at first peculiarly unpleasant, from finding scarcely a single companion whose sentiments and habits were congenial with his own. His indisposition to general visits even rendered him the subject of much animadversion. But from this trial he was shortly relieved by the praise which he received from his tutor for a Latin theme, the composition of which, though he had written nothing in that language for some years, was pronounced to be superior to that of any other student. He was in consequence treated with much additional respect by his fellow-collegians, was allowed to visit them upon his own terms, and even received several applications to assist them in their studies, which served as a stimulus to his own exertions.

No sooner, however, had Mr. Buchanan determined on the diligent pursuit of his academical studies, than the wakeful spirit of piety by which he was animated made him anxious to guard

against the possible dangers to which such a plan might expose him. For this purpose he cultivated the acquaintance of the more serious students at different colleges; and at his solicitation they agreed to meet regularly for the purpose of reading the New Testament, and conversing practically upon some chapter which had been selected. Their meetings were begun and ended with prayer.

Mr. Buchanan was also invited to spend an hour on Sunday evenings at the rooms of one excellent person,* who has been distinguished during many years for his active and zealous support of religion in Cambridge, and to whom a numerous body of clerical and other students have been successively indebted for the most important instruction and encouragement during their academical progress. Of the kindness of this gentleman, and of the benefit which he derived from his conversation and example, Mr. Buchanan wrote to more than one of his friends in terms of the highest respect and gratitude.

"These engagements," he says to one of them, "prove something of a counterbalance to the effects of human learning, and preserve my mind from being wholly absorbed in philosophy and metaphysics. Besides," and the remark affords a striking proof of the sobriety as well as fervor of his

* The late Rev. Charles Simeon.

piety, "I have the opportunity, every morning and evening, of attending chapel prayers, which, of itself, I consider a great blessing."

"I often meditate," he adds, "on the vanity of life, and the insufficiency of the world to confer happiness. Were I assured of my interest in the Redeemer, I should long for my departure. What is there to detain me here? I have no tie to this world, no earthly possession, no person, if I except my mother, for whose sake I desire to live, no idol of any kind. What then should induce me to linger here, groaning, as I do daily, with sin, and combating a powerful spiritual enemy? Nothing ought to urge me to stay, but a desire to promote the glory of God among men. But this desire is with me so weak at present, as scarcely to deserve the name. It is but a spark. This is my unhappiness. Yet the goodness of God may, in his own time, fan it into a flame."

Such was the resolution with which Mr. Buchanan engaged in the study of the mathematics, that at the close of his second term he found himself inferior to none in the lecture-room. He had, at the same time, though contrary to the usual custom, paid equal attention to the classical and logical lectures; but very reasonably doubted whether he should be able to continue the same application to so many different objects.

"Your good sense," he says to one of his correspondents, "will show you, when reflecting on my present situation, that I have much need of that wisdom which is profitable to direct. Weak in spirit, weak in body, and beset by hard study, which I know by experience to be a weariness to the flesh, what can I do but commit myself and all my cares to Him who hath hitherto cared for me, and will lead me, though blind, by a way I know not? By such a way is he now leading me. I know not whither his goodness is conducting me: I trust it is to his service: and yet there is such an ocean of mathematics and abstruse study which intervenes between me and usefulness in the ministry, that, like the Israelites, I stand on the sea-shore thinking it impossible to get over; but I think also that I hear the Lord by his providence, which introduced me to the studies of this place, say, 'Go forward.' This I am resolved to do till his goodness illuminate my mind, so that I shall be enabled to discover the errors (if any) of my path. If any, did I say? I know that there are many; but I need grace to abandon them when I see them; I hope Cambridge University will prove a good school of Christ to me. I knew little of myself till I came here."

Notwithstanding his complaint as to the unfavorable effect of his studies upon his devotional

feelings, he occasionally experienced very different and more pleasing impressions.

"I ought," he observes, writing to Mr. Newton not long afterwards, "to thank you for your letter. There is an indescribable something which pervades the whole of it, and seems to intimate that all is peace and tranquillity within the mind of the writer. What an enviable frame of spirit does *he* possess who walks with God! About a fortnight ago a dawn of that light, with which I suppose the Lord irradiates the souls of those that walk with him, shone upon my mind, and by its lustre showed me some things I had not seen before. I prayed often that this impression of love might not leave me. But, alas! it did leave me; no doubt it was my own fault. I would walk three times round the globe to attain it again: but no such great thing is required of me; I have only to believe: Πιστευω, Κυριε, βοηθει μου τη απιστια.*

"After what you have said on the subject of disappointment, I am resolved never to be disappointed. But it is a resolution which I fear I cannot keep. Let me pray for grace. If I possessed this fountain, all the streams would be mine; and among the rest, the christian grace of considering nothing in the providence of God a disappointment."

* Lord, I believe, help thou my unbelief."

On the approach of the long vacation, Mr. Buchanan had some thoughts of spending a few weeks at Lynn, in Norfolk, for the benefit of his health, which had been impaired by his close application to study.

Mr. Newton had also invited him to pass a part of the vacation in London; and in the letter which conveyed this invitation, an extract from which Mr. Buchanan communicated to his brother, his kind friend expressed himself as follows:

"Our acquaintance was providential indeed! but it is a providence for which I hope ever to be thankful; and to account it one of the chief honors and pleasures of my life, to have been made instrumental in bringing you forward. May you be kept in the mind you express, to prefer 'a grain of humility to a mountain of gold;' and you will be like the tree described in the first Psalm, and Jeremiah 17, when my head is laid in the dust. I hear well of you from all quarters."

The relaxation, however, thus proposed, both in Norfolk and London, as well as the offer of an excursion with a Cambridge friend, Mr. Buchanan, with commendable self-denial, thought it most expedient to decline, and determined on accepting the indulgence granted him of remaining in college during the whole vacation.

"It would be very pleasing," he says, "to make a short tour with a proper companion; but I think I could not do it without danger to myself. If I were somewhat advanced in the christian life, and more stable in the way of truth, I perhaps might; but at present I cannot, I dare not trust the deceitfulness of my own heart. In the retirement of a college I am unable to suppress evil thoughts and vain wishes; how then must it be abroad? Besides, I find that the art of study is difficult to attain. I must serve a long apprenticeship to it ere I am a good proficient. The greatest danger lies in breaking the thread of attention. On whatever study my mind is fixed, *that* study I can with pleasure resume; but if an interval of a day intervene, my attention is disengaged. I am conscious that I have lost a day as to that study, and find it irksome to begin *de novo.* But if instead of a day, an interval of a week or month should intervene, it would be a herculean labor to resume it; and nothing could smooth the way but a conviction that the interruption was from *necessity;* then, indeed, my duty would remove the obstacle.

"That you may have some idea of the nature of my present studies, I shall subjoin the calendar of a day.

½ after 4 to 8, Devotional Studies.
8 to 9, Breakfast and Recreation.

9 to 2, Mathematics.
2 to 4, Dinner and Recreation.
4 to 6, Classics.
6 to 7, Engagements, or Recreation.
7 to 9, Classics, or Logic, &c.
9 to 10, Devotional Studies.
10 to ½ after 4, Sleep."

Few persons would be disposed to think, on reviewing the preceding distribution of his time, that Mr. Buchanan had, at this early period of his academical course, assigned too small a portion to studies directly connected with his future profession. This is, however, the reflection which he immediately suggests to his friend; expressing his fears, which were certainly groundless, lest his patron should say that he had not sent him to Cambridge to learn geometry; and, above all, lest the science which he was thus diligently pursuing should not ultimately reward him. It would, indeed, he says, be distressing to him to appear unqualified for his office as a preacher; "but then I hope," he adds, "I shall make more commendable proficiency in my divine studies when I undertake them. This hope alone enables me to persevere in my present course."

"I apprehend," continues he, "that a student should *labor* as for his daily bread; not choosing the study he may like best, for then it would be no *labor*, but learning the great lesson of self-denial

by taking up the study he likes least, if it be best for him. If I can by nine hours' study a day serve my heavenly Master as faithfully as I served Mr. D——, I think he will give me my hire."

Having received a paternal reply from Rev. Mr. Newton, he again thus writes to his venerable friend:

"Rather than you should have a moment's uneasiness lest the purity of my heart should be tainted by mathematics, I would throw every mathematical book I have into the fire. For, compared with the word of truth, they are as dross to fine gold. In a certain degree they may be useful, and to that degree I would desire them; and I hope to be led so far, and no farther. At first I disliked them; but considering them as a nauseous medicine which might do me some good, I took them up. You, too, bade me. After a while they became more palatable, and at length a pleasing study. For this I was exceedingly thankful, as they were in the way of my duty. But now, as I have arrived at a certain length in them, and have in view very soon to enter on an important office which requires much preparation, I think it will be right—not to relinquish them wholly—but so to circumscribe them, and my other academical exercises, as to afford me a considerable proportion of the day (the

half, if possible) for 'the preparation of the Gospel of peace.'

"I do not mean to put this sudden resolution into practice till I know whether it be right. From some experience, I know myself to be weak, injudicious, inconstant, changeable. I shall therefore prosecute my studies as usual, till I hear from you. Having acquired somewhat of a reputation for my attention to college studies, if I can preserve it, it will be a desirable thing; if not, I cannot help it; I willingly sacrifice it to 'a better name.'

"You do me great honor in the proposal you have made. I would rather serve you in your old age than a sceptre-bearing king. But I much fear that my services at so early a period will be weak and inadequate. It is like taking a babe out of his cradle to support the steps of his aged parent. But I am in God's hands: whatever he sees fit for me to do, I hope he will incline my heart and enable me to do it. But as I cannot expect that he will work a miracle by qualifying me for his service at once, it is certainly my duty to resort to the means *now*, and pray for his blessing on his own studies. Surely I ought not to procrastinate.

"You ask me whether I would prefer preaching the Gospel to the fame of learning? Ay, that would I, gladly. Were I convinced it was the will of God that I should depart this night for Nova Zembla, or the antipodes, to testify of *Him*, I

would not wait for an audit, or a college exit. There is nothing to be found *here* to satisfy my mind. There are indeed many gaudy vanities of specious appearance, pleasing to my fleshly eye; but if I know my own heart, the Lord Jesus is at this moment more lovely to me than the loveliest object which the eye can see or fancy paint. And though I know him not as I could wish, yet is he precious. He is that pearl which I would willingly buy at the price of all the laurels which science ever bore. But I speak this in *his* strength. I wish not to be tried with wealth, honor, or the applause of men. A laurel even in preaching the Gospel might intoxicate my brain, and drown my humble dependence on God in Lethe. Then, like Lucifer, should I preach humility! Lord, my affections are *now* in thy possession. O, keep them there!

"You ask me what are my views? Dear sir, what views can *I* have? God has his views concerning me: I have none. *He* best knows why he brought me hither: I know not. Once I used to think, that as he had wrought so wondrously for me, he surely meant me for an eminent preacher of the Gospel. Pride dictated this. I now have no such high thoughts of myself. I am in some degree sensible, that if I ever serve the Lord at all, I shall be one of his weakest servants. Nor are these mere disqualifying speeches. I have reason

to fear that I am much more deficient than you apprehend. Nevertheless, with all my defects, I know the divine power. I have laid my hand to the plough; he can make me useful.

"You desire to know whether I would accept ordination before I take my degree, if it could be procured? Yes, without any hesitation, if I thought it was the will of God. Were I to submit it to our friends here, they would unanimously dissuade it; but I do not feel myself at liberty to consult them. In order to have it in my power to assist you as soon as possible, I would gladly receive ordination before the prescribed time; but in that case I should desire immediately to alter my plan of study, and prepare myself a little, who need so much preparation.

"If my purpose of beginning the studies of divinity be proper and practicable, could you give me the outline of what you conceive to be best worthy my attention *in primordio?** Mr. S. I know, will also be glad to lend me every assistance.

"A new desire of preaching the Gospel has certainly sprung up in my heart, accompanied by ideas I do not recollect to have had before. I hope it is no delusion. As yet it has produced noble effects on my heart and views. But in a

* As first in order.

month's time I shall be better able to say whether it be of God or no."

Though it can scarcely be doubted that continued and exclusive efforts would have rendered Mr. Buchanan successful in the competition for academical honors; there are but few, perhaps, who, under all the circumstances of his case, will not consider him as having piously, if not wisely judged, in abandoning that flattering pursuit; and in resolving to devote a larger proportion of his time to studies more congenial to his taste and feelings, and more directly subservient to his ultimate destination.

At the close of the long vacation, Mr. Buchanan accordingly communicated this determination to Mr. Newton.

"I fear, however," he says, "that it will be difficult for me to conceal the change, as I must undergo two examinations next year, which will abundantly scrutinize my proficiency; besides, I have many competitors, who will exult when they see me halt. But I trust I shall be enabled to make every necessary sacrifice. What is *my* fame compared with that of the Gospel? My desire is, that my light may so shine before men, that they seeing my good works, may glorify my Father who is in heaven."

The continuation of this letter shows the sincerity of this profession, and the anxiety which Mr. Buchanan felt to fulfil it.

"How happy should I be, did I always know what these good works are. It is strange that I should err when I have the Bible to direct me; but I find that it requires much of divine teaching to apply the general rules of Scripture to particular cases. For instance, I would gladly know whether it is the will of God that I should associate with my fellow-students more than I do. Whether I ought to separate myself, or mingle with them, endeavor to obtain some weight among them, and correct their manners, and seek opportunities of speaking for God. Some of them, perhaps, never heard the terms of the Gospel in their lives. If I were 'wise as a serpent,' I might possibly, under God, *entwine some of them in the net of the Gospel.* Of late this subject has been much on my mind, and I have been earnest in prayer that I may be made useful to some of them. At my rooms they have always acted with the strictest decorum; scarcely a faulty word has been spoken; and I know not but I might have been a restraint upon them at their own. My principal reason for resisting their frequent invitations, is a fear lest I should lose time in idle conversation, or be unawares led into undue compliances. This latter operated much

with me. I have been surprised that my conduct did not draw upon me their *open* reproach. But the Lord 'tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' Last year I was extremely weak, ill-grounded in the truth, and perhaps should have sunk under much opposition. During this vacation I trust I have obtained more spiritual strength; and perhaps I shall soon have occasion to exercise it."

In compliance with his request, Mr. Newton had recommended several books to Mr. Buchanan for the commencement of his theological studies. To this point he therefore next refers.

"I propose to confine myself to three branches of divinity during the following year; namely, the Bible, Bishop Pearson on the Creed, and Mr. Simeon's Lectures on Revealed Religion. He went through a course of natural religion last year. My reason for beginning with Pearson is, because Dr. Hey gives public lectures on that author, which I wish to attend, if my college avocations permit."

In addition to the motives which have been already stated for relaxation in his mathematical studies, Mr. Buchanan again mentions in this letter the importance of *health*. "I see," he observes, "many around me whose usefulness is abridged by the want of it. Mr. L. and Mr. R. men of abi-

lity, are both *lying by*. I begin to think, that if, at the expiration of my academic course, I have good health, some knowledge of the Bible, and some zeal, I may prove as useful as some who have great abilities, great eloquence, and—an asthma!"

The paragraph immediately following contains the first specific intimation of the important and interesting sphere of ministerial labor to which the providence of God was conducting him.

"Mr. and Mrs. G. passed through Cambridge lately. Mr. S. and I dined and supped with them. I hope the conversation of that evening was useful to me. From hearing various accounts of the apostolic spirit of some missionaries to the Indies, and of the extensive field for preaching the Gospel there, I was led to desire that I might be well qualified for such a department, in case God should intend me for it. Hence the origin of my three desiderata above mentioned—scripture knowledge, some zeal, and good health."

The subject of elocution is that to which Mr. Buchanan next adverts in this letter:

"I have read many codicils in my time, but I never read any one with such pleasure as that annexed to your letter. Do you think it possible that

I ever shall be able to preach extempore from the pulpit? You know my defect in conversation. I scarcely know a person of any education who is so much at a loss in ordinary expression as I am. My fault is not that of Demosthenes, else there might be hope of amendment. I have no natural defect in the organs of speech; but I can never find apt words to express my ideas without much premeditation. I have a pretty large stock of words in my head, but they are seldom used: so that when I am able to draw some of them out, they appear quite strange to me. I fancy I have some hundreds which I never used in my life. This partly arises from our Scottish mode of education—reading much and speaking little; but chiefly, I suppose, from my being secluded from society for so many years. During my residence in London, I lived, like the Spectator, in silence. My business was to write, not to speak. Since my coming to Cambridge, I have passed most of my time in silent study. On an average I suppose I have not spoken half an hour a day, including both lectures and conversation. So you see that taciturnity is a disease in me; an evil habit of five years' standing. When a boy I could *scold* well enough, but I do not think I could scold now. In conversation I am naturally cheerful, and therefore I must speak, whether I can do it well or ill: but I ascribe the patience of my company to my cheerfulness, not to my diction.

"Though I never mentioned it to you, there has scarcely been a subject more on my mind, since providence opened to me a view of the pulpit, than this of public speaking. I was in hopes that I should have had some opportunity of improvement at Cambridge, but I have none. Mr. S. regrets that there is no person in Cambridge who teaches elocution, and he regrets it much on my account. He has kindly proposed to me to read to him once a fortnight. This is my only resource at present. I have little advantage from my college companions. Most of them speak ill, and read worse. All I can do is to read aloud by myself occasionally. I am persuaded that it would be worth a student's while to spend two or three hours a day, for some years previous to his entering into the ministry, in the attainment of that accomplishment which distinguished the preacher Apollos. I have often thought how glad I should be if oratory were introduced into *my* college-course instead of mathematics. Mr. Thornton's desires on this head should be an additional inducement to me to apply diligently to this study."

Though the peculiar circumstances of Mr. Buchanan's birth and education may account for his complaint and anxiety upon the subject of elocution, it is but too notorious, that those who do not labor under his disadvantages are frequently as de-

ficient, and not seldom much more so, in this important accomplishment.

He soon after says to Mr. Newton, "I have been indulging myself a little in writing a sermon. It is for Mr. S——'s perusal; that he may be able to judge of my improvement, if I am spared to write another next year. It is on the matter and manner of a preacher of the Gospel: 'And he spake *boldly* in the name of *Jesus*.' Acts, 9 : 29. I have just delivered it to Mr. S——. I fear he will think it a rhapsody; and what makes it worse, it is twenty-seven pages long. I fancy that youthful sermon-writers are generally at a loss how to *begin*, and when they do begin, they know not where to *stop*."

At the close of the term he again writes: "I have now done with all our lectures, and I am glad of it. Though I found some things here and there which flattered the earthly mind, and pleased vainglorious reason, yet in all my researches have I found nothing like—'Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Perhaps your good memory will remind you that I stole this idea from Archbishop Leighton. Agreeably to your recommendation, I am now reading the Prælections of that good man: and I must say that I have seldom met with such genuine christianity in such a classical dress.

"The college have lately appointed me their librarian. This is an office rather of trust than of

emolument. My business is easily done, as I am only required to give in an account of the state of the library once a year. Many good divines of the last century have found a place in it. Halyburton's life has engaged my attention for a few days past. His work on the Spirit" (which had probably been recommended to him by Mr. Newton) "I cannot find."

The following letter to Mr. Newton, dated May 30, 1793, conveys sentiments and consolations too interesting to be omitted:

"It gives me great pleasure to hear that you are still supported in health and strength sufficient for the discharge of your ministerial labors. I hope that you will continue to be refreshed abundantly with the divine presence; and I pray, that as your body yields to weakness and the infirmities of age, your spirit may derive new strength from our Redeemer's fulness.

"I sometimes find myself indulging a wish that your experience in your evening hour may be singularly joyful to you; and that your death may preach as powerfully as your life has done. But I believe self prompts us sometimes to too sanguine expectations respecting our friends. Let us not dictate, but wait and see the salvation of the Lord. He will conduct you in the path most suitable to his own glory, your good, and our edification.

"We have lately had an illustrious instance of God's goodness to his children at the hour of death. Mrs. ——, of this place, was a woman of eminent piety, cheerful in disposition, and of elegant manners. She was but twenty-five years of age. I was introduced to her family about a twelvemonth ago, and have diligently cultivated her acquaintance ever since. Soon after her rising from her confinement, she discovered that she was in a rapid consumption; and in a few weeks the strength of the malady seemed to forbid all hope of life. Her bodily pains were extreme, so that she frequently expressed a desire to be with the Lord; but she had yet two ties to earth—her husband and her child. The child she was soon enabled to give up, but the husband—this she confessed to be a trial indeed. However, after strong cries and tears, she obtained a victory here also. She afterwards recovered from a trial of another kind with an animating faith in her Redeemer's love, and an assurance of the joy about to be revealed. This was on Sunday morning at five o'clock. In half an hour after, she intimated that her departure was at hand. It was now that she experienced the truth of the promise of dying strength for a dying hour. For, though unable to speak, yet she discovered her inward joy by such animation of countenance as delighted her surrounding friends. And when her mother and sister spoke to her of her approach-

ing happiness, her eyes seemed to glisten with new fire. 'What a joyful Sabbath you will have to-day,' said her sister. Her looks seemed to reply, 'A joyful Sabbath indeed; an eternal Sabbath!' In a few minutes afterwards she waved her hand in token of her abundant entrance into the joy of her Lord. And like your dear E. C.* she met death with a smile, which kept possession of her features until she was consigned to the grave.

"I would not have dwelt so long on this subject, were it not that my esteem for the deceased was great.

"Perhaps you would call it affectation, if I did not tell you that the college have adjudged to me the first prize for the best Latin declamation on 'the stage.'

"I believe I must pass this summer out of Cambridge. I think of going to London about the beginning of July, that I may have a few lessons in English pronunciation, in compliance with Mr. Thornton's desire.

"I have been assaulted of late from various quarters, both from without and from within; but I bless God, that while I pray over the Bible I am enabled to triumph over my enemies. I delight in the Bible. When my heart is melted within me, and my soul sick with the combat between the

* Eliza Cunningham. See American Tract No. 83.

contempt of the ungodly and the remains of my own pride, then the Bible affords a comfort no other book can give."

In a similar strain as to his increasing love of the Holy Scriptures, and in peculiarly strong and lively terms as to the general state of his mind concerning religion, he thus writes to the same correspondent in the month of June following:

"I see you still have a godly jealousy over me, respecting the bent of my studies. I must make you easy on that head. I can now inform you that the attention I pay to the classics or mathematics is comparatively very little; so little, that I sometimes fear that (in my present place) I neglect them too much. And I can further inform you, and I thank God for enabling me, that the cause of my being thus lukewarm in these studies, is, that I may redeem time for studying the Scriptures, the value of which knowledge I see more and more. At present I can read the Bible when I can read nothing else. Some of my other studies are truly a cross to me."

What an unquestionable proof of a spiritual mind in an academical student is such a declaration as this! He thus continues:

"I dare not tell you what I am, but I can tell you what I pray for.

"I pray that I may be content to be of no reputation among men, knowing that if I am truly wise, I must become a fool among the ungodly; that I may patiently submit to indignity and reproach for Christ's sake, and that my whole life may be devoted to his service; that for this purpose I may diligently improve the talent committed to me, however little it may be; and that when I go forth into the ministry, I may not seek self, but Christ; content to be unnoticed, dead to the censure or applause of men, alive to God and his concerns, and chiefly solicitous that my preaching (however rude I may be in speech) may be powerful in awakening souls.

"These are my prayers in 1793, as to the event of my studies. I trust the Lord that he will keep me; that he will put his fear in my heart, that I may not depart from him.

"You talk to me of academical reputation and dignity. If I were Regius Professor of Divinity to-morrow, I would resign the dignity to any man for a little brokenness of heart. The summit of my ambition (if I know my own mind) is, to be daily more conformed to Christ, to be enabled to follow that great Sufferer, and to rejoice to be counted worthy to suffer shame for his sake.

"As to my future situation in the ministry, to which you allude at the close of your letter, that subject is very little in my thoughts. God has done

the greater; shall he not do the less? If he means me to preach his Gospel, then is the pulpit prepared, and the flock which I must tend. At present I feel ready to go wherever he pleases to send me; whether to India, America, New Holland, or if there be any other land more remote. I have already seen life in various shapes; and if I have been enabled to bear with difficulties when without God in the world, much more when engaged in his service, aided by his Spirit and supported by his presence.

"If the Lord will, I should be well pleased to enter his service under your advice and example. I hope that the first year I stay with you I shall learn humility; the second, humility; the third, humility.

"Mr. S. and Mrs. M. beg their love to you; and so does he, who is, with great respect and affection, yours."

The note inscribed by Mr. Newton on the preceding letter, strongly attests the pleasure with which he perused it; nor can it be generally read without a lively impression of the glowing and devoted piety of its author. Two months afterwards we find him in London, replying to a letter from Mr. Newton, then in the country, in which his aged friend, under the painful remembrance of the transitory nature of earthly enjoyments, though by no

means in the spirit of disappointment and complaint, had declared that of a happiness which had subsisted forty years, nothing then remained but the recollection; that the years he had passed, blessed as they had been by the sunshine of providence and grace, might be numbered with the years before the flood. After dwelling on the warfare which he found it necessary to wage between "spiritual self and carnal self," he says:

"*Communion with God*, in private prayer, is, I conceive, the best strengthener of the soul; and communion with the world is its greatest weakener. The result, then, appears to be this: To dedicate as much time as possible to acts of communion with God. But Archbishop Leighton says, that the desire of this sacred communion grows with its exercise. Every encouragement, therefore, is held out to this mode of attack and defence, since pleasure and profit conspire to recommend it. Prayer, then, I must consider as the christian's palladium, and as a present reward.

"Surely an hour in the morning, and an hour in the evening, is not too much for communion with God. But as to the season of prayer, I do not think that some manage this well. They pray early in the morning, and *late* at night. This may be necessary in families engaged in business; but I speak of ministers. Do you not think that an hour

of devotion before we engage in company in the afternoon, would have a tendency to correct and animate an evening's conversation ?

"Pardon this dissertation on prayer. I really had no design to trouble you with it when I began the letter."

To reflections such as the preceding, as solid and judicious as they are spiritual and instructive, no serious reader will object. Nor will the following account of the death of one of Mr. Buchanan's sisters, which occurs in a letter to Mr. Newton, from Cambridge, at the close of his second long vacation, be deemed uninteresting :

"It was about a year and a half ago, on her return from boarding-school, that her piety first appeared, though on her death-bed she confessed that her heart had been inclining to God nearly two years before that time. About three months since she was seized by a consumption, which has now given her a happy release from all sin and all sorrow."

A letter still remains, written by Mr. Buchanan from Cambridge to his dying sister, for the purpose of cheering and supporting her under her early departure from the world, the piety and fraternal affection of which will sufficiently recommend the following extracts :

"I rejoice to hear that you are about to enter into the joy of your Lord; to behold the Saviour whom you love, face to face; to be clothed by him in a spotless robe, and presented to the Father as an heir of everlasting glory.

"Let me encourage you to pass over Jordan's flood with a resolute step, undismayed; let me remind you of the promise of Him to whom the death of his saints is precious. Let me enforce the immutable love of your God, and proclaim to you the truth of your Redeemer. You have already known him as *the way;* on your death-bed you will find him *the truth;* and he will quickly welcome you to the gate of Zion as the *eternal life.*

"My dear sister, be of good cheer; lay hold of Jesus as the anchor of your soul. Was it ever heard that any one who fled to him for refuge was deserted in a trying hour? Was it ever known that he suffered one of his sheep to be plucked out of his hand? Has he not said, 'I will never leave thee nor forsake thee?' 'When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee;' 'Fear not, thou art mine.' These are exceeding great and precious promises, on which you may safely rest. If your faith be weak, yet waver not. The promise is to the weak as well as to the strong; yea, to all those who can say, 'Thou knowest, Lord, that I love thee.'

"While you have life, magnify the praises of

Him who hath called you with such a holy calling. Evince to the world that the Bible is not a cunningly-devised fable. Seek to glorify God in your death, and assuredly he will give you faith to do it. Speak from your dying bed of the things of the kingdom to which you are hastening; impart your views of the vanities of life, for the benefit of those who survive you. Pray that a double portion of your spirit may rest upon your brother, that he may gladden your eyes at the last day with a view of many souls whom he has brought with him to glory. Leave him such exhortations, encouragements, and reproofs, as an immediate prospect of heaven may inspire you to give.

"And now let me conduct you as far as I can, even to the gates of Jerusalem. Many a song will be sung, many a harp be strung, on your entrance into the kingdom of heaven. Who is this that I see foremost to welcome you? Is it not your grandfather or your father? My dear sister, what joy is this! They, accompanied by a heavenly host, conduct you to your Saviour, your King, and your God. Then your glory begins; you are crowned with honor and immortality. You join in the never-ending song of 'Worthy the Lamb,' and drink of the pleasures which are at God's right hand for evermore."

The preceding pious and animated address did

not arrive until the relative, for whose consolation it was intended, was beyond the reach of human joy or sorrow.

The account, however, which Mr. Buchanan, in the words of another sister, gives to Mr. Newton of the last trying scene, is peaceful and encouraging:

"She now," he says, "in faith looked forward to her rest, and spent much of her time in reading the Scriptures, and in prayer.

"On the evening of the day she died, she said to her mother, 'I think that my hour is now come.' Her mother was surprised at this, as there appeared no visible change in her countenance. She immediately began to pray, and prayed long. Her mother overheard some of her words. She prayed 'that she might be found in Christ; that she might have a title to that covenant which is well-ordered and sure.' About the conclusion of her prayer death appeared to be fast approaching. She begged that the family might come round her bed; and then began to exhort them, and to speak to them of the kingdom of God. Her mother, observing that her last moment was now at hand, asked her if she had any thing to say to her brother at Cambridge. 'Yes,' said she; 'tell him, be sure you tell him,' (repeating it emphatically,) 'that I die trusting in the Lord Jesus Christ.' She then lifted up both her hands, and looking up to heaven, commit

ted herself to the Lord, her eyes streaming with joy; which, having done, she sunk on the pillow and expired.

"The manner of her death," continues Mr. Buchanan, "has given my mother a comfort inexpressible.

"I know nothing which has had a greater tendency to animate me in my christian course than this triumph of my sister. O were the work done which my Father hath given me to do, how gladly should I accompany her!

"I hope you are at present a large partaker of the consolations of the Spirit. Though I am young, I know thus much, that without those consolations there is no happiness. What a blessing, that the pleasures of holiness begin on this side the grave!"

Early in the year 1794 Mr. Newton made the first direct proposal to Mr. Buchanan of a voyage to India. His reply was as follows:

"I request you to accept my thanks for the affectionate letter which I have just now read. I have only time to say, that with respect to my going to India, I must decline giving any opinion. It would argue a mind ill-instructed in the school of Christ, to pretend to decide on an event so important and unexpected; an event which will doubtless give a complexion to the happiness and usefulness of every hour of my future life.

"It is with great pleasure I submit this matter to the determination of yourself, Mr. Thornton, and Mr. Grant. All I wish to ascertain is the will of God. I hope that the result of your deliberations will prove to be his will. Were I required to say something, I should observe that I feel myself very ill qualified for the arduous situation in question. My intimate friends know that my plan of college study was, to attend more immediately to academical learning the two first years, and to preparation for the ministry in the third and last, upon which I am but now entering. I think that our regard for the glory of God requires us to endeavor to find a person of acknowledged ability in things both human and divine, who has already approved himself such an one as might successfully resist gainsayers, and prosecute his mission with energy. A beginner, particularly if he be of slender capacity and attainments, will naturally shrink from such a situation, fearing lest he should tarnish the honor of his embassy by an unskilful or ungraceful negotiation.

"On the contrary, if the Lord does with me as with Jeremiah, and bids a child go and teach a great nation, it would be vain to plead my incapacity, since, if he sends me, he will certainly 'touch my mouth.' Only I would observe, that in the present state of christianity it would appear that as strict attention ought to be paid to human means in

our endeavors to promote the success of the Gospel, as if it were merely a human dispensation.

"I trust that every word of the above is dictated by a regard to God's honor, and not my own.

"That *his* honor may be greatly promoted by the result of your deliberations is the prayer of

"C—— B——."

The judgment as well as the piety of Mr. Buchanan's reply to this proposal deserves to be noticed, and affords a satisfactory indication of his qualifications for the important station to which it refers. The following sentiments expressed in a subsequent letter are equally pleasing:

"With respect to my going to India, I am still in a strait between two. Some considerations incline me to stay; others persuade me to go, as being far better. Being unable to judge for myself, I submit it to the divine direction with perfect resignation. So gracious is He who 'careth for me' in this respect, that your determination, whether for or against my going, will be alike agreeable to me. I am equally ready to preach the Gospel in the next village, or at the ends of the earth."

Such was the elevated spirit of piety which actuated Mr. Buchanan early in this year. As it advanced, he wrote thus to Mr. Newton:

"We have had Mrs. U—— and Mr. C——'s family at Cambridge for a few days. It gives me great pleasure to see piety gladden with its presence our learned walls. Pride and superstition have doubtless built most of our colleges; but I am inclined to think that genuine piety founded some of them. A solitary walk in such places has a tendency to excite elevated thoughts of God, and of his goodness to man through successive ages.

"My purpose in troubling you with this letter was to say that I bear that affection for you a child beareth to his father, a desire to conceal his faults, (if he has any) and to magnify his virtues; that I hope to be preserved from the snares and cares of this world, and thereby enabled to adorn that Gospel which you first wished me to profess.

"That you are blessed with health, and stayed by the comforts of the Gospel in your declining years, is to me a frequent theme of praise. In philosophy and human science the mind loses its vigor by old age; but in religion, in divine science, we are taught to believe that youth will be restored, and new attainments acquired. *Fortunatus ille senex, qui cœlicola vivit.*"*

It is probable that Mr. Buchanan passed the greater part of the long vacation of this year at

* Happy the aged man who lives as already an inhabitant of heaven.

Cambridge. No letter, indeed, occurs in his correspondence with Mr. Newton from the commencement to the close of that period; but the following interesting communication from one of his most valued friends and relatives seems to confirm this conjecture:

"I first became acquainted with him," observes this gentleman, "at Cambridge, in the summer of the year 1794. We were almost the only two residents in our respective colleges of Queen's and St. John's; he being engaged in studying for orders, and I in preparing for my bachelor's degree. I had often heard of him from a common friend, as being a very distinguished member of a debating society, called the Speculative, or quaintly the Spec. consisting of a number of under-graduates from different colleges, especially Trinity and Queen's, who used to meet at each other's rooms to discuss various moral, political, and sometimes religious questions. He was represented to me as eminent among the speakers for acuteness and fluency, and for piety of sentiment; but as a retired character, who scarcely ever mixed with any other persons at such social meetings as were usual in the college.

"We met accidentally in our solitary walks, and entered into conversation; which brought on an interchange of visits. We often walked together

during the short time after our first meeting that he continued at Cambridge. I well remember to this moment a particular conversation which took place in one of our walks on a fine summer's evening, and can trace in my recollection some of the fields through which we rambled, little thinking that we should ever be so closely united in the bonds of domestic affection, or that if I survived him, I should have to drop the tear of hallowed regret over the grave of a brother.

"He greatly surprised me on that occasion by strongly condemning the vanity of the pursuits of ambition, in which I was then hotly engaged, coveting too earnestly university honors. I defended my side, in which self was so deeply concerned, with much warmth and positiveness; but when I was left alone, I could not altogether shake off the impression which his serious, solemn, and scriptural mode of argumentation had left upon my mind."

The same learned and excellent person adds, with reference to this period of Mr. Buchanan's life: "I remember, in a letter to a common friend, some remarks on the necessity and efficacy of faith in the blood of Christ; and of his hopes that he had experienced something of it, which were in a great measure new to us both, and affected me considerably."

It is pleasing to reflect, that the writer of the preceding passages, after having succeeded in the attainment of the highest of those academical honors of which he was then so ardently in pursuit, should at no distant period have been led to adopt the religious views which he once combated; and after the lapse of many years, have been permitted again to hold "sweet converse" with him to whom he first became known under such interesting circumstances, and to contribute to do honor to his memory as a friend and brother.

We are now approaching the termination of Mr. Buchanan's academical course. On the 30th of November in this year he wrote to Mr. Newton as follows:

"I have just finished my mathematical career. Previous to taking our degrees, an examination is held in our respective colleges for the purpose of ascertaining our success in science, and a prize of five guineas awarded to the best proficient. This prize has been adjudged to me. I take no public honor in mathematics."

He was evidently intent upon an object which he deemed of far higher importance than the honors of the university, as the following conclusion of the letter sufficiently testifies:

"It is said that those who travel heavenwards

acquire new strength from the toil of the way: *Iter instaurabit vires.* I wish I found it so. I *clamber* up hill with difficulty. It may be I have not laid aside every *weight;* or, perhaps, I have not used the proper 'lamp to my path.' If so, it is a great happiness that the weariness of the way reproves me.

"To . . . . . I wish to be remembered, as to fellow-pilgrims, who in their journey to the holy land have learned to sympathise with those whose knees are feeble, and who travel slowly. Perhaps to some of them, or to you, 'the delectable mountains' are already in view; if so, 'the shining ones' are at hand, to conduct you to the holy city; where, I hope, ere long, you will meet

"Your very affectionate son, C. B."

In the month of May, 1795, Mr. Buchanan informed Mr. Newton, who was now anxiously looking forward to his ordination, that he was to take his degree at the ensuing commencement, that is, on the 8th of July, and that his ordination studies would engage his attention for the next two months. These anticipations were fulfilled; and on the second week in September he wrote to his excellent friend, under whose experienced guidance he was about shortly to enter upon the important work of the ministry, in the following terms:

"I had a letter from the Bishop's secretary this

morning. His lordship approves of my credentials. Thursday next is appointed for the examination, and Lord's day following for the ordination. I propose to leave Cambridge on Tuesday evening by the mail, which will be in town early next morning; and I shall proceed to Fulham without stopping, that I may have the remainder of the day and next morning to *myself*. So it is not probable that I shall see you till Monday following.

"I *demand* your prayers for one who is about to enter on the ministry. Pray, that when the bishop lays his hands upon my head, I may devote myself a martyr for Him who hung upon the cross for me."

In this strong and affecting language did Mr. Buchanan express the feelings with which he was about to dedicate himself to the service of his Redeemer. It is not often, perhaps, that so deep an impression of the love of Christ is felt by the candidate for the sacred office; but, though the disposition of every one ought to be similar, the case of Mr. Buchanan was doubtless somewhat peculiar. The steps by which he had been led to the ministry of the Gospel, and the hints which had more than once been given of his probable employment in a foreign country, tended to inspire him with the purpose and the resolution which he thus briefly but forcibly described. It can scarcely be doubted that the diary, in which he had been

accustomed, from the year 1790, to record both the events of his life and his private reflections, contained a more detailed account of his feelings and sentiments upon this interesting occasion; but the loss of that valuable memorial deprives us of any farther particulars respecting it, and compels us to be contented with the simple fact, that after an examination, which appears to have been more than ordinarily satisfactory, Mr. Buchanan was ordained a deacon, on Lord's day, the 20th of September, 1795, at Fulham, by the late pious and excellent Bishop Porteus. Immediately after this admission into holy orders, he entered upon his engagement as curate to Mr. Newton, and continued, during a few succeeding months, to discharge the humble and unobtrusive duties which he had previously so well described.

Early, however, in the year 1796, the friends by whose christian kindness and liberality he had been introduced into the ministry, conceiving that his talents might be more advantageously employed abroad, recurred to the plan which had for some time been more or less in their view, and resolved to endeavor to obtain for him the appointment of a chaplain in the service of the East India Company. Application was accordingly made to a distinguished director, Charles Grant, Esq. accompanied by such testimonials as amply certified the qualifications of Mr. Buchanan for the office to which he was recommended.

The certificate of the President and Fellows of Queen's College was transmitted to Mr. Grant by Dr. Milner, with the following letter, in which the learned president took the opportunity of bearing a more particular and decisive testimony to the merits of Mr. Buchanan:

"QUEEN'S COLLEGE, Cambridge, March 8, 1796.

"DEAR SIR,—I enclose you the college's testimonial of Mr. Buchanan's good behavior, which is expressed in general terms: but if it were needful to be more particular, I could add a great deal. In my judgment, much may be expected from his ability, industry, and discretion. He has an uncommon zeal for every thing that is praiseworthy, and this zeal is tempered and directed by a sound and well-informed understanding. His good sense and attainments must procure him respect everywhere. He will be certainly on the watch for opportunities to do good. Mr. Buchanan obtained both classical and mathematical prizes at college.

"I am, dear sir, yours, ISAAC MILNER.

"TO CHARLES GRANT, Esq. London."

In consequence of the various testimonies to his abilities as a scholar, his attainments as a divine, and his general character for temperate and well-directed zeal for the honor of God and the welfare of mankind, Mr. Buchanan was appointed one of

the chaplains to the East India Company, on Wednesday, March 30, 1796. When introduced to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of taking the oaths usual upon similar occasions, he was addressed by the chairman, the late Sir Stephen Lushington, on the importance of his office, and on the duties imposed on a minister of religion in India; and so lively a recollection did he retain of this unexpected but very laudable charge, that he more than once referred to it in the course of his future life. He thus mentions the address of the honorable chairman many years after it had been delivered:

"The venerable baronet observed, that French principles were sapping the foundation of christianity and of social order; and he earnestly inculcated on me the duty of defending and promoting the principles of the christian religion by every proper means. I was much affected by the solemnity of the occasion, and by the energy and feeling with which the address was delivered: and the subject of the charge itself made a great impression on my mind, particularly when meditating on it afterwards, during my voyage."

Soon after the appointment of Mr. Buchanan to India, he received priest's orders from the Bishop of London; and in the month of May went down to Scotland, in order at once to revisit his family

and again take leave of them previously to his approaching voyage to India.

The feelings of both parties upon this meeting were, it may be readily imagined, of a mixed but very interesting nature. Nearly nine years had elapsed since Mr. Buchanan, partly impelled by disappointed affection, and partly by the flattering visions of a youthful imagination, had left his native country and sojourned in a strange land. During that long interval many remarkable events had occurred. One of his earthly parents was no more; but he had, like the prodigal, returned to his heavenly Father, and by him he had been distinguished by peculiar marks of kindness and favor. After having suffered many external hardships and much inward distress, he had been relieved in no ordinary manner from both, by the providence and grace of God. Opportunities had been afforded him, which he had diligently improved, of acquiring the treasures of human science and learning; and with a mind thus richly stored, and a heart deeply impressed with the inestimable value of the Gospel, he had been called to the work of the ministry, and had now the prospect of being permitted "to preach among the gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." The emotions of Mr. Buchanan during his journey to Scotland, under these remarkable circumstances, must have been peculiarly affecting. While a "new song" had been put

into his mouth, of joy and thanksgiving, it would be somewhat damped by the recollection of past sorrows, the pain of his approaching departure from his kindred and country, and the anticipation of future labors and trials. The feelings of his widowed mother and surviving brethren would be scarcely less chequered by joy and sorrow. Delighted as they must have been by the return of their beloved relative, enriched with divine and human knowledge, and honored by an appointment which more than realized their highest wishes and expectations, the pleasure of their intercourse with him would be not a little clouded by the thought of its transient nature, and the prospect of a long, perhaps, as to this world, a final separation in a far distant land. Such, we may justly suppose, were the mutual feelings and reflections of Mr. Buchanan and his family during his short abode with them at this interesting period. He appears to have remained in Scotland till the first week in June, when he returned to London to complete the preparations for his voyage. On the 3d of July he preached for Mr. Newton at St. Mary Woolnoth; and terminated, by a pious and affectionate farewell, his short connection with the congregation of his dear and venerable friend.

CHAPTER IV.

First four years in India.

Mr. Buchanan left London for Portsmouth on Saturday the 30th of July, and on the 11th of August following embarked on board the Busbridge, East-Indiaman, commanded by Capt. Dobree, and sailed for Bengal. During the course of his extensive voyage he was diligently employed in acquiring useful knowledge, and in endeavoring to promote the improvement of his various companions and fellow-passengers.

The principal subjects of his studies were, probably, such as bore an immediate reference to the work of the ministry, and to his peculiar destination in India; but the only traces of them which now remain, consist of some common-place books, one of which is dated at sea, in January, 1797, near the island of St. Paul, containing abridgments of chemistry, from Lavoisier; of botany, from Rousseau and Martin; of the history of Denmark and Sweden, and miscellaneous observations, chiefly of an historical nature.

Of his employments, views, and feelings, in the early part of his voyage, the following letter to Mr. Newton presents an interesting account:

"BUSBRIDGE, EAST-INDIAMAN,
"At sea, off the Canaries, Aug. 27, 1796.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I take the opportunity of writing to you by the Polyphemus, a 64 gun ship, which, after convoying us safely to this latitude, returns now to England. We have had a monsoon all the way. We took our departure from the Lizard, and in eight days made the island of Madeira; a shorter passage than the East-India fleet has ever had. In two days we hope to arrive at the trade-winds; indeed, the captain thinks we have them already. About the end of September we expect to reach the Cape, from which place you will probably hear from me. I enjoy good health on board. I was sea-sick for about a week. Every body pays me much attention. I am instructing some in science, some in classical knowledge, some in the belles-lettres, and all, I hope, in christian truth. I do not expect to be so useful in preaching sermons to them as in conversation. The captain supports a very consistent character. He is the friend of virtue, and I doubt not but he will continue to arm my endeavors with his power. All his officers are in proper subjection to him, and exert their authority in the ship in accommodating me.

"We have more than a dozen officers of the army going out as passengers. I have some weight with them; but there are many divisions among

themselves. They have been challenging already, and probably duels may follow.

"We are now about twenty sail. The frigate L'Oiseau accompanies us to the Cape, and will probably carry home our letters.

"One day lately an enemy appeared in sight, and we began to think of an engagement. Then was the time for examining myself, and learning what was my object in a voyage to India. Indeed, unless we have some confidence that the Lord is with us, our hearts must sink in despair on such occasions. But where we can believe that He is leading us out *on his own service*, we have nothing to fear from an enemy, or from the dangers of the sea. On the contrary, the *faithful* servant must rejoice that his Lord will come *so soon*, and lead him to that rest which he seeks for in vain on earth.

"When the enemy came nearer they discovered that we had a superior force, and bore away.

"I hope Miss C. and the rest of your house are happy. They have great advantages, which I trust they improve. They live in the house of peace and instruction. They, with you, will, I hope, shortly inherit your mansion in the skies.

"It is with me as I expected. I feel little difference in mind, whether navigating the ocean or sitting quietly in Coleman-street. It would appear as if I had lost all relish for earthly pleasure. No

novelty excites my attention. My countenance is acquiring a grave settled cast. I feel as if nothing could give joy to my soul but freedom from the body. And yet being sensible that I may remain long on duty here, I often inquire of myself how I am to pass the heavy hours. Perhaps a closer walk with God, greater activity in his service, and some species of affliction hitherto unfelt, may at length unloose my bonds, and give me that enjoyment of life to which I have so long been a stranger. I have great hopes indeed from enterprising a little in my Master's service, and fighting with courage for his honor. I shall write to you from time to time, and acquaint you how it is with me.

"It will be a remarkable day when you and I meet in heaven. I dare not say, *Sero redeas*;* because I trust that you are 'ready.' I fear you will have learnt many a song in heaven before I come. But let me not despond. What saith the Scripture? *Ut dies, sic robur.*†

"May you be preserved in your old age, so that your Lord may be glorified in the ending, as in the beginning of your christian life.

"Forgive me all my faults, and believe me to be, my dear sir, your affectionate son,

"C. BUCHANAN."

* May your arrival be long delayed.
† As thy day is, so shall thy strength be.

On the 18th of November, some weeks later than he had expected, the fleet arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. On the 10th of December it again sailed, and reached Madras on the 17th of February; and on the 10th of March Mr. Buchanan landed at Calcutta, two days before the completion of the 31st year of his age.

On his arrival at the capital of the British possessions in India he was hospitably received by the Rev. David Brown, and resided for a short time in his family. He then took a house in Durrumlollah, where, however, he continued but two months, being at the end of that time appointed chaplain at *Barrackpore*, a military station about sixteen miles above Calcutta.

By this arrangement, which, however usual according to the rules of the East India service, he does not appear to have anticipated, Mr. Buchanan found himself placed in a situation by no means congenial with his taste and feelings, and affording but few opportunities for the exercise of his ministry. Barrackpore possessed no place for public worship; and divine service was never required by the military staff to which he was attached.

This unexpected seclusion from active duty, combined with the influence of an enervating climate, which he very soon began to feel, and of society for the most part unfriendly to religion, produced in Mr. Buchanan a considerable depression

of spirits, and even gave occasion to some of his friends in Europe to attribute his comparative inactivity on his arrival in India to abatement of zeal rather than, as the truth required, to causes over which he could exercise no control.

When Mr. Buchanan arrived at Calcutta Mr. Brown was one of the two chaplains of the presidency. He held also the chaplaincy of the garrison. Some of Mr. Buchanan's friends in England conceived that the latter appointment might have been transferred to him; or that he might have officiated at the mission church. As to the garrison, it appears that motives of delicacy and kindness towards Mr. Brown, with whom he lived from the first on the most friendly and affectionate terms, prevented him from soliciting such an arrangement; and the mission church was then occupied by the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube, a clergyman of the Lutheran church, who had been sent to India under the patronage of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. No sooner, however, had Mr. Ringeltaube abandoned this post, as he shortly afterwards did, than Mr. Buchanan participated with Mr. Brown the gratuitous labor of the mission church. It appears also that he occasionally performed divine service in his house at Barrackpore; probably as often as he could obtain an audience.

The following letter will explain the confidential nature of Mr. Buchanan's intercourse with Mr.

Brown. The former part of it relates to a proposed measure respecting an evening lecture at one of the churches in Calcutta, and to the chaplaincy of Fort William: the latter will exhibit a most interesting and instructive picture of the mind of the writer, and will throw considerable light on some of the preceding observations.

"BARRACKPORE, June 9, 1797.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have just received yours. I understood your last very well. I meant to say in answer, that to levy a contribution for the current expenses of the lecture would be very painful to me; equally so as a contribution for personal support.

"When I mentioned my idea of gratuity for professional duties, it was to explain my delicacy about pecuniary subscription. I had no allusion to the sentiments of others. If I were in your situation, it is probable that I should do as you do.

"I think the justice you owe your family in an expensive situation, demands that you be very well satisfied with the propriety of giving up the chaplaincy of the Fort, as long as it is agreeable to the rules of the service that you should retain it; and as long as you can perform the service it requires as well as any other.

"Let us now talk on the subject of your former letter a little.

"I think you speak of yourself with more diffidence, or rather despondency, than you ought. How do you know that your Thursday evening lecture is not the most useful of all your ministrations? And with respect to industry, have you not much reason to be thankful, that, after a ten years' residence in this deteriorating country, you feel yourself so much alive to the ministry of Christ? And is it not another reason for thankfulness, that you have been preserved from seeking great things for yourself? I think you very happy indeed, that you have nothing to do with this world; but that your *chief* work is to make proof of your ministry, as the Lord shall prosper it. As splendid a crown awaits him who shall do a *little* in *this* country, as him who shall do much at home.

"It is not probable that you or I shall live long. What seek we then? There is no fame for us here. There is some reproach, whether we be *faithful* or not. So that we lose nothing by being faithful. I am so young in these things that I do not know any thing about them. I have only entered the wilderness. But I apprehend *much*. I would gladly enter Canaan without encountering 'the greatness of the way.' Were it the will of God, and were he to give me faith and strength for it, I would *tomorrow*, with great joy, leave this world and all it offers. Were I sure it would not entangle and destroy me at last, I would rather stay and endeavor

to do something for God; but I am not sure of that.

"I often compare myself, in my present exile, to John, in the island of Patmos. Would that, like him, I had finished my course, and had only to contemplate 'the new heavens!' But I am a stranger to suffering 'for the word of God, and the testimony of Jesus Christ.'

"I sigh much for that singleness of mind and purity of heart, and love to God, which distinguish the disciple of Christ. And I often wonder whether it is to be effected by keen affliction in body and spirit, or by the 'power of the word of God, dividing asunder like a two-edged sword,' or by long fighting and sorrowful experience slowly teaching, and ending with a doubt whether I am taught.

"Amidst the multitude of my thoughts, 'the Lamb that was slain' is my only hope!

"How frequent is the character of a semi-serious christian! There is a state, in which some have been held for many years: a state, whose nature was never rightly understood by those around them, nor by themselves; sometimes looking to the word of God, and sometimes to the world; sometimes animated by a zeal to live holily, and sometimes sinking under a particular sin. From such a state they have at length emerged; and shone, in the evening of life, with a splendor which has dazzled all around.

"I hope that Mrs. Brown is in good health and

spirits. Buxtorf came safe up the river. I am sorry to find that that silent critic, the white ant, has perused almost every page.

"I remain, dear sir, yours very affectionately,

"C. BUCHANAN."

The preceding letter scarcely requires a comment. Who can avoid perceiving in it evident traces of a generous, a spiritual, and a heavenly mind? Who can help lamenting that such a man should, for a time, have been placed in circumstances so unfavorable to the attainment of the great object which he had in view in accepting an appointment in India; or indulging a hope that a time would come when the providence of God would open to him a way to greater exertions and more extensive usefulness?

Though Mr. Buchanan's retirement at Barrackpore did not, however, admit of very active employment in the duties of his ministry, it afforded him a valuable opportunity for private study, which he diligently and successfully improved.

His common-place books, at this period, evince the same laudable desire of increasing his store of useful knowledge which we have already witnessed. Some remarks in one of them prove his anxiety to fortify himself against the dangers of worldly society, to which he was then considerably exposed, and to attain the important art of

living "in and out of the world at the same time;" of "using this world as not abusing it." Upon this point he quotes a passage from Mr. Addison, which appears to express the object he was himself endeavoring to attain. "We shall never be able," observes that sensible and elegant writer, "to live to our satisfaction in the deepest retirement, until we learn to live, in some measure, to our satisfaction amidst the noise and business of life."

Other parts of the same book contain reflections on the Persian language; on the improvement of time; on the value of christian friendship; on purity of conscience; on the propagation of the Gospel, and on the happiness of heaven.

The following extract of a letter to Mr. Henry Thornton, dated the 25th of July, 1797, gives a pleasing view of one important branch of Mr. Buchanan's studies at Barrackpore:

"As the friend of my *beginning* studies, you will naturally be desirous to know in what way they have been continued since my arrival in India. I am now proceeding in a work which I began when I last enjoyed retirement, namely, a serious, and, I may say, laborious examination of the Scriptures in the original tongues. My inquiries are not so much philological as practical. The meaning of the Holy Spirit in Scripture is the 'one thing needful' for the student, and I hope it will be the sub-

ject of many a joyful ευρηκα* to me. This severity of investigation reminds me of my mathematical vigils. Some have considered that interval at college as the most useful era in the history of the mind. It shows what powers of application the soul possesses on a subject it loves; even such application as Paul recommends to Timothy, who was engaged in my present studies—εν τουτοις ισθι. 'Exist, or live in them.'

"This, sir, is a climate which tries the mind like a furnace. Deterioration seems inherent in Indian existence. Were God to grant me a peculiar blessing, it would be the habit of industry whilst I remain in this country. I have observed, in reading the lives of the good, that the most eminent were men famed for their industry. I have observed, too, that few of them had to encounter what Boileau calls the dangerous career of wit and genius. The wisdom of God is shown in choosing for them that disposition of mind which is best suited to a sedulous and humble perusal of his eternal word; for genius hath ever been a foe to industry.

"I have a Moonshee in the house to instruct me in the Hindostanee and Persian languages. Not knowing what may be the purpose of God concerning me, I have thought it my duty to attend early to the languages of the country, and to the

* "I have found it!"

constitution, civil and religious, of the mixed people in it."

Amidst this diligent improvement of his retirement at Barrackpore, Mr. Buchanan, however, entered with lively interest into every thing around him connected with real religion, and embraced with much warmth of feeling every occasion which presented itself, either of kindness or of service.

Of this the following extract from a letter to a lady at Edinburgh, on the death of her son, is a pleasing and satisfactory proof. It is dated from Calcutta, December 4, 1797, and was enclosed in another, in which she was kindly requested, before she opened it, to prepare her mind for intelligence which would, at first, deeply affect her, but which she would afterwards acknowledge had given her such a theme for rejoicing as she had never before possessed:

"I had no thoughts of writing to you at this time; but I have news for you from heaven. Your beloved E. has 'fought the good fight; he has finished his course; he has kept the faith.' His spirit took its flight at 12 o'clock. About three weeks ago he visited me at Barrackpore, where he stayed a day or two. He was then in good health. Our conversation was much on spiritual subjects. He told me his heart felt the first powerful impres-

sion of religion when on his passage to this country; and that since his arrival God had been very gracious to him. Finding this country not only unfavorable to health, but to holiness of life, he had long deliberated whether he ought not to return to Europe, and had at length resolved to do so, believing it to be the will of God. He anticipated the joy of conversing with those amongst his friends at Edinburgh who knew the Lord, and wondered that he had not 'made more of them' while among them. But he has now a better society.

"Next day he returned to Calcutta, and on the Sabbath following I went down to preach. My subject was, 'The triumph of the christian in being able to submit his soul to the darkest dispensations of God.' On that day your son took the sacrament for the second time in this country. On the evening of the same day the Rev. Mr. Brown preached, 'On the consolations of the soul which cordially assents to being justified by faith.' This was the last sermon your beloved child ever heard; and he told me it was sweet to the ear, and inexpressibly rich to his soul. On the next day he was taken ill. Our most able physician here, Dr. Hare, from Edinburgh, attended him. During that week we had no apprehensions of his fever being dangerous. Before my return to Barrackpore on Monday last, I passed the morning with him. We then conceived hopes of his soon being well. He sat by

me on the sofa for an hour. We talked about his passage to his native country; for the ship was now ready to sail; but I perceived that his mind was dwelling on his passage to the *heavenly* country. He spoke much of the consolations arising from converse with God during sickness. 'How amazing is it,' said he, 'that the Lord should have called *me* to such knowledge and to such grace before I die! India has been a happy land to me.' When I left him, he said he hoped he should be able to come to church next Sunday. Not hearing from his brother of his being worse, I did not return to Calcutta till yesterday. In the evening I preached, but did not see him in his usual seat. When I called this morning I found that he had just entered into rest. His countenance is placid and serene in death, like the state of his mind before his dissolution.

"Such, my dear madam, has been the happy death of your son. You are a happy mother, to have had such a son! He has left a noble testimony to the Gospel in this place; and his memory will be long cherished by many. His brother loved him affectionately, and is inconsolable at his loss. His conversation and example have been of use to many. He preached to them in his life, and he preached to them by his death. Admire therefore the dispensation of God in leading him to this country. It was not for evil, but for much good."

"*Tuesday*, 5.—This morning, at eight o'clock, I committed to the earth the remains of your dear son. It was a solemn occasion. I was much affected at seeing so many persons attend it. Most of them were only acquainted with his character; but they wished to show some respect to the memory of one of those few who 'wear white garments in this Sardis.' The Rev. Mr. Brown was chief mourner; but yet he rejoiced that the Lord had lent your child so long to us, and that now 'he had taken him from the evil to come.'"

Early in the ensuing year he wrote to Mr. Grant in the following terms:

"CALCUTTA, Feb. 6, 1798.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I have now been near a year in this country, and have not yet had the satisfaction of hearing from you. I wish to know what you think of my voyage to the East. I seem to have come out under rather unfavorable auspices. No feature of my mission is very agreeable. But I view the whole as the counsel of the Almighty; and I know that in his plan there is great beauty, though I may not perceive it.

"I have passed this last year in military society, or in solitude. And as I shall shortly be stationed up the country, I cannot expect any material change during life. But if I rightly improve the

opportunities I may have, I shall do well. What I lament most is the effect this inactive life has on my mind. You will not be surprised if both my moral and intellectual powers suffer by it. The climate no doubt has its effect in this hebetation of the soul; and I hope I shall recover from it in time.

"I suffered a long struggle before I could resign myself passively to my unexpected destination. But the struggle is now over; and I view myself as one who has run his race; to whom little more is left to do. I have known some, who, in such a case, would have extricated themselves with violence, and sought other labors in the Gospel. But it will require a very evident interposition of God indeed to bring me out of this Egypt, now that he has placed me in it: I shall esteem myself highly favored if I be enabled to pass my days in it with a pure conscience, endeavoring to do a little where much cannot be done.

"I take the liberty of enclosing a bill for fifty pounds for my mother, which I request you will be so good as to send to her after it is accepted.

"I beg to be remembered to all your family, and to Mr. and Mrs. Thornton, and remain, dear sir,

"Yours, with much respect and gratitude,

"C. Buchanan."

Besides the unfavorable influence of the climate

upon his health, Mr. Buchanan was, doubtless, disappointed in the silence and obscurity to which his station at Barrackpore had consigned him, and which he imagined would be shortly rendered still more hopeless by his removal to a greater distance from Calcutta, in the interior of the country. It is certain, also, that he felt the want of sympathy and encouragement from some of his friends in England. They had very reasonably formed considerable expectations of his exertions to promote the cause of religion in India; and their distance from the scene prevented them from being fully aware of the circumstances which had hitherto retarded them. Yet, amidst it all, his calm submission to what he believed to be the will of God, his refusal to step beyond the prescribed limits of his duty as a military chaplain, and his pious reference of himself and his services to the divine disposal, prove, that whatever might be his discouragements, his heart was "right with God," and that he was faithfully employing the "talent" at that time committed to his trust.

The history of Mr. Buchanan's first appointment in India will not be in vain, if it serve to check in any who may be similarly situated, either abroad or at home, the too natural disposition to despondency or haste; and to lead them, in the conscientious improvement of present opportunities, to wait patiently for farther openings, and in the mean-

time to "hope in God;" and if it tend to abate in those who may be observing them, any impatience of their backwardness in fulfilling even just expectations; and to teach them that charity, which, concerning the substantially pious and sincere, "hopeth all things."

In July following, by the overland despatch, Mr. Buchanan wrote shortly to Mr. Grant to the following effect:

"Lord Mornington has been here near six weeks. As yet he maintains much dignity in his government. He goes regularly to church, and professes a regard for religion. He has been at Barrackpore for ten days past. He was surprised when I told him that we never had divine service there, or at any other station. He was still more surprised when he heard there were horse-races here on Sunday morning.

"The apostolic Obeck is well, and affectionately remembers all your family. He succeeds to Swartz in the title to our reverence and esteem. Remember me to Mr. Thornton, the friend of my studies."

Mr. Obeck, thus favorably introduced, and whose name frequently occurs in Mr. Buchanan's letters, was a native of Germany, for many years employed as steward in Mr. Grant's family during his residence in India. The piety and fidelity of this good

man were rewarded by the liberal support and friendly regard of his patron to the day of his death.

Under the same cover he thus wrote to Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge:

"I thought to have passed my life near you; but, thus it is. You first, I think, proposed a voyage to me; but you did not mean to consign me to silence, or to a camp! We may yet see the wisdom of God in showing me a path through the mighty waters. As my health returns, my services may be called for.

"Remember me to Mrs. B. She alone opposed my coming to India. Tell her not to triumph. She has not seen to *the end*."

Three months after the despatch just detailed, Mr. Buchanan again wrote at some length to Mr. Newton. In the former part of his letter he repeats, with some additional circumstances, what he had before communicated respecting his situation and prospects, chiefly with a view to convince his friends in England, that however desirous he might be of more effective services in the ministry, the attempt was, at that time, impracticable. In proof of this he mentions, that before Sir John Shore, now Lord Teignmouth, left India, Mr. Brown procured an order of council that the military in the garrison should attend at the Presidency church

every Sunday morning at six o'clock, there being no chapel or service in the garrison itself. Strong opposition was made to this order, on the ground that the troops would suffer in their health by marching in the sun. They attended a few Sundays, but at last the clamor became so violent that the order was revoked, and the triumph over religion considered complete. Mr. Buchanan states this circumstance in order to show how unavailing any transfer of the chaplaincy of the garrison to himself, could it with propriety have been effected, would have proved as to the great object of his increased usefulness. He adds, however, that when he was in Calcutta on a Lord's day, he usually performed service at the hospital; where, though there was no regular audience, there was always a succession of hearers. It appears also by this letter, that as Mr. Buchanan had no immediate prospect of being himself placed in Calcutta, he was endeavoring, and with some success, to improve the religious views of one of the chaplains of the Presidency, who seemed desirous of discharging his duty with fidelity.

Mr. Buchanan next adverts to Rev. Dr. Carey, Baptist missionary, of whom he speaks in terms of much commendation. His own expectations respecting the conversion of the Hindoos were, at this period, by no means sanguine. Of Dr. Carey, therefore, he remarks, that he was then chiefly em-

ployed in laying the foundation of future usefulness. "He is," says Mr. Buchanan, "translating the Bible into the Bengal tongue. This, like Wickliff's first translation, may prove the father of many versions." How extensively this anticipation has been realized, it would be unnecessary to interrupt this narrative particularly to state.

"But," continues Mr. Buchanan, "a rapid spread of the Gospel is not to be expected in India. You have heard that Mr. Swartz was useful in the southern part of Hindostan. It is true. But Mr. Swartz entered upon the labors of others. The Gospel has been preached in that quarter for near a hundred years past. We may begin here now, as the Danes began there a century ago. Zeal, and labor, and the lapse of years, will no doubt produce the usual fruit. In the revolution of this century 'the dawn' of the Gospel has appeared in India. After many centuries have revolved, there may be a general light.

"But I wish not that any prudential considerations from what *has been*, or from what may *probably* be, should check the missionary ardor of the day. Nothing great since the beginning of the world has been done, it is said, without enthusiasm. I am, therefore, well pleased to see multitudes of serious persons,* big with hope, and apt to com-

* This probably referred to the London Missionary Society.

municate; for I think it will further the Gospel. Instead of thirty missionaries, I wish they could transport three hundred. But let them remember that no man turned of thirty can learn to speak a new language *well*. No Englishman turned of twenty, who is only acquainted with the labials and dentals of his mother tongue, can ever acquire an easy and natural use of the nasals and gutturals of the Bengal language.

"Mr. Swartz, the apostle of the East, is dead. I wrote him a Latin letter a short time before his death. I wished to write his life, but they refuse to send me materials.* Have you heard of the ancient Obeck, in Calcutta? Mr. Grant will tell you about him. Mr. Obeck in Calcutta, is like Lot in Sodom. I asked him one day if he could produce ten righteous to save the city? He said he was not sure he could produce ten, but thought he could produce five."

It cannot be doubted that both these excellent men partook too largely of the spirit of the prophet, who thought that he was the only true worshipper of Jehovah in a corrupt and degenerate age. It is at least certain that Calcutta has added greatly,

* Some years afterwards Mr. Buchanan procured the documents he at this time requested; though other circumstances prevented him from making use of them as he had intended.

within the last few years, to the number of its 'righteous' inhabitants; and not a few in consequence of the labors and example of the subject of these memoirs.

"My last fever," Mr. Buchanan continues, "produced a deafness, which is not yet gone. It is very inconvenient to me; and Dr. Hare says that it may remain a long time. The schoolmen say, the loss of *all* the senses is *death*. By the loss of hearing, I certainly feel the loss of the fifth part of *life*. When nature takes away one sense, they say, she adds to the rest. But when disease takes away one, it injures the rest. At least I think so. I feel that a sense of infirmity cows the mental powers, and thereby hinders their exertion.

"When you see Mr. Thornton, tell him I often think that he has great need of faith to believe the Scripture, which says, 'Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days.' Many days have elapsed, and yet the bread he threw to me is not returned. Adieu.

"C. BUCHANAN."

The admirable friend and patron to whom Mr. Buchanan thus alludes, was the reverse of any thing impatient or unreasonable in his expectations from others; and his habit of scattering his beneficence widely and liberally was combined with a

spirit of faith which could wait long for the promised fruit, and in many cases be satisfied with leaving his various work with God. In the present instance, however, he lived to reap, after "not many days," a rich reward of his labor.

In writing to Mr. Grant, in January, 1799, the following passage occurs, which, though brief, shows both Mr. Buchanan's anxiety to promote the interests of religion in India, and his lively satisfaction at any public regulations which promised to be auxiliary to that important object:

"I wrote to Mr. H. Thornton by the Montrose, on the 8th instant. In that letter I ventured to say in what way you might probably be of service to us here. But you will be the best judge of the propriety of the measure; though perhaps circumstances have now a complexion rather different from what they had when you left the country.

"Your moral regulations of May last are come,* and not before they were wanted; they have been just published, and are well received. I ought not to say published. Lord M.'s delicacy induced him to communicate them by circular letter. They ought to have been proclaimed from the house-top."

* Referring chiefly to a proclamation against Sunday horse-racing, and to the erection of chapels at some of the military stations.

On the 1st of February, Mr. Buchanan, after informing Mr. Elliott of the arrival of his eldest son in India, thus intimates the commencement of the system which the Governor General was now contemplating with respect to the junior servants of the Company:

"Lord Mornington aids us here. He no longer leaves it at the option of the young men whether they will study or not. An examination at the expiration of three years hence is to decide on all pretensions to new appointments.

"I hope you received the letter in which I expressed a wish that you would send out all the periodical works issued in the style of literary reviews. These are necessary for me. Without them I know not what books to order for this country. I am constantly applied to by families, religious, moral, and dissipated, to name books for them. I have already inundated them with Barruel, Paley, Watson, Wilberforce, and the Pursuits of Literature. I sit here in secret, and do what I can. A *few* of the reviews will not do; but *all* will tell me the truth. Watch the press for me. You cannot do me a greater favor, or perhaps your sons here more good. I want both annual reviews from 1789, the era of the new philosophy in *operation*."

A few days after the date of the preceding letter, he wrote to *one of his Cambridge friends* upon

a variety of topics connected with their mutual pursuits, and interspersed with remarks on India. This letter exhibits the impressive sense which the writer entertained of the paramount importance of christianity, and of the duty of active exertions to promote the moral and religious welfare of mankind on the part of himself and such men as the college friends to whom he refers. Many of his observations display both acuteness and elevation of thought, and much knowledge of the world.

"CALCUTTA, Feb. 4, 1799.

After rallying his friend on his remaining at college instead of marrying, he expresses himself thus: "A man advances, perhaps, till he becomes Bachelor of Arts; but after that he is retrograde for ever. Is not this generally true? You may perhaps continue to advance *in verbiage*, but you will go back in life. Your endeavors to fulfil the great purposes for which you were sent into the world will grow daily more feeble, and your view of those purposes will at length be utterly lost.

"But whither then shall we go, if you divorce us from our learned ease? Why, go to London. Take a curacy, or take a chapel. Call forth your learning and put your eloquence to use. Sluice the fountain so long embanked at college stagnant and green, and permit the waters to rush abroad, to fertilize many a plant and gladden the vale. Go

forth and stem the torrent of infidelity with a resistless eloquence; and let me hear your voice on the banks of the Ganges. To what purpose have you labored at Quinctilian, if you do not now lift up your voice and proclaim the glad tidings of the everlasting Gospel? At present I see you and D. lisping with pebbles in your mouths on the banks of the Cam. But I hope one day to hear your thunder from the rostrum. I hope to see you 'wielding at will' your awful assemblies, and exciting them with a more than Demosthenic power to resist the invading foe, the new philosophy. I hope to see you do more. In the more grateful and copious manner of the Roman orator, you will, like scribes well instructed in the kingdom, bring forth things new and old to confirm the believing, convince the doubtful, and heal the wounded spirit; ever displaying this your great and endless theme, the power of grace in awakening to life the torpid soul; and, in your previous studies, ever sitting by the fountain of truth, πηγη ρεουσα πειθους, that 'fountain flowing with persuasives,' the Bible: so will your orations have less of the lamp, and more of that heavenly fire which alone can make them profitable to your hearers.

"How astonished you will be that my first pages to you from Milton's 'remote Bengala' should be on such subjects as these! You, no doubt, expected to hear

"Of moving accident by flood and field;
"And of the cannibals that each other eat,
"The anthropophagi————."

But I have not patience with all these subjects. You must send out some of those fellows who can write a tour through Wales, or Gogmagog Hills. *They* will *so* astonish you! Besides, I am not writing to freshmen. I am writing to the learned. And all the *mirabilia** I could describe to you are already described in Queen's College library. But I must make some allowance for the different effects of an absolute and a partial view of things. The truth is, that the traveller who sees new things every day, sees new things with indifference. The passion of curiosity is so constantly excited that it loses its power. The '*nil admirari*'† seizes us much sooner with respect to objects of *sense* than objects of reflection. Besides, where all is new, the mind knows not where to rest. It cannot embrace all, and it studies none. This is particularly the case with many young men just arrived in India. They are wonder-struck; they suffer a kind of mental paroxysm; they ask questions for a while; but they find there is no end of subjects of wonder; and at length they are tired with wondering. The man of reflection will examine these subjects at his lei-

* Wonders.
† Nothing more to be admired.

sure, but the οἱ πολλοί* would no longer wonder, if the moon were to fall; they would suppose it was the way with the Bengal moons.

"The most useful lesson I have learnt from travel is, that the world, or all that is in it, cannot satisfy the soul of man. Many years ago, my chief ambition, as you know, was to make the tour of Europe. But how *little* does this idea appear! As a village is the world to a child, so Europe was the world to me. But Europe is now become a village; and the globe itself, which seems to have revolved under my eye, has no longer its former extent, novelty, or importance. My ambition seeks now to explore new worlds. And were the Deity to gratify my wish, and permit me to traverse the planetary globes around us, yet how circumscribed would be my view, how limited my knowledge! The solar system is but a point in the universe! What then is natural knowledge? Like space, it has no limit. Let us return then to our village, and view its inhabitant;

> His knowledge suited to his state and place,
> His time, a moment; and a point, his space.

And this is equally true, whether you live but a few years, confined to your native spot, or live three ages, and traverse the world around.

* The multitude.

"This thought casts a transient gloom over science and all human knowledge. It is confined and uncertain, and therefore unsatisfying. It is now that the mind turns with pleasure from the works of God to his word. The works of God indeed declare his glory; but the mind cannot comprehend them, nor be satisfied with surveying them. But the word of God quenches the thirst. It is that fountain which can alone satisfy the capacious soul of man.

"Infidelity raged here with great violence formerly, but it is rather on the *defensive* now. It was fashionable for a time to allege that oriental research was not favorable to the truth of christianity; but the contrary is found to be the case. As far as my own inquiries have gone I can truly say, 'I have seen the star, and worshipped in the East.' In the study of eastern history and learning there is endless proof of the truth of both the Old and New Testaments.

"I suppose you have heard of the grandeur of English life in India. To live in the first circle in India is to live at court. There is nearly the same dignity of etiquette, elegance of equipage, and variety of entertainment. Every lady is handed to table according to her rank; and—no grace is said!

"What chiefly astonishes an Englishman (I should have said a Scotchman) is the profusion of meat on the tables. We sit down to hecatombæan

feasts. But you will not wonder at this, when you hear that the price of a sheep is but half a crown. We have no *drinking* here; no bacchanalian feasts. Wine is a drug. Wherever we go, we expect to find plenty of claret and Madeira; and he who would think it a compliment to urge another to drink, would be accounted a vulgar fellow, just imported from a military mess-room, or a literary combination-room.

"Must I say something of the natives? Their general character is imbecility of body, and imbecility of mind. Their moral powers are and have been for ages in a profound stupor; and there is seldom an instance of their being awakened. A partial attempt, or rather experiment, is now making on them by some christian teachers. The Hindoo mind seems at present to be bound by a satanic spell; and it will require the co-operation of a more than human power to break it. But divine co-operation implies human endeavor. Many ages must then elapse before the conversion of India is accomplished.

"With respect to moral action, the Hindoos pay as little attention to their own religion as a rule of life, as the English do to theirs! Your profession of the christian religion is a proverbial jest throughout the world.

"The Hindoo is born blind; but you put out your own eyes. Loose principles and sensual in-

dulgence first dim them, and then the 'drop serene' of the new philosophy quenches the orb.

"A residence in this country adds much to the personal dignity of the European. Here the labor of a multitude is demanded for the comfort of one: and it is not so much demanded as voluntarily given. In no other country can we so well see the homage which matter gives to mind. Generally, however, it is but the homage which black pays to white. This is the grand argument for keeping the Hindoos in a state of mental depression. The hyperborean Scotchman, broiling under a perpendicular sun, needs some *levamina laborum;** and the state of the Hindoo *minds* is admirably calculated to take care of our *bodies*.

"You know the character of the Hindoo superstition. It is lascivious and bloody. I know no epithet that embraces so much of it as either of these two. Of the first I shall say nothing: I shall not pollute the page with a description of their caprine orgies in the interior of their temples, nor the emblems engraved on the exterior.

"Their scenes of blood are not less revolting to the human mind. Human sacrifice is not quite abolished. The burning of women is common; I have witnessed it more than once.

"This power of self-sacrifice is given them from

* Relaxation.

insensibility of mind, and from that alone. Just as a child may be persuaded to plunge into danger which infant reason cannot see, so the Hindoo, of childish capacity, is persuaded to destroy his existence; he views neither death nor life in their true light.

"All comparison, therefore, between the fortitude of the christian martyr and the madness of the Hindoo is nugatory and absurd."

Some hints in the preceding letter respecting marriage, imply that Mr. Buchanan was not, at this time, indifferent to that subject. He had hitherto been too much occupied with study, and with his entrance upon his professional career, to indulge any thoughts respecting it; but his affectionate and social disposition, and the comparative solitude in which he was compelled to live, convinced him of the expediency of entering into the married state. This important change in his condition took place on the 3d of April, 1799, on which day Mr. Buchanan married Miss Mary Whish, third daughter of the Rev. Richard Whish, then rector of Northwold, in Norfolk.

Upon this interesting event it may be best to allow Mr. Buchanan to speak, as usual, for himself. He thus writes to Mr. Newton about two months after his marriage:

"Miss Mary Whish and her elder sister (after-

wards married to Major Poole) came out to India about five months ago with their aunt, Mrs. Sandys, wife of Captain Sandys, Commissary of stores in Calcutta. The younger of these ladies was so much disgusted with the dissipation of India, that she would gladly have returned single to England. I did not see her till two months after her arrival. But we had not been long acquainted before she confessed that she had found a friend who could reconcile her to India. I did not expect that I should have ever found in this country a young woman whom I could so much approve. Mrs. Buchanan is not yet nineteen. She has had a very proper education for my wife. She has docility of disposition, sweetness of temper, and a strong passion for retired life.

"She is religious, as far as her knowledge goes; and her knowledge is as great as, I suppose, yours or mine was at her age. Our marriage was sanctioned by the approbation of all who knew her and who knew me.

"I have now been married two months, and every successive day adds something to confirm the felicity of my choice, and the goodness of God in directing it.

"Mrs. Buchanan has read many of your letters to me, and hopes you will mention her name in your next. She is now reading the 'Christian Character

Exemplified,' published by you, and aspires to the spirit and piety of the lady whose character it is.

"I still reside at Barrackpore, where it is now probable I shall remain some years. But I must take no thought for to-morrow. Years, days, and hours are not mine. *Moments*, how sacred!"

In replying to some inquiries of his correspondent, Mr. Buchanan proceeds to mention, what, in the prospect of continuing at Barrackpore, must have been peculiarly painful to him, that it was thought no chapel would be built there, under the new arrangement relative to that subject, as no European regiment was, at any time, ordered to that station. Under these circumstances he mentions that he was anxious to take every opportunity of assisting Mr. Brown at Calcutta.

"You will have heard, by this time," he continues, "the fate of the expedition to Otaheite. The missionaries, banished by the natives, fled to Botany Bay. One of them, I hear, is lately arrived in Calcutta, from Port Jackson. I hope this South-sea scheme will not *discourage* the missionary societies. They have done no harm: and if they send out their next mission with less carnal eclat, and more Moravian diffidence, they may, perhaps, do some good. Their chief fault was in the selection of the men.

"Lord Mornington is taking measures to send home all Frenchmen and republicans. I was applied to lately, in a kind of official way, to give some account of the Baptist missionaries. It was asked, What was their object? How supported? Whether they were not of republican principles? As I had some good data for speaking favorably of Mr. Carey, I confined myself to him. I stated the origin of the Tranquebar mission, and its success under Swartz, and I represented Carey as endeavoring to do in Bengal, what Swartz did in the Deccan. He called upon me lately in his way to Calcutta. He considers himself as sowing a seed which haply may grow up and bear fruit. He is prosecuting his translation of the Scriptures. This is a good work. It will be useful to those Hindoos who are somewhat influenced by christian instruction, and particularly useful to Hindoo children brought up in christian schools. I told Mr. Carey that I thought he could not employ his time better than in translating the Scriptures. I explained to him, from sources with which he seemed unacquainted, the plan and progress of the Tamulian Scriptures, and the circumstances attending the publication.

"And now, my dear sir, pray for us. Under my Mary's care, I improve in health and spirits."

In the autumn of this year Mr. Buchanan in-

formed Mr. Grant that he had been recommended to accept a vacant chaplaincy at Bombay. "Being altogether ignorant," says he, "of the particulars, I wrote to Mr. Fawcett, the accountant general there, (who wishes me to go,) to explain fully to me the nature of the situation. If it be the chaplaincy to the Presidency, I shall accept it." He adds: "There is to be a relief of staff this ensuing November. Whether I shall be included in it, I know not."

It is probable that Mr. Buchanan's inquiry respecting the chaplaincy at Bombay proved unsatisfactory. However this may have been, the providence of God shortly afterwards introduced him to a sphere of labor in Calcutta which was equally adapted to his talents and his wishes. Towards the close of the year Lord Mornington appointed him a third chaplain to the Presidency, and he immediately entered upon the duties of that office.

One of the earliest occasions of public service to which Mr. Buchanan was called after this appointment, was in February, 1800; when he preached a sermon at the new church, before Lord Mornington and the principal officers of the government, on a day appointed for "a general thanksgiving for the late signal successes obtained by the naval and military forces of his Majesty and of his allies; and for the ultimate and happy establishment of the tranquillity and security of the British possessions in India."

This sermon was so highly approved that Mr. Buchanan received the thanks of the Governor General in council, with a direction that it should be printed; and it was undoubtedly a production which well deserved that honor. It was founded on the 11th verse of the 21st Psalm: "For they intended mischief against THEE; and imagined such a device, as they are not able to perform:" and contains a luminous and impressive view of the principles, progress, and effects of the new French philosophy, to which Mr. Buchanan justly attributed the awful struggle in which this country was then engaged. The following passages from this discourse show the ability and judgment, as well as the piety of its author:

"The contest in which our country has been so long engaged has, in one particular, been of essential service to her. It has excited a greater respect for christian institutions and christian principles. A long period of internal tranquillity and security had induced an *indifference* about religion which was rapidly gaining ground, and was making room for that infidelity which our enemies wished to substitute. But the critical situation in which the nation was placed, and the dangers that threatened her, led men to review their principles, and to consider seriously by what means she might be saved. Hence there is now a growing regard for christian

ordinances. There is now a more general acknowledgment of the providence of God; more attention is paid to moral character; more care is taken in forming the minds of youth; and more ample means of instruction are afforded to the common people.

"In the anxiety that prevails in the mother-country about the principles of all who are connected with her, she will naturally be interested to know what is the state of religion amongst *us*. 'How,' she will ask, 'amidst all this revolution of opinion and practice which agitates the world, is that distant society affected? Are they altogether free from infidel principles? And does the public spirit of the people show itself in combating these principles, and in maintaining a respect for christian institutions?'

"However this subject might have been overlooked in the infancy of our settlements, it becomes now a matter of public consequence. The importance we are daily acquiring in the eyes of the world, and the destructive effects of irreligion in other countries, make it proper that we should show that we yet profess the faith of our country, and that we are yet willing to be accounted a christian community.

"On this subject we think there can be but one sentiment. Men of sense and of responsible situation, who love their country, and who know the danger of the new principles, will not, we are per-

suaded, be averse to show this countenance to the christian religion. Such example is of the more consequence, on account of the great number of young persons who are yearly added to our society. These persons are denied those opportunities of instruction they enjoyed at home; and they arrive at so early an age, that, in general, their principles are formed and fixed *here*. And when it is considered that they are hereafter to fill the offices in the government of the country, and are to be themselves the guardians of the public principles, it will certainly appear of consequence that their minds should be impressed with a respect for those religious and moral observances on which the future safety and happiness of the country depend.

"Scepticism and infidelity are not now so well received in society as they once were. It was formerly thought a mark of superior understanding to profess infidelity. It was thought a proof of some learning to think differently from others on religious subjects.

"But we have now seen, that the most illiterate and most abandoned of the human race can be infidels.

"We have also seen, that there is no superstition more irrational in its effects, no fanaticism more degrading to the human mind, than the fanaticism of infidelity.

"We have further seen the *moral* effects of in-

fidelity; effects flowing directly from it, acknowledging no other source. And after what we have seen of these effects, we think no man can add to his respectability in society, either for understanding or for moral character, by avowing himself to be an advocate for infidelity.

"But we trust that the great body of our society is yet animated by christian principles, and that they are ready to make common cause with their country in defending these principles to the uttermost.

"Some will doubt, and some will disbelieve, but it is an eternal truth, that the christian religion is the rock on which rests our existence as a civilized nation; on which rest our social blessings, and our individual happiness. Take away this rock, and you give your country to convulsion and endless disgrace. Built on this rock, she has withstood the violence of the storms that have so long assailed her. Secure and tranquil in the midst of the tempest, she stands at this hour firm and impregnable, while those who built on the 'sands of infidelity' have been overthrown."

Copies of Mr. Buchanan's thanksgiving sermon were distributed by order of government in every part of British India, and sent home to the directors of the East India Company.

"You may easily conceive," says Mr. Buchanan,

writing to a friend in England, well acquainted with the prevalence of sceptical principles at that period in India, "the astonishment of men at these religious proceedings. However, all was silence and decent acquiescence. It became fashionable to say that religion was a very proper thing, that no civilized state could subsist without it; and it was reckoned much the same thing to praise the French as to praise infidelity."

The importance of this public recognition of christianity as the only basis of civil prosperity, was soon perceived in the increasing attention to personal religion:

"Our christian society," adds Mr. Buchanan to the same friend, "flourishes. Merit is patronized, immoral characters are marked; and young men of good inclinations have the best opportunities of improvement."

The same happy effects were thus distinctly stated by Mr. Brown, in a memorial on the general state of society in Calcutta, drawn up some years afterwards for the information of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

"These solemn acts," observes that excellent man, "and the public thanksgivings, which took place for the first time under Marquis Wellesley's

government, awakened a religious sense of things in many; and led to an open and general acknowledgment of the divine providence, which has been highly beneficial to the interests of true religion and virtue."

On Mr. Buchanan's removal to Calcutta, he thus resumed the account of his studies and proceedings, in a letter to Mr. Henry Thornton:

"The plan of study I formed about two years and a half ago has not suffered any material alteration since. I soon, however, discovered the small value of the Persian and Hindostanee languages to me, and was contented with a superficial acquaintance with them. My scriptural studies I pursue with my first purpose, and I hope I shall continue to pursue them to the day of my death. My general studies have been much diversified by correspondence in different parts of India, on subjects classical, mathematical, and theological. The latter has been the most laborious and generally the most pleasant. This subject is often forced upon me. But I have seldom permitted myself to *defend* christianity. I have usually acted on the offensive, and attacked infidelity. This is a very unpleasant mode to the infidel. During the last year I received many anonymous letters, particularly from young persons, on polemical divinity; but the correspond-

ence has generally ended in real names. In consequence, I am often applied to for books, and have expended much in purchasing valuable works at our dear market. Small religious tracts are of little service to those with whom I have to do.

"My public ministrations have been rare, but perhaps not so rare as from my situation might be expected. Of the three years I have been in India, including the number of times I have officiated at the hospital in Calcutta, and in my own house at Barrackpore, I have preached on an average once a fortnight.

"My great affliction since I came to India has been *bad health.* I feel a languor of constitution, and a difficulty of respiration, which no medical aid has yet been able to remove. This I sometimes think has taken away one-half of the energy and usefulness I might have preserved or acquired in a cooler region. But this also is the dispensation of God; and it has added to me *that,* which elsewhere I might not have found."

In a letter, however, to Mr. Newton, about the same time, Mr. Buchanan observes, "I have enjoyed better health this year than in any former; and I trust that I shall be strengthened and spared for some service."

During the first six months of the year 1800, the plan of a *collegiate institution* had been formed by

Lord Mornington, (who, in consequence of the splendid successes of his policy in the Mysore, had been created Marquis Wellesley,) for the purpose of promoting the literary improvement of the younger civil servants of the Company. This important measure, in the arrangement and conduct of which Mr. Buchanan was so essentially concerned, he thus mentioned in the month of June, in a letter to Mr. Grant:

"Lord Wellesley is at present engaged in founding a college for the instruction of the young civil servants in eastern literature and general learning. He desired me to draw out a sketch of the constitution of the college, which I did. And now Mr. Barlow has instructed me to draw up a minute as a justification of the measure. Lord Wellesley proposes that Mr. Brown should be the provost of the college; and he is certainly the fittest man in Calcutta for that office. I had him in my mind when drawing up the duties of provost. There will be about eight or ten professors. No promotion in the service, but through the medium of this institution. The students to remain at college for three or five years. Prizes and honors to be proposed for those who distinguish themselves, and degrees to be taken to qualify for certain offices."

Some allusion is made to the subject introduced

in the preceding extract, in the two following letters from Mrs. Buchanan, which, as they exhibit a pleasing and faithful picture of a most amiable woman very early removed from this world, it may not be uninteresting to insert before we proceed to a more enlarged view of the college of Fort William, or Calcutta.

The first is addressed to Mr. Newton, and is dated Calcutta, June 24, 1800:

"Dear Sir,—Mr. Buchanan assures me that you will excuse the liberty I take in writing to you. I have long wished to acknowledge the debt I owe you for your valuable works. They have been blessed to many, and I trust will be also blessed to me. But I believe I am still more indebted to you as the friend, father, and instructer of my beloved husband; as such, I must consider you as the instrument, under God, of my present happiness.

"You will be glad to hear that Mr. B.'s health is of late much improved; but I am alarmed lest his approaching labors should be too much for him. We have reason to believe that he will be appointed a professor in the new college. He himself wishes to decline it, but his friends do not see how it is possible, as he has taken an active part in the institution. It is supposed that he may have his choice of three professorships, Classics, Mathematics, or the Belles-lettres. I believe his intention is

to accept of a situation in college, if it be easy; but if not, to decline it on the plea of health.

"Dear sir, I cannot expect to see you in this world, may I therefore request you to send your blessing to me and my little girl.

"I desire my love to your niece, and remain, my dear sir, yours, with christian affection,

"MARY BUCHANAN."

The second of these letters is to Mr. Elliott; and while it expresses with equal simplicity the advancing piety of her own mind, it recognizes the support which Lord Wellesley was then affording to religion in Calcutta. It is of the same date with the former.

"DEAR SIR,—Your letter to Mr. Buchanan, in which you mention our marriage, gave me real pleasure. And as you expressed a wish that I should write to you, I take this opportunity to thank you for your affectionate congratulations. You have reason indeed to congratulate *me*. It is the happiest circumstance in my life that I ever came to India, where I have been united to one whose endeavors God has been pleased to bless, in leading me to some knowledge of the everlasting Gospel. It is a new Gospel to me, and I seem to live in a new world, differing far more from my old world than India differs from England. May I re-

quest your prayers that this good work may be carried on in my heart, and that it may issue in honor to my beloved husband, and to his ministry here? He has much to encourage him in the work of the Gospel. There is an evident change in the face of the society here, even in the short time since I arrived in the country. Lord Wellesley seems inclined to support the christian religion by *every* means. Vital religion also is increasing. It seems to be fostered under the wing of that general sanction to christianity which has lately been given. This is the only place in India where religion is countenanced. We have now many respectable families here in which piety meets with real encouragement. I remain, dear sir, yours, with much esteem, MARY BUCHANAN."

By the despatch which conveyed the two preceding letters, Mr. Buchanan sent another remittance to his mother, to the comfort of whose declining years he was afterwards enabled still more largely to contribute.

On the 18th of August, 1800, the *College of Fort William*, which had been virtually in operation since the 4th of May, was formally established by a minute in council,* in which the Governor

* See "The College of Fort William, in Bengal," published by Mr. Buchanan in 1805.

General detailed at length his reasons for such an institution. The important part which Mr. Buchanan took in the conduct of that establishment will sufficiently justify the following brief abstract of the able and interesting document referred to.

The British possessions in India, said his lordship, now constitute one of the most extensive and populous empires in the world. The immediate administration of the government of the various provinces and nations composing this empire is principally confided to the European civil servants of the East India Company. Upon them, in consequence, devolve the duties of dispensing justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages, and religions; of administering a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; and of maintaining civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world. They can, therefore, no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern; they are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign, and must be viewed in that capacity, with a reference, not to their nominal, but to their real occupations. Their education should consequently be founded in a general knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar offices in Europe. To

this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs, and manners of the people of India, with the Mohammedan and Hindoo codes of law and religion, and with the political interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor General in council, for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire the benefit of the ancient and established laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. Finally, their early habits should be so formed as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of the climate and the peculiar depravity of the people of India will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and the vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious indulgence: the spirit of emulation in honorable and useful pursuits should be kindled and kept alive by the continual prospect of distinction and reward, of profit and honor; nor should any precaution be

relaxed in India which is deemed necessary in England to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the state with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public.

An additional motive for such an institution as was then meditated, was derived from the acknowledged fact, that at this period the erroneous and pestilent principles of the French revolutionary school had reached the minds of some individuals in the service of the Company in India; and that the state, as well of political as religious opinions, had been in some degree unsettled. An institution, therefore, tending to fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and government in the minds of the junior servants of the Company at an early period of life, was the best security that could be provided for the stability of the British power in India.

After discussing the practicability of forming any adequate establishment in England for the purpose of duly educating such a body of men as had been described, and determining that it could not be obtained otherwise than in India, the Governor General concluded by declaring, that a college was by this minute in council founded at Fort William, for the better instruction of the junior civil servants of the Company in such branches of literature, science, and knowledge, as might be

deemed necessary to qualify them for the discharge of the duties of the different offices constituted for the administration of the government of the British possessions in the East Indies.

The general reasons upon which the Marquis Wellesley proceeded in the formation of this important institution, must be admitted to be characterized by the soundest views of a liberal and enlightened policy. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the extent or detailed arrangement of the establishment, there can scarcely be any as to the principles upon which it was founded. The success, too, of the institution, as will be hereafter seen, fully justified the wisdom of the original plan, and reflects the highest honor on its distinguished author.

The immediate government of the college was vested in a Provost and Vice-Provost, and three other officers, to whose notice every part of the private conduct of the students, their expenses, their connections, their manners, and morals, were to be subject. Professorships were established in the languages chiefly spoken and used in the different provinces of India, in Hindoo and Mohammedan law, in the regulations and laws enacted at the several presidencies for the civil government of the British territories, in political economy, and particularly the commercial institutions and interests of the East India Company, and in various branches of

literature and science. There was also to be a considerable establishment of learned natives attached to the college; some of whom were to be employed in teaching the students, others in making translations, and others in composing original works in the oriental tongues.

The excitements to exertion in the college of Fort William were of the highest and most effective nature; and its moral, economical, and religious discipline, such as was admirably calculated to promote all that is virtuous, dignified, and useful in civil society. This latter most important branch of the institution was, in an especial manner, confided to the provost and vice-provost, who were thus honorably introduced to the public notice by its noble founder.

"Fortunately," observes his lordship, "for the objects of the institution, the Governor General has found at Calcutta two clergymen of the church of England eminently qualified to discharge the duties of provost and vice-provost. To the former office he has appointed Mr. Brown, the Company's first chaplain, and to the latter, Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Brown's character must be well known in England, and particularly so to some members of the Court of Directors; it is in every respect such as to satisfy the Governor General that his views, in this nomination, will not be disappointed. He has also formed the highest expectations from the abilities,

learning, temper, and morals of Mr. Buchanan, whose character is also well known in England, and particularly to Dr. Porteus, Bishop of London, and to Dr. Milner, Master of Queen's College in the University of Cambridge."

A body of statutes was afterwards compiled and promulgated by Marquis Wellesley, which regulated the admission of students and professors, the lectures, exercises, examinations, and public disputations, and every other branch of the college business. The office of the provost, and, virtually, of the vice-provost, was expressed in the following terms:

"It shall be the peculiar province and sacred duty of the provost governing the college at Fort William, to guard the moral and religious interests of the institution, and vigilantly to superintend the conduct and principles of all its members.

"Divine service shall be performed in the college chapel at such times as the provost shall appoint."

Provision was also made by the statutes for applying the internal authority of the superior officers of the college, to strengthen and confirm within our eastern possessions the attachment of the civil servants of the Company to the laws and constitu-

tion of Great Britain, and to maintain and uphold the christian religion in that quarter of the globe.

The appointment of the superior officers of the college was notified in a Calcutta gazette extraordinary on the 20th of September, 1800, though they were not formally admitted to their offices till the 24th of April following. Towards the close of the former year an advertisement was published in different parts of India, announcing the establishment of the college, and inviting men of learning and knowledge, moulvies, pundits, and moonshees, to Calcutta, for the purpose of submitting to an examination, with a view to the choice of some as teachers in the college. About fifty natives, and subsequently a larger number, were in consequence attached to it.

Lectures in the Arabic, Hindostanee, and Persian languages, commenced in the month of November, 1800; and the first regular term opened on the 6th of February following.

CHAPTER V.

Two years in Calcutta—College of Fort William—Public engagements and plans.

With the commencement of the year 1801 Mr. Buchanan entered upon his important and labori-

ous duties as vice-provost and professor of classics in the college of Fort William. His health and spirits had hitherto been more or less depressed; nor was the former likely to be improved by the various weighty engagements which now devolved upon him. A work, however, had at length been assigned to him, both in the college and as one of the chaplains of the Presidency; which, while it demanded his utmost talents and exertions, deeply interested his feelings, and animated him with the hope of becoming extensively useful in India. Early in this year he thus wrote to Mr. Grant:

"Since my last to you nothing of importance has occurred here. The regulation concerning the college has been carried into effect, and the institution has already acquired energy and tranquillity. We have about a hundred students; the greater part of whom promise to distinguish themselves. There are as remarkable instances of application here, as I have known at Cambridge.

"Both the churches are generally full, particularly in the cold weather. The college chapel has punkas, which will probably draw a great number of the townspeople during the hot season. Lord Wellesley has fitted up a pew for himself in chapel.

"Mr. Obeck breakfasted with Mrs. Buchanan this morning, and pleased her much with the account he gave of you and your family for a series

of years in this country. The old man still retains his faculties in vigor, and is strong in body. His office at present is the distribution of four or five hundred rupees a month to the poor. The cold meat of college supports a great number of poor Portuguese and English.

"Some of the college students have already made most distinguished proficiency in the oriental languages. By the statutes they must be able to hold public disputations in these languages on a given subject. Ten of the first proficients go out the first year, and twenty the second. The spirit of emulation, of interest, and of fame, is excited in a very remarkable degree. No impropriety of conduct is known. All is silence, and study, and decorum. They all dine in the college hall, in the presence of the professors.

"There are some instances of a serious spirit of religious inquiry among the students.

"Lord Wellesley wants some persons of distinguished ability in science and classics to superintend in college, and thinks, properly, that they should, if possible, be clerical men.

"Mr. Brown is in a precarious state of health at present; and I have never been strong. No such field is any where to be found for learning and piety as that which Calcutta at this time exhibits."

In the month of June following Mr. Buchanan

thus resumes his account of the two subjects of Indian intelligence most interesting to himself, the church and the college, in a letter to Mr. Grant, and announces Mrs. Buchanan's approaching return to England.

"Our church continues in much the same state in which I described it to be in my last. We have had an addition of some communicants, chiefly from college. The church thins a little always in the hot months of May and June. Lord W. has proposed to use punkas and tatties; and it is probable that we shall have recourse to them next season.

"The college still goes on with spirit and energy. Some of the students will leave it, and enter on the service in December, 1801, (this year.) I see clearly that all our future professors and examiners will be taken from among those who have been students. It is with the greatest difficulty that we can find in the whole service examiners in the various languages who have confidence to face the students. So that we have been obliged to take our examiners from among the professors, which is rather contrary to the statutes."

Mr. Buchanan appears to have detained this letter till after the 3d of July, on which day the first public examination of the college students took

place. The name of his young friend, Mr. William Elliott, appeared at the head of the first class in the Persian and Hindostanee languages, and in Nagree writing, and in the first class of Arabic. Mr. Buchanan speaks also of the good conduct and distinguished proficiency in the languages of some other young men as being above all praise. He then adverts to the health of Mrs. Buchanan, who since her return from Pulo Penang had experienced a return of her consumptive complaint, which made it necessary for her to try the effect of her native air. "Should her health," he adds, "be restored, she will return to India, after a short residence with her family."

Accordingly on the 25th of July, 1801, Mrs. Buchanan embarked for England, taking with her their eldest daughter, Charlotte, and leaving the youngest, Augusta, then not quite six months old, with Mr. Buchanan. Her voyage was stormy, and otherwise perilous and painful; but she reached her native country in safety on the eighteenth of February, 1802.

She was the bearer of a letter to one of Mr. Buchanan's friends, in which he mentions that the regular attendance of the greater number of the students on divine worship, and still more decisive proofs of serious impressions amongst them, had given him new ardor and new hope that the college of Fort William would prove a religious as well as a literary blessing to many of them.

Mr. Buchanan then observes in reply to a suggestion of his correspondent, whether he might not have attempted to preach to the Hindoos, that, independently of various other impediments, it was inconsistent with the rules prescribed to him as a chaplain of the Company;* but that, although he had not converted any natives, he had been honored as the instrument of the conversion of souls in India, and had seen some of them die in the faith.

The friend to whom Mr. Buchanan was writing had also hinted that some of his English correspondents were disappointed at so seldom hearing from him. To this he thus satisfactorily replies:

"I had such a numerous body of friends and acquaintances, literary and religious, in Scotland and in England, that I found it was in vain to attempt a correspondence with them all in my infirm state of health. I have therefore scarcely written to any one but to yourself, Mr. Newton, and Mr. Grant. I have less time now than ever; and even my letters to you will be less frequent. The chief labor of the churches is devolving fast upon me. My religious correspondence in India is greater than at

* It must be remembered that a considerable change with respect to religion has taken place in India since the period to which this observation refers, and that what was then a subject of the most jealous suspicion, is now regarded with more liberal and christian feelings.

any former time. The whole direction of the college lies with me; every paper is drawn up by me; and every thing that is printed is revised by me. In addition to this, I give Greek and Latin lectures four days in the week during term; and I must visit and receive visits on an average twice a day.

"You desired me to say something in self-defence, else I should not have given you the above. I am yet an unprofitable servant, very unworthy the lowest place in my Master's vineyard; and I am supported chiefly at times by the feeble hope that the Lord, who works by any means, will be pleased to work even by me."

From the time that Mr. Buchanan removed to the presidency he generally preached at one or other of the churches in Calcutta once, and sometimes twice, on the Sabbath. It appears also, from a book of memoranda, in which he briefly noticed his engagements during the five most active years of his residence in India, that he occasionally preached the weekly evening lecture, which had been established by Mr. Brown. In writing to a friend at Cambridge, Mr. Buchanan observed that the congregations at the new church were more numerous than those at St. Mary's, more elegant, equally critical, and perhaps not less intelligent. To address such audiences with acceptance and effect must consequently have demanded much la-

borious preparation. At the mission church the congregations were chiefly composed of those who simply sought christian instruction and edification.

Of the general tenor of his discourses at both places, some idea may be formed from the preceding view of his character and sentiments. A few notices of the subjects of his preaching occur amongst the memoranda just referred to. The following are some of them : " The inward witness to christianity," from 1 John, 5 : 10. " The barren fig-tree," at the close of the year 1801. " In Adam all die," on the Easter following. " The second Adam." " Jairus." " On knowledge." " We preach Christ crucified." " The second advent." " Abraham seeking a country." " St. Paul at Athens." " If then ye be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above." These are indeed but scanty memorials of Mr. Buchanan's labors in Calcutta as a preacher. Some specimens, however, of his sermons will hereafter be adduced.

Scarcely more numerous or detailed traces remain of the other great branch of his employment, as vice-provost and classical professor in the college of Fort William. Although Mr. Brown, as the senior chaplain of the presidency, accepted the office of provost, and in both capacities was zealous and indefatigable in his endeavors to promote the interests of religion in Calcutta, the superintendence and practical government of the college rest-

ed upon Mr. Buchanan. Occasional notices occur in these imperfect records, of the books in which he lectured during different terms, as well as of his sermons. Homer and Virgil, Longinus and Demosthenes, Terence and Juvenal, Livy, Horace, and Xenophon, are among the authors enumerated as occupying the attention of the students of Fort William. Independently of his lectures in these and other classical writers, Mr. Buchanan's memoranda notice frequent communications with Lord Wellesley and the council of the college upon points of internal discipline and arrangement, the composition of various public orders, letters, and other papers and documents, the revision of college essays and books connected with the institution, and attendances at the terminal examinations, disputations, and subsequent distribution into classes of the students.

The time necessarily employed in these multiplied labors, in maintaining a correspondence in India and Europe, and in visits of ceremony, friendship, or charity, and amongst the latter some are mentioned to the orphan and other schools in and near Calcutta, will suffice to prove, that no sooner were these opportunities of active service and usefulness presented to Mr. Buchanan, than he embraced them with a degree of ardor, diligence, and perseverance, which reflects the highest honor on his principles and his practice.

It will not, however, be a subject of surprise to those who are aware of the high standard by which such men as Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan are accustomed to measure their obligations, to find that neither of them was satisfied with his endeavors to fulfil them. We have already had proof of their mutual anxiety upon these important points. And we have now to witness another of a still more interesting nature, in a reply of Mr. Buchanan to a communication from Mr. Brown, who was then at Chandernagore, where he had been residing some months for the benefit of his health. This valuable testimony to the pastoral feelings of both is as follows:

"CALCUTTA, Nov. 29, 1801.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I received your letter last night. I envy much the zealous affection which animates your mind, and would gladly go up to Chandernagore also, to obtain the same. Old Mr. Newton, when in the country, used to think that London was Sardis; but when he came up to town, he found there a great assembly walking in white; and so he joined them. I have thought more seriously in Calcutta than ever I did at Barrackpore. But what I have been (at any period of my life) is so little like what I would wish to be, that I cannot contemplate it without remorse. I do not know that I ever had what christians call 'zeal.' I recol-

lect that I expected it would grow when I entered the ministry; but I had scarcely entered the ministry, and preached a few times, when I was sent to this country.

"I never knew, as you do, what it was to preach profitably and zealously for a season. That is a work I have to begin; and how to begin it I know not. I need an unction from on high, which I anxiously look for; and yet in looking for this, I look for that which I never knew as most have known it.

"One thing urges me sometimes to press forward with hope; and that is, that all I hear and all I say appears to me to be so very unlike what it ought to be, that I imagine something better might be attempted. And yet were the Spirit indeed to descend, we cannot expect that God, who worketh by natural means, should suddenly add the eloquent mouth and new powers of memory and understanding. The holy skill of preaching appears to be the fruit of long experience and converse among God's people. And in Calcutta, as in every other place, the able minister of the New Testament can only be made by nightly and wakeful meditation, patient study, and prayer producing self-denial.

"It appears to me that it was never intended that the Gospel should flourish in the heart and mouth of any minister who did not make it the

'one thing,' the sole point of heartfelt recurrence. But when it is made so, I can easily conceive how the tender plant grows a great tree with spreading branches and refreshing fruit. Then, no doubt, even a mind naturally barren bears exuberant ideas, and is constantly forming lively images; and, though the mouth be rude in speech, the full heart becomes vocal, and utters the 'word in season.'

"Whether either of us will be able thus to make the Gospel the 'one thing,' time will show. 'He that warreth,' ought not to 'entangle himself with the affairs of this life.' But do we *war?* Time enough for the soldier to disencumber himself when he begins to fight. It is easy to throw off a college; but it is very difficult to take up the church. But when the church spirit appears, it will soon conquer the college.

"The grand question is, ought not *means* to be used to mature that spirit which we desire? We read 'that a good soldier of Jesus Christ entangleth himself not with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier;' or, as Guyse explains it, 'he must not follow any civil calling, unprofitable reading, or unnecessary relaxation, to entangle his thoughts and swallow up his time;' (superintending a college is a civil calling, Latin and Greek is unprofitable reading, and lying in bed after five in the morning is unnecessary relaxation;) 'but his whole time, words,

thoughts, and actions must be employed, like a soldier's, on his calling, that he may please Him who hath chosen and authorized him to fight.'

"How far, in what manner, and in what particulars, St. Paul would obey the spirit of this passage, were he in your situation or mine, I really cannot tell. Were he here, he would be *warring*. After *we* have warred for some time, we also shall know. 'O that I knew the will of God in this matter,' saith Augustine; 'but I am not worthy to know his will. This ignorance is the fruit of my backsliding.'

"One thing seems probable, that no *sudden* success will appear from any sudden change of our style of address or manner of preaching. It arises usually from the impression of private character and manner of life. Private character alone will confirm the public sermon. The holy life of the minister is the good alterative among men.

"As to myself, it is my only desire to be of some service to the church of Christ before I die; and I would gladly seize any means, by change of situation or otherwise, which would enable me to do so. As to this world, there is no object (if I know my own heart at all) which I have in view; neither of family, of fortune, of situation, of leaving this country, or continuing in it. I have chiefly to complain of a languid and heartless constitution, both in body and mind, which makes me to bear

easily with all things, and to have little pleasure in any thing. This loss of energy and life has been occasioned partly by a continued course of ill health, partly by the untoward circumstances in my situation since I arrived in the country, but chiefly by the natural contagion of unchristian manners.

"I am, however, at this time more independent of society I dislike, than at any former period since my arrival in India; and I hope to be yet more so. Whether by resigning college appointments, secluding myself from the world, and preaching twice a week, I should be of more service than by maintaining a public situation, is a question I cannot answer. What may be impossible and improper now, may be possible and proper hereafter.

"However, the chief consideration at present is the state of the heart. How is the soul with God? I endeavor by prayer to restore it daily, relying (though feebly) on the aid of the Mediator, wondering sometimes that I am not worse, oppressed in spirit at a view of the past, and hoping for better days.

"I shall ever be ready to accede to any plan you can suggest for the furtherance of our ministry. You say you 'long to launch out into the fulness of Christ.' So do I. But these words are too apostolic for me at present. In order to launch forth like * * * I should need not only a new effusion

of the Holy Spirit, but those natural abilities which generally accompany such an effusion, in order to make it useful. Circumstances seem to admonish me, that the 'still small voice,' and not 'the rushing mighty wind,' is my province in the Gospel. What another school than Calcutta would have produced, I know not. But I shall be blessed, if grace be given unto me to do what good I can, consistently and steadily in my various situations. Unhappily, collegiate avocations usurp much of my time. But let us beware of repining at the necessity of spending time in this way, till we become *confident* that, were all our time at our own disposal, we should spend it in a better.

"I earnestly pray that we may both be rightly directed in our labors in this vineyard, that we may see some fruit in others, and enjoy the comfort ourselves of faithful ministers of the Gospel. I think better days are at hand.

"In this hope I remain, my dear sir, very affectionately yours, C. BUCHANAN."

It is not among the least interesting circumstances relative to this exquisite letter, that it exhibits both its author and the friend to whom it was addressed, in a country which at that time possessed no ecclesiastical superior, amidst multiplied engagements of the most honorable and useful nature, and under the pressure of infirm health in an

enervating climate, earnestly occupied, not in devising some method of relieving themselves from the burthen of their employments, in framing plausible apologies for the indulgence of ease and indolence, or in schemes for the attainment of wealth; but affording mutual examples of self-inquiry, reproaching themselves with the lukewarmness of exertions which some, perhaps, had already accounted excessive; and exciting each other to more animated and abundant labors in the service of their Lord and Master. Yet such is the impressive sense which every faithful minister of the Gospel entertains of his obligations and his duties, of the love of Christ and the value of souls, of the uncertainty of opportunity and life, and the approach of an eternal world, that while many who observe him may imagine that he is indulging in self-complacency and satisfaction in the review of his exertions, he is in fact humbling himself before God, and in the confidence of private friendship, at the recollection of his numerous deficiencies.

How well Mr. Buchanan understood the nature of true pastoral zeal, together with what he justly calls 'the holy skill of preaching;' how highly he estimated both, and how perfectly he was acquainted with the means by which they may be cultivated and beneficially exercised, is evident from his dignified and eloquent observations upon those important points. They can scarcely be read without

producing a powerful conviction that personal piety, of a vigorous and exalted character, must form the basis of any reasonable hope of success as a preacher of the Gospel; that it is "*the heart* of the wise," which must communicate persuasion to his lips; and that it is the "doctrine and the life coincident," which can alone be expected to constitute the divine art of winning souls to God.

The humility which breathes throughout the whole letter, the disinterestedness of the writer's views, the ardent desire which he expresses of more decisive usefulness, and the obscure intimation of a purpose, which was gradually becoming more definite and mature, of endeavoring more effectually to promote the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom in the East, cannot fail to be observed by every thoughtful reader; and while they serve to illustrate the character of Mr. Buchanan, and the principles which he professed, are well calculated to excite others to the imitation of such an example.

A few days after the date of the preceding letter, Mr. Buchanan wrote to Mr. Grant as follows:

"Mr. Brown and his family have been on the river for their health for five or six weeks past. Our churches during this cold season are more crowded than I ever saw them before. Even on Wednesday evening there are a great number,

and good is done. Some of the students attend on that evening. Their presence warms the heart of old Mr. Obeck. They know and visit him. 'How would Mr. Grant rejoice,'* he sometimes says, 'to see these things!' The pillars are removed, and a number of additional seats made, to accommodate the many who come."

On the 20th of January, 1802, it appears, by a brief memorandum, that Mr. Buchanan, in taking his usual evening's exercise, suffered a severe fall from his horse. "He came down," he says, "at full gallop, and I was thrown over his head and stunned. He seemed to tumble over me. Mercy! mercy!"

Though Mr. Buchanan complained for several weeks of the effects of his fall, he was sufficiently recovered to preach, yet not without much weakness and pain, the next evening.

During the whole of this month Mr. Buchanan was employed in making various arrangements preparatory to the anniversary of the commencement of the college on the 6th of February. On that day public disputations were held in the Per-

* For the history of the mission church, and of the peculiar interest which Mr. Grant would feel in its prosperity, the reader is referred to the "Memorial Sketches" of Mr. Brown.

sian, Bengalee, and Hindostanee languages, in the presence of the supreme council and many other distinguished persons; the prizes and honorary rewards adjudged at the preceding examinations were distributed, and a speech was delivered by Sir George Barlow, the acting visiter in the absence of Marquis Wellesley; in which, after expressing his satisfaction at the zeal and ability of the officers and professors of the college in the discharge of their public duties, and at the distinguished proficiency of many of the students, as well as their exemplary conduct, he observed that the establishment of the college had already excited a general and most beneficial attention to oriental languages, literature, and knowledge; and avowed his conviction, that by diligently availing themselves of the advantages afforded by the institution, the students would enjoy the animating prospect of being eminently useful to their country, by aiding it in fulfilling the high moral obligations attendant on the possession of its Indian empire; on the discharge of which the prosperity and permanence of that empire must equally depend.

The various occupations, however, of Mr. Buchanan did not induce him to forget his friends in Europe. Early in the year 1802 his income being now considerably augmented, he, with that filial piety which marked his character, authorized his mother to draw upon his agents for the sum of three hundred pounds annually.

With Mrs. Buchanan, whose arrival in England has been mentioned, he maintained a frequent correspondence. In one of his letters he gave her an interesting sketch of his early life, some circumstances of which he does not appear to have previously communicated to her, and which he observed might form a good commentary on Isaiah 42 : 16. "I will bring the blind by a way that they knew not, I will lead them in paths that they have not known: I will make darkness light before them, and crooked things straight. These things will I do unto them, and not forsake them."

Having brought down his history to the time at which he was writing, he concludes with the following reflections on his present views and purposes, the piety, beauty, and affection of which cannot but be generally admired:

"Such, my dearest Mary, has been my varied life, and such the wonderful providence which has watched over me during so long a period. I pray that, now I am settled, I may be enabled to show a heart fixed on my Saviour, and on the ministration of his word. I feel that nothing in this world can afford me any delight equal to what I hope to find in the labor of the everlasting Gospel. No fortune or rank in life can ever, I think, give any solid comfort to my soul: nothing but heavenly draughts can quench my thirst.

"My infirm constitution admonishes me not to expect to enjoy life, as some speak, and I am thankful for every barrier which God erects against my taking up my rest in this wilderness. Let us then, my dear Mary, live for the day, seeking that heavenly peace which is always attainable. We have learnt from our past experience, that 'our times are in HIS hands,' and we shall confess at the end that 'He hath done all things well.'

"I feel a deep sense of the importance of my present situation, and of the necessity of using the talent committed to my charge; the uncertainty of having such an useful sphere of action much longer, or my health continued, or my reputation supported; these things excite me to greater exertions while it is called 'to-day.'

"The society of religious people here pray that I may be enabled to do something for the Gospel. I am now in better health than formerly. My spirits are more alive. My desires after a regular life increase, and I trust my hopes in the Gospel will be fulfilled. You, my beloved wife, can now pray in *faith:* a sense of religion has visited you. Cherish it as the life of your soul. Esteem it the pearl of great price, far exceeding in value the joys of your family, or the wealth of the Indies. I know that gay society at home will impede your progress for awhile, but these difficulties are useful in proving and trying us, and bringing us forth like gold

purified in the fire. It is not preciseness of external conduct, but communion with God in prayer which forms the christian's character. If you continue to approach the throne of grace with as much earnestness as you used when on the great waters, you will gradually arrive at a holy state of mind, pure satisfaction of soul, and inexpressible delight in the contemplation of the Gospel. Christ will be formed in you, and you will begin to learn the breadth, and length, and height, and depth of his unsearchable riches.

"All you have to do is to give your testimony to the truth of *real* religion, when opportunities shall be afforded, in modesty and simplicity; alleging that the Gospel is not in *form*, but in *power;* and that we must all suffer a change of heart before we can enter the kingdom of God. This is the truth which I maintain in my preaching, and it is found to be the only effectual doctrine to reach the hearts of men."

The close of this truly interesting letter affords a most substantial proof of the practical influence of Mr. Buchanan's principles, and of the sincerity of the religious professions and purposes which precede it:

"By the last ships I sent four hundred pounds to Mr. H. Thornton, being the amount of his expense on my own account at college for four years,

at one hundred pounds per annum. He never expected that I should repay him, but God has put it in my power, and therefore it is my duty.

"I told him I only sent it back to the fountain from whence it would probably soon flow again in some act of benevolence.

"I also sold him that I meant to devote five hundred pounds for the support of a young man at the university, of religious character and good ability, who might be in poor circumstances, and whom he, or Mr. Newton, or Dr. Milner, president of Queen's college, should select. At the same time I remitted an order on Messrs. Boehm & Co. to Mr. T. for paying the sum of £125 per annum, by half yearly instalments, for this purpose: and I expressed a wish that the young man might prove an honor to the Gospel, and become an useful laborer in his Master's vineyard.

"While it is in my power, I wish to do some good thing for the Gospel of my blessed Lord. I may soon be called hence. May I be able to devote my heart to his glory while I stay!

"May we be grateful stewards of God's blessings, so abundant and unlooked for! And may we continue daily to remember the wonderful way in which we have been led from our early years to this day!"

Various motives might have suggested to many

men, possessed of lucrative appointments, the propriety of restoring to a patron the sum which might have been expended in preparing them for their stations. Such a step, however, might not have been distinguished by promptness, and still less by any act of spontaneous liberality. In both these respects the conduct of Mr. Buchanan was of a very elevated and generous character. It was but a short time that he had enjoyed an abundant income; he had already two children, for whom he could as yet have made but very little provision; he was affording a liberal allowance to his mother; his own health was precarious, and that of his wife was subjecting him to the expense of a voyage to England, with a view to her return to India; the principal source of his emoluments was of an uncertain nature, and had, in fact, though then unknown to him, been already considerably diminished. Gratitude, however, to his earthly benefactor, and love to his divine Lord and Master, induced him, notwithstanding many plausible motives at least to defer his purpose, at once to discharge a debt of kindness, and to fulfil a truly christian design; and under these impressions he communicated to Mr. Thornton the arrangement which has been already detailed. The sense which that gentleman entertained of Mr. Buchanan's conduct was probably expressed in a letter to him-

self: but the only memorial of it which remains is in the following letter to a mutual friend:

"London, Dec. 24, 1802.

"Dear Sir,—I called at your house the other day, and if I had met with you I should have informed you of the letter which I have received from Mr. Buchanan. He remits in it five hundred and twenty pounds; of which four hundred is intended as a repayment to myself of the four years' allowance which I made to him at college, and the remaining sum is to be applied in a manner which he directs. He moreover gives me a letter to a house in London, desiring them to pay me an annual sum for four years, for the education of such young man for the ministry as I, Mr. Newton, and Dr. Milner may select.

"I am not quite clear whether Mr. Buchanan, at the time of writing the letter, was apprised of all that diminution of his income which the orders sent out from hence for suspending the institution of the college will produce; and I feel some doubt, on this account, whether either to take or to keep the four hundred pounds. I shall thank you for any information on this point which you may possess; as well as for the mention of any promising young man for education at college, with a view to the ministry of the church. I would also request you to take some occasion of expressing to Mr. Bu-

chanan the satisfaction which I felt at this mark of integrity, or of something more than integrity, as I ought to term it, in his conduct. It has raised him in the opinion both of myself and others, and it will not, as I am persuaded, be one of the acts of which he will repent whenever he may come to die. For my own part I shall always hold that his children will have some claim upon me in consequence of the return of this money, in the event of their falling into pecuniary difficulties; and Providence, I am well persuaded, is wont to provide for those who, without robbing or neglecting their own household, avoid the common eagerness to lay up for them.

"I am, dear sir, yours sincerely,

"H. THORNTON."

It may be satisfactory to add to the preceding letter, that Mr. Buchanan's liberal offer was accepted; and that a young man, approved by the three friends to whom the selection was referred, was afterwards supported during the usual term of residence at the University of Cambridge; who is now filling with ability and credit a very useful station in the church.

While the members of the college of Fort William were zealously and successfully occupied in the prosecution of their labors, the Governor General in council, on the 15th of June, 1802, receiv-

ed with the utmost concern *the commands of the Court of Directors for the immediate abolition* of that important institution. On the 22d following, Lord Wellesley communicated this despatch to Mr. Buchanan, who, in common with every other friend of the college, deeply lamented this unexpected determination; and directed him to consider of a reply to the reasons upon which it was professedly grounded. The Governor General was at all times fully competent to the defence of his own measures, though he might, and probably did, avail himself of the talents and information of those around him upon every great question. It is sufficient to observe that, in a letter* to the chairman of the Court of Directors, dated the 5th of August, 1802, characterized by the same ability which had distinguished his minute in council, Marquis Wellesley submitted to the Court a general view of the principles by which his conduct had been regulated relative to the establishment of the college, and of the measures which he had pursued on, what his lordship termed, the present "most painful and afflicting occasion."

In directing the immediate abolition of the college of Fort William, the Governor General observed, the letter of the honorable Court appeared to acknowledge with approbation the liberal and

* See "The College of Fort William," p. 65.

enlightened spirit of the institution, the just principles on which it was founded, and the important ends to which it was directed. The objections stated by the Court against the continuance of the establishment were apparently confined to its expense, and to the pressure of that charge on the present circumstances of the Company's finances in India. The first object therefore of Lord Wellesley was, by a minute detail of facts, to convince the Court that the expenses already incurred on account of the college had not been more considerable than was required by the magnitude of the objects proposed by the institution; that those expenses had been actually defrayed by new resources destined to that express purpose; and that provision had been secured for defraying the future current expenses of the college, without interfering with any other branch of the public service, and without diminishing the scale of their commercial investments.

It appeared, however, to be manifestly the intention of the Court of Directors that *some* establishment for the better instruction of the civil servants at each of the presidencies should subsist in India; the outlines of which had been traced in their letter to the Governor General. His lordship, therefore, next proceeded to compare the actual expense and ascertained benefit of the institution then subsisting at Fort William, with the probable

expense and probable benefit of the seminaries by which the Court intended to supersede that institution. The result of this comparison was stated to be, that the necessary effect of the latter plan would be to involve the expense of a triple establishment for every branch of study alike requisite at each of the three presidencies, which must equal, and would probably exceed, the total current charges, on the highest estimate, of the college of Fort William.

The Governor General further directed the particular attention of the court to the benefits already derived to their civil service from the operation and effect of the system of study and discipline constituted and enforced by the college of Fort William. The general progress of the students, his lordship declared, in the oriental languages and literature, had exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the examiners, who had always been selected from the ablest oriental scholars actually at Calcutta, and whose voluntary aid had been afforded to support the discipline, and to improve the course of study and the mode of instruction pursued in the institution. A spirit of emulation had been excited among the students, as unexampled in its scope and ardor, as it was propitious to the future government of India. The institution had already corrected many of the defects which Lord Wellesley had found in the younger branches of

the civil service upon his arrival in India, and had reclaimed to industrious and laborious pursuits many of the junior servants who were disposed to pursue courses of a contrary tendency. That a general disposition to economy and regularity then prevailed among the students; that principles of due subordination had also been established among them with the happiest success; and that the young men then composing the body of the students at Fort William afforded the most auspicious hope that the local administration of India, for several years to come, would be amply provided with instruments properly qualified to accomplish all the purposes of a wise, just, and benevolent government.

Though these and other considerations might have induced the Governor General to suspend the execution of the order for the abolition of the college, and to refer the question to the further pleasure of the court, the peculiar character and spirit of its commands, and the nature of the institution, seemed to require their immediate execution. To this his lordship accordingly proceeded; but in fulfilling this painful duty a most serious and difficult question arose with regard to the time when the abolition of the college should take effect. The determination of this question involved principles so deeply affecting the welfare, future prospects, and just expectations of the students, and also the con-

sideration due to the situation of the professors and teachers, and of the numerous learned natives attached to the institution, that Lord Wellesley felt himself compelled to declare that the abolition of the college of Fort William must be gradual; and that the institution should not terminate previously to the 31st of December, 1803, when the great body of the students then attached to the college would have completed the course which they had so successfully commenced. His lordship finally observed, that he had been partly induced to protract the existence of the institution, from the hope that his preceding representation might prove the means of inducing the Court of Directors to review their late orders, and to restore to their civil service in India the inestimable advantages which must be destroyed by the destruction of the college, and to suffer it to remain unaltered until he should have the opportunity of reporting in person to the court the condition and effects of the institution, and of submitting to them such details as might enable them to exercise their final judgment on the whole plan.

In the spring of this year Mr. Buchanan received letters from his wife, whose health appeared to be considerably restored by her visit to her native country, announcing her intention of leaving England in the month of January. "This," said he, in a letter to the friend in whose family she had

resided some months during her visit, " was joyful intelligence to me. In two or three months hence, I may be blessed with seeing her again. When she mentions her affectionate intimacy with your family, she writes in tears. But I see evidently that it is the Gospel union which so powerfully awakens her heart in speaking of the happiness of her residing with you. I expect that she will do good in Carmarthen, and I hope she will do good in Calcutta. She comes out to a promising scene of joy; to see her little Augusta, now grown up a healthy and talkative girl; calling out for mamma for two years past in vain. And she comes out to many who love and respect her, and to some who have learnt during her absence to love 'the excellent of the earth.'

" I have now a house in the country, about three miles from Calcutta, on the banks of the river, where she may sleep occasionally, and retire from company. I spend three or four solitary evenings every week in Garden Reach. The change of place and air refreshes me for the labors of the succeeding day. Augusta and I play together in the groves, and then return by water to Calcutta. A gentleman leaving India sent me his boat as a present to Mary when she comes out. I find the river air very salutary and renovating, and perhaps she will find it so too. But our pleasures at Clapham or on the Ganges are transitory. May they be so tempered

with prayer as to prepare us both for the pleasures of that 'other country,' where there will be no separation, and where the inhabitants will never say, 'I am sick!' Mrs. B. mentions the circumstances of your illness with a lively concern mingled with a sensation of pleasure. Her hours passed by your sick couch were delightful. Providence hath well ordered her steps. It may be, indeed, that I shall never see her; or that I shall contemplate her departing spirit for a short time in her emaciated frame. But then God hath made with her a covenant well ordered and sure! Thus it is with my house. And this is my joy. Thus God hath blessed our short sojourn together; and the end will be an eternal song of glory to his redeeming love!"

Though the fears which Mr. Buchanan expresses with so much tenderness and piety as to the probably short period of his reunion with his wife were but too well founded, it is pleasing to reflect that he was gratified by again seeing her in India. She embarked on board the Carmarthen in the month of February; and, as Mr. Buchanan had anticipated, the piety of her mind was displayed during the voyage by her endeavors to promote the religious improvement of two young ladies, one of whom had been placed under her protection. Mrs. Buchanan had a more favorable voyage than in returning to Europe, and arrived safely at Calcutta on the 24th of August.

The remainder of the letter, from which an interesting passage respecting Mrs. Buchanan has just been extracted, is occupied with the important subject of the college of Fort William; in which, though some things occur similar to those which have been already stated from the public letter of Lord Wellesley, many additional facts and sentiments are contained, more particularly with reference to Mr. Buchanan himself, which it may be proper to insert.

"You say," he continues, "that you hear the college is abolished. It has been long abolished in London, but it still exists here, in greater spirit and utility than ever; and it must continue to exist (though perhaps under a different name) as long as the British empire reigns in India. To send a young man adrift in the upper provinces, without any knowledge of the languages, and without any official preparation, is now utterly impossible. The good sense of young men themselves would deprecate it. Every one here sees that the body of civil servants educated these three years in the college of Fort William will by and by govern India. Many of them are already approaching to the most responsible situations. The body of juniors that follow, if left in their native ignorance, will be held in comparative contempt, and must ever feel the injustice done to them.

"The directors wish the institution to be called a *seminary*, and then they will support it. I have no objection to the name, provided that the young men are taught; and they must be taught in future. You might as well think of abolishing the schools in London, as abolishing schools in Calcutta. Thus much then has been effected by the institution of the college. Education has been proved to be useful in India. Of the students who have just left college, only eight out of thirty have contracted any debt. Many of them have saved money; a thing unheard of in India, and by the old civil servants accounted impossible. This is the point to which the public attention is turned. The reign of native money lenders is now at an end. But a school or *seminary* directed by native moonshees, and destitute of the high and respectable jurisdiction of learned and religious men, would never be able to effect this desirable purpose. The authority and the honors of a college are alone competent to restrain a body of young men of good families and flattering prospects in this luxurious and deteriorating country. That ever such an objection as that of expense should have been urged by the directors appears to me unaccountable. The expense, whatever it has been, is now amply liquidated; and in a manner more favorable to the interests of the Company than if the sum had been paid into their treasury; with some advantage of health, of

morals, and of learning, and with some coercion of the native ascendancy, which has ever been deemed the bane of the British administration in India.

"Satisfied, however, with the good which *has* been done by the institution, we wait submissively for the period of its regular dissolution; which will be in December next. Even were it to continue in its present state, or in one yet more improved and respectable, I should not desire to bear a part in it. I have weak health. My heart seeks to be disengaged from collegiate labors, and to find rest and refreshment in the *one* spiritual work of the everlasting Gospel. Fortune or fame cannot add an hour's happiness to my present existence; but they may interrupt it. I feel a secret pleasure in the purpose of the directors to abolish the college, as it respects *myself;* but I feel at the same time that its continuance under other men would be favorable to my evangelical labors in this country.

"In perfect confidence, therefore, that God will order all things aright, in time, manner, and event, I implore the direction of his Spirit to improve 'the passing day.' My chief source of despondency at times is the want of fellow-laborers, of learned and serious men, in this vineyard, where there is so numerous a body of well educated young men.

"I would willingly at this moment give 50,000 rupees for two religious and respectable young men established in the church of Calcutta, and ca-

pable of conducting the studies of the college. Foreseeing where we were likely to fail, I took early measures to procure such from home, both by addressing Lord Wellesley and by writing myself. But we have not succeeded. But this also is directed by an all-wise providence; and he will accomplish his glory by any means."

The number of Mr. Buchanan's correspondents was this year increased by the return to Europe of Major Sandys, who, in a season of severe domestic affliction, had been led to search the Scriptures for consolation; and to whom the preaching of Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan had been blessed as the means of bringing him to the knowledge of the Gospel, from the proud holds of philosophical infidelity. To this gentleman, with whom Mr. Buchanan afterwards maintained an uninterrupted and affectionate intercourse, he wrote, in the month of June, as follows:

"I suppose you will have seen all your friends by this time, and settled your plans. I am anxious to know how you find yourself after a year's residence in England. We do as usual in Calcutta. Serious religion appears to increase. Mr. Obeck is yet alive, but declining fast. He begs his blessing on you, whom he calls 'a young man,' and wishes you a long christian life. You are quite forgotten by the gay world here, even by those who used to

feast with you sometimes. Those who are always asking me about you are the poor people who knew you but half a year.

" . . . . and . . . . are laboring at their docks and accounts, thinking often of England, and sometimes of another world.

" The whole settlement is at present in agitation, giving Lord W. a public entertainment. The hawk as usual on the steeple looks down in amazement at the bustle. It costs sixty thousand rupees.

" . . . . is sick. He has had many attacks. *She* seeks comfort at church; and he begins to think, perhaps, that he can obtain it no where else.

" But your interest in all these Calcutta matters will weaken every month. That the Gospel is honored will be to you the most welcome and the most interesting news. Adieu, my dear Sandys."

The following is an extract from a second letter of Mr. Buchanan to Major Sandys, dated early in September:

" Your letter from St. Helena I have just received by Mrs. Buchanan, who arrived there the day after you had sailed. Mary is much improved in health, and greatly matured in spiritual knowledge, strength, and grace, which is the chief theme of my happiness. Her missing you was a keen disappointment at the moment. But she soon reflected

that God had ordered it for wise and gracious purposes, and then she submitted She opened your letters to me which she found at Major Greentree's. These letters astonished her beyond measure. She thought that you had yet been a man of the world, (for she had not heard that your affliction had been sanctified to you,) but behold she found you to be a child of God; your understanding illuminated with knowledge, and your heart expanding with love, hope, joy, zeal, and all the charities. She lamented that she had no christian near her to whom she might, in pious confidence, communicate the happy news. So she disburdened her heart by writing a letter to me.

"I was rejoiced to find by your letters that the Gospel is still glorious in your view, and that the world and its vanities had not obscured the heavenly vision. May this happy state be ever yours without alloy or reverse, but such as may be necessary to confirm, and strengthen, and perfect you in the inner man."

By a letter of the same date as the preceding, Mr. Buchanan communicated to Mr. Elliott an affecting but consoling account of the death of his son, who, in consequence of his distinguished proficiency in oriental learning, had been appointed by Marquis Wellesley secretary to an embassy to Arabia; but who, after having fulfilled with great

ability the duties of his mission, fell a victim to a fever in that country, and as a mark of peculiar honor, was interred in the garden of the Imam of Senna.

To the same friend Mr. Buchanan again wrote in the course of the month, as follows :

" Your letter by Mrs. Buchanan I received about a month ago, since which time no ship for Europe has sailed. I thank you for the 'Christian Observer.' You wish me to furnish some papers for it. Mr. Thornton wrote to me on the same subject; but I answered him that my present avocations will not permit it. A period of leisure may perhaps soon be granted to me. But this is not the only objection to my furnishing you with the life of Mr. Swartz. He left no papers; and those persons are now removed who could give the best information. He also deprecated posthumous praise; and was in constant dread of fame. He concealed often from Mr. Obeck (his only friend at one time) his favored seasons from on high.

" Mrs. Buchanan is quite surprised to find so much vital religion amongst us. My responsibility in college is greater at present than formerly; but the answer of the court will determine many points; and as far as relates to myself, they cannot help determining them to my satisfaction.

" We are carrying on a successful war against

the Mahrattas, fighting against them in three different quarters, and obtaining three victories at the same time. The Hindoos are happy that Juggernaut, their famous place of worship, has fallen into our hands, for our imposts will not be so great as those of the former possessors of the adjoining district."

The occasional notices which have occurred in Mr. Buchanan's letters respecting the pious and excellent Mr. Obeck, have probably excited a wish in the minds of most readers to know something of the closing scene of his life, as well as some farther particulars of his character. In the month of May Mr. Buchanan thus wrote to Mr. Grant:

"The departure of the aged Obeck appears to be at hand—at least he thinks so, and bids me impart to you his blessing while his understanding remains. He was carried into church last night, (Wednesday's lecture,) but was so much revived by the service and view of his brethren that he walked out with assistance. His only food at present is bread dipped in wine.

"Under this decay of body his mind is more vigorous than ever. He has, within this last year, assumed a very intrepid tone in rebuking sin, and remonstrating with the lukewarm, and in defining a holy life in India. But he has great joy among

the true disciples, and his spiritual comforts have of late been abundant."

Towards the end of the month of August following Mr. Buchanan thus describes to the same friend the progress of Mr. Obeck's decline:

"The good Obeck is yet alive; but his loins are girt for the heavenly journey. He is confined to his room, and cannot attend church. But the church attends him. He listens with delight to the voice of praise in the adjoining building on the Sunday and Thursday evenings.

"We have arranged all his temporal affairs to his satisfaction. He has given us his text for his funeral sermon; in preaching which, I fear my spirits will fail me. It is difficult to speak of the deceased father to the surviving children."

This venerable man was now very fast approaching his end. Early in September he felt a presentiment that he should not live to the close of that month; and accordingly, on the 24th, Mr. Buchanan thus announced his death to his respected friend and benefactor:

"The aged Obeck has at last departed. For some weeks before, he almost daily expected his dismission. He had no spiritual conflict at his last

hour, but manifested constantly peace, joy, and high assurance. He was sensible to the last; and when he could not speak, he testified his exultation of soul by pressing ardently to his breast his fellow-saints. He left to you and your family his solemn blessing. I send you a paper containing some notice of his death.

"Just before Mr. Obeck's death I preached his dying sermon in the mission church, from these words: 'The time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also who love his appearing.'

"Mr. Brown will preach his funeral sermon next Sunday evening."

Of what Mr. Buchanan styles Mr. Obeck's dying sermon it may not be uninteresting to many readers to insert an extract; both as it contains a pleasing and animated sketch of the life and character of that exemplary christian, and as it may afford a specimen of the spirit of Mr. Buchanan's preaching upon such occasions.

"This excellent man does not speak of manifestations and visions of glory, which have some-

times attended the death of good men; but he manifests a calm, rational, and placid spirit, founded on the basis of an immovable faith, yet accompanied by such ardor of expression, and by such an assurance of hope, as would abash philosophy itself.

"He has none of those doubts which are often found on a death-bed. He has not those fears and misgivings of conscience which the unstable and careless christian often experiences. He has none of those fearful forebodings which harass the soul of the despiser of religion in his last hour. He is a stranger to that gloomy despair which often haunts the soul of the man who has passed through life the slave of ambition or the votary of pleasure. No, *his* last moments are the happiest of his life. *His* ambition through life has been to obtain 'that honor which cometh from God;' and *his* pleasure has been, in serving God with his whole heart; in loving his neighbor as himself; in forgiving his enemies; and in praying for those who persecute and despitefully use the professor of the Gospel of Christ.

"Do you inquire on what *faith* these good works and this holy disposition were founded? Let me express to you his faith, collected chiefly from his own words:

"'I am a sinner, saved by the mercy of God in Christ. By nature I am impure and unholy. Nothing

in me, no merit of mine, could make me the object of God's distinguishing grace. But I believed the word of God, and I was enabled to offer up my prayers at an early age, that he would open my understanding and lead me to a knowledge of his truth. And his promise was fulfilled to me, (as it is fulfilled to every serious inquirer,) 'Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek, and ye shall find.' By degrees the mysteries of the Gospel were opened to my view. I beheld myself a lost and undone soul, lying with a multitude in a world of wickedness; subject to the just wrath of God. But I at the same time heard of the offer made to a perishing world by the Saviour Christ. I beheld the whole world overwhelmed by a flood of sin and misery, and the ark of redemption floating on the waters. Every page of the Gospel showed me that there was no salvation but by the ark Christ; that his atonement on the cross was the only atonement for my past and future sins; that his gracious Spirit influencing my soul was the only preservative from my evil passions and from an ensnaring world; and that his mediation alone procures our access to God, and warrants an answer to our prayers.

"'Thus,' said he, 'the perusal of the word of God was blessed to my soul. I received it in its plain and obvious meaning; and I have had a constant experience of its truth through my past life. It has been a light to my steps and a lantern to

my paths. Its peculiar doctrines appear now all light and glory to my soul. I know that the denunciations of God against the despisers of his Gospel will be expressly executed; and I know that his promises of glory to the righteous will be fulfilled in a way that "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath entered into the heart of man;" and the anticipation of this glory is to me *unutterable.* My prayer at my last moments is, that this power of the Gospel may be felt more and more at this place; that the blessing of God may rest on this church; that the ministers may labor in the word with zeal and faithfulness; and that the hearers may receive the word preached with meekness and affection; that so the testimony of the Gospel may prevail, and the church of Christ may begin to flourish in this dark corner of the world.

"'I leave,' said he, 'my blessing on this church.

"'As to my numerous family, I leave them with scarcely the means of subsistence; but I leave them dependent on that gracious providence which has supported me from youth to age, in a state of apparent poverty and yet possessing abundance. I leave my children to God as to a surviving Father, who will care for them as he hath cared for me, and will, I trust, bless my instructions to the salvation of their souls.

"'As to *myself*, my hope is in heaven. The promises of God are in a manner already fulfilled to

me. His truth and faithfulness are demonstrated to my soul. By his mercy "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also who love his appearing.'

"Such, my brethren, are the sentiments, the expressions, and the heavenly hope of this good man. He now lies on his death-bed in the house adjoining this church, and endeavors to join the praises of the congregation with his feeble voice. He could even now confirm every sentiment respecting him which I have uttered; and he could confirm them with an energy and eloquence of which I am incapable.

"Who is there in this assembly who is not ready to say, 'Let *me* also die the death of the righteous; and let my last end be like *his*?'"

In the same month in which the preceding sermon was preached, Mr. Buchanan was called to perform a similar office on occasion of the death of Mr. Archibald Edmonstone, of the board of trade, who left behind him a noble testimony to his faith in the Gospel. "His last words," says Mr. Buchanan, in mentioning the event in a letter to a friend, "were these, 'Blessed be the God and Fa-

ther of our Lord Jesus Christ, who through his abundant mercy hath begotten me again unto a lively hope, through the resurrection of his Son Jesus Christ from the dead, to an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away.' These words his brother has directed to be engraven on his tomb."

The manner in which Mr. Edmonstone, who then filled one of the most confidential situations under the Presidency of Bengal, and is celebrated for his oriental learning, classical taste, and cultivated understanding, described Mr. Buchanan's funeral sermon on his brother, is too honorable to him to be omitted. It occurs in a note from Mr. Edmonstone to his friend Captain Baillie, professor of the Arabic language and of Mohammedan law in the college of Fort William, and is as follows:

"Sunday, Sept. 11, 1803.

"My dear B——, I am returned from hearing a most affecting and impressive discourse, delivered by Mr. Buchanan with a degree of feeling that does honor to his heart, on the occurrence of last week. I am anxious that Mr. B. should know how grateful I feel for this high tribute of respect to the memory and virtues of a beloved brother, and I therefore entreat you to express to Mr. B. my sincere gratitude for this distinguished mark of his regard for him. Tell him that he has afforded to

my mind a real consolation, and that I trust I shall ever after be the better for the affecting and forcible manner in which he has held forth to imitation the example of a life of true piety and virtue. Further, I request that you will convey to Mr. B. my earnest wish (if it be not improper) that he will allow me to transcribe his discourse, both for the purpose of retaining it for my own use and benefit, and of transmitting a copy of it to those in Europe who will indeed need the consolation for such an irreparable loss which so distinguished a testimony to the merits of a son and a brother is calculated to afford. Never does a clergyman appear more conspicuously respectable than when he combines with the public duties of his calling the offices of humanity and consolation; and never while I live will the memory of Mr. B.'s solemn and eloquent discourse on this melancholy occasion, nor the gratitude and respect for him which it has excited, be obliterated from the mind of your ever affectionate

"N. B. EDMONSTONE.

"To Captain Baillie."

It was in the summer of this year that Mr. Buchanan first thought of proposing certain subjects of *prize composition*, connected with the civilization and moral improvement of India, to the universities of the United Kingdom. With this laudable intention he waited on the Governor General, and

having obtained his lordship's approbation of the plan, he, on the 20th of October, despatched letters to the vice-chancellors and principals of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, of Edinburgh, Glasgow, St. Andrew's, and Aberdeen, to the provost of Trinity college, Dublin, and to the head masters of Eton, Westminster, and the Charter House schools, containing the following proposals: For the best essay in English prose on "the best means of extending the blessings of civilization and true religion among the sixty millions, inhabitants of Hindostan, subject to British authority;" in each university, one hundred pounds. For the best English poem on "the revival of letters in the East," sixty pounds. For the best Latin ode or poem on "Collegium Bengalense," twenty-five pounds; and the same sum for the best Greek ode on "Γενεσθω φως."* The sum of fifty pounds each for the best Latin and Greek poems was offered to the successful candidate at each of the public schools.

No less a sum than sixteen hundred and fifty pounds was thus appropriated by Mr. Buchanan to this benevolent and patriotic purpose. The unusual nature and munificent extent of his offers induced some to suppose, either that they were not made simply at his own suggestion and responsibility,

* "Let there be light."

or that he must have been actuated by motives of ostentation and vanity. With respect to the proposals themselves, they undoubtedly originated solely with Mr. Buchanan, and were supported exclusively by his own liberality. He was ever a man of a large and generous mind, fertile in devising plans of usefulness, and prompt in seizing the first opportunity of executing them. He was anxious to extend in this country the knowledge of the character and effects of the great collegiate institution which he had been called to superintend; and the recent victories of our armies in the Peninsula having enlarged and confirmed our eastern empire, he was desirous of awakening and directing the minds of his countrymen at home to the duty and the opportunity of promoting the moral and political welfare of our fellow-subjects in India. Publicity and inquiry were therefore his great objects; publicity, not as to his own character or fame, for this he knew might have been far more certainly obtained by more obvious and less costly means, but as to the great and philanthropic design which he had in view; and this induced him to endeavor to interest in his plan even the higher forms in our public schools. The *result* of his liberal proposals must be reserved to the period of their reception and success in this country.

In the month of November following Mr. Buchanan first communicated his thoughts on the ex-

pediency of an ecclesiastical establishment for British India, in letters to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to the rest of the episcopal bench, having previously submitted them to Marquis Wellesley. The reply which he received from the late Bishop Porteus confirmed and encouraged him in his determination to bring that important subject fully before the public.

It was in the course of this year also that Mr. Buchanan obtained the sanction of the Governor General to the building of a new church in Calcutta. But the extensive plans of Lord Wellesley respecting the college, and other political concerns, prevented the execution of this design.

A few circumstances which occur in Mr. Buchanan's letters to Mr. Grant and Major Sandys towards the end of this year, may here be added. To the former he thus wrote in October and December:

"The venerable Obeck had not been dead many weeks, when his old friend Mr. Gerické, that valuable man, took his departure also. The church at Madras is in great affliction; for there is no one to fill his place. Letters have come to us for help. But we can give none. I do not know what acquaintance you may have with that mission; but attention to it appears to me highly important in the present state of things. If there were any mis-

sionary like-minded with Gerické within your reach, we could from Calcutta add something to his salary, if that be desirable."

To Major Sandys Mr. Buchanan wrote as follows:

"We are passing through an eventful season in India. The order of the day is victory, and the Mahratta power is at length destroyed. The whole peninsula is now under British dominion. I have taken advantage of the crisis, in endeavoring to excite our universities at home to plead the cause of eastern civilization.

"Mary improves in health daily. She has no sanguine wish to return to England; and it is a subject on which I never think. My health continually bids it, but nothing else. Providence will in due time unlock every difficulty, and make our purpose and duty clear."

The character of the audience usually assembling at the presidency church has been already noticed. It has also been observed that, a few years previous to this period, the spirit of infidelity or of religious indifference was lamentably general in our eastern capital; and the infection still remained among some, who, from neglected education, or the influence of circumstances and habits peculiarly unfriendly to christianity, were scarcely aware of the nature of religious sentiment and feeling.

Amongst other subjects, therefore, of discourse more directly suited to those who acknowledged the great truths of the Gospel, Mr. Buchanan occasionally addressed those who doubted of its divine authority; and the perspicuity and force with which he stated its various evidences tended materially to extend and confirm the conviction of its truth. The importance of such discourses is much heightened from the consideration of their probable effect on the minds of the numerous young men who as yet continued to be assembled from the three presidencies at the college of Fort William, and who might be justly expected to carry with them to their different stations, throughout India, those sound principles of christian faith and practice which they had heard thus ably and eloquently inculcated.

CHAPTER VI.

Two years' further residence in Calcutta—The College—Translations of the Scriptures—Extensive designs of usefulness.

The college of Fort William, according to the regulation of Lord Wellesley, in obedience to the

decision of the Court of Directors, was to close on the 31st of December, 1803. It was, however, a very gratifying circumstance to the friends of that institution, that on the 3d of January, 1804, a despatch announced to the Governor General the determination of the court that the college should for the present continue on its original footing. The business and examinations of the students accordingly proceeded in their usual train, or rather with additional spirit.

"An example of idleness," says Mr. Buchanan in a letter to a friend, "is a rare thing. The appointments to the service continue to be made according to the college list, that is, according to merit."

The annual disputations in the oriental languages were held this year on the 20th of September, in the presence of the Governor General, accompanied, as usual, by the principal officers of the presidency, with the addition, on this occasion, of Soliman Aga, the envoy from Bagdad. The subjects of the disputations were, "the Shanscrit, as the parent language of India," in Hindostanee; "the figurative sense of the poems of Hafiz," in Persian; "the utility of translations of the best works extant in the Shanscrit into the popular languages of India," in Bengalee; and, in Arabic, "the importance

of the Arabic to a grammatical knowledge of the Persian language." A declamation was afterwards pronounced in Shanscrit, for the first time, by one of the students, which was followed by a speech in the same language by Rev. Mr. Carey, the moderator and professor.

Prizes were at the same time awarded for the best English essays on "the utility of the Persian language in India," on "the progress of civilization in India under the British government," and on "the decline and fall of the Mohammedan empire in India." Honorary rewards of books were also adjudged to the best proficients in the Greek and Latin classics, and in the French language.

The several compositions of this year were afterwards published in the third volume of the "Primitiæ Orientales."

In the speech with which Marquis Wellesley closed the proceedings of the day, his lordship declared that in each successive year the standard of comparative merit had been progressive in the highest classes of the college, and expressed his cordial satisfaction at the proficiency and good conduct of the students.

"The observance of all the statutes," said his lordship, "is equally essential to the interests and honor of the students; nor is their duty confined merely to the diligent pursuit of the prescribed

course of study. The intention of the statutes is not only to provide instruction in the oriental languages, and in the several branches of study immediately connected with the performance of official functions, but to prescribe habits of regularity and good order. My principal purpose in founding this institution was, to secure the junior servants of the Company from all undue influence in the discharge of their official functions, and to introduce them into the public service in perfect freedom and independence, exempt from every restraint, excepting the high and sacred obligations of their civil, moral, and religious duty."

In the course of the year 1804 several circumstances occurred, connected with Mr. Buchanan and the college of Fort William, which will be best introduced by a few extracts from his letters. He thus wrote to Major Sandys in the month of February:

"We are much the same in church, state, and college, as when you left us; only, in respect to myself, my various labors have increased, are increasing, and, I fear, will not be diminished.

"I am literally left alone in many matters of a public nature, particularly in a battle now fighting (the worst I have yet had) with Mussulman and Hindoo prejudices against *translations of the Scriptures*. Their clamor has assailed the government.

Lord Wellesley and Mr. Barlow are neuter; but the old civil servants fan the flame. A folio volume would not detail the particulars; but I trust you will soon hear of the good effect. In the meantime I am growing infirm in body, and long for more holy employ than that of hewing wood only for our future sanctuary in India. I know that what is doing is useful; but spiritual comforts do not accompany the occupation in the degree I desire and look forward to, when I have peace from public conflict."

The particular circumstance to which Mr. Buchanan probably referred in the preceding extract, was a memorial which about this time was addressed to the Governor General in consequence of the following subject having been proposed, among others, for discussion by the students of the college, at the annual disputations which have been just mentioned: viz. "The advantage which the natives of this country might derive from translations, in the vernacular tongues, of the books containing the principles of their respective religions, and those of the christian faith."

There certainly appears to be no ground of offence to the natives of India in the foregoing thesis. A christian might rather have objected to it as placing his most holy faith too much upon a level with heathen and Mohammedan error. A memorial

was, however, addressed to the Governor General on the part of the Mohammedan moonshees, and of a number of the Mussulman inhabitants of Calcutta, remonstrating against this supposed infringement of the toleration afforded to them by the British government. In reply, Marquis Wellesley signified to the memorialists that although he perceived no principle of an objectionable tendency in the foregoing thesis, yet, with a view to prevent all apprehension on the part of the natives, he had prohibited the intended disputation upon that subject.

Some years afterwards this incident was appealed to on the part of the Bengal government in support of some measures tending to discourage or suppress the exertions of missionaries. Upon which occasion Mr. Buchanan observed* that the memorial probably originated in the suggestions of some individuals at that time connected with the government and the college, who appeared to entertain a degree of morbid tenderness for the religious feelings of the natives.

These gentlemen had from the beginning been hostile to a most important work which had been carrying on in the college: viz. the translation of the Scriptures into the oriental languages by na-

* See his "Apology for promoting Christianity in India," p. 102.

tives and Europeans. So great was their jealousy on this subject, that there existed a kind of compromise between the friends and the opponents of this salutary measure, that if the Bible were printed for christians, the Koran should be printed for Mohammedans. It is to this honorable contest that Mr. Buchanan refers in the letter last quoted; and, happily for the interests of christianity, he was decidedly successful. Within the following year a commencement was made in the translation of the Scriptures into several languages. The first versions of any of the Gospels in Persian and Hindostanee which were printed in India, issued from the press of the college of Fort William.*

Of these and other translations of the Scriptures then projected and undertaken, only a very inconsiderable part was executed at the public expense. The sole charge incurred by the college in the department of sacred translation was for the Gospel of St. Matthew in Persian and Hindostanee; with this exception, the extensive biblical works successively announced from this institution was carried on at the private expense of those members of the college, amongst whom the provost and vice-provost held the first rank, and others, who deemed it to be of the highest importance to promote the diffusion of sacred literature in Asia.

* Dr. Carey's 2d edition was issued as early as 1803.

A second occurrence in this year marked an improved state of moral feeling in Calcutta, and particularly illustrates the salutary influence of the college of Fort William. It is thus mentioned by Mr. Buchanan in a letter to Major Sandys, in the month of August:

"The institution of a civil *fund for widows and orphans* agitates this service at present. The old gentlemen wish to include black illegitimate children. The junior servants, who are now or have been in college, almost with one voice exclaim against a measure which they conceive would have a tendency to sanction vice, and to countenance an illicit connection with native women. The question is now referred to the vote of every individual in the service. In the meantime one of my old scholars has written a letter to the service; in which he complains of their violation of the divine law, and requests them to revert to the principles of honor and chastity. Mr. M—— is in the Governor General's office, and is supported by the young school, by all the college, by the Governor General, and by all the friends of revealed religion. Caricature prints, exhibiting the mover of the subject, with a black child in his arms, pleading its cause in full assembly, while a black dye behind urges him forward; and various other devices mark the popular question, and promise to brand the immo-

ral practice. It is said that the affliction and shame of the old service are extreme; and that they execrate the college and its fruits, and hope that the Court of Directors will now see how unfriendly it is to ancient institutions!

"What the result as to the fund will be I know not."

This, however, Mr. Buchanan stated to the public in the following year, in some remarks on "The College of Fort William." "The contest," he observes, "was maintained for a considerable time, by printed correspondence, and the fund was at length established *without* the opprobrious clause. But a few years ago," adds Mr. Buchanan, "any man who should have ventured to resist such a measure on the ground of religious or moral propriety, would have become the jest of the whole service. He must be an entire stranger to what is passing in Bengal, who does not perceive that the college of Fort William is sensibly promoting an amelioration of the European character as well as the civilization of India."

The activity of Mr. Buchanan's mind respecting objects which he deemed important to the interests of morals and religion, may be collected, not only from the preceding circumstances, but from various hints in his correspondence and diary.

Thus, at the close of the letter from which the foregoing extract was made, he says, "I have always some plans relating to church or college in his excellency's hands; and generally in arrear. But when he does take them up, it is with the proper attention." A memorandum also occurs in the same year, in which Mr. Buchanan notices a consultation which he had lately held with Sir George Barlow on a public thanksgiving, probably on account of the victorious termination of the Mahratta war, on the subject of a cenotaph for those who had fallen in battle, and respecting an order for the better observance of the Sabbath.

Amidst his various labors, however, the domestic trial with which Mr. Buchanan had been already exercised, was renewed by the reappearance, early in the summer of this year, of alarming consumptive symptoms in Mrs. Buchanan. In the course of the autumn she became so ill that her life was for a short time despaired of; and on her partial recovery, being strongly urged to proceed a second time to Europe, she at length very reluctantly consented.

Preparations were accordingly made for this purpose, and in October Mr. Buchanan briefly mentions in his diary that he had been on board the Lady Jane Dundas to look at Mrs. B.'s cabin. She did not, however, leave Calcutta till the 22d of January following, when Mr. Buchanan accompa-

nied her and her youngest daughter to the ship at Kedgeree; and on the 25th the fleet sailed for Madras, leaving him once more to return to a solitary home, full of tender but melancholy musings, hoping almost "against hope" for some favorable effect from her voyage, but rather endeavoring to prepare his mind for a contrary result. His memoranda testify the warmth of affection with which he again followed Mrs. Buchanan, by frequent notices of the letters which he wrote to her weekly, and sometimes almost daily, and of which it is much to be regretted that not a vestige remains.

It was at the anxious period which immediately preceded her departure from India, that Mr. Buchanan resolved to employ a part of the very limited leisure which his ministerial and collegiate duties allowed, to prepare a work which had long been the subject of his thoughts, and the importance of which is now universally acknowledged. This was what he afterwards entitled, "A Memoir of the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India."

The design of his "Memoir" was indeed, as he afterwards declared, first suggested to him by the late excellent Bishop Porteus; who had, he said, "attentively surveyed the state of our dominions in Asia," and had expressed his "conviction of the indispensable necessity of an ecclesiastical establishment for our Indian empire." He was encou-

raged also, as he added, "by subsequent communications with Marquis Wellesley, to endeavor to lead the attention of the nation to this subject." The manuscript of this work was transmitted to England in the spring, and published in the autumn of the year 1805.

Before we proceed, however, with the consideration of his "Memoir," it will be proper to recur to the prizes proposed by Mr. Buchanan to the universities and some of the public schools of the United Kingdom. They were accepted in the summer of 1804 by the several bodies to which they were offered, with the exception of the university of Oxford; by which they were declined, on the ground of certain objections in point of form. The prize compositions were directed to be delivered to the respective judges towards the end of the year; and early in the following spring the prizes were awarded to the successful candidates. Of the compositions which were thus honored, the greater number were afterwards published, as well as a few others which had proved unsuccessful. In the university of Cambridge the prize for the Greek ode was adjudged to Mr. Pryme, of Trinity college; and at Eton to Mr. Rennell, afterwards Fellow of King's college. At the same distinguished school Mr. Richards obtained the prize for the best Latin verses on the college of Fort William.

In Scotland three Latin poems were also pub-

lished by Mr. Mac Arthur, Mr. Adamson, and Dr. Brown, of which the two former were thought worthy of the prize by the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen. The composition, however, which reflected the highest honor on its author, and on the occasion which called it forth, was the English poem on "the restoration of learning in the East," by Charles Grant, Esq. then Fellow of Magdalen college, Cambridge. The poetical talents, the classical and oriental learning, the elevated sentiments, and the rich and varied command of language displayed in this prize composition, attracted general admiration; and tended materially to promote the design which the proposer of the subject had in view, by directing the public attention to the revival of learning on the banks of the Ganges, and by exciting it to the duty and the privilege of improving the condition of the degraded natives of Hindostan, and of spreading throughout our oriental empire the blessings of literature and religion. A second poem on this subject was published at the request of the examiners, by the Rev. Francis Wrangham, of Trinity college.

Essays on "the best means of civilizing the subjects of the British empire in India, and of diffusing the light of the christian religion throughout the eastern world," were published by the Rev. William Cockburn, Fellow of St. John's college, and Christian Advocate in the university of Cambridge,

to whom the prize was assigned; by Mr. Wrangham, who with laudable zeal engaged in the prose as well as in the poetical competition; by Dr. Tennant, then lately returned as a military chaplain from India; and by Messrs. Mitchell and Bryce, to whom the prize was respectively adjudged by the universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen.

These essays were, with one exception, the production of studious and speculative men, whose attention was probably first directed to the subject by Mr. Buchanan's proposal to the learned bodies of which they were members. Whilst it could scarcely, therefore, be expected that they should suggest any detailed practical arrangements for the civilization and instruction of the natives of Hindostan, they exhibited considerable historical and political research, together with enlightened and benevolent views of the duty of Great Britain to promote the important objects submitted to their discussion, and concurred in recommending the adoption of certain direct means for diffusing the blessings of christianity in India. They possessed the additional merit of contributing to bring before the public inquiries tending to ameliorate the moral and religious condition of our oriental empire.

The utility of the labors of missionaries, and the establishment of schools, was recognized by several of the writers last mentioned. The consideration, however, of an ecclesiastical establishment

was reserved for Mr. Buchanan himself; whose "Memoir" upon that subject was intended to point out the expediency of such a measure, "both as the means of perpetuating the christian religion among our own countrymen, and as a foundation for the ultimate civilization of the natives."

The first part of this work exhibited the very inadequate state of the clerical establishment in India at that period, for the great purposes of the instruction and religious communion of our resident countrymen. In the second part, after describing in just and forcible terms the pride, immorality, and bigotry of the Mohammedans, and the vices, enormities, and barbarities of Hindoo superstition and idolatry, Mr. Buchanan discussed at some length the practicability and the policy of attempting to civilize and improve them. In this part of his work he exhibited the character of the Hindoos in a different point of view from that in which they had been generally regarded. He asserted that their apathy is extreme, and that no efforts to instruct them, except such as partook of a compulsory nature, ought to be considered as attended with danger to the British government; that their prejudices are daily weakening in every European settlement; that they are a divided people; that they are less tenacious of opinion than of custom; and that to disseminate new principles among them is by no means so difficult as it is frequently repre-

sented. In obviating objections founded on the supposed impolicy of civilizing our Indian subjects, Mr. Buchanan, however, advanced to higher ground :

"The progressive civilization of India," he observes, "will never injure the interests of the East India Company. But shall a christian people, acknowledging a providence in the rise and fall of empire, regulate the policy of future times, and neglect a present duty, a solemn and imperious duty, exacted by their religion, by their public principles, and by the opinion of the christian nations around them? Or can it be gratifying to the English nation to reflect that they receive the riches of the East on the terms of chartering immoral superstition?"

The appeal was unanswerable, and produced a corresponding impression upon the public mind.

The third part of Mr. Buchanan's memoir strongly confirmed his arguments as to the practicability of his proposed plan, by a view of the progress already made in civilizing the nations of Hindostan. Many interesting facts were here stated relative to the existence of christianity in India from the earliest ages, and particularly respecting the native christians on the coast of Malabar, who, notwithstanding the accounts given of them by a few

learned men, were now, for the first time, prominently introduced to the knowledge of the English public. The labors of the Danish missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Grundler, and of the apostolic Swartz, were also commemorated; and the laudable and truly christian addresses of King George I. and Archbishop Wake to the former excellent men were exhibited as models of imitation to political and ecclesiastical governors of the present day.

An appendix to the memoir contained a variety of important information on the superstitions of the Hindoos, tending powerfully to correct the erroneous opinion so commonly entertained of them at this period, as a mild, humane, and inoffensive race.

Such was briefly the nature of the novel and interesting work which Mr. Buchanan transmitted to England in the year 1805, for publication. It was calculated, from the peculiar subjects of which it treated, to excite general attention, and to provoke both discussion and animadversion.

It had long been an object of anxiety to the superintendents of the college of Fort William to obtain a *version of the Scriptures in the Chinese language.* After many fruitless inquiries, they in this year succeeded in procuring the assistance of Mr. Lassar, a native of China, and an Armenian christian, whose name is now well known as a learned

professor of that language. Mr. Lassar arrived at Calcutta in a commercial capacity, and having met with some difficulties, he became known to Mr. Buchanan, who, appreciating his talents, generously liberated him from his embarrassments, and engaged him at a stipend of three hundred rupees per month, to devote himself to the translation of the Scriptures, and to the instruction of a Chinese class, formed of one of the elder and three of the junior members of the missionary establishment at Serampore. The expected reduction of the college rendering it inexpedient that Mr. Lassar should be attached to that institution, this stipend was afforded for about three years at the sole expense of Mr. Buchanan. To his liberality, therefore, must be chiefly ascribed the progress which has been made in that quarter towards supplying the vast empire of China with a translation of the sacred volume into its own extraordinary language.

The name of Mr. Buchanan appears in the year 1805 in the list of members of the Asiatic Society. He had probably been elected previously to that period, and if he did not contribute to the curious and valuable "researches" of that learned body, it was not so much from any want of interest in their labors, as from the pressure of his various employments, which allowed him only to devote his leisure to inquiries which were exclusively of an ecclesiastical and religious nature.

Two letters to one of his friends in this year contain proofs of the paternal anxiety with which Mr. Buchanan watched over the progress of the students of Fort William. The weekly reports of the different professors as to the proficiency of their classes were delivered to him every Saturday. Their representations, whether favorable or otherwise, were by him communicated to the college council, and ultimately through them, or himself, as their organ, to the Governor General. Mr. Buchanan mentions several instances of the beneficial effects of this watchful superintendence in stimulating even those who would otherwise have remained incorrigibly indolent to diligence and exertion. In a few cases the discipline which had been originally announced was firmly and impartially enforced; sometimes, but very rarely, by absolute removal from college, and the consequent loss of promotion in the service; at others, by the kind intervention of Mr. Buchanan with the Governor General, in cases which admitted of apology or excuse, by permission to retire, and an appointment which sufficiently marked the circumstances of inferiority in which the neglect of college duties had issued. Upon one such occasion Mr. Buchanan thus writes:

"It would have given me great satisfaction to have been able to send you such gratifying letters as I

have often written, and am now writing, to various families in England, Scotland, and Ireland, respecting their sons who have passed a long period in diligent study, acquired honors, and then lucrative appointments. But it has been ordered otherwise. Perhaps all will be well. Poor . . . ." (speaking of a student who had lately died,) "had certainly been cherishing solemn and serious purposes the fortnight before his death; and he no doubt died the child of many prayers. . . . . may yet prove himself to be the child of religious parents. Their case, however, speaks loudly to us who are fathers, teaching us to walk with humility and fear before God, committing our children to him in prayer and tears, and with much wrestling for a blessing on them when they depart from us. The world says, 'He who hath children hath given pledges to fortune.' The christian knows how this is to be translated."

Upon the general subject of religion in Calcutta Mr. Buchanan gave the following encouraging accounts to one of his correspondents:

"We have had divine service at the mission church, lately, for the settlement. The punkas make it very pleasant; but it was found to be too small for the auditory, many families going away every Sunday morning, seats being in general occupied an hour before service.

"You will be glad to hear that ——— still perseveres in listening to sacred things, as do many other young political servants whom you do not know. The demand for religious books, particularly of evangelical principles, has been very great these two last years. Messrs. Dring told me they had sold an investment of fifty 8vo Bibles in the course of three months"

In a subsequent letter he says: "On account of the increase of our congregations we are about to have two morning services on Sunday, the first at seven o'clock, in the old church, and the second at the usual hour of ten, at the new. This is very agreeable to a great majority. Only Mr. Brown and myself will officiate at the old church. We shall of course (at least I shall) continue to officiate as usual at the new."

About this time Mr. Buchanan thus mentions to a friend and relative the mixed nature of the congregations in Calcutta:

"We have some of all sects in our congregations; Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Methodists, Armenians, Greeks, and Nestorians. And some of these are part of my audience at the English church.

"I must lie down awhile and dictate to an amanuensis, for it is very hot. The thermometer is today near 110.

" . . . . . used in former life to prosecute all he took in hand with enthusiasm. He thought nothing done right if not done with all his might. So, perhaps, it is in his religion and private life. He is actuated by a pure, genuine enthusiasm. Eternity, he says, has opened to his view, and he would save the souls of men. We shall judge him by *his works* a few years hence.

" When the Hindoo had laid down the pen, and I had got up from my couch, he asked me what kind of a thing a *Methodist* was. I told him that it was a christian man in the little isle of Britain, who prayed too much, and was 'righteous overmuch!' The lad stared, and said, how can that be? So it is, said I; behold that man, (pointing to ——'s picture,) who is reputed a Methodist in England, and is a subject of ridicule on account of his excessive godliness. 'Among us,' replied the Hindoo, 'he would thereby acquire the more reverence and veneration.' "

At the close of one of the preceding letters Mr. Buchanan expressed his fears as to the result of some public measures concerning which he had formed sanguine expectations; but not long afterwards he wrote in a more animated, and, as before, in a prophetic strain.

" The war seems to be now near its close; and it will probably be followed by a long reign of

peace in India. Having obtained complete dominion over it, we shall then bless it with the word of life; and Christ will be once more glorified in the East."

The fourth annual disputations in the oriental languages in the college of Fort William were held this year in the month of February, in the presence of Marquis Wellesley and the superior members of the government. Upon this occasion it was maintained in Hindostanee, that "the oriental languages are studied with more advantage in India than in England, and with greater advantage to the public service." And in Persian, that that language is of more utility in the general administration of the British empire in India than the Hindostanee. In addition to declamations in Bengalee and Arabic, one was pronounced for the first time in the Mahratta language. In the speech which Lord Wellesley delivered after the distribution of the prizes and honorary rewards, his lordship observed that the general zeal, industry, and spirit of study in the college had not declined, notwithstanding the contraction of the sphere of emulation and competition by the separation which had now taken place of the gentlemen of the establishments of Fort St. George, (Madras,) and Bombay.

"Since the last meeting," continued his lordship, "the promotion of oriental knowledge in the British service in India has proceeded with in-

creased success by the progress of the studies and labors of the gentlemen of this college.

"The attention also of the officers and students of the college appears to have been successfully directed to those important objects of discipline, regularity, and good order, which formed an essential part of my recent admonitions from this place.

"The most eminent and brilliant success in the highest objects of study will prove an inadequate qualification for the service of the Company, and of our country in India, if the just application of those happy attainments be not secured by a solid foundation of virtuous principles and correct conduct."

In consequence of the reduction in the extent of the college of Fort William, referred to in the preceding speech, the Governor General thought it expedient, by a minute in council, dated the 30th of April, 1805, to declare that the duties at present committed to the provost and vice-provost of the college might be performed in future by one officer only, with the designation of provost. His excellency, however, deemed it to be proper, in consideration, as he was pleased to express it, "of the highly meritorious and useful services rendered to the college by the present provost and vice-provost, Mr. Brown and Mr. Buchanan," to postpone the adoption of this arrangement until a vacancy should

occur in one of those offices, provided that the honorable the Court of Directors should be pleased to sanction the continuance of the allowances to the provost and vice-provost until that time.

By the same minute the Governor General rescinded that part of the original regulation of the college by which pensions were to be eventually granted to certain of its officers, including the provost and vice-provost, until the farther pleasure of the Court of Directors should have been received.

Mr. Buchanan, believing that "good men in England were yet in ignorance respecting the purpose or effects of this institution," compiled in the spring of 1805, and transmitted, together with his Ecclesiastical Memoir, to this country, where it was published towards the end of the year, a treatise entitled "The College of Fort William in Bengal." The volume contains the official papers and the literary proceedings of the college during its first four years; the public examinations in regular series, with a list of the students who had entered on service, and a register of those who had obtained degrees of honor; a catalogue of works in the oriental languages and literature, published by members of the college since its commencement; the names and offices of those who had borne any part in the conduct of the institution; and some remarks by the editor on the primary establishment of the college, and on the operation of its first four years.

In these remarks, Mr. Buchanan, after noticing the necessity and importance of such an institution, which had been proved by its triumph over the most powerful and systematic opposition, observes that the *publication of a hundred original volumes* in the oriental languages and literature in the term of four years, is no inconsiderable proof of the flourishing state of the college as a literary institution. That was, however, but one of its subordinate objects.

Towards the end of the year 1804, and the commencement of the following year, a considerable degree of opposition to the doctrines inculcated by Messrs. Brown and Buchanan had been manifested by two or three of the other chaplains of the Presidency. Mr. Buchanan was in consequence induced to preach a series of discourses on the doctrinal articles of the church of England. These sermons were of a very superior order, and were productive of a corresponding effect in checking the clamor which had given birth to them.

In prosecution of the design which Mr. Buchanan had conceived of effectually exciting the public attention to the obligations of Great Britain to promote the religious welfare of its oriental dominions, and which he had already partially executed by the proposal of his first series of prizes, and the publication of his own "Memoir;" he on the fourth of June, 1805, addressed to the vice-chancellors of the

universities of Oxford and Cambridge the proposal of the following subjects of prize composition :

" For the best work in English prose, embracing the following subjects :

" I. The probable design of the Divine Providence in subjecting so large a portion of Asia to the British dominion.

" II. The duty, the means, and the consequences of translating the Scriptures into the oriental tongues, and of promoting christian knowledge in Asia.

" III. A brief historic view of the progress of the Gospel in different nations since its first promulgation; illustrated by maps, showing its luminous tract throughout the world; with chronological notices of its duration in particular places."

The candidates were permitted to prefix such title to the proposed work as they might think proper; and the munificent prize offered by Mr. Buchanan upon this occasion to each university was the sum of five hundred pounds. He directed that the prizes should be determined on the fourth of June, 1807, being the anniversary of the birth of our venerable sovereign; " whose religious example," Mr. Buchanan added, " had extended its influence to that remote part of his empire."

The letters conveying intelligence of these very

liberal offers were received towards the close of the year. They were soon afterwards accepted by both universities; and the spring of the year 1807 was appointed as the period for the delivery of the prize compositions to the judges who were to determine their merits.

A few days subsequent to the date of these proposals to the English universities, and not long before the departure of Marquis Wellesley from Bengal, Mr. Buchanan communicated to his lordship his wish to be absent from Calcutta during four months, for the benefit of his health, which his residence and labors in India had considerably impaired; and for the purpose of proceeding to the coast of Malabar, with a view of obtaining information relative to certain religious objects, which were particularly specified in his letter, and will be hereafter fully detailed.

With this request the Governor General signified officially his ready compliance, together with his entire approbation of Mr. Buchanan's intended journey. It was added that the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay would be requested to afford him every assistance, as well in the progress of his journey, by the accommodation of the dawk bearers, or other conveyances of government, as in the prosecution of his inquiries on the coast of Malabar.

While Mr. Buchanan was preparing for this im-

portant and interesting journey, he was, for the present, prevented from fulfilling his intentions by a serious illness, the approach of which he first perceived on the 13th of August. He was well enough to meet Lord Wellesley at dinner the next day, and on the two following complained only of weakness and languor. On the 17th a decided attack of fever came on; and on the 19th danger was apprehended by his physician.

Of this alarming illness a brief but remarkable memorial has been preserved in the hand-writing of Mr. Brown, who appears to have attended and watched over his valued friend and coadjutor with fraternal anxiety and affection. The feelings and sentiments of Mr. Buchanan at this trying season, as described in the paper alluded to, are such as, while they may surprise a certain class of readers, will appear to better judges to be the genuine effusions of a pious mind alive to the apprehended solemnities of a dying hour.

On the evening of the 20th of August Mr. Buchanan spoke much to his friend of his state and views; said that he had been looking for his hope in the Bible, and that he had found it in the 51st Psalm, and in the history of the penitent thief upon the cross. He at the same time gave directions to Mr. Brown respecting the college, his papers, and his affairs. The next day Mr. Buchanan was still more strongly impressed with the idea that he

should not recover. Under this persuasion, he mentioned the place in which he wished to be interred, made some observations respecting his books, and desired that his sermons might be published after the arrival of his "Memoir" in India.

Mr. Buchanan next adverted to his experience and views as a christian; declared his entire renunciation of his own merits as any ground of acceptance with God, lamented his unprofitableness, and spoke of himself in terms of the deepest humility. He then again referred to the church and to the college, and suggested various hints respecting both. After this he recurred to his present feelings and circumstances. He expressed his fear of living, and his desire of being received as the least and lowest of the servants of God. He was anxious to glorify him by his death, and prayed to be preserved from the enemy at the last hour, that he might not do or say any thing to weaken the testimony he had borne to the truth in that place. There was nothing, he said, upon earth, for which he had a wish, besides his wife and children; that she was much before him in experimental knowledge, and had been twice on the wing to leave the world; (he knew not, alas! that she had in fact already taken her flight!) that his children would be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; that if sent to Scotland, they would be in the heart of Sunday-schools and of true religion; or

that in England the . . .'s, and other friends who feared God, would take care of them. After thus speaking of his children, Mr. Buchanan alluded to a painful letter which he had lately received from one of his correspondents; and lamented what he considered his unkindness in forbearing to encourage him during the labors of the last five years. He then expressed a hope that his death would prove useful to two persons whom he particularly named.

On the morning of the 22d Mr. Brown, on entering his sick chamber, found him still fixed in his opinion that he should die, and opening his spiritual state to another christian friend. He then took a review of the way in which the providence of God had led him from his earliest years; and gave his friends a brief sketch of his history: the romantic project of his youth; his residence in London; his conversion to the faith and practice of a real christian; his career at Cambridge; his voyage to India; and his comparative banishment during the first three years of his residence in that country. At this critical period, Mr. Buchanan observed, his call by Lord Wellesley to the chaplaincy of the presidency, and the subsequent establishment of the college, had given him an important work to perform; that his preaching, indeed, had been unsatisfactory to himself; but that his spiritual labors and opportunities in college, though desultory, had

often afforded him comfort. He added, says Mr. Brown, "that I must preach," probably intending his funeral sermon, "though he felt himself unworthy to choose a text; yet that it must be from these words, 'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God.'"

"After praying earnestly," continues Mr. Brown, "for some time, he lay quite still, and then with great tranquillity and satisfaction said, 'What a happy moment! Now I am resigned; now I desire not to live. I am unworthy of this.' He then spoke of his hope, and said that he could only be saved by grace."

After this conversation Mr. Buchanan mentioned his wishes concerning his funeral and monument, and spoke of his departure from the world as a happy deliverance from the evils which he foresaw he should have to encounter if he were to return to Europe. Alluding to his intended journey, which his present illness had prevented, he said, "I am now about to travel, not an earthly journey, but still to 'unknown regions of the Gospel.' I shall now pass over the heads of old men laboring usefully for Christ; and at this early period be advanced to see what 'eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man,' and behold discoveries of the glory of Christ, 'God manifest in the flesh,' who hath come to us, and kindly

taken us by the hand. He will lift us out of the deep waters, and set us at his own right hand. I once saw not the things I now see; I knew not the Gospel. Now I pray that the little I have known may be perfected, and that God would complete his work on my soul."

Mr. Brown adds that his apparently dying friend was almost continually praying, in a humble, submissive, patient, and fervent tone, for mercy and grace through Jesus Christ; and, with the apostle, that God might be glorified by his life or death.

Such is the interesting and instructive memorial which remains of this alarming illness of Mr. Buchanan. While it demonstrates the excellence and the solidity of the principles which could thus support him, it must surely excite in the mind of every reader a conviction of their value, and an earnest desire to possess the same consolation in a season of similar trial.

Of the progress of his recovery nothing is particularly recorded. The fever appears gradually to have subsided; and on the 4th of September he was so far restored as to be able to remove to Barrackpore for change of air, and afterwards to Sooksagur, about forty miles above Calcutta. The remembrance, however, of his illness, and the impressions which an anticipated death-bed had made upon his mind, instead of being obliterated, as in too many instances, by returning health, were ever

afterwards cherished and retained. The scene was, perhaps, intended to prepare him for the painful trial which was approaching; and both, as we shall shortly perceive, produced the happy effect of quickening him in his christian course, and of rendering him even more zealous and unwearied in the service of his heavenly Master.

One of Mr. Buchanan's first exertions of recovered health was in writing the following reply to a pious man, who appears to have been known to him during the early part of his residence in England, and to have been employed as a humble preacher of the Gospel. It was found among the papers of the late Mr. Henry Thornton, to whom it had probably been sent by the person to whom it was addressed, for the purpose which the letter itself will explain. The christian kindness and humility which it breathes sufficiently authorize its insertion.

CALCUTTA, September 3d, 1805.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—I received your letter by Mr. B—— about five years ago, and in consequence took him into my house for some time. The young man is in the army, and conducts himself, I hear, with propriety. I am sorry to find that my answer to your letter on that occasion has never reached you.

"A few days ago I received your letter of the

4th of November, 1804, by Mr. Taylor, a missionary to India. In that letter you mention that you are still poor; and, what is better, that you preach the Gospel to the poor. After so long an interval, it gives me great pleasure to learn that you are yet found faithful, and that in the midst of your poverty you have found the 'unsearchable riches.' Your heavenly Father knoweth best what is good for you; and he hath, no doubt, led you hitherto in that narrow and peculiar path which was suited to your state, and necessary for the advancement of his glory.

"I have, on the other hand, been led in a broader road and a more dangerous way. If I have been preserved, if I am yet, in any measure, faithful in dispensing the Gospel, and in promoting by various means the interests of Christ's kingdom, it is mercy; far more distinguished mercy, as it appears to me, than that which has been manifested in you. The Gospel is not without its witness even in this place. The company of the faithful is increasing, and the opportunities of publishing the good tidings are multiplying.

"I enclose to you a note on my agents in London for fifty pounds. I should send you more if I thought it would do you any good. If you should want more, ask Mr. Henry Thornton for it, and I will repay him.

"I was much pleased with your account of your

aged father. I think, on the whole, you have reason to be thankful that your family are so well disposed of in the course of years and worldly revolution. It seemeth good to providence to keep you all in a strait estate; and that is the general dispensation to God's favored people.

"That you may be blessed yourself, and continue to be a blessing to others, is the prayer of,

"Dear sir, your sincere friend,

"C. BUCHANAN."

During the temporary retreat of Mr. Buchanan at Sooksagur for the re-establishment of his health, he was diligently employed in Hebrew, Syriac, and Chaldaic studies, with various accompaniments of rabbinical and other commentators. In the midst, however, of this occupation, he was interrupted by the afflicting intelligence of the death of Mrs. Buchanan. This distressing, though in some measure expected event, had taken place on the 18th of June, on board the East-India ship in which she was returning to England, off the island of St. Helena. Of Mr. Buchanan's feelings upon this mournful occasion, as well as respecting his own late illness, the two following letters will afford an affecting and truly interesting picture. The first is to his friend Colonel Sandys:

"SOOKSAGUR, near Calcutta, Oct. 22, 1805.

"MY DEAR SANDYS,—I have been at this place

for some time past, in the hope of getting a little strength. I was visited by a fever about two months ago, and was despaired of for a day or two. But the prayers of the righteous were offered up, and my days have been prolonged. It was with a kind of reluctance I felt myself carried back by the refluent waves to encounter again the storms of this life, for I had hoped the fight was done. Although unprofitable has been my life, and feeble my exertions, yet I was more afraid of the trials to come, if I should survive, than of departing to my rest, if it was the will of God. I had made a disposition of my fortune to Mary and her pious purposes, (for she too had undertakings in view,) believing that she would be much more useful than I could. My first care on my convalescence was to write to *her* an account of that event. In a few days afterwards the Calcutta Indiaman arrived from St. Helena, and brought me the news of my dear Mary's decease! Before she went away I perceived that her affections were nearly weaned from this world; and she often said that she thought God was preparing her for his presence in glory. She was greatly favored in her near access to God in prayer; and she delighted in retirement and sacred meditation. She was jealous of herself latterly when she anticipated the happiness of our all meeting in England, and endeavored to chastise the thought.

"Her sufferings were great, but she accounted her consolations greater; and she used to admire the goodness of God to her in bringing her to a knowledge of the truth at so early an age. It was her intention, had she lived to reach England, to have gone down with her two little girls to visit you; saying, 'We shall behold each other as two new creatures.' You had been accused to her of being too peculiar, and she wished to see what was amiss.

"When she found her dissolution drawing near, she solemnly devoted her two little girls to God, and prayed that he would be their Father, and bring them up in his holy fear, and preserve them from the vanities of this evil world. She said she could willingly die for the souls of her children; and she did die in the confident hope of seeing them both in glory.

"Having had it in contemplation to follow my dear Mary to England next year, I had let my house at Garden Reach to Sir John D'Oyly. I had also sold my furniture, horses, &c. previously to my proceeding to Malabar. But in the meantime I fell sick; and now that I have recovered, I mean to defer my journey to the coast till the new government be settled. Sir George Barlow is at present up the country; Mr. Udny is deputy-governor. Both of them are warm supporters of religious improvement in India, and I trust they will

do good. They know nothing of my 'Memoir,' nor any one else but Mr. Brown.

"The B.'s here are affectionately concerned in my recovery, and pay me every attention in their power. I do not know whether I shall go to England next year or not; I am now a desolate old man, though young in years. But my path will, I doubt not, be made 'clear as the noon day.'

"By your late letters I see that you are 'flourishing like a palm-tree.' How often have you passed the palm-tree in India, without comparing it to the righteous man!

"My dear Mary's name and character was latterly well known among the excellent of the earth; and her memory has left a fragrance for years to come."

Mr. Buchanan then mentions the lamented and unexpected death of the Marquis Cornwallis, who had lately arrived to resume the government of the country, which had been already so signally benefited by his former administration:

"The body," he observes, of this illustrious nobleman, "had no honorable interment; neither a clergyman to read the office, nor a coffin to put it in. Thus ended his earthly name and greatness. God promised to Jacob, as a temporal blessing, that his son Joseph 'should close his eyes.' It is indeed

a blessing to have a righteous son or daughter to hallow our remains in death. May you have that son, and I that daughter!

"Yours affectionately,

"C. BUCHANAN."

The second of the two letters relative to the death of Mrs. Buchanan is to another friend, who well knew her worth, and sincerely sympathized with Mr. Buchanan under his loss.

"SOOKSAGUR, 24th Oct. 1805.

"MY DEAR SIR,—Your letter of March 18th, of this year, addressed to my dear Mary, arrived here about a month ago. A few days afterwards I received the account of her death.

"You will rejoice to hear that, when she was preparing to leave India, she considered herself as preparing for another and better country than England.

"She enjoyed latterly much communion with God in prayer; and often, when she came out of her closet, the gleam on her countenance evinced her peace and acceptance. The words of some hymn to her Redeemer were often on her lips. You, I believe, knew enough of her to make you consider this portrait of her last days to be true. She died at the age of twenty-five. She considered that the period of her sufferings (only, she said,

three or four years) was very short, and wondered at the goodness of God in so early calling her to his glory. She lamented that she could never be 'made perfect by suffering;' and therefore viewed the end of her probation with great comfort, and latterly with joyful anticipation. She expressed and felt strong affection towards you and your family. In the last page of your letter to Mrs. Buchanan, you remind her of the promise, 'Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.' These words were prophetic. You wrote them on the 18th of March; and on the 18th of June, three months after, she, I trust, received the crown.

"I have been at this place for some weeks past, in the hope of acquiring a little strength after my late illness. I am now perfectly well, and propose to return to Calcutta to resume my public duties in a few days.

"During the period of my retirement I have been chiefly employed in researches in the Hebrew and Syriac Scriptures. I happily met with some valuable Syriac volumes on my way up hither. While I was thus engaged, the news of Mrs. Buchanan's death arrived! I found some consolation in writing a few lines to her memory in the Hebrew, Syriac, Greek, and Latin languages; which I inscribed on a leaf of her own Bible: the best monument that I could erect; for her body was buried in the deep.

"I sometimes think that, had I my two little girls to play with, I should be happy, even in this dreary land. My chief solace is in a mind constantly occupied; and this is the greatest temporal blessing I can expect, even unto the end. I could relate to you scenes of tribulation and keen persecution in regard to others and to myself: but these could give you no pleasure, and I wish not to think of them.

"How little do you all know of Calcutta, or of what is doing or has been done here; as little even as of the court of Pekin!

"Of the many letters you wrote to us during the two last years I think we received only two. My next to you, if I live to write another, will probably be from *Taprobane*.

"I remain, my dear sir, very affectionately yours,

"C. BUCHANAN."

The disapprobation with which the extensive nature of the college of Fort William had been viewed by the Court of Directors, had long prepared its superintendents to expect a reduction of its establishment. Anticipating, therefore, the suspension of that department in it which had hitherto been instrumental in promoting *translations of the Scriptures* into the oriental languages, they were anxious to make some provision for the continuation of these important works. With this view,

they resolved to encourage individuals to proceed with versions of the Scriptures by such means as they could command; purposing, at the same time, not to confine this encouragement to Bengal, but to extend it to every part of the East where fit instruments could be found. Mr. Buchanan particularly determined to devote his influence, as vice-provost of the college, in aid of the translations then in the hands of the missionaries at Serampore, and to endeavor to excite the public interest in their favor. For this purpose, early in the year 1806, he drew up "proposals for a subscription for translating the Holy Scriptures" into fifteen oriental languages; containing a prospectus of Indian versions, and observations on the practicability of the general design. To these proposals, composed chiefly from materials furnished by the missionaries, their names were subscribed; and in the mouth of March copies were distributed liberally in India and in England; in this country to the Court of Directors, to the bench of Bishops, to the universities, to Lord Teignmouth, as President of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and to some other public bodies, as well as to many private gentlemen. In India, copies were transmitted to nearly the whole of the principal civil and to many of the military officers in the Company's service, from Delhi to Travancore; to many of whom the mission at Serampore was previously unknown. Mr.

Buchanan obtained permission at the same time to send the proposals, in his official character as vice-provost of the college, free of expense, to all parts of the empire; and he accompanied them in most instances with letters, which amounted to about one hundred, from himself.

It was plainly implied in the proposals, that the undertaking would enjoy the countenance and support of the college; and it was doubtless on this ground that the concurrence of the public was principally obtained. That expectation was accordingly expressed in the following terms:

"Our hope of success in this great undertaking depends chiefly on the patronage of the college of Fort William. To that institution we are much indebted for the progress we have already made. Oriental translation has become comparatively easy, in consequence of our having the aid of those learned men from distant provinces in Asia, who have assembled, during the period of the last six years, at that great emporium of eastern letters. These intelligent strangers voluntarily engage with us in translating the Scriptures into their respective languages; and they do not conceal their admiration of the sublime doctrine, pure precept, and divine eloquence of the word of God. The plan of these translations was sanctioned at an early period by the most noble the Marquis Wellesley, the

great patron of useful learning. To give the christian Scriptures to the inhabitants of Asia is indeed a work which every man who believes these Scriptures to be from God will approve. In Hindostan alone there is a great variety of religions; and there are some tribes which have no certain cast or religion at all. To render the revealed religion accessible to men who 'desire' it, to open its eternal sanctions and display its pure morals to those who 'seek a religion,' is to fulfil the sacred duty of a christian people, and accords well with the humane and generous spirit of the English nation."

Another passage of the document from which the preceding extract is taken, announced in India the formation and the proffered friendship of the British and Foreign Bible Society, as furnishing material encouragement to the proposed undertaking. Thus accredited and patronized, the address from the missionaries at Serampore was advertised in the government gazettes, and published throughout India; and such was the approbation with which it was received that in a short time the sum of sixteen hundred pounds was subscribed in aid of the intended translations.

The communication of the proposals in question to the British and Foreign Bible Society was made by Mr. Buchanan in the month of March. He at the same time recommended that a sermon should

be preached before the Society, "on the subject of oriental translations;" and with the zeal and liberality which had now so frequently marked all his proceedings, requested "that the reverend preacher would do him the honor to accept the sum of fifty pounds on delivery of a printed copy of the sermon to his agents in London, for the college of Fort William, in Bengal." This proposition was at first acceded to by the committee of the Society; and the Rev. John Owen, one of its able and indefatigable secretaries, was requested to become the preacher. It was, however, upon reconsideration, unanimously agreed, that, as the measure did not fall strictly within the professed object of the Society, and might open a door to practical irregularities, it would not be expedient to sanction its adoption. The generous offer of Mr. Buchanan was, in consequence of this decision, respectfully declined.

A similar proposal was transmitted by Mr. Buchanan to the Vice-Chancellors of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, that two sermons should be preached before each of those learned bodies, on the translation of the Scriptures into the oriental languages, by such persons as the universities should appoint; accompanied by a request that each of the four preachers would accept the sum of thirty guineas, on the similar condition of the delivery to his agents of a printed copy of the sermon

for the college of Fort William. These additional offers to the universities were in each case accepted.

In the course of the preceding year Mr. Buchanan received from the university of Glasgow, of which he had been formerly a member, a diploma conferring upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity, and afterwards received a similar honor from the university at Cambridge.

CHAPTER VII.

Tour on the Malabar Coast—Juggernaut—Female Sacrifice.

Dr. Buchanan was now again looking forward to his long projected journey to the south of the peninsula. On the 12th of March, 1806, he thus wrote to a friend in England:

"I proceed to Malabar in a few weeks. My delay has been chiefly occasioned by the difficulty of my resigning appointments and offices here, where there is no one to receive them. And even now, if I get off fairly, I shall wonder.

"I still continue in my purpose of going home about the end of this year. So that I shall possibly see you and your family once more."

On the 22d of March Dr. Buchanan obtained leave of absence from the government for six months, together with renewed assurances of the countenance and assistance formerly promised; but his preparations for his journey were again interrupted by a return of ague and fever. This attack was, however, less serious and of shorter duration than the former; so that at the end of the month he was able to wait upon the Governor General, who kindly offered to accommodate him with one of his tents for his intended journey to the coast. During the month of April Dr. Buchanan continued his preparations for his approaching absence; attended an examination of the Chinese class at Serampore, and made arrangements for the performance of his clerical duties. His last sermon, previously to his departure, was from the beautiful address in the Revelation of St. John (chap. 3: 7–13) to the church at Philadelphia, which he probably considered as in some respects appropriate to that at Calcutta. Dr. Buchanan spent several of the days immediately preceding his journey with Mr. Udny, who appears to have entered with much interest into his views for the promotion of christianity in India. The late learned and la-

mented Dr. Leyden had at one time proposed to accompany Dr. Buchanan in his tour; but this plan, though it would doubtless have proved mutually agreeable and beneficial, was finally abandoned.

The design of this extensive and laborious journey cannot be better explained than in the words of Dr. Buchanan, in his "Christian Researches in Asia:"

"In order to obtain a distinct view of the state of christianity and of superstition in Asia," he says, "the superintendents of the college had, before this period, entered into correspondence with intelligent persons in different countries, and from every quarter (even from the confines of China) they received encouragement to proceed. But, as contradictory accounts were given by different writers concerning the real state of the numerous tribes in India, both of christians and natives, the author conceived the design of devoting the last year or two of his residence in the East to purposes of local examination and inquiry.

"The principal objects of this tour were to investigate the state of superstition at the most celebrated temples of the Hindoos; to examine the churches and libraries of the Romish, Syrian, and Protestant christians; to ascertain the present state and recent history of the eastern Jews; and

to discover what persons might be fit instruments for the promotion of learning in their respective countries, and for maintaining a future correspondence on the subject of disseminating the Scriptures in India."

Such were the important views with which Dr. Buchanan entered upon his intended journey. It is no disparagement to travels undertaken from motives either of personal curiosity or of public utility, to assert that the tour which Dr. Buchanan was meditating, derived, from its disinterested and sacred objects, a peculiar degree of dignity and value. If our great philanthropist, Howard, was justly eulogized by a late celebrated statesman for his indefatigable and self-denying exertions in "travelling over land and sea," not to gratify his taste or to extend his fame, but "to remember the forgotten, to attend the neglected, and to visit the forsaken," it is not too much to say, that although the labors of that eminent person were more various and continued, it required, in a man of infirm and precarious health, like Dr. Buchanan, a degree of zeal and resolution to enter upon his projected journey which reflects upon him the highest honor. And although in each case the love of God and of man was the prevailing motive, the object of the one was, in proportion to its extent, as much more important than the other, as inquiries into spiritual

wants with a view to their relief are more weighty than those which concern temporal necessities, and as interests of eternal duration are more momentous than any which are bounded by the narrow limits of time. It must be remembered, too, that, with the exception of the accommodations afforded him by the kindness of the Governor General, and the hospitality of the British residing at the different stations through which he passed, Dr. Buchanan's extensive tour was undertaken exclusively at his own expense.

On the 3d of May Dr. Buchanan left Calcutta on his way to the south; and on his arrival the same day at Fulta, forty miles below that city, he wrote to Colonel Sandys as follows:

"My dear Sandys,—I am thus far on my journey to Malabar. I propose to visit Juggernaut first, and hope to be there early in June, when the grand festival of the Rutt Jattra takes place. Sir George Barlow has been so good as to lend me some of the Governor General's small tents, so that I shall travel very comfortably. My inquiries, you know, have a threefold aspect, Hindoos, Jews, and Christians. The bands of infidelity and superstition are loosening fast, and Calcutta is by no means the place it was when you were here.

"I have heard this morning that the fleet from England, which went to the Cape, is expected at

Madras every day, as one of the ships is already arrived. In this fleet your friend Mr. Martyn is passenger. Mr. Jeffries has been appointed to act as my substitute in the new church in my absence, which will be about six or eight months, if, indeed, I should ever return; for my route is full of danger and difficulty to one infirm as I am. With some view, I trust, to the glory of God, I have purposed; but it is He who must dispose of me and my objects as shall seem to him best.

"I remain, my dear Sandys, very affectionately yours,

"C. BUCHANAN."

Dr. Buchanan, from the time of his arrival at Juggernaut, kept a regular journal of his tour, from which we now extract the narrative of his visit to the temple of that prince of idols as given by himself in his "Christian Researches."

"BUDDRUCK in Orissa, May 30, 1806.

"We know that we are approaching Juggernaut (and yet we are more than fifty miles from it) by the human bones which we have seen for some days strewed by the way. At this place we have been joined by several large bodies of pilgrims, perhaps two thousand in number, who have come from various parts of northern India. Some of them, with whom I have conversed, say that

they have been two months on their march, travelling slowly, in the hottest season of the year, with their wives and children. Some old persons are among them who wish to die at Juggernaut. Numbers of pilgrims die on the road, and their bodies generally remain unburied. On a plain by the river, near the pilgrims' caravansera at this place, there are more than a hundred skulls. The dogs, jackals, and vultures seem to live here on human prey. The vultures exhibit a shocking *tameness.* The obscene animals will not leave the body sometimes till we come close to them. This Buddruck is a horrid place. Wherever I turn my eyes I meet death in some shape or other. Surely Juggernaut cannot be worse than Buddruck."

"In sight of JUGGERNAUT, June 12.

"—— Many thousands of pilgrims have accompanied us for some days past. They cover the road, before and behind, as far as the eye can reach. At nine o'clock this morning the temple of Juggernaut appeared in view at a great distance. When the multitude first saw it they gave a shout, and fell to the ground and worshipped. I have heard nothing to-day but shouts and acclamations by the successive bodies of pilgrims. From the place where I now stand I have a view of a host of people like an army encamped at the outer gate of the town of Juggernaut, where a guard of soldiers

is posted to prevent their entering the town until they have paid the pilgrim's tax. I passed a devotee to-day who laid himself down at every step, measuring the road to Juggernaut by the *length of his body*, as a penance of merit to please the gods."

"Outer Gate of JUGGERNAUT, June 12.

"—— A disaster has just occurred. As I approached the gate the pilgrims crowded from all quarters around me, and shouted, as they usually did when I passed them on the road, an expression of welcome and respect. I was a little alarmed at their number, and looked round for my guard. A guard of soldiers had accompanied me from Cuttack, the last military station, but they were now about a quarter of a mile behind with my servants and the baggage. The pilgrims cried out that they were entitled to some indulgence; that they were poor, they could not pay the tax; but I was not aware of their design. At this moment, when I was within a few yards of the gate, an old Sanyassee, (or holy man,) who had travelled some days by the side of my horse, came up and said, 'Sir, you are in danger; the people are going to rush through the gate when it is opened for you.' I immediately dismounted, and endeavored to escape to one side; but it was too late. The mob was now in motion, and with a tumultuous shout pressed violently towards the gate. The guard within seeing my dan-

ger, opened it, and the multitude rushing through, carried me forward in a torrent a considerable space, so that I was literally borne into Juggernaut by the Hindoos themselves. A distressing scene followed. As the number and strength of the mob increased, the narrow way was choked up by the mass of people, and I apprehended that many of them would have been suffocated or bruised to death. My horse was yet among them. But suddenly one of the side-posts of the gate, which was of wood, gave way and fell to the ground. And perhaps this circumstance alone prevented the loss of lives. Notice of the event was immediately communicated to Mr. Hunter, the superintendent of the temple, who repaired to the spot, and sent an additional guard to the inner gate, lest the people should force that also; for there is an outer and an inner gate to the town of Juggernaut; but both of them are slightly constructed. Mr. Hunter told me that similar accidents sometimes occur, and that many have been crushed to death by the pressure of the mob. He added, that sometimes a body of pilgrims, consisting chiefly of women and children and old men, trusting to the physical weight of their mass, will make what he called a *charge* on the armed guards, and overwhelm them; the guards not being willing, in such circumstances, to oppose their bayonets."

"JUGGERNAUT, June 14.

"—— I have seen Juggernaut. The scene at Buddruck is but the vestibule to Juggernaut. No record of ancient or modern history can give, I think, an adequate idea of this valley of death; it may be truly compared with the 'valley of Hinnom.' The idol called Juggernaut has been considered as the moloch of the present age; and he is justly so named, for the sacrifices offered up to him by self-devotement are not less criminal, perhaps not less numerous, than those recorded of the moloch of Canaan. Two other idols accompany Juggernaut, namely Boloram and Shubudra, his brother and sister; for there are *three* deities worshipped here. They receive equal adoration, and sit on thrones of nearly equal height."

"—— This morning I viewed the temple; a stupendous fabric and truly commensurate with the extensive sway of 'the horrid king.' As other temples are usually adorned with figures emblematical of their religion, so Juggernaut has representations (numerous and various) of that vice which constitutes the essence of his worship. The walls and gates are covered with indecent emblems, in massive and durable sculpture. I have often visited the sand plains by the sea, in some places whitened with the bones of the pilgrims; and another place a little way out of the town, called by the English the Golgotha, where the dead bodies are usually

cast forth, and where dogs and vultures are ever seen.*

"The grand Hindoo festival of the Rutt Jattra takes place on the 18th inst. when the idol is to be brought forth to the people. I reside during my stay here at the house of James Hunter, Esq. the Company's collector of the tax on pilgrims, and superintendent of the temple, formerly a student in the college of Fort William; by whom I am hospitably entertained, and also by Capt. Patton and Lieut. Woodcock, commanding the military force. Mr. Hunter distinguished himself at the college by his proficiency in the oriental language. He is a gentleman of polished manners and of classical taste. The agreeable society of these gentlemen is very refreshing to my spirits in the midst of the present scenes. I was surprised to see how little they seemed to be moved by the scenes of Jugger-

* The vultures generally find out the prey first, and begin with the intestines; for the flesh of the body is too firm for their beaks immediately after death. But the dogs soon receive notice of the circumstance, generally from seeing the *Hurries* or corpse-carriers returning from the place. On the approach of the dogs the vultures retire a few yards and wait till the body be sufficiently torn for easy deglutition. The vultures and dogs often feed together, and sometimes begin their attack before the pilgrim be quite dead. There are four animals which are sometimes seen about a carcass, the dog, the jackal, the vulture, and the *hurgeela*, or adjutant, called by Pennant the gigantic crane.

naut. They said they were now so accustomed to them they thought little of them. They had almost forgot their first impressions. Their houses are on the sea-shore about a mile or more from the temple. They cannot live nearer on account of the offensive effluvia of the town. For, independently of the enormity of the superstition, there are other circumstances which render Juggernaut noisome in an extreme degree. The senses are assailed by the squalid and ghastly appearance of the famished pilgrims, many of whom die in the streets of want or of disease; while the devotees with clotted hair and painted flesh are seen practising their various austerities and modes of self-torture. Persons of both sexes, with little regard to concealment, sit down on the sands close to the town in public view, and the SACRED BULLS walk about among them and eat the *ordure*.*

"The vicinity of Juggernaut to the sea probably prevents the contagion which otherwise would be produced by the putrefactions of the place. There is scarcely any verdure to refresh the sight near Juggernaut; the temple and town being nearly encompassed by hills of *sand*, which has been cast up in the lapse of ages by the surge of the ocean. All

* This singular fact was pointed out to me by the gentlemen here. There is no vegetation for the sacred bulls on the sand plains. They are fed generally with vegetables from the hands of the pilgrims.

is barren and desolate to the eye; and in the ear there is the never-intermitting sound of the roaring sea."

"JUGGERNAUT, June 18.

"—— I have returned home from witnessing a scene which I shall never forget. At twelve o'clock of this day, being the great day of the feast, the moloch of Hindostan was brought out of his temple amidst the acclamations of hundreds of thousands of his worshippers. When the idol was placed on his throne a shout was raised by the multitude, such as I had never heard before. It continued equable for a few minutes, and then gradually died away. After a short interval of silence a murmur was heard at a distance; all eyes were turned towards the place, and, behold, a *grove* advancing! A body of men, having green branches or palms in their hands, approached with great celerity. The people opened a way for them; and when they had come up to the throne they fell down before him that sat thereon and worshipped. And the multitude again sent forth a voice 'like the sound of a great thunder.' But the voices I now heard were not those of melody or of joyful acclamation; for there is no harmony in the praise of moloch's worshippers. Their number indeed brought to my mind the countless multitude of the Revelations; but their voices gave no tuneful hosannah or hallelujah;

but rather a yell of approbation, united with a kind of *hissing* applause.* I was at a loss how to account for this latter noise, until I was directed to notice the women, who emitted a sound like that of *whistling*, with the lips circular and the tongue vibrating: as if a serpent would speak by their organs, uttering human sounds.

"The throne of the idol was placed on a stupendous car or tower about sixty feet in height, resting on wheels which indented the ground deeply, as they turned slowly under the ponderous machine. Attached to it were six cables, of the size and length of a ship's cable, by which the people drew it along. Upon the tower were the priests and satellites of the idol surrounding his throne. The idol is a block of wood, having a frightful visage painted black, with a distended mouth of a bloody color. His arms are of gold, and he is dressed in gorgeous apparel. The other two idols are of a white and yellow color. Five elephants preceded the three towers, bearing towering flags, dressed in crimson caparisons, and having bells hanging to their caparisons, which sounded musically as they moved.

"I went on in the procession close by the tower of moloch, which, as it was drawn with difficulty, 'grated on its many wheels harsh thunder.'† After

* See Milton's Pandemonium, book x.

† Two of the military gentlemen had mounted my ele-

a few minutes it stopped; and now the worship of the god began. A high priest mounted the car in front of the idol, and pronounced his obscene stanzas in the ears of the people; who responded at intervals in the same strain. 'These songs,' said he, 'are the delight of the god. His car can only move when he is pleased with the song.' The car moved on a little way and then stopped. A boy of about twelve years was then brought forth to attempt something yet more lascivious, if peradventure the god would move. The 'child perfected the praise' of his idol with such ardent expression and gesture, that the god was pleased, and the multitude, emitting a sensual yell of delight, urged the car along. After a few minutes it stopped again. An aged minister of the idol then stood

phant that they might witness the spectacle, and had brought him close to the tower; but the moment it began to move, the animal, alarmed at the unusual noise, took fright and ran off through the crowd till he was stopped by a wall. The natural fear of the elephant lest he should injure human life was remarkably exemplified on this occasion. Though the crowd was very closely set, he endeavored in the midst of his own terror to throw the people off on both sides with his feet, and it was found that he had only trod upon one person. It was with great concern I afterwards learnt that this was a poor woman, and that the fleshy part of her leg had been torn off. There being no medical person here, Lieut. Woodcock with great humanity endeavored to dress the wound, and attended her daily; and Mr. Hunter ordered her to be supplied with every thing that might conduce to her recovery.

up, and with a long rod in his hand, which he moved with indecent action, completed the variety of this disgusting exhibition. I felt a consciousness of doing wrong in witnessing it. I was also somewhat appalled at the magnitude and horror of the spectacle; I felt like a guilty person on whom all eyes were fixed, and I was about to withdraw. But a scene of a different kind was now to be presented. The characteristics of moloch's worship are obscenity and blood. We have seen the former; now comes the blood.

"After the tower had proceeded some way, a pilgrim announced that he was ready to offer himself a sacrifice to the idol. He laid himself down in the road before the tower as it was moving along, lying on his face, with his arms stretched forwards. The multitude passed round him, leaving the space clear, and he was crushed to death by the wheels of the tower. A shout of joy was raised to the god. He is said to *smile* when the libation of the blood is made. The people threw cowries, or small money, on the body of the victim, in approbation of the deed. He was left to view a considerable time, and then carried by the *Hurries* to the Golgotha, where I have just been viewing his remains. How much I wished that the proprietors of India stock could have attended the wheels of Juggernaut and seen this peculiar source of their revenue."

"JUGGERNAUT, June 20.

"Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
"Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears."
MILTON.

"—— The horrid solemnities still continue. Yesterday a woman devoted herself to the idol. She laid herself down on the road in an oblique direction, so that the wheel did not kill her instantaneously, as is generally the case, but she died in a few hours. This morning as I passed the place of skulls nothing remained of her but her bones.

"And this, thought I, is the worship of the Brahmins of Hindostan! And their worship in its sublimest degree! What then shall we think of their private manners and their moral principles! For it is equally true of India as of Europe. If you would know the state of the people, look at the state of the temple.

"I was surprised to see the Brahmins, with their heads uncovered in the open plain, falling down in the midst of the *Sooders* before 'the horrid shape,' and mingling so complacently with 'that polluted cast.' But this proved what I had before heard, that so great a god is this that the dignity of high cast disappears before him. This great king recognizes no distinction of rank among his subjects. All men are equal in his presence."

"JUGGERNAUT, June 21.

"The idolatrous processions continue for some days longer, but my spirits are so exhausted by the constant view of these enormities, that I mean to hasten away from this place sooner than I at first intended. I beheld another distressing scene this morning at the place of skulls; a poor woman lying dead, or nearly dead, and her two children by her looking at the dogs and vultures which were near. The people passed by without noticing the children. I asked them where was their home. They said 'they had no home but where their mother was.' O, there is no pity at Juggernaut! no mercy, no tenderness of heart in moloch's kingdom! Those who support *his* kingdom err, I trust, from ignorance. 'They know not what they do.'

"As to the number of worshippers assembled here at this time no accurate calculation can be made. The natives themselves, when speaking of numbers at particular festivals, usually say that *a lack* of people (100,000) would not be missed. I asked a Brahmin how many he supposed were present at the most numerous festival he had ever witnessed. 'How can I tell,' said he, 'how many grains there are in a handful of sand?'

"The languages spoken here are various, as there are Hindoos from every country in India, but the two chief languages in use by those who are resident are the Orissa and the Telinga. The bor-

der of the Telinga country is only a few miles distant from the tower of Juggernaut."

"CHILKA LAKE, June 24.

"—— I felt my mind relieved and happy when I had passed beyond the confines of Juggernaut. I certainly was not prepared for the scene. But no one can know what it is who has not seen it. From an eminence on the pleasant banks of the Chilka Lake (where no human bones are seen) I had a view of the lofty tower of Juggernaut far remote; and while I viewed it, its abominations came to mind. It was on the morning of the Sabbath. Ruminating long on the wide and extended empire of moloch in the heathen world, I cherished in my thoughts the design of some christian institution, which, being fostered by Britain, my christian country, might gradually undermine this baleful idolatry, and put out the memory of it for ever."*

"Before proceeding to show the happy effects of christianity in those provinces of India where it

* The annual expenses of the idol Juggernaut, *presented to the English government*, are, by the official accounts, 69,616 rupees, or 8,702 pounds sterling; including 36,115 rupees for expense of the table of the idol, and 10,057 for wages of his servants, among whom are the *courtezans* kept for the service of the temple. Mr. Hunter informed me that the three "state carriages" were decorated this year (in June, 1806) with upwards of 200 pounds sterling worth of English *broadcloth* and *baize*.

has been introduced, it may be proper," says Dr. Buchanan in his narrative, "to notice in this place that other sanguinary rite of the Hindoo superstition, the *Female Sacrifice*."

He proceeds to present in detail a statement of "the number of women burned alive on the funeral pile of their husbands within thirty miles round Calcutta in six months, from "April 15 to October 15, 1804," the total of which is "*one hundred and fifteen.* The following account," he adds, "will give the reader some idea of the flagitious circumstances which sometimes attend these sacrifices:

"CALCUTTA, September 30, 1807.

"A horrid tragedy was acted on the 12th instant, near Barnagore (a place about three miles above Calcutta.) A Koolin Brahmin, of Cammar-hattie, by name Kristo Deb Mookerjee, died at the advanced age of ninety-two. *He had twelve wives,** and three of them were burned alive with his dead body. Of these three, one was a venerable lady, having white locks, who had been long known in the neighborhood. Not being able to walk, she was carried in a palanquin to the place of burning, and was then placed by the Brahmins on the funeral pile. The two other ladies were younger; one

* The *Koolin* Brahmin is the purest of all Brahmins, and is privileged to marry as many wives as he pleases.

of them of a very pleasing and interesting countenance. The old lady was placed on one side of the dead husband, and the two other wives laid themselves down on the other side; and then an old Brahmin, the eldest son of the deceased, applied his torch to the pile with unaverted face! The pile suddenly blazed, for it was covered with combustibles; and this human sacrifice was completed amidst the din of drums and cymbals, and the shouts of Brahmins. A person present observed, 'Surely if Lord Minto were here, who is just come from England, and is not used to see women burned alive, he would have saved these three ladies. The Mohammedan governors saved whom they pleased, and suffered no deluded female to commit suicide without previous investigation of the circumstances and official permission.

"In a discussion which this event has produced in Calcutta, the following question has been asked, WHO WAS GUILTY OF THE BLOOD OF THE OLD LADY? For it was manifest that she could not destroy herself. She *was carried* to be burned. It was also alleged that the Brahmin who fired the pile was not guilty, because he was never informed by the English government that there was any immorality in the action. On the contrary, he might argue that the English witnessing this scene daily, as they do, without remonstrance, acquiesced in its propriety. The government of India was exculpated, on the

ground that the government at home never sent any instructions on the subject; and the Court of Directors were exculpated because they were the agents of others. It remained that the proprietors of India stocks, who originate and sanction all proceedings of the Court of Directors, were remotely accessary to the deed.

"The best vindication of the great body of proprietors is this: that some of them never heard of the female sacrifice at all; and that few of them are acquainted with the full extent and frequency of the crime. Besides, in the above discussion it was taken for granted that the Court of Directors had done nothing towards the suppression of this enormity; and that the Court of Proprietors have looked on without concern at this omission of duty. But this, perhaps, may not be the case. The question then remains to be asked, Have the Court of Directors, at any time, sent instructions to their government in India to report on the means by which the frequency of the female sacrifice might be diminished, and the practice itself eventually abolished? *Or have the proprietors of India stock, at any time, instructed the Court of Directors to attend to a point of so much consequence to the character of the Company and the honor of the nation?*

"That the abolition is practicable has been demonstrated, and that too by the most rational and lenient measures; and these means have been pointed out by the Brahmins themselves.

"Had Marquis Wellesley remained in India, and been permitted to complete his salutary plans for the improvement of that distant empire, (for he did not finish one half of the civil and political regulations which he had in view, and had actually commenced,) the female sacrifice would probably have been by this time nearly abolished. The humanity and intrepid spirit of that nobleman abolished a yet more criminal practice, which was considered by the Hindoos as a religious rite, and consecrated by custom, I mean the SACRIFICE OF CHILDREN. His lordship had been informed that it had been a custom of the Hindoos to sacrifice children, in consequence of vows, by drowning them, or exposing them to sharks and crocodiles; and that twenty-three persons had perished at Saugor in one month, (January, 1801,) many of whom were sacrificed in this manner. He immediately instituted an inquiry into the principle of this ancient atrocity, heard what natives and Europeans had to say on the subject, and then passed a law, 'declaring the practice to be murder, punishable by death.' The law is entitled 'A Regulation for preventing the Sacrifice of Children at Saugor and other places, passed by the Governor General in Council on the 20th of August, 1802.' The purpose of this regulation was completely effected. Not a murmur was heard on the subject, nor has any attempt of the kind come to our knowledge since. It is im-

possible to calculate the number of human lives that have been saved by this humane law of Marquis Wellesley. Now it is well known that it is as easy to prevent the sacrifice of women as the sacrifice of children. Has this fact ever been denied by any man who is competent to offer a judgment on the subject? Until the supreme government in Bengal shall declare that it is utterly impracticable to lessen the frequency of the immolation of females by any means, THE AUTHOR WILL NOT CEASE TO CALL THE ATTENTION OF THE ENGLISH NATION TO THIS SUBJECT."*

CHAPTER VIII.

Christian Researches—Tanjore—Ceylon.

Dr. Buchanan proceeding towards Madras, was seized with a partial relapse of fever; but being restored by the blessing of providence on the kind attentions of the natives into whose hands he had

* It is gratifying to add, that laws have since been enacted prohibiting female sacrifice in British India, though it continues in other parts of India with scarcely diminished frequency.

fallen, he arrived at that city, and the capital of that presidency, on the 31st of July. He then proceeded to Tranquebar, where he dates from Ziegenbalg's church, August 25th. Of his visit to this spot, consecrated by the memory of the first christian missionaries to India, and of his subsequent arrival and discoveries at *Tanjore*, he has given, in his "Researches," the following narrative :

"The first protestant mission in India was founded by Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, a man of erudition and piety, educated at the university of Halle, in Germany. He was ordained by the learned Burmannus, bishop of Zealand, in his twenty-third year, and sailed for India in 1705. In the second year of his ministry he founded a christian church among the Hindoos, which has been extending its limits to the present time. In 1714 he returned to Europe for a short time, and on that occasion was honored with an audience by his majesty George I. who took much interest in the success of the mission. He was also patronized by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which was superintended by men of distinguished learning and piety. The king and the Society encouraged the oriental missionary to proceed in his translation of the Scriptures into the Tamul tongue, which they designated 'the grand work.' This was indeed THE GRAND WORK; for wherever the Scrip-

tures are translated into the vernacular tongue, and are open and common to all, inviting inquiry and causing discussion, they cannot remain 'a dead letter.' When the Scriptures speak to a heathen in his own tongue, his conscience responds, 'This is the word of God.' How little is the importance of a version of the Bible into a new language understood by some! The man who produces a translation of the Bible into a new language, (like Wickliff, and Luther, and Ziegenbalg, and Carey,) is a greater benefactor to mankind than the prince who founds an empire. For the 'incorruptible seed of the word of God' can never die. After ages have revolved, it is still producing new accessions to truth and human happiness.

"In the year 1719 Ziegenbalg completed the Bible in the Tamul tongue, having devoted *fourteen* years to the work, and the same year entered into his rest. After he had finished his course, he was followed by other learned and zealous men, upwards of fifty in number in the period of an hundred years, among whom were Schultz, Iænicke, Gericke, and Swartz, whose ministry has been continued in succession in different provinces unto this time. The following are extracts from the journal of the author's tour through these provinces:

"TRANQUEBAR, Aug. 25, 1806.

"Tranquebar was the first scene of the protest-

ant mission in India. There are at present three missionaries here superintending the Hindoo congregations. Yesterday I visited the church built by ZIEGENBALG. His body lies on one side of the altar, and that of his fellow-missionary, GRUNDLER, on the other. Above are the epitaphs of both, written in Latin and engraved on plates of brass. The church was consecrated in 1718, and Ziegenbalg and his companion died in two years after. They laid the foundation for evangelizing India, and then departed, 'having finished the work which was given them to do.' I saw also the dwelling-house of Ziegenbalg, in the lower apartment of which the registers of the church are still kept. In these I found the name of the first heathen convert received by him, and recorded in his own hand-writing in the year 1707.

"In Ziegenbalg's church, and from the pulpit where he stood, I first heard the Gospel preached to a congregation of Hindoos in their own tongue. The missionaries told me that religion had suffered much in Tranquebar of late years from European infidelity. French principles had corrupted the Danes, and rendered them indifferent to their own religion, and therefore hostile to the conversion of the Hindoos. 'Religion,' said they, 'flourishes more among the natives of Tanjore and in other provinces where there are few Europeans, than here or at Madras; for we find that European ex-

ample in the large towns is the bane of christian instruction.'

"One instance of hostility to the mission they mentioned as having occurred only a few weeks before my arrival. On the 9th of July, 1756, the native christians at Tranquebar celebrated a *jubilee*, in commemoration of the *fiftieth* year since the christian ministers brought the Bible from Europe. The present year, 1806, being the second fiftieth, preparations were made at Tranquebar for the second jubilee on the 9th of last month; but the French principles preponderating in the government, they would not give it any public support; in consequence of which it was not observed with that solemnity which was intended. But in other places, where there were few Europeans, it was celebrated by the native christians with enthusiasm and every demonstration of joy. When I expressed my astonishment at this hostility, the aged missionary, Dr. John, said, 'I have always remarked that the disciples of Voltaire are the true enemies of missions, and that the enemies of missions are, in general, the disciples of Voltaire.'"

"TANJORE, Aug. 30, 1806.

"On my entering this province I stopped an hour at a village near the road; and there I first heard the name of SWARTZ pronounced by a Hindoo. When I arrived at the capital I waited on

Major Blackburne, the British resident at the court of Tanjore, who informed me that the rajah had appointed the next day at 12 o'clock to receive my visit. On the same day I went to Swartz's garden, close to the christian village, where the Rev. Mr. Kohloff resides. Mr. Kohloff is the worthy successor of Mr. Swartz; and with him I found the Rev. Dr. John and Mr. Horst, two other missionaries who were on a visit to Mr. Kohloff.

"Next day I visited the rajah of Tanjore, in company with Major Blackburne. When the first ceremonial was over, the rajah conducted us to the grand saloon, which was adorned by the portraits of his ancestors; and immediately led me up to the portrait of Mr. Swartz. He then discoursed for a considerable time concerning that 'good man,' whom he ever revered as 'his father and guardian.' The rajah speaks and writes English very intelligibly. I smiled to see Swartz's picture amongst these Hindoo kings, and thought with myself that there are many who would think such a combination scarcely possible. I then addressed the rajah, and thanked him, in the name of the church of England, for his kindness to the late Mr. Swartz, and to his successors, and particularly for his recent acts of benevolence to the christians residing within his provinces. The missionaries had just informed me that the rajah had erected 'a college for Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Christians;' in

which provision was made for the instruction of '*fifty christian* children.' His highness is very desirous that I should visit this college, which is only about sixteen miles from the capital. Having heard of the fame of the ancient Shanscrit, and Mahratta library of the kings of Tanjore, I requested his highness would present a catalogue of its volumes to the college of Fort William; which he was pleased to do. It is voluminous, and written in the Mahratta character; for that is the proper language of the Tanjore court.

"In the evening I dined with the resident, and the rajah sent his band of music, consisting of eight or more *vinas*, with other instruments. The *vina*, or *been*, is the ancient instrument which Sir William Jones has described in his interesting descant on the musical science of the Hindoos, in the Asiatic Researches, and the sight of which, he says, he found it so difficult to obtain in northern India. The band played the English air of 'God save the King,' set to Mahratta words, and applied to the Maha Rajah, or great king of Tanjore. Two of the missionaries dined at the resident's house, together with some English officers. Mr. Kohloff informed me that Major Blackburne has promoted the interests of the mission by every means in his power. Major Blackburne is a man of superior attainments, amiable manners, and a hospitable disposition; and is well qualified for the important

station he has long held as English resident at this court.

"On the day following I went to view the Hindoo temples, and saw the great *black bull* of Tanjore. It is said to be of one stone hewn out of a rock of granite, and so large that the temple was built around it. While I surveyed it I reflected on the multitude of natives, who, during the last hundred years, had turned away their eyes from this idol. When I returned I sat some hours with the missionaries, conversing on the general state of christianity in the provinces of Tanjore, Tritchinopoly, Madura, and Palamcottah. They want help. Their vineyard is increased, and their laborers are decreased. They have had no supply from Germany in the room of Swartz, Iænicke, and Gericke; and they have no prospect of further supply, except from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; who, they hope, will be able to send out English preachers to perpetuate the mission."

"TANJORE, Sept. 2, 1806.

"Last Sunday and Monday were interesting days to me at Tanjore. It being rumored that a friend of the late Mr. Swartz had arrived, the people assembled from all quarters. On Sunday three sermons were preached in three different languages. At eight o'clock we proceeded to the church built by Mr. Swartz within the fort. From Mr.

Swartz's pulpit I preached in English from Mark 13:10, 'And the Gospel must first be published among all nations.' The English gentlemen here attended, civil and military, with the missionaries, catechists, and British soldiers. After this service was ended, the congregation of Hindoos assembled in the same church and filled the aisles and porches. The Tamul service commenced with some forms of prayer, in which all the congregation joined with loud fervor. A chapter of the Bible was then read, and a hymn of Luther's sung. After a short extempore prayer, during which the whole congregation knelt on the floor, the Rev. Dr. John delivered an animated discourse in the Tamul tongue, from these words, 'Jesus stood and cried, saying, if any man thirst, let him come to me and drink.' As Mr. Whitefield, on his first going to Scotland, was surprised at the rustling of the leaves of the Bible, which took place immediately on his pronouncing his text, (so different from any thing he had seen in his own country,) so I was surprised here at the sound of the iron pen engraving the palmyra leaf. Many persons had their *ollas* in their hands writing the sermon in Tamul shorthand. Mr. Kohloff assured me that some of the elder students and catechists will not lose a word of the preacher if he speak deliberately.* This,

* It is well known that natives of Tanjore and Travancore can write fluently what is spoken deliberately.

thought I, is more than some of the students at our English universities can do. This aptitude of the people to record the words of the preacher renders it peculiarly necessary 'that the priest's lips should keep knowledge.' An old rule of the mission is, that the sermon of the morning should be read to the schools in the evening, by the catechist, from his palmyra leaf.

"Another custom obtains among them which pleased me much. In the midst of the discourse the preacher sometimes puts a question to the congregation, who answer it without hesitation, in one voice. The object is to keep their attention awake, and the minister generally prompts the answer himself. Thus, suppose that he is saying, 'My dear brethren, it is true that your profession of the faith of Christ is attended with some reproach, and that you have lost your cast with the Brahmins. But your case is not peculiar. The man of the world is the man of cast in Europe, and he despises the humble and devout disciple of Christ, even as your Brahmin contemns the *Sooder*. But, thus it hath been from the beginning. Every faithful christian must lose cast for the Gospel; even as Christ himself, the Forerunner, made himself of no reputation, and was despised and rejected of men. In like manner you will be despised; but be of good

They do not look much at their ollas while writing. The fibre of the leaf guides the pen.

cheer, and say, though we have lost our cast and inheritance amongst men, we shall receive in heaven a new name and a better inheritance through Jesus Christ our Lord. He then adds, 'What, my beloved brethren, shall you obtain in heaven?' They answer, 'A new name and a better inheritance, through Jesus Christ our Lord.' It is impossible for a stranger not to be affected with this scene. This custom is deduced from Ziegenbalg, who proved its use by long experience.

"After the sermon was ended I returned with the missionaries into the vestry or library of the church. Here I was introduced to the elders and catechists of the congregation. Among others came Sattianaden, the Hindoo preacher, one of whose sermons was published in England some years ago by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. He is now advanced in years, and his black locks have grown gray. As I returned from the church I saw the christian families going back in crowds to the country, and the boys looking at their ollas. What a contrast, thought I, is this to the scene at Juggernaut! Here there is becoming dress, humane affections, and rational discourse. I see here no skulls, no self-torture, no self-murder, no dogs and vultures tearing human flesh! Here the christian virtues are found in exercise by the feeble-minded Hindoo, in a vigor and purity which will surprise those who have never known the native

character but under the greatest disadvantages, as in Bengal. It certainly surprised myself, and when I reflected on the moral conduct, upright dealing, and decorous manners of the native christians of Tanjore, I found in my breast a new evidence of the peculiar excellence and benign influence of the christian faith.

"At four o'clock in the afternoon we attended divine service at the chapel in the mission garden out of the fort. The Rev. Mr. Horst preached in the Portuguese language. The organ here accompanied the voice in singing. I sat on a granite stone which covered the grave of Swartz. The epitaph is in English verse, written by the present rajah, and signed by him, 'Serfogee.' In the evening Mr. Kohloff presided in the exercise in the schools, on which occasion the Tamul sermon was repeated, and the boys' ollas examined.

"In consequence of my having expressed a wish to hear Sattianaden preach, Mr. Kohloff had given notice that there would be divine service next day, Monday. Accordingly the chapel in Swartz's garden was crowded at an early hour. Sattianaden delivered his discourse in the Tamul language, with much natural eloquence, and with visible effect. His subject was the 'marvellous light.' He first described the pagan darkness, then the light of Ziegenbalg, then the light of Swartz, and then the heavenly light, 'when there shall be

no more need of the light of the sun, or of the moon.' In quoting a passage from Scripture, he desired a lower minister to read it, listening to it as to a record; and then proceeded to the illustration. The responses by the audience were more frequently called for than in the former sermon. He concluded with praying fervently for the church of England. After the sermon I went up to Sattianaden, and the old christians who had known Swartz came around us. They were anxious to hear something of the progress of christianity in the north of India. They said they had heard good news from Bengal. I told them that the news was good, but that Bengal was exactly a hundred years behind Tanjore.

I have had long conversations with the missionaries relating to the present circumstances of the Tanjore mission. It is in a languishing state at this moment, in consequence of the war on the continent of Europe. Two of its sources have dried up, the royal college at Copenhagen, and the orphan house at Halle, in Germany. Their remaining resource from Europe is the stipend of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; whom they never mention but with emotions of gratitude and affection. But this supply is by no means commensurate with the increasing number of their churches and schools. The chief support of the mission is derived from itself. Mr. Swartz had in his life-time

acquired a considerable property, through the kindness of the English government and of the native princes. When he was dying, he said, 'Let the cause of Christ be my heir.' When his colleague, the pious Gericke, was departing, he also bequeathed his property to the mission. And now Mr. Kohloff gives from his private funds an annual sum; not that he can well afford it; but the mission is so extended that he gives it, he told me, to preserve the new and remote congregations in *existence*. He stated that there were upwards of ten thousand protestant christians belonging to the Tanjore and Tinavelly districts alone, who had not among them one complete copy of the *Bible*; and that not one christian perhaps in a hundred had a New Testament; and yet there are some copies of the Tamul Scriptures still to be sold at Tranquebar; but the poor natives cannot afford to purchase them. When I mentioned the designs of the Bible Society in England, they received the tidings with very sensible emotions of thankfulness. Mr. Horst said, 'If only every tenth person were to obtain a copy of the Scriptures, it would be an event long to be remembered in Tanjore.' They lamented much that they were *destitute of the aid of a printing-press*, and represented to me that the progress of christianity had been materially retarded of late years by the want of that important auxiliary. They have petitioned the Society for Pro-

moting Christian Knowledge to send them one. They justly observed, If you can no longer send us missionaries to preach the Gospel, send us the means of printing the Gospel. The Tranquebar mission and the Madras mission have both possessed printing-presses for a long period; by the means of which they have been extensively useful in distributing the Scriptures and religious publications in several languages. The mission press at Tranquebar was established by Ziegenbalg. From this press, in conjunction with that at Halle, in Germany, have proceeded volumes in Arabic, Syriac, Hindostanee, Tamul, Telinga, Portuguese, Danish, and English. I have in my possession the Psalms of David in the Hindostanee language, printed in the Arabic character; and the History of Christ in Syriac, intended probably for the Syro-Romish christians on the sea-coast of Travancore, whom a Danish missionary once visited—both of which volumes were edited by the missionaries of Tranquebar. There is also in Swartz's library at Tanjore a grammar of the Hindostanee language in quarto, published at the same press; an important fact which was not known at the college of Fort William when Professor Gilchrist commenced his useful labors in that language."

"Tanjore, September 3, 1806.

"Before I left the capital of Tanjore the rajah

was pleased to honor me with a second audience. On this occasion he presented to me a very striking likeness, painted by a Hindoo artist at the Tanjore court. The missionary Dr. John accompanied me to the palace. The rajah received him with much kindness, and presented to him a piece of gold cloth. Of the resident missionary Mr. Kohloff, whom the rajah sees frequently, he spoke to me in terms of high approbation. This cannot be very agreeable to the Brahmins; but the rajah, though he yet professes the Brahminical religion, is no longer obedient to the dictates of the Brahmins, and they are compelled to admit his superior attainments in knowledge. I passed the chief part of this morning in looking over Mr. Swartz's manuscripts and books: and when I was coming away Mr. Kohloff presented to me a Hebrew Psalter, which had been Mr. Swartz's companion for fifty years; also a brass lamp which he had got first when a student at the college of Halle, and had used in his lucubrations to the time of his death; for Mr. Swartz *seldom preached to the natives without previous study.* I thought I saw the image of Swartz in his successor. Mr. Kohloff is a man of great simplicity of manners, of meek deportment, of ardent zeal in the cause of revealed religion and of humanity. He walked with me through the christian village close to his house; and I was much pleased to see the affectionate respect of the people towards him; the

young people of both sexes coming forward from the doors, on both sides, to salute him and receive his benediction."

"September 4, 1806.

"Leaving Tanjore, I passed through the woods inhabited by the collaries (or thieves) now humanized by christianity. When they understood who I was, they followed me on the road, stating their destitute condition in regard to religious instruction. They were *clamorous* for Bibles. They supplicated for teachers. 'We don't want bread or money from you,' said they, 'but we want the word of God.' Now, thought I, whose duty is it to attend to the moral wants of this people? Is it that of the English nation, or of some other nation?"

"TRITCHINOPOLY, September 5.

"The first church built by Swartz is at this place. It is called Christ's church, and is a large building, capable of containing perhaps two thousand people. The aged missionary, the Rev. Mr. Pohle, presides over this church, and over the native congregations at this place. Christianity flourishes; but I found that here, as at other places, there is a 'famine of Bibles.' The jubilee was celebrated on the 9th of July, being the hundredth year from the arrival of the messengers of the Gospel. On this occasion their venerable pastor preached from

Matt. 28 : 19 ; 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' At this station there are about a thousand English troops. Mr. Pohle being a German, does not speak English very well ; but he is reverenced for his piety by the English ; and both officers and men *are glad to hear the religion of their country preached in any way.* On a Sunday morning I preached in Christ's church to a full assembly, from these words, 'For we have seen his star in the East, and are come to worship him.' Indeed what I had seen in these provinces rendered this text the most appropriate I could select. Next day some of the English soldiers came to me, desiring to know how they might procure Bibles. 'It is a delightful thing,' said one of them, 'to hear our own religion preached by our own countryman.' I am informed that there are at this time above twenty English regiments in India, and not one of them has a chaplain. The men live without religion, and then they bury each other. O England, England, it is not for thine own goodness that providence giveth thee the treasures of India !

"I proceed hence to visit the christian churches in the provinces of Madura and Tinavelly."

"The friends of christianity in India have had it in their power to afford some aid to the christian

churches in Tanjore. On the 1st of January of the present year (1810) the Rev. Mr. Brown preached a sermon at Calcutta, in which he represented the petition of the Hindoos for Bibles. A plain statement of the fact was sufficient to open the hearts of the public. A subscription was immediately set on foot, and Lieut. General Hewitt, commander in chief, then deputy governor in Bengal, subscribed £250. The chief officers of government and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta raised the subscription in a few days to the sum of £1000 sterling. Instructions were sent to Mr. Kohloff to buy up all the copies of the Tamul Scriptures, to distribute them at a small price amongst the natives, and to order a new edition to be printed off without loss of time."

On the 14th of September at Madura, where Dr. Buchanan "passed three days among its ruins and antiquities," and which he says is "a fine station for the Gospel," he addressed a letter to Mr. Grant, chiefly occupied with the state of missions supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which he had visited. Passing through Ramnad Pooram, he then visited the island of Ramisseram, "the Juggernaut of the south," and from thence crossed to *Ceylon*. His notices of that island embrace passages of his journal, written at Columbo, eighteen months later, as he was returning from Calcutta to England.

"JAFFNA-PATAM, in Ceylon, Sept. 27, 1806.

"From the Hindoo temple of Ramisseram I crossed over to Ceylon, keeping close to Adam's bridge. I was surprised to find that all the boatmen were christians of Ceylon. I asked the helmsman what religion the English professed who now governed the island. He said he could not tell, only that they were not of the Portuguese or Dutch religion. I was not so much surprised at his ignorance afterwards as I was at the time.

"I have had the pleasure to meet here with Alexander Johnstone, Esq. of the supreme court of judicature, who is on the circuit; a man of large and liberal views, the friend of learning and of christianity. He is well acquainted with the language of the country and with the history of the island; and his professional pursuits afford him a particular knowledge of its present state; so that his communications are truly valuable. It will be scarcely believed in England that there are here protestant churches under the king's government which are without ministers.

"In the time of Baldæus, the Dutch preacher and historian, there were *thirty-two* christian churches in the province of Jaffna alone. At this time there is not one protestant European minister in the whole province. I ought to except Mr. Palm, a solitary missionary, who has been sent out by the London Society, and receives some stipend from

the British government. I visited Mr. Palm at his residence a few miles from the town of Jaffna. He is prosecuting the study of the Tamul language; for that is the language of this part of Ceylon, from its proximity to the Tamul continent. Mrs. Palm has made as great progress in the language as her husband, and is extremely active in the instruction of the native women and children. I asked her if she had no wish to return to Europe, after living so long among the uncivilized Cingalese. 'No,' she said; 'she was all the day long happy in the communication of knowledge.' Mr. Palm has taken possession of the old protestant church of Tillipally. By reference to the history, I found it was the church in which Baldæus himself preached (as he himself mentions) to a congregation of two thousand natives; for a view of the church is given in his work.

"Most of those handsome churches, of which views are given in the plates of Baldæus's history, are now in ruins. Even in the town and fort of Jaffna, where there is a spacious edifice for divine worship, and a respectable society of English and Dutch inhabitants, no clergyman has yet been appointed. The only protestant preacher in the town of Jaffna is *Christian David*, a Hindoo catechist sent over by the mission of Tranquebar. His chief ministrations are in the Tamul tongue; but he sometimes preaches in the English language, which

he speaks with tolerable propriety, and the Dutch and English resort to him. I went with the rest to his church; when he delivered extempore a very excellent discourse, which his present majesty George III. would not have disdained to hear. And this Hindoo supports the interests of the English church in the province of Jaffna. The Dutch ministers who formerly officiated here have gone to Batavia or to Europe. The whole district is now in the hands of the Romish priests from the college of Goa, who, perceiving the indifference of the English nation to their own religion, have assumed quiet and undisturbed possession of the land. And the English government, justly preferring the Romish superstition to the worship of the idol *Boodha*, thinks it right to countenance the catholic religion in Ceylon. But whenever our church shall direct her attention to the promotion of christianity in the East, I know of no place which is more worthy of her labor than the old protestant vineyard of Jaffna-patam. The Scriptures are already prepared in the Tamul language. The language of the rest of Ceylon is the Cingalese or Ceylonese."

"COLUMBO, in Ceylon, March 10, 1808.

"—— I find that the south part of the island is in much the same state as the north, in regard to christian instruction. There are but two English clergymen in the whole island. 'What wonder,'

said a Romish priest to me, 'that your nation should be so little interested about the conversion of the pagans to christianity, when it does not even give teachers to its own subjects who are already christians?' I was not surprised to hear that great numbers of the protestants every year go back to idolatry. Being destitute of a head to take cognizance of their state, they apostatize to Boodha, as the Israelites turned to Baal and Ashteroth. It is perhaps true that the religion of Christ has never been so disgraced in any age of the church as it has been lately by our official neglect of the protestant church in Ceylon.

"In returning from the country I passed through the groves of *Cinnamon*, which extend nearly a mile in length. Ceylon is believed by some of the easterns, both Mohammedans and Hindoos, to have been the residence of the first man, (for the Hindoos have a first man and a garden of Eden as well as the christians,) because it abounds in 'trees pleasant to the eyes and good for food,' and is famous for its rare metals and precious stones. 'There is gold, bdellium, and the onyx-stone.' The rocky bridge which connects this happy island with the main land is called Adam's Bridge; the lofty mountain in the middle of the island, every where visible, is called Adam's Peak; and there is a sepulchre of immense length which they call Abel's Tomb. All these names were given many

ages before the introduction of christianity from Europe.* The cinnamon trees love a sandy soil. The surface of the ground appeared to be entirely *sand.* I thought it wonderful that the most valuable of all trees should grow in luxuriance in such an arid soil without human culture. I compared them in my mind to the Ceylon christians in their present state, who are left to flourish by themselves under the blessing of heaven, without those external and rational aids which have been divinely appointed to nourish the church of Christ."

"COLUMBO, March 11, 1808.

"I have conversed with intelligent persons on the means of translating the Scriptures into the Cingalese language. The whole of the New Testament has been translated, but only three books of the Old Testament. But even this portion has been translated almost in vain, for there is no supply of books for the use of the people. I reflected with astonishment on the fact that there are, by my computation, 500,000 natives in Ceylon professing christianity, and that there should not be one complete copy of the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. Samuel Tolfry, Esq. head of a civil department in Columbo, is a good Cingalese scholar, and is now engaged in compiling a Cingalese dictionary. I proposed to him to undertake the completion of the Cingalese version, which is easily

practicable, as there are many learned Cingalese christians in Columbo. He professed himself ready to engage in the work provided he should receive the sanction of the government. I mentioned to him a conversation I had had with General Maitland, and his favorable sentiments on the subject; and added, that a correspondence would be immediately commenced with him from Calcutta concerning the work, and funds apportioned for the execution of it. Alexander Johnstone, Esq. who is now in Columbo, has furnished me with his sentiments on the best means of reviving and maintaining the protestant interest in Ceylon. Did his professional avocations permit, Mr. Johnstone is himself the fit person to superintend the translation and printing of the Scriptures. It is a proof of the interest which this gentleman takes in the progress of christian knowledge, that he has caused Bishop Porteus' Evidences of Christianity to be translated into the Cingalee tongue, for distribution among the natives."

CHAPTER IX.

Syrian Christians in India.

Dr. Buchanan having returned from Ceylon to the continent in October, 1806, his "Christian Re-

searches" give the following highly interesting facts respecting the numerous *Syrian churches in India:*

"The Syrian christians inhabit the interior of Travancore and Malabar, in the south of India; and have been settled there from the early ages of christianity. The first notices of this ancient people in recent times are to be found in the Portuguese histories. When Vasco de Gama arrived at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, in the year 1503, he saw the sceptre of the christian king; for the Syrian christians had formerly regal power in Malay-ala.* The name or title of their last king was Beliarte; and he dying without issue, the dominion devolved on the king of Cochin and Diamper.

"When the Portuguese arrived they were agreeably surprised to find upwards of a hundred christian churches on the coast of Malabar. But when they became acquainted with the purity and simplicity of their worship they were offended. 'These churches,' said the Portuguese, 'belong to the pope.' 'Who is the pope?' said the natives; 'we never heard of him.' The European priests were

* Malay-ala is the proper name for the whole country of Travancore and Malabar, comprehending the territory between the mountains and the sea, from Cape Comorin to Cape Illi or Dilly. The language of these extensive regions is called Malayalim, and sometimes Malabar. We shall use the word *Malabar*, as being of easier pronunciation.

yet more alarmed, when they found that these Hindoo christians maintained the order and discipline of a regular church under episcopal jurisdiction; and that for thirteen hundred years past they had enjoyed a succession of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. 'We,' said they, 'are of the true faith, whatever you from the west may be; for we come from the place where the followers of Christ were first called christians.'

"When the power of the Portuguese became sufficient for their purpose, they invaded these tranquil churches, seized some of the clergy, and devoted them to the death of heretics. Then the inhabitants heard for the first time that there was a place called the *inquisition;* and that its fires had been lately lighted at Goa, near their own land. But the Portuguese, finding that the people were resolute in defending their ancient faith, began to try more conciliatory measures. They seized the Syrian bishop Mar Joseph and sent him prisoner to Lisbon: and then convened a synod at one of the Syrian churches called Diamper, near Cochin, at which the Romish archbishop Menezes presided. At this compulsory synod one hundred and fifty of the Syrian clergy appeared. They were accused of the following practices and opinions: '*That they had married wives; that they owned but two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's supper; that they neither invoked saints, nor worshipped images, nor*

believed in purgatory: and that they had no other orders or names of dignity in the church than bishop, priest, and deacon.' These tenets they were called on to abjure, or to suffer suspension from all church benefices. It was also decreed that all the Syrian books on ecclesiastical subjects that could be found should be burned; 'in order,' said the inquisitors, 'that no pretended *apostolical monuments may remain.*'

"The churches on the sea-coast were thus compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the pope: but they refused to pray in Latin, and insisted on retaining their own language and liturgy. This point they said they would only give up with their lives. The pope compromised with them: Menezes purged their liturgy of its errors: and they retain their Syriac language, and have a Syriac college unto this day. These are called the Syro-Roman churches, and are principally situated on the sea-coast.

"The churches in the interior would not yield to Rome. After a show of submission for a little while, they proclaimed eternal war against the inquisition; they hid their books, fled occasionally to the mountains, and sought the protection of the native princes, who had always been proud of their alliance.

"Two centuries had elapsed without any particular information concerning the Syrian christians

in the interior of India. It was doubted by many whether they existed at all; but if they did exist, it was thought probable that they must possess some interesting documents of christian antiquity. The author conceived the design of visiting them, if practicable, in his tour through Hindostan. He presented a short memoir on the subject in 1805, to Marquis Wellesley, then Governor General of India; who was pleased to give orders that every facility should be afforded to him in the prosecution of his inquiries. About a year after that nobleman had left India, the author proceeded on his tour. It was necessary that he should visit first the court of the rajah of Travancore, in whose dominions the Syrian christians resided, that he might obtain permission to pass to their country. The two chief objects which he proposed to himself in exploring the state of this ancient people were these: First, to investigate their literature and history, and to collect biblical manuscripts. Secondly, if he should find them to be an intelligent people, and well acquainted with the Syriac Scriptures, to endeavor to make them instruments of illuminating the southern part of India, by engaging them in translating their Scriptures into the native languages. He had reason to believe that this had not yet been done; and he was prepared not to wonder at the delay, by the reflection how long it was before his own countrymen began to think it their duty to

make versions of the Scriptures for the use of other nations.

"PALACE OF TRAVANCORE, Oct. 19, 1806.

"I have been now a week at the palace of Trivanduram, where the rajah resides. A letter of introduction from Lieut. Colonel Macaulay, the British resident at Travancore, procured me a proper reception. At my first audience his highness was very inquisitive as to the objects of my journey. As I had servants with me of different casts and languages, it was very easy for the Brahmins to discover every particular they might wish to know in regard to my profession, pursuits, and manner of life. When I told the rajah that the Syrian christians were supposed to be of the same religion with the English, he said he thought that could not be the case, else he must have heard it before; if however it was so, he considered my desire to visit them as being very reasonable. I assured his highness that their *Shaster* and ours was the same, and showed him a Syriac New Testament which I had at hand. The book being bound and gilt after the European manner, the rajah shook his head and said he was sure there was not a native in his dominions who could read that book. I observed that this would be proved in a few days. The dewan (or prime minister) thought the character something like what he had seen sometimes in the houses of

the *Sooriani.* The rajah said he would afford me every facility for my journey in his power. He put an emerald ring on my finger, as a mark of his friendship, and to secure me respect in passing through his country; and he directed his dewan to send proper persons with me as guides.

"I requested that the rajah would be pleased to present a catalogue of all the Hindoo manuscripts in the temples of Travancore to the college of Fort William in Bengal. The Brahmins were very averse to this; but when I showed the rajah the catalogues of the books in the temples of Tanjore, given by the rajah of Tanjore, and those of the temple of Ramisseram, given me by order of the rannie (or queen) of Ramnad; he desired it might be done: and orders have been sent to the Hindoo college of Trichoor for that purpose."*

"CHINGANOOR, a Church of the Syrian Christians, Nov. 10, 1806.

"From the palace of Travancore I proceeded to Mavely-car, and thence to the hills at the bottom of the high ghauts which divide the Carnatic from Malay-ala. The face of the country in general, in the vicinity of the mountains, exhibits a varied

* These three catalogues, together with that of the rajah of Cochin, which the author procured afterwards, are now deposited in the college of Fort William, and probably contain all the Hindoo literature of the south of India.

scene of hill and dale and winding streams. These streams fall from the mountains and preserve the vallies in perpetual verdure. The woods produce pepper, cardamoms, and cassia, or common cinnamon; also frankincense and other aromatic gums. What adds much to the grandeur of the scenery in this country is, that the adjacent mountains of Travancore are not *barren*, but covered with forests of teak wood—the Indian oak, producing, it is said, the largest timber in the world.

"The first view of the christian churches in this sequestered region of Hindostan, connected with the idea of their tranquil duration for so many ages, cannot fail to excite pleasing emotions in the mind of the beholder. The form of the oldest buildings is not unlike that of some of the old parish churches in England; the style of building in both being of Saracenic origin. They have sloping roofs, pointed arch windows, and buttresses supporting the walls. The beams of the roof being exposed to view are ornamented, and the ceiling of the choir and altar is circular and fretted. In the cathedral churches the shrines of the deceased bishops are placed on each side of the altar. Most of the churches are built of a reddish stone, squared and polished at the quarry; and are of durable construction, the front wall of the largest edifices being six feet thick. The bells of the churches are cast in the founderies of the country; some of

them are of large dimensions, and have inscriptions in Syriac and Malay-alim. In approaching a town in the evening, I once heard the sound of the bells among the hills; a circumstance which made me forget for a moment that I was in Hindostan, and reminded me of *another* country.

"The first Syrian church which I saw was at Mavely-car: but the Syrians here are in the vicinity of the Romish christians, and are not so simple in their manners as those nearer the mountains. They had been often visited by Romish emissaries in former times: and they at first suspected that I belonged to that communion. They had heard of the English, but strangely supposed that they belonged to the church of the pope in the west. They had been so little accustomed to see a friend, that they could not believe that I was come with any friendly purpose. Added to this, I had some discussions with a most intelligent priest in regard to the original language of the four Gospels, which he maintained to be Syriac; and they suspected, from the complexion of my argument, that I wished to weaken the evidences for their antiquity.*

* 'You concede,' said the Syrian, 'that our Saviour spoke in our language; how do you know it?' From Syriac expressions in the Greek Gospels. It appears that he spoke Syriac when he walked by the way (Ephphatha,) and when he sat in the house (Talitha Cumi,) and when he was upon the cross (Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani.) The Syrians were pleased when they heard that we had got their language in

Soon however the gloom and suspicion subsided; they gave me the right hand of fellowship in the primitive manner; and one of their number was

our English books. The priest observed that these last were not the exact words, but 'Ail, Ail, lamono sabachthani.' I answered that the word must have been very like *Eli*, for one said, 'He calleth for *Elias*.' 'True,' said he, 'but yet it was more likely to be *Ail*, *Ail*, (pronounced Il or Eel,) for *Hil*, or *Hila*, is old Syriac for vinegar; and one thought he wanted vinegar, and filled immediately a sponge with it. But our Saviour did not want the medicated drink as they supposed. But,' added he, 'if the parables and discourses of our Lord were in Syriac, and the people of Jerusalem commonly used it, is it not marvellous that his disciples did not record his parables in the Syriac language, and that they should have recourse to the Greek?' I observed that the Gospel was for the world, and the Greek was then the universal language, and therefore Providence selected it. 'It is very probable,' said he, 'that the Gospels were translated immediately afterwards into Greek, as into other languages; but surely there must have been a Syriac original. The poor people in Jerusalem could not read Greek. Had they no record in their hands of Christ's parables which they had heard, and of his sublime discourses recorded by St. John after his ascension?' I acknowledged that it was generally believed by the learned that the Gospel of St. Matthew was written originally in Syriac. 'So you admit St. Matthew? You may as well admit St. John. Or was one Gospel enough for the inhabitants of Jerusalem? I contended that there were many Greek and Roman words in their own Syriac Gospels. 'True,' said he, 'Roman words for Roman things.' They wished, however, to see some of these words. The discussion afterwards, particularly in reference to the Gospel of St. Luke, was more in my favor.

deputed to accompany me to the churches in the interior.

"When we were approaching the church of Chinganoor, we met one of the *cassanars*, or Syrian clergy. He was dressed in a white loose vestment with a cap of red silk hanging down behind. Being informed who he was, I said to him in the Syriac language, 'Peace be unto you.' He was surprised at the salutation; but immediately answered, 'The God of peace be with you.' He accosted the rajah's servants in the language of the country to know who I was; and immediately returned to the village to announce our approach. When we arrived I was received at the door of the church by three *kasheeshas*, that is presbyters, or priests, who were habited in like manner in white vestments. Their names were Jesu, Zecharias, and Urias, which they wrote down in my journal, each of them adding to his name the title of *kasheesha*. There were also present two *shumshanas*, or deacons. The elder priest was a very intelligent man, of reverend appearance, having a long white beard, and of an affable and engaging deportment. The three principal christians or lay elders belonging to the church were named Abraham, Thomas, and Alexandros. After some conversation with my attendants they received me with confidence and affection; and the people of the neighboring villages came round, women as well as men.

"The sight of the *women* assured me that I was once more (after a long absence from England) in a christian country. For the Hindoo women, and the Mohammedan women, and in short all women who are not christians, are accounted by the men an inferior race; and, in general, are confined to the house for life, like irrational creatures. In every countenance now before me I thought I could discover the intelligence of christianity. But at the same time I perceived, all around, symptoms of poverty and political depression. In the churches and in the people there was the air of fallen greatness. I said to the senior priest, 'You appear to me like a people who have known better days.' 'It is even so,' said he; 'we are in a degenerate state compared with our forefathers.' He noticed that there were two causes of their present decay. 'About three hundred years ago an enemy came from the west bearing the name of Christ, but armed with the inquisition, and compelled us to seek the protection of the native princes. And the native princes have kept us in a state of depression ever since. They indeed recognize our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general next to the *nairs*, the nobility of the country; but they have encroached by degrees on our property, till we have been reduced to the humble state in which you find us. The glory of our church has passed away; but we hope your nation will revive it again.'

"I observed that 'the glory of a church could never die, if it preserved the Bible.' 'We have preserved the Bible,' said he; 'the Hindoo princes never touched our liberty of conscience. We were formerly on a footing with them in political power; and they respect our religion. We have also converts from time to time; but in this christian duty we are not so active as we once were: besides, it is not so creditable now to become christian in our low estate.' He then pointed out to me a Namboory Brahmin, (that is, a Brahmin of the highest cast,) who had lately become a christian, and assumed the white vestment of a Syrian priest. 'The learning too of the Bible,' he added, 'is in a low state amongst us. Our copies are few in number, and that number is diminishing instead of increasing; and the writing out a whole copy of the sacred Scriptures is a great labor where there is no profit and little piety.' I then produced a printed copy of the Syriac New Testament. There was not one of them who had ever seen a printed copy before. They admired it much; and every priest, as it came into his hands, began to read a portion, which he did fluently, while the women came around to hear. I asked the old priest whether I should send them some copies from Europe. 'They would be worth their weight in silver,' said he. He asked me whether the Old Testament was printed in Syriac as well as the New. I told him it was, but I had not

a copy. They professed an earnest desire to obtain some copies of the *whole* Syriac Bible, and asked whether it would be practicable to obtain one copy for every church. 'I must confess to you,' said Zecharias, 'that we have very few copies of the *prophetical* Scriptures in the church. Our church languishes for want of the Scriptures.' But he added, 'the language that is most in use among the people is the Malayalim, (or Malabar,) the vernacular language of the country. The Syriac is now only the learned language and the language of the church: but we generally expound the Scriptures to the people in the vernacular tongue.'

"I then entered on the subject of the *translation of the Scriptures.* He said 'a version could be made with critical accuracy; for there were many of the Syrian clergy who were perfect masters of both languages, having spoken them from their infancy. 'But,' said he, 'our bishop will rejoice to see you, and to discourse with you on this and other subjects.' I told them that if a translation could be prepared, I should be able to get it printed, and distribute copies among their fifty-five churches at a small price. 'That indeed would give joy,' said old Abraham. There was here a murmur of satisfaction among the people. If I understand you right, said I, the greatest blessing the English church can bestow upon you is the Bible. 'It is so,' said he. 'And what is the next greatest?' said I.

'Some freedom and personal consequence as a people:' by which he meant political liberty. 'We are here in bondage like Israel in Egypt.' I observed that the English nation would doubtless recognize a nation of fellow-christians, and would be happy to interest itself in their behalf as far as our political relation with the prince of the country would permit. They wished to know what were the principles of the English government, civil and religious. I answered that our government might be said to be founded generally on the principles of the Bible. 'Ah,' said old Zecharias, 'that must be a glorious government which is founded on the principles of the Bible.' The priests then desired I would give them some account of the history of the English nation, and of our secession from their enemy the church of Rome. And in return I requested they would give me some account of their history.

"My communications with the Syrians are rendered very easy, by means of an interpreter whom I brought with me all the way from the Tanjore country. He is a Hindoo by descent, but is an intelligent christian, and was a pupil and catechist of the late Mr. Swartz. The Rev. Mr. Kohloff recommended him to me. He formerly lived in Travancore, and is well acquainted with the vernacular tongue. He also reads and writes English very well, and is as much interested in favor of the Sy-

rian christians as I myself. Besides Mr. Swartz's catechist, there are two natives of Travancore here, who speak the Hindostanee language, which is familiar to me. My knowledge of the Syriac is sufficient to refer to texts of Scripture; but I do not well understand the pronunciation of the Syrians. I hope to be better acquainted with their language before I leave the country."

"RANNIEL, a Syrian Church, Nov. 12, 1806.

"This church is built upon a rocky hill on the banks of the river, and is the most remote of all the churches in this quarter. The two *kasheeshas* here are Lucas and Mattai (Luke and Matthew.) The chief lay members are Abraham, Georgius, Thoma, and Philippus. Some of the priests accompany me from church to church. I have now visited eight churches, and scarcely believe sometimes that I am in the land of the Hindoos, only that I now and then see a Hindoo temple on the banks of the river. I observed that the bells of most of the churches were within the building, and not in a tower. The reason they said was this. When a Hindoo temple happens to be near a church, the Hindoos do not like the bell to sound loud, for they say it frightens their god. I perceive that the Syrian christians assimilate much to the Hindoos in the practice of frequent ablutions for health and cleanliness, and in the use of vegetables and light food

"I attended divine service on Lord's day. Their liturgy is that which was formerly used in the churches of the patriarch of Antioch. During the prayers there were intervals of silence; the priest praying in a low voice, and every man praying for himself. These silent intervals add much to the solemnity and appearance of devotion. They use incense in the churches; it grows in the woods around them; and contributes much, they say, to health, and to the warmth and comfort of the church during the cold and rainy season of the year. At the conclusion of the service a ceremony takes place which pleased me much. The priest (or bishop, if he be present) comes forward, and all the people pass by him as they go out, receiving his benediction individually. If any man has been guilty of any immorality, he does not receive the blessing; and this, in their primitive and patriarchal state, is accounted a severe punishment. Instruction by preaching is little in use among them now. Many of the old men lamented the decay of piety and religious knowledge, and spoke with pleasure of the record of ancient times. They have some ceremonies nearly allied to those of the Greek church.

"The doctrines of the Syrian christians are few in number, but pure, and agree in essential points with those of the church of England: so that, although the body of the church appears to be igno-

rant, and formal, and dead, there are individuals who are alive to righteousness, who are distinguished from the rest by their purity of life, and are sometimes censured for too rigid a piety.

"The following are the chief doctrines of this ancient church:

"1. They hold the doctrine of a vicarious *atonement* for the sins of men by the blood and merits of Christ, and of the justification of the soul before God 'by faith alone' in that atonement.

"2. They maintain the *regeneration*, or new birth of the soul to righteousness, by the influence of the Spirit of God, which change is called in their books, from the Greek, the *metanoia*, or change of mind.

"3. In regard to the *trinity*, the creed of the Syrian christians accords with that of St. Athanasius, but without the damnatory clause. In a written and official communication to the English resident of Travancore, the metropolitan states it to be as follows:

"We believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three persons in one God, neither confounding the persons nor dividing the substance, one in three, and three in one. The Father generator, the Son generated, and the Holy Ghost proceeding. None is before or after the other; in majesty, honor, might, and power, co-equal; unity in trinity, and trinity in unity.' He then proceeds to disclaim the different errors of Arius, Sabellius, Macedo-

nius, Manes, Marcianus, Julianus, Nestorius, and the Chalcedonians; and concludes, 'That in the appointed time, through the disposition of the Father and the Holy Ghost, the Son appeared on earth for the salvation of mankind; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, through the means of the Holy Ghost, and was incarnate God and man.'

"In every church, and in many of the private houses, there are manuscripts in the Syriac language: and I have been successful in procuring some old and valuable copies of the Scriptures and other books, written in different ages and in different characters."

"CANDE-NAD, a church of the Syrian christians, November 23, 1806.

"This is the residence of Mar Dionysius, the metropolitan of the Syrian church. A great number of the priests from the other churches had assembled, by desire of the bishop, before my arrival. The bishop resides in a building attached to the church. I was much struck with his first appearance. He was dressed in a vestment of dark red silk; a large golden cross hung from his neck, and his venerable beard reached below his girdle. Such, thought I, was the appearance of Chrysostom in the fourth century. On public occasions he wears the episcopal mitre, and a muslin robe is thrown over his under-garment; and in his hand he bears

the crosier, or pastoral staff. He is a man of highly respectable character in his church, eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions. I found him to be far superior in general learning to any of his clergy whom I had yet seen. He told me that all my conversations with his priests since my arrival in the country had been communicated to him. 'You have come,' said he, 'to visit a declining church, and I am now an old man: but the hope of its seeing better days cheers my old age, though I may not live to see them.' I submitted to the bishop my wishes in regard to the translation and printing of the Holy Scriptures. 'I have already fully considered the subject,' said he, 'and have determined to superintend the work myself, and to call the most learned of my clergy to my aid. It is a work which will illuminate these dark regions, and God will give it his blessing.' I was much pleased when I heard this pious resolution of the venerable man; for I had now ascertained that there are upwards of 200,000 christians in the south of India, besides the Syrians, who speak the Malabar language. The next subject of importance in my mind was the collection of useful manuscripts in the Chaldaic and Syriac languages; and the bishop was pleased to say that he would assist my inquiries and add to my collection. He descanted with great satisfaction on the hope of seeing printed Syriac Bibles

from England, and said they would be 'a treasure to his church.' "

Of the preceding account of Dr. Buchanan's first visit to the coast of Malabar, the following letter to Mr. Henry Thornton comprises a brief but animated sketch, which, notwithstanding the repetition of a few particulars, will not, it is presumed, prove uninteresting to any:

"COCHIN, December 24, 1806.

"DEAR SIR,—In August or September last I addressed a letter to you from the pagoda of Seringham, near Tritchinopoli. Since that period I have visited Ceylon, and many places in southern Coromandel and in the province of Malabar. I passed a week at the palace of the rajah of Travancore, who aids me very liberally in all my pursuits. The Brahmins and present minister had taught the young man (he is only twenty-five) to oppress the christians. But he promises milder treatment in future. This favorable change is produced by the exertions of Colonel Macaulay, the resident, who, I am happy to say, is much alive to the interests of religion.

"From the sea-coast I proceeded into the interior of the country, to visit the ancient Syrian christians who inhabit the hills at the bottom of the great mountains of Malayala. The weather was cool and

pleasant. The country is picturesque and highly cultivated, diversified with hill and dale and winding streams. These streams fall from the mountains, and preserve the vallies in perpetual verdure. The christians received me courteously, seeing I travelled in some state, escorted by the rajah's servants. But when they found my object was to look into their books and religion, they surveyed me with doubtful countenance, not well understanding how an Englishman could have any interest in the christian religion. And the contrary was only proved to them by long and serious discussion, and by the evidence of facts which for the first time came to their knowledge. But when their doubts had been dispelled, they sent deputies with me, who introduced me to all the other churches. No European, or even Romish priest, had ever, as they told me, visited that remote region. There are no Romish churches in its vicinity, and the rajah gives no permission to Europeans to travel into the interior of his country.

"The Syrian is still their sacred language, and some of the laymen understand it; but the Malayalim is the vulgar tongue. I proposed to send a Malayalim translation of the Bible to each of the churches; and they assured me that every man who could write would be glad to make a copy for his own family. They also agreed to establish schools in each parish for christian instruction,

which are to be under the direction of the four chief elders of each parish, and in which the Bible in the vulgar tongue is to be a principal class-book.

"Their doctrines are not, in essentials, at variance with those of the church of England. They desire an union, or at least such a connection as may be practicable or desirable for the better advancement of the interests of christianity in India.

"As to manuscripts, I have succeeded far beyond my most sanguine expectations.

"It had been supposed that the Roman Catholics had destroyed in 1599 all the Syrian books. But it appears that they did not destroy one copy of the *Bible*; and I have now in my possession some MSS. of the Scriptures of a high antiquity. The collation of these with our western copies is very interesting. There are some other MSS. which were not condemned by the synod of Menezes. I have also found some old Hebrew MSS. biblical and historical.

"It is sufficiently established by the concurrence of oral tradition with written records, that the Jews were on this coast before the christian era.

"I propose to send home some Syrian youth to England for education and ordination, if practicable. And I take with me to Bengal a Malayalim, a Syrian, and a Jewish servant. They will, however, be but nominal servants. I should have engaged them as moonshees; but I see there is no college now in Bengal.

"The Roman Catholics here were at first very jealous of my attention to the Syrians. The Romish bishop, however, who is a *bon vivant*,* perceiving that my chief object was to diffuse the Scriptures among the people, began to think that it might be politic in him to circulate them among his people too, and to please the English rather than the inquisition. Colonel Macaulay thinks the bishop will adopt the measure the moment we seriously propose it. He lives in some state, and fires a salute of eleven guns on occasion.

"Cochin is rich in Hebrew literature, and I am purchasing what is to be sold.

"The rajah of Cochin has followed the example of the rajahs of Travancore, of Tanjore, and the ranny of Ramnad, and Ramisseram, in giving me catalogues of the Shanscrit books in the temples. I hope the Coorga rajah will do the same.

"This opening of the pagodas is a new scene in India. Mr. Swartz was the remote instrument. He opened the rajah of Tanjore's heart; and the rajah of Tanjore opened the pagodas, those chambers of imagery, the emblem of the heart.

"The rajah of Tanjore wishes me to visit him again. If practicable, I shall open a correspondence with him.

"I propose to leave this coast in a fortnight, and

* Good liver.

proceed to Bombay, from whence I shall probably go across to Benares, and thence down to Calcutta by the Ganges.

"Having arrived at the extreme boundary of my tour, and accomplished its object, I thought it would be acceptable to you to have some short notices of it. Be pleased to tell Mr. Newton that I am well. I wrote him a long letter from Tanjore. It is with pleasure I see that, amidst the agitations of the world, he is tranquil, and at peace, and nearly arrived at the haven where he would be. Mar Dionysius, the bishop of the Syrians in the mountains, has somewhat of Mr. Newton's manner and appearance; only that the bishop has a venerable long beard, which reaches below his girdle, and through which you may see a large gold cross beaming at intervals. He is now seventy-eight years of age, amiable in his temper, and devout according to his knowledge.

"I read at this place, in Hayley's third volume, Cowper's correspondence with Mr. Newton, and was pleased to see the name of the good man honored.

"I remain, dear sir,

"Very sincerely yours,

"C. BUCHANAN."

CHAPTER X.

Jews in India.

We proceed to give, from the pen of Dr. Buchanan himself, the results of his "Researches" respecting the *Jews in India.*

"There are three remarkable prophecies concerning the Jews:

1. "'The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim.' Hosea, 3 : 4.

2. "'The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from the one end of the earth even unto the other,' Deut. 29 : 64; and yet 'the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned amongst the nations.' Numbers, 23 : 9.

3. "'Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverb, and a by-word among all the nations whither the Lord shall lead thee. Among these nations thou shalt find no ease, neither shall the sole of thy foot have rest.' Deut. 28 : 37, 65.

"The first of these prophecies is very remarkable; for whoever heard of a nation 'abiding many

days' without its civil and religious polity, and surviving its political existence? The very assertion seems to involve an absurdity. Did the Egyptians, Chaldeans, Greeks, or Romans survive their civil and religious polity?

"The second prediction is not less singular than the former; for if the Jews were to be received among the nations of the earth, why should they not 'be reckoned with the nations?' Would any man, in a remote age, venture to foretell that there was a certain nation which, in the ages to come, would be received and tolerated by all other nations merely to be persecuted?

"But the third prophecy is such as must afford a contemplation to infidelity to the end of time. The Jews were to become 'an astonishment, and a proverb, and a by-word among all nations,' because they shed the blood of the Saviour of the world. Now it is not surprising that christians should reproach them for such a crime. But how should we expect that they would be 'trodden down of the heathen world' who never heard of such a Saviour? Behold the Hindoo at this day punishing the Jew without knowing the crime of which he has been guilty!

"These three prophecies have been manifestly fulfilled; and if we had no other evidence, this is sufficient to prove 'that there is a God, and that he hath made a revelation to man.'

"There is a fourth prophecy concerning this people which will shortly be accomplished. The prophet Hosea, after foretelling that the children of Israel should abide many days without a king, adds these words: 'Afterward shall they return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days." Hosea, 3 : 5.

"The question which is now in the mouth of every christian, is that which was asked in the vision of the prophet Daniel on the same subject: 'How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?' Daniel, 12 : 6. When shall the 'indignation against the holy people be accomplished?' Daniel, 11 : 31; that they may 'return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king.'

"To Daniel the prophet, and to John the evangelist, was given a revelation of the great events of the general church to the end of time. Daniel foretells that the christian church shall be oppressed by the persecuting powers for 'a time, times, and the dividing of a time.' Daniel, 7 : 25. The same period he assigns for the accomplishment of the indignation against the holy people Israel. 'One said, How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? And I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by Him that liveth for ever, that it

shall be for a *time, times* and a *half*; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be fulfilled.' Daniel, 12 : 7. Now the same form of words is used in the Revelation of St. John to express the duration of the papal and Mohammedan powers. Oppressed by them, the church of Christ was to remain desolate in the wilderness 'for a *time, times,* and *half* of a *time*.' Rev. 12 : 14. Every one who is erudite in sacred prophecy will understand that this great period of Daniel and St. John commences at the same era, namely, the rise of the persecuting powers, and that its duration is 1,260 years.

"Here then are three great events hastening to their period—the extinction of the papal dominion; the subversion of the Mohammedan power; and 'the accomplishment of the divine indignation against the holy people,' or the return of the people of Israel 'to seek the Lord their God, and David their king.'

"Our blessed Saviour has not left an event of this importance without notice. 'The Jews,' saith he, 'shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the gentiles, until the times of the gentiles be fulfilled.' Luke, 21: 24. What these 'times of the gentiles' are, our Lord has explained in his subsequent revelation to St. John. 'The court which is without the temple is given unto the gentiles; and the holy city shall

they tread under foot *forty and two months ;'* or, in prophetical language, at a day for a year, 1260 years. Rev. 11 : 2.

"The apostle Paul has also recorded this event. 'I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness, in part, is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the gentiles be come in ; and so all Israel shall be saved.' Rom. 11 : 25. The fulness of time for the conversion of the gentiles will be come in, when the Mohammedan and papal obstructions are removed. Such events as the fall of the pope in the West, and of Mohammed in the East, both of whom persecuted the Jews to death, will probably be the means of awakening the Jews to consider the evidences of that religion which predicted the rise and fall of both.

"But the grand prophecy of the apostle Paul on this subject, is that which respects the *consequence* of the conversion of the Jews. 'The receiving of the Jews,' saith he, 'what shall it be to the world but *life from the dead ?*' Rom. 11 : 15. Dispersed as they are in all countries, and speaking the languages of all countries, they will form a body of preachers ready prepared ; and they need only say, 'Behold the Scriptures of God in our possession ; read our history there, as foretold three thousand years ago, and read the events in the annals of nations. We are witnesses to the world,

and the world to us. Let the whole race of mankind unite and examine the fact.' 'All ye inhabitants of the world and dwellers on the earth, see ye, when the Lord lifteth up an *ensign* on the mountains; and when he bloweth a *trumpet*, hear ye.' Isaiah, 18 : 3. Thus will their preaching be to the world '*life* from the *dead*.'

"But if the conversion of Israel is to take place when the papal and Mohammedan powers have fallen, (and who does not see that these events are near at hand?) it might be expected that some signs of conciliation between Jews and christians would now begin to be visible. And is not this the fact? Christians in all countries begin to consider that 'the indignation against the holy people' is nearly accomplished. Many events declare it. The indignation of man is relaxing. The prophecies have been fulfilled regarding it. The *great crime at Calvary* has been punished by all nations; and we now hear the words of the prophet addressing us, 'Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God; speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and *cry* unto her, that her warfare is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned.' Isaiah, 40 : 1. This is the divine command. And behold, christians begin now, for the first time, to 'speak comfortably to Jerusalem.'

"While the author was in the East, the state of the Jews, who are dispersed in different countries,

frequently occupied his thoughts. He had heard that they existed in distinct colonies in certain parts of India; that some of them had arrived long before the christian era, and had remained in the midst of the Hindoos, to this time, a distinct and separate people, persecuted by the native princes, from age to age, and yet not destroyed; 'burning,' like the bush of Moses, and 'not consumed;' and he had a strong desire 'to turn aside and see this great sight.' His mind was impressed with the conviction that their preservation, in such a variety of regions, and under such a diversity of circumstances, could be only effected by the interposition of divine providence, which reserved them, thus distinct, for some special and important purpose. And since the period of time for the accomplishment of this purpose was considered by many to be fast approaching, he wished to hear the sentiments of the Jews from their own lips, and to learn their actual impressions as to their present circumstances and future hopes.

"In his memorial respecting the Syrian christians, presented to Marquis Wellesley, the author also noticed the existence of an ancient colony of Jews on the coast of Malabar, particularly at Cochin; and as this place had recently become a part of the British empire, by conquest from the Dutch, Lord William Bentinck, then governor of Madras, who had received letters from the supreme govern-

ment, was pleased to direct the civil officer, who had charge of the department of Cochin, to afford him every aid in the prosecution of his researches. His first tour to Cochin was in November, 1806, and he remained in the country till February, 1807. He again visited it in January, 1808. He has only room here to introduce a few notes from his Journal."

"COCHIN, Feb. 4, 1807.

"I have now been in Cochin, or its vicinity, for upwards of two months, and have got well acquainted with the Jews. They do not live in the city of Cochin, but in a town about a mile distant from it, called Jews' Town. It is almost wholly inhabited by the Jews, who have two respectable synagogues. Among them are some very intelligent men, who are not ignorant of the present history of nations. There are also Jews here from remote parts of Asia, so that this is the fountain of intelligence concerning that people in the East; there being constant communication by ships with the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the mouths of the Indus. The resident Jews are divided into two classes, called the Jerusalem, or *White* Jews, and the ancient, or *Black* Jews. The White Jews reside at this place. The Black Jews have also a synagogue here; but the great body of that tribe inhabit towns in the interior of the province. I have now seen most of both classes. My inquiries refer-

red chiefly to their *antiquity*, their *manuscripts*, and their *sentiments concerning the present state of their nation.*

The Jerusalem, or White Jews.

"On my inquiry into the antiquity of the White Jews, they first delivered to me a narrative, in the Hebrew language, of their arrival in India, which has been handed down to them from their fathers; and then exhibited their ancient brass plate, containing their charter and freedom of residence given by a king of Malabar. The following is the narrative of the events relating to their first arrival:

"'After the second temple was destroyed, (which may God speedily rebuild!) our fathers, dreading the conqueror's wrath, departed from Jerusalem, a numerous body of men, women, priests, and Levites, and came into this land. There were among them men of repute for learning and wisdom; and God gave the people favor in the sight of the king who at that time reigned here, and he granted them a place to dwell in, called *Cranganor*. He allowed them a patriarchal jurisdiction within the district, with certain privileges of nobility; and the royal grant was engraved, according to the custom of those days, on a plate of brass. This was done in the year from the creation of the

world 4250, (A. D. 490,) and this plate of brass we still have in possession. Our forefathers continued at Cranganor for about a thousand years, and the number of heads who governed were seventy-two. Soon after our settlement other Jews followed us from Judea; and among these came that man of great wisdom, Rabbi Samuel, a Levite of Jerusalem, with his son, Rabbi Jehuda Levita. They brought with them the *silver trumpets* made use of at the time of the *Jubilee*, which were saved when the second temple was destroyed; and we have heard from our fathers that there were engraven upon those trumpets the letters of the ineffable Name. There joined us also from *Spain* and other places, from time to time, certain tribes of Jews who had heard of our prosperity. But, at last, discord arising among ourselves, one of our chiefs called to his assistance an Indian king, who came upon us with a great army, destroyed our houses, palaces, and strong holds; dispossessed us of Cranganor, killed part of us, and carried part into captivity. By these massacres we were reduced to a small number. Some of the exiles came and dwelt at Cochin, where we have remained ever since, suffering great changes from time to time. There are amongst us some of the children of Israel (Beni-Israel,) who came from the country of Ashkenaz, from Egypt, from Tsoba, and other places, besides those who formerly inhabited this country.'

"The native annals of Malabar confirm the foregoing account in the principal circumstances, as do the Mohammedan histories of the later ages; for the Mohammedans have been settled here in great numbers since the eighth century.

"The desolation of Cranganor the Jews describe as being like the desolation of Jerusalem in miniature. They were first received into the country with some favor and confidence, agreeably to the tenor of the general prophecy concerning the Jews; for no country was to reject them: and after they had obtained some wealth, and attracted the notice of men, they were precipitated to the lowest abyss of human suffering and reproach. The recital of the sufferings of the Jews at Cranganor resembles much that of the Jews at Jerusalem, as given by Josephus.

"I now requested they would show me their brass plate. Having been given by a native king, it is written, of course, in the *Malabaric* language and character; and is now so old that it cannot be well understood. The Jews preserve a Hebrew translation of it, which they presented to me: but the Hebrew itself is very difficult, and they do not agree among themselves as to the meaning of some words. I have employed, by their permission, an engraver at Cochin, to execute a fac-simile of the original plate, on copper. This ancient document

begins in the following manner, according to the Hebrew translation :*

" 'In the peace of God, the King, which hath made the earth according to his pleasure. To this God, I AIRVI BRAHMIN, have lifted up my hand, and have granted by this deed, which many hundred thousand years shall run, —— I, dwelling in Cranganor, have granted, in the thirty-sixth year of my reign, in the strength of power I have granted, in the strength of power I have given in inheritance, to JOSEPH RABBAN'——

" Then follow the privileges of nobility; such as permission to ride on the elephant; to have a herald to go before to announce the name and dignity; to have the lamp of the day; to walk on carpets spread upon the earth; and to have trumpets and cymbals sound before him. King Airvi then appoints Joseph Rabban to be 'chief and governor of the houses of congregation (the synagogues) and of certain districts, and of the sojourners in them.' What proves the importance of the Jews at the period when this grant was made, is, that it is signed by seven kings as witnesses. 'And to this are witnesses, king Bivada Cubertin Mitadin, and he is king of *Travancore*. King Airle Nada Mana

* The original is engraved on both sides of the plate, the fac-simile forms two plates. These, with the Hebrew translation, are now deposited in the public library at the university of Cambridge.

Vikrin, and he is the *Samorin.* King Veloda Nada Archarin Shatin, and he is king of *Argot.*' The remaining four kings are those of *Palgatchery, Colastri, Carbinath,* and *Varachangur.* There is no date in this document, further than what may be collected from the reign of the prince and the names of the royal witnesses. Dates are not usual in old Malabaric writings. One fact is evident, that the Jews must have existed a considerable time in the country before they could have obtained such a grant. The tradition before mentioned assigns for the date of the transaction, the year of the creation 4250, which is, in Jewish computation, A. D. 490. It is well known that the famous Malabaric king, *Ceram Perumal,* made grants to the Jews, christians, and Mahommedans during his reign; but that prince flourished in the eighth or ninth century.

The Black Jews.

"It is only necessary to look at the countenance of the Black Jews to be satisfied that their ancestors must have arrived in India many ages before the White Jews. Their Hindoo complexion, and their very imperfect resemblance to the European Jews, indicate that they were detached from the parent stock in Judea many years before the Jews in the west, and that there have been intermarria-

ges with families not Israelitish. I had heard that those tribes which had passed the Indus have assimilated so much to the customs and habits of the countries in which they live, that they may be sometimes seen by a traveller without being recognized as Jews. In the interior towns of Malabar I was not always able to distinguish the Jew from the Hindoos. I hence perceived how easy it may be to mistake the tribes of Jewish descent among the Affghans and other nations in the northern parts of Hindostan. The White Jews look upon the Black Jews as an inferior race, and as not of a *pure* east; which plainly demonstrates that they do not spring from a common stock in India.

"The Black Jews communicated to me much interesting intelligence concerning their brethren, the ancient Israelites, in the East; traditional indeed in its nature, but in general illustrative of true history. They recounted the names of many other small colonies resident in northern India, Tartary, and China, and gave me a written list of *sixty-five* places. I conversed with those who had lately visited many of these stations, and were about to return again. The Jews have a never-ceasing communication with each other in the East. Their families indeed are generally stationary, being subject to despotic princes, but the men move much about in a commercial capacity, and the same individual will pass through many extensive coun-

tries; so that when any thing interesting to the nation of the Jews takes place, the rumor will pass rapidly throughout all Asia.

"I inquired concerning their brethren, the *Ten Tribes*. They said that it was commonly believed among them, that the great body of the Israelites are to be found in Chaldea, and in the countries contiguous to it, being the very places whither they were first carried into captivity; that some few families had migrated into regions more remote, as to Cochin and Rajapoor, in India, and to other places yet farther to the East; but that the bulk of the nation, though now much reduced in number, had not to this day removed two thousand miles from Samaria.

"Among the Black Jews I could not find many copies of the Bible. They informed me that in certain places of the remote dispersion their brethren have but some small portions of the Scriptures, and that the *prophetical* books were rare; but that they themselves, from their vicinity to the White Jews, have been supplied, from time to time, with the whole of the Old Testament.

"From these communications I plainly perceive the important duty which now devolves on christians possessing the art of *printing*, to send to the Jews in the East copies of the Hebrew Scriptures, and particularly of the *prophetical* books. If only the prophecies of *Isaiah* and *Daniel* were publish-

ed among them, the effect might be great. They do not want the law so much. But the prophetical books would appear among them with some novelty, particularly in a detached form, and could be easily circulated through the remotest part of Asia.

"I have had many interesting conferences with the Jews on the subject of their present state; and have been much struck with two circumstances, their constant reference to the DESOLATION of Jerusalem, and their confident hope that it will be one day REBUILT. The desolation of the Holy City is ever present to the minds of the Jews, when the subject is concerning themselves as a *nation*; for, though without a king and without a country, they constantly speak of the *unity* of their nation. Distance of time and place seems to have no effect in obliterating the remembrance of the desolation. I often thought of the verse in the Psalms, 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.' They speak of Palestine as being close at hand, and easily accessible. It is become an ordinance of their rabbins in some places, that when a man builds a new house, he shall leave a small part of it unfinished, as an emblem of ruin, and write on it these words, *Zecher Lachorchan*, i. e. In MEMORY of the DESOLATION.

"Their hopes of *rebuilding* the walls of Jerusa-

lem the *third* and *last* time, under the auspices of the Messiah, or of a second Cyrus before his coming, are always expressed with great confidence. They have a general impression that the period of their liberation from the heathen is not very remote; and they consider the present commotions in the earth as gradually loosening their bonds. 'It is,' say they, 'a sure sign of our approaching restoration, that in almost all countries there is a *general relaxation* of the persecution against us.' I pressed strongly upon them the prophecies of Daniel. In former times that prophet was not in repute among the Jews, because he predicted the coming of the Messiah at the end of 'the seventy weeks;' and his book has been actually removed from the list of prophetic writings, and remains to this day among the *Hagiographa*, such as Job, the Psalms, the Proverbs, Ruth; but he now begins to be popular among those who have studied him, because he has predicted that the final 'accomplishment of the indignation against the holy people' is near at hand. The strongest argument to press upon the mind of a Jew, at this period, is to explain to his conviction Daniel's period of 1260 years; and then to show the analogy which it bears to the period of the Evangelist John, concerning the papal and Mohammedan powers, with the state of which the Jews are well acquainted.

"I passed through the burial ground of the

Jews the other day. Some of the tombs are handsomely constructed, and have Hebrew inscriptions in prose and verse. This mansion of the dead is called by the Jews, *Beth Haiim*, or 'The House of the Living!'

"Being much gratified with my visit to the Jews of Malabar, and desirous to maintain some communication with them, I have engaged a very respectable member of their community to accompany me with his servant to Bengal, and to remain with me in the capacity of Hebrew *moonshee*, or teacher, until my return to England. Observing that in the houses of the White Jews there are many volumes of printed Hebrew, mostly of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which are rarely met with in England, I have employed *Misrahi*, that is the name of my moonshee, to collect some of the most valuable.

"At the beginning of the following year, (1808) the author visited Cochin a second time, and proceeded afterwards to Bombay, where he had an opportunity of meeting with some very intelligent men of the Jewish nation. They had heard of his conferences with the Cochin Jews, and were desirous to discuss certain topics, particularly the prophecies of Isaiah; and they engaged in them with far more spirit and frankness, he thought, than their brethren at Cochin had done. They told him that if he would take a walk to the bazar in the suburb,

without the walls of Bombay town, he would find a synagogue without a *Sepher Tora*, or Book of the Law. He did so, and found it to be the case. The minister and a few of the Jews assembled and showed him their synagogue, in which there were some loose leaves of prayers in manuscript, but no Book of the Law. The author did not understand that they disapproved of the Law; but they had no copy of it. They seemed to have little knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures or history. This only proved what he had been often told, that small portions of the Jewish nation melt away from time to time, and are absorbed in the mass of the heathen world. Nor is this any argument against the truth of the prophecy, which declares that they should remain a separate and distinct people; for these are mere *exceptions*. Conversions to christianity in the early ages would equally militate against the prediction taken in an absolute sense."

"*The tribes of Israel are no longer to be inquired after by name.* The purpose for which they were once divided into tribes was accomplished when the genealogy of the Messiah was traced to the stem of David. Neither do the Israelites themselves know certainly from what families they are descended. And this is a chief argument against the Jews, to which the author never heard that a Jew could make a sensible reply. The tribe

of *Judah* was selected as that from which the Messiah should come; and behold, the Jews *do not know which of them are of the tribe of Judah!*

"When the author mentioned that it was the opinion of some that the ten tribes had migrated from the Chaldean provinces, he was asked to what country we supposed they had gone, and whether we had ever heard of their moving in a great army on such an expedition.

"It will be easy perhaps to show that the great body of the ten tribes remain to this day in the countries to which they were first carried captive. If we can discover where they were in the first century of the christian era, which was seven hundred years after the carrying away to Babylon, and again where they were in the fifth century, we certainly may be able to trace them up to this time.

"Josephus, who wrote in the reign of Vespasian, recites a speech made by king Agrippa to the Jews, wherein he exhorts them to submit to the Romans, and expostulates with them in these words: 'What, do you stretch your hopes beyond the river Euphrates? Do any of you think that your fellow-tribes will come to your aid out of *Adiabene?* Besides, if they would come, the Parthian will not permit it.' *Jos. de Bell.* lib. ii. c. 28. We learn from this oration, delivered to the Jews themselves, and by a king of the Jews, that the

ten tribes were then captive in Media, under the Persian princes.

"In the fifth century, Jerome, author of the Vulgate, treating of the dispersed Jews, in his Notes upon Hosea, has these words: 'Unto this day the ten tribes are subject to the kings of the Persians, nor has their captivity ever been loosed.' Tom. vi. p. 7. And again he says, 'The ten tribes inhabit at this day the cities and mountains of the Medes.' Tom. vi, p. 80.

"There is no room left for doubt on this subject. Have we heard of any expedition of the Jews 'going forth from that country, since that period, like the Goths and Huns, to conquer nations?' Have we ever heard of their rising in insurrection to burst the bands of their captivity? To this day, both Jews and christians are generally in a state of captivity in these despotic countries. No family dares to leave the kingdom without permission of the king."*

Mohammedanism reduced the number of the Jews exceedingly: it was presented to them at the point of the sword. We know that multitudes of christians received it; for example, 'the seven churches of Asia;' and we may believe that an equal proportion of Jews were proselyted by the

* Joseph Emin, a christian well known in Calcutta, wished to bring his family from Ispahan; but he could not effect it, though our government interested itself in his behalf.

same means. In the provinces of Cashmire and Affghanistan some of the Jews submitted to great sacrifices, and they remain Jews to this day: but the greater number yielded, in the course of ages, to the power of the reigning religion. Their countenance, their language, their names, their rites and observances, and their history, all conspire to establish the fact.* We may judge, in some degree, of the number of those who would yield to the sword of Mohammed, and conform, in appearance at least, to what was called a *sister religion*, from the number of those who conformed to the christian religion, under the influence of the inquisition in Spain and Portugal. Orobio, who was himself a Jew, states in his history that there were upwards of twenty thousand Jews in Spain alone, who, from fear of the inquisition, professed christianity, some of whom were priests and bishops. The tribes of the Affghan race are very numerous, and of different castes; and it is probable that the proportion which is of Jewish descent is not great. The Affghan nations extend on both sides of the Indus, and inhabit the mountainous region commencing in western Persia. They differ in lan-

* Mr. Forster was so much struck with the general appearance, garb and manners of the Cashmirians, as to think, without any previous knowledge of the fact, that he had been suddenly transported among a nation of Jews. See *Forster's Travels.*

guage, customs, religion, and countenance, and have little knowledge of each other. Some tribes have the countenance of the Persian, and some of the Hindoo; and some tribes are evidently of Jewish extraction.

"Calculating then the number of Jews who now inhabit the provinces of ancient Chaldea, or the contiguous countries, and who still profess Judaism; and the number of those who embraced Mohammedanism, or some form of it, in the same regions; we may be satisfied 'That the greater part of the ten tribes, which *now exist*, are to be found in the countries of their first captivity.'

"On the author's return to England he found that a society had been instituted for the conversion of the Jews; and he was not a little surprised to hear that some christians had opposed its institution. He was less surprised at this, however, when he was informed that objections had been brought against the society for the circulation of the *Bible*. It is possible to urge political arguments against christianity itself. Such a spirit as this does not seem entitled to much courtesy; for it springs directly from this assumption, that the Bible is not from God, or that there is something greater than *truth*."

CHAPTER XI.

Popery in India—Inquisition at Goa.

In connection with the preceding results of Dr. Buchanan's first tour on the coast of Malabar, we give his own sketch of *Popery in India*, and particularly of his visit to the *Inquisition at Goa*, made after he had left Calcutta for his native land.

"In passing through the Romish provinces in the East, though the author had before heard much of the papal corruptions, he certainly did not expect to see christianity in the degraded state in which he found it. Of the priests it may truly be said that they are, in general, better acquainted with the Veda of Brahma than with the Gospel of Christ. In some places the doctrines of both are blended. At Aughoor, situated between Tritchinopoly and Madura, he witnessed (in October, 1806) the tower of Juggernaut employed to solemnize a nominally christian festival. The old priest Josephus accompanied him when he surveyed the idolatrous car and its painted figures, and gave him a particular account of the various ceremonies which are performed, seemingly unconscious himself of any impropriety in them.

"While the author viewed these corruptions in different places, and in different forms, he was always referred to the *inquisition at Goa*, as the fountain-head. He had long cherished the hope that he should be able to visit Goa before he left India. His chief objects were the following:

"1. To ascertain whether the inquisition actually refuse to recognize the Bible among the Romish churches in India. 2. To inquire into the state and jurisdiction of the inquisition, particularly as it affected British subjects. 3. To learn what was the system of education for the priesthood; and 4. To examine the ancient church libraries in Goa, which were said to contain all the books of the first printing.

"He will select from his journal, in this place, chiefly what relates to the *inquisition*. He had learnt from every quarter that this tribunal, formerly so well known for its frequent burnings, was still in operation, though under some restrictions as to the *publicity* of its proceedings, and that its power extended to the extreme boundary of Hindostan. That, in the present civilized state of christian nations in Europe, an inquisition should exist at all under their authority, appeared strange; but that a papal tribunal of this character should exist under the implied toleration and countenance of the British government; that christians, being subjects to the British empire, and inhabiting the

British territories, should be amenable to its power and jurisdiction, was a statement which seemed to be scarcely credible; but, if true, a fact which demanded the most public and solemn representation."

"Goa, Convent of the Augustinians, Jan. 23, 1808.

"On my arrival at Goa I was received into the house of Capt. Schuyler, the British resident. The British force here is commanded by Colonel Adams, of his majesty's 78th regiment, with whom I was formerly well acquainted in Bengal.* Next day I was introduced by these gentlemen to the viceroy of Goa, the Count de Cabral. I intimated to his excellency my wish to sail up the river to old Goa,† (where the inquisition is,) to which he politely acceded. Major Pareira, of the Portuguese establishment, who was present, and to whom I had let-

* The forts in the harbor of Goa were then occupied by the British troops.

† There is old and new Goa. The old city is about eight miles up the river. The viceroy and the chief Portuguese inhabitants reside at new Goa, which is at the mouth of the river, within the forts of the harbor. The old city, where the inquisition and the churches are, is now almost entirely deserted by the secular Portuguese, and is inhabited by the priests alone. The unhealthiness of the place, and the ascendency of the priests, are the causes assigned for abandoning the ancient city.

ters of introduction from Bengal, offered to accompany me to the city, and to introduce me to the archbishop of Goa, the primate of the Orient.

"I had communicated to Colonel Adams, and to the British resident, my purpose of inquiring into the state of the inquisition. These gentlemen informed me that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty, since every thing relating to the inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings; and that, if the priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my inquiries on any subject.

"On receiving this intelligence I perceived that it would be necessary to proceed with caution. I was, in fact, about to visit a republic of priests; whose dominion had existed for nearly three centuries; whose province it was to prosecute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy; and from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India.*

* I was informed that the viceroy of Goa has no authority over the inquisition, and that he himself is liable to its censure. Were the British government, for instance, to prefer a complaint against the inquisition to the Portuguese government at Goa, it could obtain no redress. By the very constitution of the inquisition, there is no power in India that can invade its jurisdiction, or even put a question to it on any subject.

"It happened that Lieut. Kempthorne, commander of his majesty's brig Diana, a distant connexion of my own, was at this time in the harbor. On his learning that I meant to visit old Goa, he offered to accompany me, as did Captain Sterling, of his majesty's 48th regiment, which is now stationed at the forts.

"We proceeded up the river in the British resident's barge, accompanied by Major Pareira, who was well qualified, by a thirty years' residence, to give information concerning local circumstances. From him I learned that there were upwards of two hundred churches and chapels in the province of Goa, and upwards of two thousand priests.

"On our arrival at the city* it was past twelve o'clock: all the churches were shut; and we were told that they would not be opened again till two o'clock. I mentioned to Major Pareira that I intended to stay at old Goa some days; and that I

* We entered the city by the palace gate, over which is the statue of *Vasco de Gama*, who first opened India to the view of Europe. I had seen at Calicut, a few weeks before, the ruins of the Samorin's palace, in which Vasco de Gama was first received. The Samorin was the first native prince against whom the Europeans made war. The empire of the Samorin has passed away; and the empire of his conquerors has passed away; and now imperial Britain exercises dominion. May imperial Britain be prepared to give a good account of her stewardship, when it shall be said unto her, "Thou mayest be no longer steward."

should be obliged to him to find me a place to sleep in. He seemed surprised at this intimation, and observed that it would be difficult for me to obtain a reception in any of the churches or convents, and that there were no private houses into which I could be admitted. I said I could sleep any where. I had two servants with me, and a travelling bed. When he perceived that I was serious in my purpose, he gave directions to a civil officer in that place, to clear out a room in a building which had been long uninhabited, and which was then used as a warehouse for goods. Matters at this time presented a very gloomy appearance; and I had thoughts of returning with my companions from this inhospitable place. In the meantime we sat down in the room I have just mentioned to take some refreshment, while Major Pareira went to call on some of his friends. During this interval I communicated to Lieut. Kempthorne the object of my visit. I had in my pocket 'Dellon's Account of the Inquisition at Goa;'* and I mentioned some particulars. While we were conversing on the subject, the great bell of the ca-

* Monsieur Dellon, a physician, was imprisoned in the dungeon of the inquisition at Goa for two years, and witnessed an *auto da fe*, when some heretics were burned, at which time he walked barefoot. After his release he wrote the history of his confinement. His descriptions are in general very accurate.

thedral began to toll; the same which Dellon observes always tolls before day-light on the morning of the Auto da Fe. I did not myself ask any questions of the people concerning the inquisition; but Mr. Kempthorne made inquiries for me: and he soon found out that the Santa Casa, or Holy Office, was close to the house where they were then sitting. The gentlemen went to the window to view the horrid mansion; and I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenances of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown, without the possibility of rescue.

"At two o'clock we went out to view the churches, which were now open for the afternoon service; for there are regular daily masses; and the bells began to assail the ear in every quarter.

"The magnificence of the churches of Goa far exceeded any idea I had formed from the previous description. Goa is properly a city of churches; and the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended in their erection. The ancient specimens of architecture at this place far excel any thing that has been attempted in modern times in any other part of the East, both in grandeur and in taste. The chapel of the palace is built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome, and is said to be an

accurate model of that paragon of architecture. The church of St. Dominic, the founder of the inquisition, is decorated with paintings of Italian masters. St. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a monument of exquisite art, and his coffin is enchased with silver and *precious stones.* The cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe; and the church and convent of the Augustinians (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of building, situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar.

"But what a contrast to all this grandeur of the churches is the worship offered in them! I have been present at the service in one or other of the chapels every day since I arrived, and I seldom see a single worshipper but the ecclesiastics. Two rows of native priests kneeling in order before the altar, clothed in course black garments, of sickly appearance and vacant countenance, perform here, from day to day, their laborious masses, seemingly unconscious of any other duty or obligation of life.

"The day was now far spent, and my companions were about to leave me. While I was considering whether I should return with them, Major Pareira said he would first introduce me to a priest high in office, and one of the most learned men in the place. We accordingly walked to the convent of the Augustinians, where I was presented to Josephus a Doloribus, a man well advanced in life, of pale vis-

age and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance, and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners. At first sight he presented the aspect of one of those acute and prudent men of the world, the learned and respectable Italian jesuits, some of whom are yet found, since the demolition of their order, reposing in tranquil obscurity in different parts of the East. After half an hour's conversation in the Latin language, during which he adverted rapidly to a variety of subjects, and inquired concerning some learned men of his own church, whom I had visited in my tour, he politely invited me to take up my residence with him during my stay at old Goa. I was highly gratified by this unexpected invitation; but Lieut. Kempthorne did not approve of leaving me in the hands of the *inquisitors*. For judge of our surprise when we discovered that my learned host was one of the inquisitors of the holy office, the second member of that august tribunal in rank, but the first and most active agent in the business of the department. Apartments were assigned to me in the college adjoining the convent, next to the rooms of the inquisitor himself; and here I have been now four days at the very fountain-head of information in regard to those subjects which I wished to investigate. I breakfast and dine with the inquisitor almost every day, and he generally passes his evenings in my apartment. As he con-

siders my inquiries to be chiefly of a literary nature, he is perfectly candid and communicative on all subjects.

"Next day after my arrival I was introduced by my learned conductor to the archbishop of Goa. We found him reading the Latin letters of St. Francis Xavier. On my adverting to the long duration of the city of Goa, while other cities of Europeans in India had suffered from war or revolution, the archbishop observed that the preservation of Goa was 'owing to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier.' The inquisitor looked at me, to see what I thought of this sentiment. I acknowledged that Xavier was considered by the learned among the English to have been a great man. What he wrote himself bespeaks him a man of learning, of original genius, and great fortitude of mind; but what others have written for him and of him has tarnished his fame, by making him the inventor of fables. The archbishop signified his assent. He afterwards conducted me to his private chapel, which is decorated with images of silver, and then into the archiepiscopal library, which possesses a valuable collection of books. As I passed through our convent, in returning from the archbishop's, I observed among the paintings in the cloisters a portrait of the famous Alexis de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, who held the synod of Diamper, near Cochin, in 1599, and burned the books of the Syrian christians. From

the inscription underneath I learned that he was the founder of the magnificent church and convent in which I am now residing.

"On the same day I received an invitation to dine with the chief inquisitor, at his house in the country. The second inquisitor accompanied me, and we found a respectable company of priests and a sumptuous entertainment. In the library of the chief inquisitor I saw a register, containing the present establishment of the inquisition at Goa, and the names of all the officers. On asking the chief inquisitor whether the establishment was as extensive as formerly, he said it was nearly the same. I had hitherto said little to any person concerning the inquisition, but I had indirectly gleaned much information concerning it, not only from the inquisitors themselves, but from certain priests whom I visited at their respective convents; particularly from a father in the Franciscan convent, who had himself repeatedly witnessed an Auto da Fe."

"Goa, Augustinian Convent, Jan. 26, 1808.

"On Sunday, after divine service, which I attended, we looked over together the prayers and portions of Scripture for the day, which led to a discussion concerning some of the doctrines of christianity. We then read the third chapter of St. John's Gospel in the Latin Vulgate. I asked the inquisitor whether he believed in the influence of the Spirit

there spoken of. He distinctly admitted it; conjointly however, he thought, in some obscure sense, with *water*. I observed that water was merely an emblem of the purifying effects of the Spirit, and could be *but* an emblem. We next adverted to the expression of St. John, in his first Epistle: 'This is he that came by *water* and *blood*, even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood:'—blood to atone for sin, and water to purify the heart; justification and sanctification: both of which were expressed at the same moment on the cross. The inquisitor was pleased with the subject. I referred to the evangelical doctrines of Augustin, (we were now in the Augustinian convent,) plainly asserted by that father in a thousand places, and he acknowledged their truth. I then asked him in what important doctrine he differed from the protestant church? He confessed that he never had a theological discussion with a protestant before. By an easy transition we passed to the importance of the Bible itself to illuminate the priests and people. I noticed to him, that after looking through the colleges and schools, there appeared to me to be a *total eclipse* of scriptural light. He acknowledged that religion and learning were truly in a degraded state. I had visited the theological schools, and at every place I expressed my surprise to the tutors, in presence of the pupils, at the absence of the Bible, and almost total want of

reference to it. They pleaded the custom of the place and the scarcity of copies of the book itself. Some of the younger priests came to me afterwards, desiring to know by what means they might procure copies. This inquiry for Bibles was like a ray of hope beaming on the walls of the inquisition.

"I pass an hour sometimes in the spacious library of the Augustinian convent. There are many rare volumes, but they are chiefly theological, and almost all of the sixteenth century. There are few classics, and I have not yet seen one copy of the original Scriptures in Hebrew or Greek."

"Goa, Augustinian Convent, Jan. 27, 1808.

"On the second morning after my arrival I was surprised by my host, the inquisitor, coming into my apartment clothed in *black robes* from head to foot; for the usual dress of his order is white. He said he was going to sit on the tribunal of the holy office. 'I presume, father, your august office does not occupy much of your time.' 'Yes,' answered he, 'much. I sit on the tribunal three or four days every week.'

"I had thought, for some days, of putting Dellon's book into the inquisitor's hands; for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in

my apartment. After some conversation I took the pen in my hand to write a few notes in my journal; and, as if to amuse him while I was writing, I took up Dellon's book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him if he had ever seen it. It was in the French language, which he understood well. 'Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa,' pronounced he, with a slow articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book and then to the end, and then ran over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity; and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed, in the broad Italian accent, 'Mendacium, mendacium!'* I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. 'Other books!' said he, and he looked with an inquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

"It was on this night that a circumstance happen-

* It is false.

ed which caused my first alarm at Goa. My servants slept every night at my chamber door, in the long gallery which is common to all the apartments, and not far distant from the servants of the convent. About midnight I was waked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror from some person in the gallery. In the first moment of surprise I concluded it must be the *Alguazils* of the holy office seizing my servants to carry them to the inquisition. But, on going out, I saw my own servants standing at the door, and the person who had caused the alarm (a boy of about fourteen) at a little distance surrounded by some of the priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a *spectre*, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body and voice subsided. Next morning at breakfast the inquisitor apologized for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a 'phantasma animi,' a phantasm of the imagination.

"After breakfast we resumed the subject of the inquisition. The inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the Auto da Fe were, in general, just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the holy church; and I admitted that, under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent

Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called 'Religious Ceremonies;' together with plates of the system of torture and burnings at the Auto da Fe. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enormities no longer existed, and that the inquisition itself had been totally suppressed; but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration to show that the inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.*

*"The following were the passages in Mr. Dellon's narrative to which I wished particularly to draw the attention of the inquisitor. Mr. D. had been thrown into the inquisition at Goa and confined in a dungeon ten feet square, where he remained upwards of two years without seeing any person but the gaoler who brought him his victuals, except when he was brought to his trial, expecting daily to be brought to the stake. His alleged crime was, charging the inquisition with cruelty, in a conversation he had with a priest at Daman, another part of India.

"'During the months of November and December I heard every morning the shrieks of the unfortunate victims who were undergoing the *question*. I remembered to have heard, before I was cast into prison, that the Auto da Fe was generally celebrated on the first Sunday in Advent, because on that day is read in the churches that part of the Gospel in which mention is made of the *last judgment*; and the inquisitors pretend by this ceremony to exhibit a lively emblem of that awful event. I was likewise convinced that there were a great number of prisoners besides myself, the

"I had already discovered, from written or printed documents, that the inquisition of Goa was suppressed by royal edict in the year 1775, and

profound silence which reigned within the walls of the building having enabled me to count the number of doors which were opened at the hours of meals. However, the first and second Sundays of Advent passed by without my hearing of any thing, and I prepared to undergo another year of melancholy captivity, when I was aroused from my despair on the 11th of January by the noise of the guards removing the bars from the doors of my prison. The *Alcaide* presented me with a habit, which he ordered me to put on, and to make myself ready to attend him when he should come again. Thus saying, he left a lighted lamp in my dungeon. The guards returned about two o'clock in the morning, and led me out into a long gallery, where I found a number of the companions of my fate drawn up in a rank against a wall. I placed myself among the rest, and several more soon joined the melancholy band. The profound silence and stillness caused them to resemble statues more than the animated bodies of human creatures. The women, who were clothed in a similar manner, were placed in a neighboring gallery, where we could not see them; but I remarked that a number of persons stood by themselves at some distance, attended by others who wore long black dresses, and who walked backwards and forwards occasionally. I did not then know who these were; but I was afterwards informed that the former were the victims who were condemned to be burned, and the others were their confessors.

"'After we were all ranged against the wall of this gallery, we received each a large wax taper. They then brought us a number of dresses made of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew painted before and behind. This is called the *San Benito*. The relapsed heretics wear an-

established again in 1779. The Franciscan father before mentioned witnessed the annual Auto da Fe, from 1770 to 1775. 'It was the humanity

other species of robe, called the *Samarra*, the ground of which is gray. The portrait of the sufferer is painted upon it, placed upon burning torches, with flames and demons all round. Caps were then produced called *carrochas*, made of pasteboard, pointed like sugar-loaves, all covered over with devils and flames of fire.

"'The great bell of the cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, which served as a signal to warn the people of Goa to come and behold the august ceremony of the Auto da Fe; and then they made us proceed from the gallery one by one. I remarked as we passed into the great hall, that the inquisitor was sitting at the door with his secretary by him, and that he delivered every prisoner into the hands of a particular person who is to be his guard to the place of burning. These persons are called Parrians, or *godfathers*. My godfather was commander of a ship. I went forth with him, and as soon as we were in the street, I saw that the procession was commenced by the Dominican Friars; who have this honor, because St. Dominic founded the inquisition. These are followed by the prisoners, who walk one after the other, each having his godfather by his side and a lighted taper in his hand. The least guilty go foremost: and as I did not pass for one of them, there were many who took precedence of me. The women were mixed promiscuously with the men. We all walked barefoot, and the sharp stones of the streets of Goa wounded my tender feet, and caused the blood to stream; for they made us march through the chief streets of the city: and we were regarded every where by an innumerable crowd of people, who had assembled from all parts of India to behold this spectacle; for the inquisition takes care to announce it long before, in the most remote parishes. At length we ar-

and tender mercy of a good king,' said the old father, 'which abolished the inquisition.' But immediately on his death the power of the priests

rived at the church of St. Francis, which was, for this time, destined for the celebration of the act of faith. On one side of the altar was the grand inquisitor and his counsellors, and on the other the viceroy of Goa and his court. All the prisoners are seated to hear a sermon. I observed that those prisoners who wore the *horrible carrochas* came in last in the procession. One of the Augustin monks ascended the pulpit, and preached for a quarter of an hour. The sermon being concluded, two readers went up to the pulpit, one after the other, and read the sentences of the prisoners. My joy was extreme when I heard that my sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley slave for five years. After the sentences were read, they summoned forth those miserable victims who were destined to be immolated by the holy inquisition. The images of the heretics who had died in prison were brought up at the same time, their bones being contained in small chests covered with flames and demons: An officer of the secular tribunal now came forward and seized these unhappy people, after they had each received a *slight blow upon the breast* from the Alcaide, to intimate that they were *abandoned.* They were then led away to the bank of the river, where the viceroy and his court were assembled, and where the faggots had been prepared the preceding day. As soon as they arrive at this place, the condemned persons are asked in what religion they choose to die; and the moment they have replied to this question the executioner seizes them and binds them to the stake in the midst of the faggots. The day after the execution the portraits of the dead are carried to the church of the Dominicans. The heads only are represented, (which are generally very accurately drawn: for the inquisition keeps excellent limners for the

acquired the ascendant under the queen dowager, and the tribunal was re-established, after a bloodless interval of five years. It has continued in operation ever since. It was restored in 1779, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which are the two following, 'that a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict a criminal than were before necessary;' and 'that the Auto da Fe should not be held publicly as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal should be executed privately within the walls of the inquisition.'

"In this particular the constitution of the new inquisition is more reprehensible than that of the old one; for, as the old father expressed it, 'Nunc sigillum non revelat inquisitio.'* Formerly the friends of those unfortunate persons who were thrown into its prison had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing them once a year walking in the procession of the Auto da Fe; or, if they were condemned to die, they witnessed their death, and mourned for the dead. But now they have no means of learning, for years, whether they be dead or alive. The policy of this new code of concealment appears to be this, to preserve the power of the inquisition, and at the same time to lessen the public odium of its proceedings in the presence of British dominion

purpose,) surrounded by flames and demons; and underneath is the name and crime of the person who has been burned." *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa*, chap. xxiv.

* The inquisition is now secret.

and civilization. I asked the father his opinion concerning the nature and frequency of the punishments within the walls. He said he possessed no certain means of giving a satisfactory answer; that every thing transacted there was declared to be 'sacrum et secretum.'* But this he knew to be true, that there were continually captives in the dungeons; that some of them are liberated after long confinement, but that they never speak afterwards of what passed within the place. He added, that, of all the persons he had known who had been liberated, he never knew one who did not carry about with him what might be called 'the mark of the inquisition;' that is to say, who did not show, in the solemnity of his countenance, or in his peculiar demeanor, or his terror of the priests, that he had been in that dreadful place.

"The chief argument of the inquisitor to prove the melioration of the inquisition was the superior *humanity* of the inquisitors. I remarked that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers; but what availed humanity in an inquisitor? he must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the tribunal, which are notorious enough; and a *relapsed heretic* must be burned in the flames or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the inquisitor be humane or not. But if, said I, you would satisfy

* Sacred and secret.

my mind completely on this subject, 'show me the inquisition.' He said it was not permitted to any person to see the inquisition. I observed, that mine might be considered as a peculiar case; that the character of the inquisition and the expediency of its longer continuance had been called in question; that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish something more upon that subject, and that it could not be expected that I should pass over the inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings; but at the same time I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or at least his admission of its truth. I added, that he himself had been pleased to communicate with me very fully on the subject; and that in all our discussions we had been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity. After some hesitation, however, he said he would take me with him to the inquisition the next day. I was a good deal surprised at this acquiescence of the inquisitor, but I did not know what was in his mind.

Next morning, after breakfast, my host went to dress for the holy office, and soon returned in his inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time, for the purpose of showing me the inquisition. The buildings are about a

quarter of a mile distant from the convent, and we proceeded thither in our *manjeels*.* On our arrival at the place, the inquisitor said to me, as we were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the inquisition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

"He led me first to the great hall of the inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars and attendants of the holy office. They bowed very low to the inquisitor and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the Auto da Fe. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time, with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the inquisitor walking by my side in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow-creatures who had passed

* The manjeel is a kind of palankeen common at Goa. It is merely a sea cot suspended from a bamboo, which is borne on the *heads* of four men. Sometimes a footman runs before, having a staff in his hand, to which are attached little bells or rings, which he jingles as he runs, keeping time with the motion of the bearers.

through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow-sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames and their souls to perdition; and I could not help saying to him, 'Would not the holy church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?' The inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought me back again to the great hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart.

"'Now, father,' said I, 'lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives.' 'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the inquisitor, from the beginning, to show me only a certain part of the inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my inquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated, by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments regarding the present state of the inquisition, was to show me the prisons and the captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two

hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British government to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Show me the chamber of torture; and declare what modes of execution or of punishment are now practised within the walls of the inquisition in lieu of the public Auto da Fe. If, after all that has passed, father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the inquisition in India.' To these observations the inquisitor made no reply, but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good father,' said I, 'I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions, (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the inquisition, after having seen the interior,) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favorable sentiment of your kindness and candor. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased then merely to answer this question, for I shall believe your word: How many prisoners are there now below in the cells of the inquisition?' The inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I cannot

answer.' On his pronouncing these words I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume; and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance.

"From the inquisition I went to the place of burning in the *Campo Santo Lazaro*, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the Auto da Fe. It is close to the palace, that the viceroy and his court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the state. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine which was first preached to India in the apostolic age, and that bloody code which, after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name! And I pondered on the mysterious dispensation which permitted the ministers of the inquisition, with their racks and flames, to visit these lands before the heralds of the Gospel of peace. But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the inquisition and I determined to go back again. The in-

quisitors were now sitting on the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning; for I was to receive from the chief inquisitor a letter, which he said he would give me before I left the place, for the British resident in Travancore, being an answer to a letter from that officer.

"When I arrived at the inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door-keepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the inquisitor. I entered the great hall, and went up directly towards the tribunal of the inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty crucifix. I sat down on a form and wrote some notes, and then desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the inquisitor. As I walked up the hall I saw a poor woman sitting by herself, on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second inquisitor came out in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion, when I informed him I had come back for the letter from the chief inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa, and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the

poor woman I pointed to her, and said to him, with some emphasis, 'Behold, father, another victim of the holy inquisition!' He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair he bowed, and I took my last leave of Josephus a Doloribus without uttering a word.

"The foregoing particulars concerning the inquisition at Goa are detailed chiefly with this view: that the English nation may consider whether there be sufficient ground for presenting a remonstrance to the Portuguese government on the longer continuance of that tribunal in India; it being notorious that a great part of the Romanists are now under British protection. 'The Romans,' says Montesquieu, 'deserved well of human nature, for making it an article in their treaty with the Carthaginians, that they should abstain from *sacrificing their children* to their gods.' It has been lately observed by respectable writers, that the English nation ought to imitate this example, and endeavor to induce her allies 'to abolish the human sacrifices of the inquisition;' and a censure is passed on our government for their indifference to this subject.* The indifference to the inquisition is attributable, we believe, to the same cause which has produced an indifference to the religious principles which first organized the inquisition. The mighty despot who suppressed the inqui-

* Edinburgh Review, No. XXXII. p. 449.

sition in Spain was not swayed probably by very powerful motives of humanity, but viewed with jealousy a tribunal which usurped an independent dominion; and he put it down on the same principle that he put down the popedom, that he might remain pontiff and grand inquisitor himself. And so he will remain for a time, till the purposes of providence shall have been accomplished by him. But are we to look on in silence, and to expect that further meliorations in human society are to be effected by despotism, or by great revolutions? 'If,' say the same authors, 'while the inquisition is destroyed in Europe by the power of despotism, we could entertain the hope, and it is not too much to entertain such a hope, that the power of liberty is about to destroy it in America; we might even, amid the gloom that surrounds us, congratulate our fellow-creatures on one of the most remarkable periods in the history of the progress of human society, the FINAL ERASURE *of the inquisition from the face of the earth.*' It will indeed be an important and happy day to the earth, when this final erasure shall take place; but the period of such an event is nearer, I apprehend, in Europe and America, than it is in Asia; and its termination in Asia depends as much on Great Britain as on Portugal. And shall not Great Britain do her part to hasten this desirable time? Do we wait, as if to see whether the power of infidelity will abolish the other inquisitions of the

earth? Shall not we, in the meanwhile, attempt to do something, on Christian principles, for the honor of God and of humanity? Do we dread even to express a sentiment on the subject in our legislative assemblies, or to notice it in our treaties? It is surely our duty to declare our wishes, at least, for the abolition of these inhuman tribunals, (since we take an active part in promoting the welfare of other nations,) and to deliver our testimony against them in the presence of Europe.

"This case is not unlike that of the immolation of females; with this aggravation in regard to the latter, that the rite is perpetrated in our own territories. Our humanity revolts at the occasional description of the enormity; but the matter comes not to our own business and bosoms, and we fail even to insinuate our disapprobation of the deed. It may be concluded then, that while we remain silent and unmoved spectators of the flames of the widow's pile, there is no hope that we shall be justly affected by the reported horrors of the inquisition.*

"Goa will probably remain the theological school to a great part of India, for a long period to come. It is of vast importance to the interests of Christianity in the East, that this source of instruction should be purified. The appointed instrument for

* The Lord be praised, that, even before Dr. Buchanan's appeal reached Britain, this horrible inquisition was abolished.

effecting this is the Bible. This is 'the salt which must be thrown into the fountain to heal the waters.' There are upwards of three thousand priests belonging to Goa, who are resident at the place, or stationed with their cures at a distance. Let us send the holy Scriptures to illuminate the priests of Goa. It was distinctly expressed to the author, by several authorities, that they would gladly receive copies of the Latin and Portuguese Vulgate Bible from the hands of the English nation.

In concluding the narrative of his "Christian Researches," Dr. Buchanan says, "the author has found his mind frequently drawn to consider the extraordinary difference of opinion which exists among men of learning in regard to the importance and obligation of communicating religious knowledge to our fellow-creatures. And he has often heard the question asked by others, What can be the cause of this discrepancy of opinion? For that such a difference does exist is most evident; and is exemplified at this moment in some of the most illustrious characters for rank and learning in the nation. This is a problem of a very interesting character at this day, and worthy of a distinct and ample discussion, particularly at the seats of learning. The problem may be thus expressed: 'What power is that which produces in the minds of some persons a real interest and concern in the welfare of their fellow-creatures; extending not only to

the comfort of their existence in this world, but to their felicity hereafter; while other men who are apparently in similar circumstances as to learning and information, do not feel inclined to *move one step* for the promotion of such objects?' The latter, it may be, can speculate on the philosophy of the human mind, on its great powers and high dignity, on the sublime virtue of universal benevolence, on the tyranny of superstition, and the slavery of ignorance: and will sometimes quote the verse of the poet,

"Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto:"*

but they leave it to others, and generally to the christian in humble life, to exercise the spirit of that noble verse. This is a very difficult problem; and it has been alleged by some that it cannot be solved on any known principles of philosophy.

"It can only be solved by the practical regard paid to the last charge of HIM 'who ascended up on high:' *Go, teach all nations.* Hence proceeds the new and extended benevolence, greatness of mind, and pure and heavenly charity, which distinguish that man whose heart has been impressed by the grace of God. How solemn his sense of duty! How ardent to declare the glory of his Saviour! His views for the good of men, how disinterested and enlarged! It is but too evident that all our

* I am a man, and have the claims of humanity.

speculations concerning a divine revelation, and the obligation imposed on us to study it ourselves or communicate it to others, are cold and uninteresting, and excite not to action, 'until, through the tender compassion of God, the Day-spring from on high visit us, to give light to them that sit in darkness;' to humble our hearts at the remembrance of our sins against God, and to affect them with a just admiration of his pardoning mercy."

CHAPTER XII.

Closing labors in India—Return to England.

Dr. Buchanan, having completed his first and principal tour on the Malabar coast, sailed from Cochin on the 6th of February, 1807, and arrived safely at Calcutta on the 15th of March. On his return he found that the College of Fort William, which had flourished nearly seven years, during which period it had been productive of the most important benefits both to the service of the East India Company and to oriental learning and religion, had been reduced within very narrow limits on the first of January. The offices of Provost and Vice-Provost were abolished, and the professorships restricted to three: viz. the Hindostanee,

Bengalee, and Perso-Arabic; it being intended that the students should only be attached to it, on an average, for a single year.

The public letter of the Court of Directors which conveyed this order was dated in May, and reached Calcutta in December, 1806. On its arrival Mr. Brown, deeply impressed with the importance of the moral discipline which had hitherto been exercised in the College of Fort William, and which was now superseded, felt it to be his duty to submit his sentiments upon the subject to the Governor General, and accompanied his representations with the offer of continuing to superintend the institution, and, if that were deemed necessary, to officiate without salary.

In making this communication to Sir George Barlow, Mr. Brown referred to his highly esteemed colleague, Dr. Buchanan, as follows:

"I particularly regret that there should be a necessity for any material change during the absence of the Vice-Provost, without his concurrence or knowledge, from consideration of his having, throughout, so eminently devoted his superior talents, with the utmost zeal and by every exertion, for the benefit of the public service in the success of the college. In his absence I take it upon me to communicate faithfully my thoughts, and to submit them, with respect and deference, to the consideration of the honorable the Governor General."

Sir George Barlow, on receiving the representation and offer of Mr. Brown just referred to, expressed himself deeply struck and gratified by his philanthropy and disinterestedness, and assured him that "he should consider of his proposal." No farther notice of it, however, appears to have been taken; but the new modification of the college immediately took place, and the offices of Provost and Vice-Provost were accordingly abolished.

The labors, the influence, and the income of Dr. Buchanan were, in consequence of this arrangement, materially diminished. The reduction of the former was not only grateful to his taste and inclination, but necessary to his health; while that of the latter affected him only as it tended to abridge his means and opportunities of usefulness. The subject occurs but once in his various correspondence with his friends, and is then stated merely as a matter of information, in which he did not seem to be particularly interested.

His grand object was the *promotion of Christianity in India.* This he had kept steadily in view during the period of his Vice-Provostship; for this, as we have already seen, he made some provision when anticipating its abolition; and it was in pursuance of the same important object that he undertook the extensive journey through which we have lately accompanied him.

During his voyage, or immediately after his re-

turn to Calcutta, Dr. Buchanan had drawn up a paper, under the title of "Literary Intelligence," containing a sketch of his proceedings on the coast of Malabar, which he was desirous of publishing both at Madras and Calcutta, for the information of those who were interested in the promotion of christian knowledge in India. To the great surprise, however, of Dr. Buchanan, and of many of the most learned and respectable persons at both Presidencies, it was not thought expedient to permit such a publication to be inserted in the government gazette. It was, in consequence, printed and circulated in a different form; and, without producing any of the ill effects which some had anticipated, it conveyed intelligence which was as gratifying to the friends of learning and religion in India as the same information afterwards proved to persons of a similar character in England.*

Of the several objects of Dr. Buchanan's tour, it was stated to be one, to discover fit instruments for the promotion of learning, and for the dissemination of the Scriptures in India. It may now be observed, that it was in the course of his journey that

* The "Literary Intelligence" appears, however, to have been admitted into the Bombay Gazette, by which means it reached Europe. It was afterwards published in England by the late Bishop Porteus. See Dr. Buchanan's Apology for Promoting Christianity in India, p. 87; and Owen's History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. i. p. 320.

he first thought of a plan which might effectually accomplish that object. The reader will probably recollect the meditation of Dr. Buchanan on the banks of the Chilka Lake, where, on the morning of the Sabbath, while reflecting on the painful scene which he had just witnessed, with the lofty tower of Juggernaut still in distant view, he conceived the design of a "CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION" which might gradually counteract, and at length extinguish the idolatry of the eastern world. The historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire informs us that he first conceived the thought of his elaborate and eloquent work amidst the ruins of the capitol. It was an association of a more sublime and sacred nature which suggested to Dr. Buchanan the design of the institution, the general plan of which he then briefly described. Soon after his return to Calcutta he employed himself in digesting and arranging its form and constitution: its title was, "The Christian Institution in the East, or the College for translating the Holy Scriptures into the Oriental Tongues."

It was dedicated to all good men, to be an instrument in their hands of extending the knowledge of revealed religion by the translation of the holy Scriptures, and was placed under the immediate patronage of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. One of its sub-

ordinate objects was to print small tracts on certain branches of art and science, fitted for popular use and improvement.

The various instruments of the institution were next enumerated, comprising the venerable bishop of the Syrian church in Malayala; the British and Danish missionaries throughout India; Judah Misrahi, a learned Jew of Cochin, engaged by Dr. Buchanan as a translator of the New Testament into Hebrew; Professor Lassar for the Chinese language; and the late Rev. Henry Martyn, with two learned coadjutors, natives of the East, for the Persian, Arabic, and Hindostanee languages. With the exception of Mr. Martyn, who arrived at Calcutta during the absence of Dr. Buchanan, he stated that he had visited all the before-named persons at their respective residences, and had informed himself as to their abilities and principles.

It was not intended to form an expensive establishment; but that a professor should be stationed, as a literary agent of the college, in each of the principal provinces of the East, to study a particular language, to collect information, to correspond with the society at home, to compose and to print books, and to instruct the natives in printing. The literary agents were in general to be paid for *work done;* that is, for translations or for printing previously agreed for and faithfully executed. Care was also to be taken that, in cases where translations of the

Scriptures should be intrusted to the members of any particular sect, their exclusive tenets should not find admission into the work.

Dr. Buchanan proposed that the name of the institution should not be derived from any church or sect in Europe, but from the religion itself, the knowledge of which it was intended to diffuse; and that the instruments which it would recognize in promoting this great design should be of all nations.

He next observed that, in order to secure its resources from failure, and that there might always be a copious supply of fit persons for the work, it was expedient that the institution should possess an organized body in England, and that its establishment should be sufficiently respectable to attach to it men of rank and learning. The college of the Propaganda at Rome owed its efficiency and perpetuity chiefly to its liberal establishment.

Dr. Buchanan grounded the necessity and importance of this christian institution upon a view of the present state of the Brahminical superstition at the chief temples of the Hindoos, and particularly at Juggernaut; and in order to convey to his readers in England some idea of the spirit and effects of the religion of Brahma, he added some extracts from the journal of his visit to that place.

Provision was made for the transmission of copies of every work published by the institution in India to certain libraries in Great Britain; and it

was stated that thirty-one volumes had accordingly been forwarded by the packet which conveyed the work in question. It was added that Dr. Buchanan would for the present continue to superintend the affairs of the institution.

Such is the outline of the *college for oriental translation* conceived by Dr. Buchanan. His intention, in short, was to establish a British Propaganda, which, in proportion to the extent of its objects, should be superior to that at Rome, the fame of which still survives in Asia. Objections would probably have occurred to different persons with respect to some of the provisions of this institution; and it was obviously never considered by its author as incapable of alteration and improvement. Its design and general plan were undoubtedly excellent, and would probably have been received with much approbation.

Upon its original formation,* Dr. Buchanan proposed to the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, as extensively engaged in translating the Scriptures, that they should accordingly associate, merely in that character, with other fellow-laborers in different parts of India; that the missionary pursuits, properly so called, and the individual establishments of each society, should remain peculiar and private, as before; but that the translators of the

* See his Apology for promoting Christianity in India, p. 70.

Scriptures should act in concert, and maintain an amicable correspondence with each other, under the general direction of the superintendent, who would be responsible for the views and proceedings of the institution at large. The intention of this proposal was clearly not to supersede the meritorious labors of the Baptist missionaries; but to render them more effective, by incorporating them in one great and comprehensive plan for the same important object, and by rescuing their operations from the appearance of any thing private or sectarian, and investing the united labors of the learned translators throughout India with a more public and national character.

It may readily be imagined that the society at Serampore might feel some hesitation, and even reluctance, in acceding to this proposition, after the publicity which Dr. Buchanan had given to their extensive plan of oriental translation; and it was, perhaps, expecting too much, that they should voluntarily abandon the "vantage ground" which they were thus occupying. However this may be, the Baptist missionaries declined the proposal; and the name of "the christian institution" was in consequence but partially assumed. The other branches of which it was intended to be composed, including, besides those already named, one of the most distinguished oriental scholars of the present age, the late learned and lamented Dr. Leyden, who

undertook the translation of the Scriptures into the several dialects of the Malayan Archipelago, were generally associated, after Dr. Buchanan's departure from India, under the superintendence of the late Rev. Mr. Brown.

The "Christian Institution" was, however, carried but very imperfectly into execution. On the arrival of the manuscript in England, though it was printed in pursuance of Dr. Buchanan's instructions, some of his friends, to whom the work was communicated, conceived that its publication was inexpedient, and might even produce consequences injurious to the general cause of christianity in India. Under these impressions they took upon themselves to suppress the publication of the work, more especially as Dr. Buchanan had announced his intention of returning to this country in the course of the following year. Their determination was doubtless guided by a sincere desire to promote the great object of his labors; and it will be seen that he acquiesced in their judgment.

It is gratifying to reflect that, though this noble and magnificent design was never carried fully into effect, the mere proposal and publication of a scheme of so much benevolence, and calculated to effect benefits so rich and extensive for the heathen world, had a tendency to enlarge and elevate the views of christians, and was doubtless a means of essentially promoting the cause of christianity in the East.

In the course of the ensuing month Lord Minto, who had long been expected, arrived as Governor General in Bengal. In a letter to Colonel Macaulay, on the 17th of August, Dr. Buchanan notices his lordship's good example, and attendance on divine worship, and his attention to himself. "He wishes me," he adds, "to communicate fully with him on all the subjects which he knows have long engaged my attention."

Dr. Buchanan's next letter to Colonel Macaulay is dated September 15th, and contains some interesting notices respecting his intended journey overland to Europe, and the progress of the Malayalim translation of the Scriptures. It refers, however, at the close, to a painful subject, which is afterwards more fully explained.

"My dear Sir,—I had the pleasure to receive the copies of your correspondence with government regarding the discipline of the churches. Every additional letter you write on that subject is an additional pin to the tabernacle.

"If I should go by Persia, I am prepared to spend twelve thousand rupees in presents. But I hope to be able to travel by the route of Bussorah, Mosul, and Aleppo. I proceed to Bombay in the Metcalfe, Captain Isaacke, who will sail from this place about the 10th or 15th of the next month, October. If practicable, he will set me down at Cochin. If not, I shall first arrange matters at Bom-

bay, and then come down to Goa (which I wish much to visit) and to Cochin.

"I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of the 2d of August, containing Colonel Capper's sentiments on a journey through Persia and Armenia. His remarks are highly interesting, and may be useful to me hereafter. I am more afraid of the French than of the Persians.

"Within the last few days arrived your eight packets of the holy Gospels, translated into the Malayalim language. They have been contemplated with mingled affection and admiration by the missionary corps. David Grant is now employed in reading them through, and prefixing the titles to the books, and numbering the chapters in English. People wonder here at this rapid fruit of my visit to Malayala. But yours is the praise, not mine.

"As we have no fount of Malayalim types ready cut in Bengal, I mean to take the MS. with me to Bombay, and to have it printed there under the superintendence of Sir James Mackintosh.

"The translators may take their rest now for a little while. Until we can ascertain the accuracy of the translation of the Gospels, we need not proceed to the Epistles. You may therefore settle accounts with the translators. I request you will thank them in my name for what has been done, and inform them that I expect they will shortly resume their operations.

"I am on the eve, I fear, of a rupture with this government. The cause is the Gospel. They are endeavoring to restrain the exertions of the missionaries in Bengal. I have not yet interfered; and I trust it will not be necessary, for I love peace and not war, particularly at the moment of my leaving the country. But I shall do my duty, and leave the event to God.

"I am, my dear sir, yours sincerely,

"C. BUCHANAN."

On the 22d of September Dr. Buchanan wrote to his two daughters. The following passage from his letter alludes to their lamented mother in a peculiarly affecting manner:

"I am now about to quit India, and to go home to see you. I propose to leave Calcutta in the course of next month. If I find it dangerous to go home over-land, I shall proceed from Bombay by sea. I shall probably sail over those waters where your dear mother lies. Do you not know that at the resurrection of the dead she will come forth with a 'glorious body?' Though it be 'sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory.' Of this you may read in the Bible and in the burial service. Your mother will come forth with a 'glorious body;' for she was a good woman, and remembered her Creator in the days of her youth. Perhaps I shall die too before I reach England. You ought therefore to pray that

God would preserve my life, if it be his will, (for I desire to do his will in all things,) that I may see you, and show you the affection of a father, and receive the affection of daughters, and lead you onward with myself to that happy state whither your mother is gone before you."

It is gratifying to reflect that this affectionate and pious father was permitted to realize the delightful prospect which he thus anticipated. The following extract is from a letter to Colonel Macaulay, dated October 12:

"The attack I announced to you in my last has not been yet made. I wish you were at my side during the storm. I have friends, but they are not soldiers. I am the forlorn hope, and yet I have not twelve men. Nay, more, my friends tell me I shall certainly be killed.

"The assault however must be made, but whether by silent escalade at the midnight watch, or by heavy and hot battery at noon-day, I have not yet determined. I think the latter. You shall hear in a letter dated on or about the 1st of November, *me vivente, et Deo volente.*" *

Not long after his return from the coast of Malabar, Dr. Buchanan preached a series of discourses

* If I live and the Lord will.

in the Presidency church, on the subject of the *christian prophecies;* which proved so acceptable to some of the congregation, that they expressed a wish that he would permit them to be printed; observing that, as he was about to return to Europe, they hoped he would bequeath these discourses, as a parting memorial, to his friends. To this request Dr. Buchanan acceded, and accordingly made preparations for their publication. These sermons related chiefly to the divine predictions concerning the future universal propagation of the Gospel, and were intended to excite the public attention to that important subject, as well as to animate and encourage those who, from the purest motives, were laboring to promote the knowledge of christianity in India. Nothing could be more legitimate or laudable than such a design, conducted as it was by Dr. Buchanan, not in the spirit of violence and fanaticism, but of calm discussion and reasonable and benevolent exertion. On transmitting, however, an advertisement to the government gazette, announcing the intended publication of his discourses, Dr. Buchanan was surprised to find that the insertion of it was refused, and that an order had been issued to the printers of the other newspapers, forbidding them to publish the obnoxious notice. Shortly afterwards he received a letter from the chief secretary to the Presidency, *desiring that he would transmit the manuscript of his sermons on the prophecies for*

the inspection of government. To this unexpected demand Dr. Buchanan gave no immediate answer.

It had long been the subject of painful observation to him, that on the departure of the Marquis Wellesley, during whose administration the spirit of promoting learning and religion in India had been general and ardent, a directly contrary disposition was manifested, as if it had been previously restrained by his presence. This first appeared under the administration of Sir George Barlow, and had been acquiring strength ever since. Lord Minto had now assumed the supreme government; and as several measures were adopted which appeared to Dr. Buchanan to operate very unfavorably for the interests both of learning and religion, he deemed it his duty, before he quitted Bengal, to address a memorial to his lordship, in which he particularly directed his attention to the character and tendency of those measures; and, in so doing, explained his reasons for declining to comply with the wishes of government respecting his sermons on the prophecies. The memorial was introduced to Lord Minto by the following letter:

"To the Right Honorable Lord Minto, &c. &c. &c.

"My Lord,—I beg leave respectfully to submit to your lordship some particulars regarding the present state of the christian religion in Bengal, which I have thought it my duty to communicate for your lordship's information at this time.

"I trust you will do me the justice to believe that it is with the utmost reluctance I trouble your lordship with a letter on such a subject so soon after your entrance on this government, when, as yet, few, if any of the circumstances noticed in it can have come to your lordship's knowledge.

"I have no other view in soliciting your attention to them, but the advancement of learning and religion. Perhaps no one has addressed your lordship on the subject since your arrival; and there are certainly many particulars, regarding their present state, which it is of importance your lordship should know.

"Being about to leave India, I feared lest I should hereafter reproach myself if I withheld any thing at this time which I conceived might be useful, particularly as I have been farther encouraged to address your lordship by your known condescension in receiving any communications which are honestly intended.

"I have the honor to be, my lord, with much respect, your most obedient humble servant,

"C. BUCHANAN.

"CALCUTTA, Nov. 9, 1807."

The memorial which accompanied the preceding letter, and which was published some years afterwards* by Dr. Buchanan, in his own vindication

* See his Apology for Promoting Christianity in India.

and defence, evinces, as it has been well observed, "the temperate firmness of a man, who, knowing that the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation, is neither ashamed to profess nor afraid to defend it." It is introduced by a statement of the circumstances which have been just mentioned as having led to this address to the Governor General. Dr. Buchanan gave full credit to the officers of his lordship's government, of whose conduct respecting the christian religion he complained, that they were acting according to the best of their judgment; but adds, with much force and propriety of expression, "not to promote christianity may, in certain circumstances, be prudent; but to repress christianity will not, I think, in any case, be defended."

In reference to the charge that the missionaries applied abusive epithets to Mohammed, Dr. Buchanan says, "The successful method of preaching is by argument and affectionate address; and I presume this has been their general method during the fourteen years of their mission. At the same time christian teachers are not to speak with reverence or courtesy of Juggernaut or Mohammed; they must speak as the Scriptures speak; that is, of false gods as false gods, and of a lying prophet as a lying prophet. The Mohammedans apply abusive epithets and vulgar curses to the idolatry of the Hindoos and to the faith of Christians; and these epithets are contained in books: the government

might, on the same principle, have been assailed with the petitions of Christians and Hindoos against the Mohammedans.

The complaint, however, of the Mohammedans produced various restrictions on the proceedings of the missionaries, which were defended on the plea that the public faith had been pledged to leave the natives in the undisturbed exercise of their religions. If by not disturbing the natives in the exercise of their religion it is meant that we are to use no means for diffusing christianity among them, then, observed Dr. Buchanan, "this pledge has been violated by every government in India, and has been systematically broken by the East India Company from the year 1698 to the present time. The charter of 1698 expressly stipulates that they shall use means to instruct the Gentoos, &c. in the christian religion. Nor in this is there any thing at variance with the pledge in question. It is a very different thing to apply arguments to the mind and violence to the body; to civilize and humanize, to address the understandings and affections of subjects, and to interfere with their superstitions by compulsory acts."

As to his discourses on the prophecies, he had, at the opening of his memorial, professed that he would willingly transmit them to the perusal of the Governor General, and that he should be happy to receive such observations on them as his lordship's

learning and candor might suggest; but he declined submitting them to the opinion and revision of the officers of government, especially as "it would be a bad precedent. I would not," he says, "that it should be thought that any where in the British dominions there exists any thing like a civil inquisition into matters purely religious.

"It is nearly two months," he adds, "since I received the letter from government on this matter, and I have not yet communicated my intentions. I now beg leave to inform your lordship that I do not wish to give government any unnecessary offence. I shall not publish the prophecies.

"At the same time I beg leave most respectfully to assure your lordship that I am not in any way disappointed by the interference of government on this occasion. The supposed suppression of the christian prophecies has produced the consequence that might be expected. The public curiosity has been greatly excited to see these prophecies; and to draw the attention of men to the divine predictions could be the only object I had in view in noticing them in the course of my public ministry. Another consequence will probably be, the prophecies will be translated into the languages of the East, and thus pave the way, as has sometimes happened, for their own fulfilment."

Dr. Buchanan closed his memorial with entreating Lord Minto, in case any circumstance should

afford a pretext for renewing the attempt to suppress the translation of the Scriptures, that the Chinese translation, in which he felt peculiarly interested, might at least be spared; and with offering any farther evidence or explanation of the facts asserted in his letter which his lordship might require. This offer, however, Lord Minto did not condescend to accept. He did not even honor Dr. Buchanan with a single word of reply. Instead of considering the memorial as a communication intended to inform his lordship on subjects with which he was likely to be unacquainted, he viewed it as disrespectful to his government, and transmitted it, by the very fleet which conveyed Dr. Buchanan himself to England, to the Court of Directors, accompanied by a commentary, of which Dr. Buchanan remained perfectly ignorant till some years afterwards; when, with many other documents relative to christianity in India, it was laid upon the table of the House of Commons, and thus attracted his notice. The Bengal government, however, not having thought proper to pay any attention to his memorial, Dr. Buchanan deemed it to be his duty to transmit a copy of it to the Court of Directors, which he did immediately before his departure from Calcutta, accompanied by a letter, in which he expressed his hope that some general principles on the comparative importance of religion in political relations in India, might be estab-

lished at home, and transmitted to our eastern government for their guidance. Dr. Buchanan concluded his address to the honorable court by recalling to their notice the solemn charge which he had received about eleven years since from their chairman, the late Sir Stephen Lushington, the tenor of which has been already stated. "In obedience to these instructions," observes Dr. Buchanan, "I have devoted myself much to the advancement of the christian religion and of useful learning since my arrival in India; using such means as I was possessed of, and directing the opportunities which have offered to the accomplishment of that object. I am yet sensible that I have fulfilled very imperfectly the injunctions of your honorable court. It suffices, however, for my own satisfaction, if what I have done has been well done; that is, with honesty of purpose and with the sanction of truth. In my exhibition of the religious and moral state of British India I might have palliated the fact, and presented a fair picture where there was nothing but deformity; but, in so doing, I should not have done honor to the spirit of the admonitions of your venerable chairman now deceased. And however grateful it may be for the present moment to suppress painful truths, yet as my labors had chiefly reference to the benefit of times to come, I should not, by such means, have conciliated the respect of your illustrious body twenty years hence."

Under these impressions Dr. Buchanan requested that the court would be pleased to investigate fully his proceedings with respect to the promotion of Christianity in India, that the company at large might be enabled justly to appreciate them; and that he might be encouraged (if it should appear that encouragement were due) to prosecute an undertaking which seemed, he said, to have commanded the applause of all good men, and which had certainly commenced with omens of considerable success.

The preceding letter to the Court of Directors was not published with the memorial to the government at Bengal, nor does it seem to have been noticed by the court. Neither of those addresses, however, though unacknowledged at the time, was unproductive of effect. In Bengal a more favorable disposition on the part of the government towards the promotion of christianity shortly afterwards appeared; and the reply of the Court of Directors to the representations of the Governor General in council, though not friendly to Dr. Buchanan, was strongly marked by those enlightened and liberal views which he had been so anxious to see established for the guidance of our Indian governments. The favorable change which took place in the conduct of the Bengal government towards the mission at Serampore, is, however, chiefly to be ascribed to the memorial presented by the mission-

aries themselves to the Governor General in council; which, when published a few years afterwards in this country, excited general admiration.

The painful transaction which has now been detailed was nearly the last of a public nature in which Dr. Buchanan was engaged in Calcutta. The time was now approaching for his second and final departure from that city. Accordingly, in the month of November, he preached his farewell sermon to the congregation at the mission church, from the words of St. Paul to the Philippians, chap. 1 : 27, "Only let your conversation be as becometh the Gospel of Christ; that whether I come and see you, or else be absent, I may hear of your affairs, that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel." From this appropriate and interesting passage Dr. Buchanan delivered a discourse remarkable for the importance of the practical truths which it enforced. After an introductory view of the origin and progress of the church at Philippi, Dr. Buchanan considered the two particulars of which the parting request of the apostle to his favorite converts consists. The first respects the holy practice which they were exhorted to maintain.

"Without a highly moral conversation," observed Dr. Buchanan, "a congregation of christians cannot be said to have substance or being; for faith

without works is dead. Unless the world see something particular in your works, they will give you no credit for your faith; or rather, they will not care what your faith may be. In such circumstances your faith will give them no trouble. But when 'wonderful works' appear, they will begin to ask what 'power hath produced them.' In this very epistle the apostle calls the christians at Philippi 'the sons of God,' and the 'lights of the world;' and he expresses his hope that their conduct would be correspondent with these noble and distinguishing appellations."

"Now," continues Dr. Buchanan, "when this light shineth to the world, even the light of a holy life and conversation, it will be manifested by these two circumstances: First, it will not be agreeable to some; and, secondly, some will misrepresent your motives, or attach to your conduct an evil name, accusing you of hypocrisy or of unnecessary strictness. And if no man allege any thing of this kind against you, if the worst of men make no derogatory remark on your conduct, then may you doubt whether you are walking in the steps of the faithful servants of Christ. They all were marked out by the world, as being in a greater or less degree singular and peculiar in their conduct, as persons swayed by other principles and subject to other laws. If these things be so, you will perceive how little concerned you ought to be about the

praise of man, or the honor which cometh from the world."

Dr. Buchanan then proceeded to the second part of the apostle's exhortation; and, in urging the duty of "striving for the faith of the Gospel," he observed, "this will appear strange to nominal christians, both preachers and hearers. But when once a man's heart comes under the influence of the grace of God, he will discover (perhaps in old age for the first time) that it is his duty, and it will be his pleasure, to promote the faith of the Gospel by every way; by his means, by his influence, by his exhortation, by his example. Every true disciple of Christ, however humble his situation or peculiar his circumstances, will find opportunities of doing something for the faith of the Gospel. And, indeed, the poor often enjoy means of usefulness which, from many causes, are denied to their superiors."

Dr. Buchanan next directed the attention of his hearers to the apostle's rule for the successful pursuit of this great object, "that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind—that they should preserve unity, unity in the faith and in the church; and then noticed the nature of that faith for which christians ought to strive. The sermon was concluded by a faithful and solemn exhortation to the young and to the old, to those who doubted as to "the true way," to the sinner and the saint, to strive to

obtain, and, having obtained, to adorn and recommend the faith of the Gospel. "It only remains," added Dr. Buchanan, "that I implore the solemn benediction of God on this congregation.

"I pray that the word of Christ may 'run and be glorified' amongst you; that from this place, as from a fountain, streams of truth may flow far and wide; that you may be ever blessed with wise and learned instructors, 'able ministers of the New Testament,' who shall take delight in dispensing the word of life and in tending the flock committed to their care; and, finally, that the honor of your church may ever be preserved pure from any stain, that ye may uphold a conduct 'blameless and harmless,' as examples to men, as 'the lights of the world;' striving together, with one mind and in one spirit, for the faith of the Gospel."

Such was the simple but impressive strain in which Dr. Buchanan took leave of the congregation which contained the greater proportion of religious persons in Calcutta. His farewell at the Presidency church was probably of a different nature, though characterized by the same pastoral fidelity and practical wisdom. There were, doubtless, some in each congregation from whom he would regret to be separated, and many who would lament his departure. Mr. Brown would particularly feel the loss of his able and affectionate coadjutor and friend, with whom he had taken "sweet counsel" in the

house of God, and had shared the burthen and the heat of many a laborious day. Of the sentiments entertained by this excellent man respecting his learned and valuable colleague, the following brief extract from a confidential letter to his brother, written just as Dr. Buchanan was on the eve of his departure from Calcutta, will be a sufficient testimony:

"I know no man in the world who excels him in useful purpose, or deserves my friendship more. Perhaps there is no man in the world who loves him so much as I do, because no man knows him so well. Further, no man I believe in the world would do me service like him. We have lived together in the closest intimacy ten years, without a shade of difference in sentiment, political or religious. It is needless to add, without a jar in word or deed. He is the man to do good in the earth, and worthy of being metropolitan of the East."

The private and unaffected nature of the letter from which the preceding passage is extracted, the well known simplicity and integrity of the writer's character, and the perfect competency of his testimony, render this warm and energetic tribute to the merit of his friend peculiarly valuable. To separate from such a colleague must have been a subject of sincere regret to him. But, with this and a few other exceptions, Dr. Buchanan's ties to India were neither strong nor numerous. The society

of Calcutta is necessarily fluctuating. One of the most important branches of his employment no longer existed: he had laid the foundation of a great work for the promotion of Christianity in India, which he could in future more advantageously forward and defend in his native country; and thither he felt attracted by the associations of early and maturer life, by filial duty, and paternal affection. For this return, therefore, after making a variety of arrangements to ensure the continuance of the works carrying on under what he considered to be the "Christian Institution," more particularly of the Chinese class at Serampore, he at length prepared.

On the 27th of November Dr. Buchanan left Calcutta, and reached Fulta the next day; and from this place he wrote to Colonel Sandys as follows:

"Dear Sandys,—I am thus far on my way to Europe. I sail in the Baretto to Goa, to look into the inquisition there and examine the libraries. Thence I proceed to Bombay.

"A few days ago I received your letter of the 28th of May, 1807, dated from Northwold, containing the signatures of the little girls. They write very well, and have made a flattering progress in their education. I am much obliged to you for your particular account of the two children, which is very correct, I believe, and very pleasing. Being

long estranged from them, and hearing none converse about them, I seldom think of them now comparatively; but when we meet again I suppose we shall fall in love.

"You observed, in some of your late letters, that you heard I was likely to be married again. It so happens that I have not once thought of it. It is possible that I may marry some time after my arrival in England; but yet I would avoid it, for some reasons: it is a subject I think not of.

"Instead of love and marriage, I am engaged in war and fightings. I have been obliged to address this government publicly on its hostility to religion and to its progress in India. All Calcutta wondered what step government would take. In the midst of this strange scene I paid a farewell visit to them all, and left every creature, from the Governor General to the pilots, on good terms.

"I have now finished my labors, and pray that God may bless them.

"I have been down here for eight days, waiting the despatch of the ship. The Calcutta people have not been uninterested in my late contention with the government; and I hear some of them have called a ship by my name since I came down here. The 'Christian Institution in the East' is unknown in Calcutta to this hour, though active in its operation. "Yours affectionately,

"C. BUCHANAN."

The ship in which Dr. Buchanan sailed left Saugor on the 9th of December; but no memorial of his voyage occurs until the 23d of that month, when he wrote to Mr. Brown as follows, from Columbo, in the island of Ceylon:

"Ceylon again! In crossing the Gulf of Manaar we encountered a gale and put into Columbo. I had requested the captain to touch here when I left Calcutta, and now he was obliged of necessity. I have been well on board and well treated. Many causes for thankfulness as usual. The Adele was taken by the Russell the day before we came up to her, and we had parted convoy. In the Gulf of Manaar we were about to throw over our cargo when the gale abated.

"On my arrival here many of the chief persons waited on me. From my having touched last year at so many Dutch settlements, I found all the families knew me. I have only been here three days, having arrived on Monday last, and the ship proceeds on her voyage on Friday. I have some thoughts of letting her go, and following at my leisure; for I find there is something for me here to do. What a field for English, Dutch, and Cingalese preachers in this fertile and renowned land!

"I propose to proceed straight to Cochin from this place. Sir James Mackintosh is on the Malabar coast, I hear, with his family. Two Bombay civil

servants now here wish me to travel by land from Cochin to Goa. They have been judges and collectors for fourteen years on that coast, and allege they know more about the christians than any other persons in India. They complain much of the undue influence of Goa, exercised sometimes cruelly on all christians who are not Catholics. Mr. B. carries me out to-day to his country house, to visit some of the Cingalese christian churches.

"My affectionate regards to all your family."

By the date of his next letter Dr. Buchanan appears to have left the Baretto, in which he originally embarked from Calcutta, and to have exchanged that ship for the Canton; from which, on the 26th of December, he thus wrote off Cochin to Colonel Macaulay:

"I had flattered myself with the hope of being landed here, but the commander of the ship cannot wait, and I am disappointed. He has engaged to put me down at Goa, where I propose to remain some time, and from whence I shall write to you particularly. I left Calcutta on the 8th inst. and touched at Columbo, where I staid some days, and found flattering assurances of support in our evangelizing plans for that island. There is less prejudice there than in the Company's settlements. This is the third time that I have visited Ceylon;

so that the people begin to think I have some serious design against them.

"In my last I believe I informed you that I was *standing in the breach.* I have now the pleasure to announce that the battle has been fought. Long consultations were held how to proceed: it was at last decreed that I should be permitted to depart in peace.

"I have the copy of the Malayalim Scriptures with me, and mean to print when at Bombay: five thousand copies will suffice for a beginning, I suppose.

"I hope to see you before I leave India; but I do not know at this moment where or how. May all our resolves and purposes be acceptable to the divine will!

"Mr. Johnstone, judge at Columbo, will furnish me with some important official documents relating to the state of christianity in that island. The Governor was absent; but Major Maitland (Lord Lauderdale's son) came to inform me that he would return in two days, if I would stay to see him. I could not stay; but I communicated to him that, if he would give to the Cingalese translation of the Scriptures his *countenance*, I would give *money;* and Judge Johnstone would find instruments. Mr. J. is an excellent Cingalese scholar himself."

Notwithstanding the disappointment of which

Dr. Buchanan expressed his expectation at the commencement of the preceding letter, we find him two days afterwards safely landed at Cochin, and under the roof of his friend, Colonel Macaulay. He thus writes to Mr. Brown:

"COCHIN, Dec. 28, 1807.

"On the 24th, Christmas eve, we left Columbo, crossed the Gulf of Manaar on Christmas-day, and arrived here on the 27th, yesterday. I found all my Jews and Christians in fine health and spirits, and highly gratified at my unexpected arrival. I reside with Colonel Macaulay. After passing some time in these regions he accompanies me up the coast, by land, through all the christian territories, as far as Cananore, perhaps Mangalore, whence I proceeded by sea to Goa.

"The Jews have lately had a meeting about the prophecies; and I am about to call another Sanhedrim on the subject before I go. It is a strange event.

"I am happy I have visited this place a second time. May God direct all these things to his own glory and to the good of men! I have need of watchfulness and prayer. Much lies before me ere I leave India yet, if ever I leave it.

"Tell H. that the poor Jews, blind, lame, and halt, are come this morning, exclaiming, as usual, 'Jehuda Ani.' I wish I could impart a better

gift than silver or gold. The Rajah of Travancore has desired I will visit him. I do not know what to do. The Rajah of Cochin has offered to come over to see me. Ambassadors from the Syrian christians are expected to-morrow."

On the 2d of January, 1808, Dr. Buchanan left Cochin, accompanied by Colonel Macaulay, on a second tour upon the coast of Malabar. On the 14th he wrote to Mr. Brown, from Tellicherry, an interesting account of their progress; and his next letter to that esteemed friend is dated "Goa, 25th January, from the great hall of the inquisition." It contains an account of his bold and interesting visit to that metropolis of the Roman Catholic religion in the East, similar to that already inserted from his "Christian Researches."

The suggestion in the published extracts from his journal, as to the propriety of an interference on the part of the British government with that of Portugal, for the abolition of the dreadful tribunal of the inquisition, had been happily anticipated, but did not render his animated appeal upon that subject superfluous; while his inquiries relative to the moral and religious state of the Romish and Syro-Romish churches on the coast of Malabar led to efforts to disseminate the holy Scriptures, for the instruction and illumination of that numerous and long-neglected body of Christians.

"In two hours after leaving the inquisition," says Dr. Buchanan, in his letter to Mr. Brown, "I reached New Goa. The alarm of my investigations had gone before me. The English came to inquire what I had seen and heard, and I told them all. I staid a day or two with them, and embarked in a pattamar (an open boat) for Bombay. The wind was contrary, and I was ten days on the voyage. I touched at three different places on the Pirate coast; Gheria, the celebrated fort of Severndroog, &c. One day we were driven out to sea, and in considerable danger. At length, however, on the 6th of February I reached Bombay."

On his arrival at this Presidency Dr. Buchanan was kindly received by Governor Duncan, and took up his abode at the house of Mr. Forbes. He experienced the utmost civility from the principal persons of the settlement, and was particularly gratified by the attentions of Sir James Mackintosh. "I passed five hours," he observes, in a letter to Colonel Macaulay, "with Sir James in his library. It is uncommonly numerous and valuable. He is a friend to religion, and professes a desire to support me in all useful plans for India."

Dr. Buchanan had taken with him to Bombay the manuscript translation of the four Gospels into the Malayalim language, which had been completed by the Syrian bishop and his clergy, and transmitted to Colonel Macaulay, intending to print it at

his own expense, an excellent fount of types having been recently cut at that place. Governor Duncan, however, and others, expressing their wish to contribute to the design, it was left in the hands of Mr. Money and Mr. Forbes, with instructions regarding the appropriation of the funds; and they were authorized to pay all expenses necessarily incurred in translating the Scriptures into the Malayalim language.

"It would take a fortnight," writes Dr. Buchanan to Colonel Macaulay, Feb. 27, "to detail what passed during my fortnight at Bombay.

"I have taken my passage in the Charlton, and have secured the first officer's cabin, which is large and commodious, for myself and Master Drummond. We have ten ladies on board, and Dr. Pouget, of Surat, a man of information.

"Your friend, Ribeymar, the chief inquisitor, received me very kindly, and made a feast on the last day but one of my stay, at which were present the whole staff of the Santa Casa. He said he would answer your letter. The 'thieveless errand' I had to visit the inquisition a second time, was to inquire whether the chief inquisitor had written his letter.

"I did not touch at Cananore or Mangalore. I was afraid of losing the inquisition and my passage.

"On my arrival in England I shall not fail to give you some account of affairs, if I mix with men,

which I much doubt; for I am tired of fighting, and sigh for quiet and retirement.

"I remain, my dear sir, very sincerely yours,

"C. BUCHANAN."

It may be satisfactory to add, that the letter from the chief inquisitor to Colonel Macaulay, above referred to, strongly expressed his respect for that gentleman, and the pleasure which he had received from Dr. Buchanan's visit, notwithstanding the freedom of his inquiries and observations.

In another short communication to Colonel Macaulay, about the same time, Dr. Buchanan mentions a pleasing mark of kindness which had been shown him by one of his friends at Calcutta, and informs him of a proposal which he had made relative to one of the most stupendous and interesting objects of curiosity in India.

"Mr. Speke has sent a beautiful large quarto Bible after me, as a keepsake. He had heard that I had complained of my sight in reading small print at night. And this is my last communication with the learned of Calcutta. *Hoc Deus fecit.**

"I have put them on restoring Elephanta at Bombay. I found the cavern and figures in a state of progressive annual dilapidation. Mr. Money has taken up the subject warmly. If government does not execute it, I have proposed a subscription, with

* This God has done.

a promise of five hundred rupees as soon as the work shall commence under a scientific superintendent. I have left a memorandum of the subjects of improvement and re-edification, according to my idea. I have a reason for wishing that the Trinity in Unity at Elephanta may remain while this lower world exists."

Dr. Buchanan thus adverts to the same extraordinary remains of antiquity, in writing to Mr. Brown:

"I have visited Elephanta; a more wonderful work than the pyramids of Egypt. But the works of Providence are yet more wonderful; at least, so I should esteem them; for, in every region and in every clime the loving-kindness of God is magnified in my experience. May his grace also be magnified in me! My love to all your family."

On the 13th of March the Charlton arrived off Point de Galle, from which place Dr. Buchanan again wrote a few lines to Mr. Brown.

"I had intended," he says, "to have published my letter to the archbishop of Goa at this place. But if we do not go on shore I shall have no opportunity. I shall therefore publish it at home.*

* On his arrival in England Dr. Buchanan found it unnecessary to publish this letter, the inquisition at Goa having been abolished.

"I have extensive commissions for sending good books and Bibles to Bombay, Malabar, and Ceylon. For, if they have no preachers, they must read.

"All is well on board this ship, and I hope some good will be done.

"With unfeigned prayers for the best of spiritual blessings on you and your family,

"I remain my dear sir, very affectionately yours,

"C. BUCHANAN."

To Colonel Macaulay Dr. Buchanan wrote the next day as follows:

"MY DEAR SIR,—We have just arrived at this place, and see the Bengal fleet ready to sail; so that I have only time to bid you farewell. We staid three days at Columbo, one of which I passed with General Maitland at Mount Lavinia. After long and interesting conversations he was pleased to promise that he would recommend to his majesty's government 'an ecclesiastical establishment for the island of Ceylon.' By the next despatch he will send me, under cover to the bishop of London, copies of all the papers I wanted relating to the ecclesiastical state of the island for the last two centuries. He has agreed to support the translation of the Scriptures into the Cingalese language. I resided with the honorable Mr. Twisleton, whom I found well disposed to second all my views. Mr.

Heywood did more. I think he is disposed to be zealous as a pastor to his people. I shall correspond, I hope, with both. They are surprised at the Governor's full acquiescence in the above important measures. I hope he will not retract.

"I received your letters for your brother, which I hope to deliver into his hands. I am much obliged to you for your introduction to him.

"The fleet is now under weigh for St. Helena. Farewell. C. BUCHANAN."

"H. C. Charlton, Point de Galle
March 14, 1808."

CHAPTER XIII.

Residence in England after his Return from India.

When Dr. Buchanan arrived in England, as might have been expected, he immediately directed his steps to the dwelling of his dear friend, Mr. Newton; but, alas! this venerable man was not there to salute him—he had been buried for more than seven months. His first feelings, therefore, on reaching London, were of the mournful kind.

Having calculated much upon the effect of the memoir of the "Christian Institution" which he had transmitted to England that it might be published, he made his second call to Cadell, his bookseller; but here again he was disappointed; for it now appeared that his friends, to whom he had communicated the document, had judged it inexpedient, in the excited state of the public mind respecting India, to publish it; and had taken upon themselves the responsibility of withholding it from the press. Although he acquiesced in their act, yet it was evidently no small disappointment to Dr. Buchanan that this paper had not been put into the hands of the public.

Having arrived on his native island, he could not repress his desire to make every consideration of business or friendship give way to his filial piety. Learning that his aged mother still lived, he hastened to Scotland to perform his duty of honoring her who gave him birth; and who, on account of her piety and good sense, was in all respects deserving the affection of her son. From Glasgow, while on this visit, he writes, "I preached in the English church here to a crowded auditory. The Presbyterians came to hear me, notwithstanding the *organ*."

After his return from Scotland he visited Mr. Cecil, who was now in a low state of health. Dr. Buchanan, in giving an account of this visit, in a

letter to a friend, says: "Notwithstanding his weakness, he seems to feel a singular pleasure in hearing me talk on oriental subjects, and the diffusion of the Gospel generally."

He was greatly delighted with the apparent effect which his prizes had produced. The premium of £500, which he had given to the University of Oxford, was adjudged to Hugh Pearson, the author of this memoir.

In Cambridge some circumstances occurred to prevent a decision. Doctors Milner, Jowett, and Outram, had been appointed judges; and of all the compositions sent in, they were of opinion that not one deserved so magnificent a prize. But, a few days after the prescribed time had expired, they received a piece, by the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, which they unanimously preferred to all the rest; and to which the examiners would, without hesitation, have adjudged the prize, had it been presented within the limited time; but, as the matter stood, they did not feel authorized to do so without the special permission of Dr. Buchanan. This being a case of delicacy, he did not think proper to make any decision on the point; but as the university were unwilling to resume the consideration of the subject, he offered to bear the expense of printing Mr. Cunningham's essay.

Two sermons were preached at Cambridge, by the Rev. Francis Wrangham, of Trinity College,

and the Rev. John Dudley, of Clare Hall, pursuant to the proposal of Dr. Buchanan, on the "Translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages." Two sermons were also preached on the same subject before the University of Oxford, by the Rev. Dr. Barrow, of Queen's College, and the Rev. Edward Nares, of Merton College; all of which were published.

The authors of all these discourses insisted on the duty of translating the Scriptures into the languages of the East; and all maintained that it was obligatory on Great Britain to attempt, by every wise and rational method, to promote the knowledge of christianity in India.

The "Memoir" on the expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment in India, produced a powerful sensation. The subject was to many entirely new, and at the same time was regarded as very important. Before his return to England, a hostile spirit towards the author had been enkindled in the minds of many, who considered the whole enterprise as fraught with danger to the English possessions and power in the East. It is a remarkable coincidence, that at the very time when efforts were made in India to impede the translation of the Scriptures into the dialects of the country, and to restrain the efforts of missionaries there, a formidable attack, from the same spirit, was made in England, with a view to check the ardor which had

been infused into the minds of multitudes in favor of both these interesting objects. This attack was commenced by a pamphlet entitled, "A Letter to the Chairman of the East India Company on the Danger of Interfering in the Religious Opinions of the Nations of India; and on the Views of the British and Foreign Bible Society as directed to India." This pamphlet, though published anonymously, was afterwards avowed by Thomas Twining, Esq. a senior merchant of the Bengal establishment. And he declared his intention of bringing the subject before the Court of Directors. The Bible Society was ably vindicated from the charges brought against it, by the Rev. John Owen, one of its secretaries; and the great work of diffusing the Bible in India had able advocates in the lamented Rev. Andrew Fuller, Rev. Robert Hall, Dr. Adam Clarke, and others.

The prejudice and alarm which had been excited by Mr. Twining's pamphlet was increased by the publication of two pamphlets by Major Scott Waring, who inveighed with great violence of language against the Bible Society, the Baptist missionaries in Bengal, and against the "Memoir" of Dr. Buchanan. But the friends of religion in England were not inactive nor unsuccessful in checking this rising spirit of jealousy and hostility, occasioned by these intemperate publications.

This controversy, however, did not terminate

here. In the year 1808 it was renewed by the publication of a pamphlet entitled, "A Vindication of the Hindoos from the Aspersions of the Rev. C. Buchanan, M. A. with a Refutation of his Arguments for an Ecclesiastical Establishment in British India. By a Bengal Officer." This extraordinary publication was distinguished by the bold avowal, that the Hindoo system little needs the ameliorating hand of the christian dispensation to render its votaries a sufficiently correct and moral people for all the useful purposes of civilized society. This military author bent all his force to prove the excellence of the moral and religious doctrines of the Hindoos, and to defend the moral character of the Hindoos themselves. But with great pretensions, and some partial knowledge of the state of affairs in India, he betrayed much local ignorance, and manifested a total disregard of the practical influence of the Brahminical religion, and a total deficiency in all enlarged views and general reasonings.

The friends of the propagation of christianity in the East again came forward and vindicated the cause of christianity and of missions. The venerable Bishop Porteus wrote some remarks on Mr. Twining's pamphlet, which were published anonymously; and in which, in a strain of animated and well-directed irony, he defended the measures of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and what

the bishop termed "Dr. Buchanan's invaluable Memoir."

Next appeared Mr. Cunningham's essay "On the duty, means, and consequences of introducing the Christian Religion among the native inhabitants of the British dominions in the East." This was a part of the work which the author had submitted to the University of Cambridge, as a candidate for Dr. Buchanan's prize; of which some account has been given. The main argument of this able and elaborate essay was founded on the malignant and pernicious nature of the Hindoo superstitions.

Mr. Cunningham's essay was followed by the prize dissertation of the Rev. Hugh Pearson, which contributed in no inconsiderable degree to enlighten the public mind on this momentous question.

One other work remains to be noticed, of singular excellence and authority, entitled, "Considerations on the practicability, policy, and obligation of communicating to the nations of India the knowledge of Christianity." This was the production of Lord Teignmouth; who, together with the principles of christian piety and benevolence, brought to the consideration of this weighty subject that correct and extensive local knowledge and practical wisdom and experience which were the result of the high stations he had occupied in India.

The important services of one periodical publication, in ably and effectually pleading the cause

of christianity, ought not to pass unnoticed. It will be readily understood, that reference is made to the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

Dr. Buchanan found his two daughters well, and so grown that he could scarcely recognize them.

It was not long after his arrival in England before he received some gratifying communications from India, in a letter from his friend, Rev. Mr. Brown. Governor Minto, in his speech, delivered at the public examination of the students of Fort William College, Feb. 21, 1803, spoke in terms of high commendation of their progress in oriental literature; and especially gave high praise to the proficiency, in the Chinese language, of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. "I must not omit," said his lordship, "to commend the zealous and persevering labors of Mr. Lassar, and of those learned and pious persons associated with him, who have accomplished, for the future benefit, we may hope, of that immense and populous region, Chinese versions, in the Chinese character, of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; throwing open that precious mine, with all its religious and moral treasures, to the largest associated population in the world." To which Mr. Brown added, that Lord Minto now patronized all the translations of the Scriptures into the Eastern languages, and had himself become a subscriber to some of those which were then in the press at Serampore.

In a letter to Mr. Brown he writes: "People imagine that I am meditating war. Nothing is farther from my thoughts. I am at present reading the Bible, and studying some sermons for poor people. I stand remote from the world. I do not even know whether the Court of Directors pays my furlough allowance. But on this and other subjects I shall be able to say more after I have been a year in the country.

"The Chinese printing" (sent to him by Mr. Brown) "is very admirable. You are cheaper too than I was when I gave four annas for every character. The arrival of Mr. Thomason will brighten your prospects. I told Mrs. M. her prayers would bring good men.

"Mr. B. here is very useful as an evangelist. I shall enclose to you an account of the death of his daughter, aged 14. He lost four children in a year, and preached nobly to the hearts of his large congregation during the whole period. So you see good men have their trials on the banks of the Severn, as well as on the Ganges.

"You will regret to hear that Henry Kirke White was first proposed to Mr. Thornton," (meaning for Dr. Buchanan's benefaction to some student at the university,) "and," for reasons which do not appear, "was rejected."

On the 26th of February he preached his sermon

entitled, "The Star in the East." This was the first of those well-directed and successful efforts which Dr. Buchanan made, after his arrival in England, to enlighten and arouse the public mind in regard to the great object which had so fully occupied his attention in India. This sermon was preached in the parish church of St. James, Bristol, for the benefit of the Church Missionary Society. The effect, when delivered from the pulpit, and when issued from the press, was great and salutary. No modern sermon, perhaps, has produced a greater effect. The high encomium of Sabat, alas! was not verified by the event; but none but God can read the heart. The most promising blossoms are often nipped, and the most sanguine hopes disappointed. Thus it was in the days of the apostles, and thus it has been ever since.

Dr. Buchanan now paid a visit to the University of Oxford, and expresses himself well pleased with the cordial reception which he received from many. The object of the visit was in subservience to his one object of pursuit; he wished to look into the public libraries, and especially to examine the oriental manuscripts deposited there. In this venerable seat of learning Dr. Buchanan spent ten days, receiving many civilities from the masters and fellows of colleges.

He also paid a visit to Hertford College, instituted by the East India Company, for the study of

the Oriental languages. Of this institution he says, "I returned yesterday from Hertford College, with which I was much pleased. Of course it owes its present efficiency to a wise selection of professors. Dealtry alone would do honor to any institution."

In August, 1809, Dr. Buchanan visited Scarborough, where he preached to crowded and admiring audiences; and it was earnestly desired by many, that as he had now relinquished all thoughts of returning to India, he should exercise his ministry in this place.

It was here that he became acquainted with the interesting family of Mr. Thompson, of Kirby Hall, of which he had heard much, and with which he soon formed a close alliance; for, in February, 1810, he was united in marriage to his second wife, the daughter of Mr. Thompson. He was attracted to this lady by her eminent piety, her active benevolence, and her filial duty and affection. This connection, for a while, fixed his residence in Yorkshire; and while he remained at Moat Hall he performed the duties of a pastor to the parish of Ouseburn. His friends at Bristol, however, were solicitous that he should return and occupy Welbeck chapel. The friend who first introduced him to this chapel, finding him eminently qualified to be a preacher in a city congregation, formed the plan of building a chapel for him in one of the western parishes of London. This scheme met with his en-

tire approbation: owing, however, to some unforeseen impediments, the design was not carried into effect.

On occasion of the king having reached the fiftieth year of his reign, Dr. Buchanan preached several sermons; which were published and widely circulated, and greatly admired. They were entitled, "Jubilee Sermons."

In this year he received again communications from Rev. Mr. Brown, representing India as in a tranquil state, and even prosperous. Mr. Brown, in his letter, dwelt with delight and energy on the exertions of Henry Martyn and his associates.

He also received a letter from Mr. Kolhoff, at Tanjore, informing him that Mr. Horst had been engaged in collecting materials for the life of Mr. Swartz, agreeably to his request, and had about ten sheets of written notes; which he would have despatched by this opportunity, had he not discovered several important omissions which he was desirous of supplying. He also informed him of the agreeable fact, that the Court of Directors had granted seven hundred pagodas, in addition to their former five hundred, to aid in supporting protestant schools.

It has been stated that Dr. Buchanan desired to write the life of Swartz; and indeed he had it much at heart to exhibit to the christian community the character of this eminent and successful

missionary, and had commenced the work, when he heard that another had undertaken it.*

On the 12th of June, this year, Dr. Buchanan preached the anniversary sermon before the Church Missionary Society. It was a grand occasion; and the sermon was every way suitable to such an occasion; and something of its impression on the audience may be inferred from the fact, that the collection amounted to nearly £400. The text was, "Ye are the light of the world." This sermon was also published and widely circulated, and read with interest and profit on both sides of the Atlantic.

His next public service which deserves to be particularly mentioned, was his two sermons preached, on commencement Sunday, before the University of Cambridge. Speaking of them himself, in a letter to a friend, he says, "I preached for three quarters of an hour in the morning, and above half an hour in the afternoon. There was the most solemn stillness. The church was crowded.

"The Tuesday following the bishop of Bristol came up to me in the senate house, and thanked me for the discourses, and expressed a hope that they would be published. Others did the same. Dean Milner, who is vice-chancellor, informed me soon afterwards, that he thought himself authorized to grant the *imprimatur* of the university for their

* The life of Swartz has been since written by the Rev. Hugh Pearson, the author of this memoir.

publication; and I am preparing them for the press accordingly. I mean to publish important matter as an appendix."

These discourses were entitled, "The ERAS OF LIGHT," founded on Gen. 1 : 3, "Let there be light." They are admirable sermons, highly animated and instructive. He makes three eras of Gospel light. The first, when the Gospel was published throughout the world by the apostles; the second, the era of the reformation; and the third, our own times.

In speaking of this last he says, "Christianity hath again, after a lapse of many ages, assumed its true character as the 'LIGHT of the world.' We now behold it animated by its original spirit, which was to extend its blessings to 'ALL NATIONS.' The Scriptures are preparing in almost every language, and preachers are going forth into almost every clime. Within the period of which we speak men have heard the Gospel in their own tongue wherein they were born." In *India*, throughout many of its provinces; in different parts of *Africa;* in the interior of *Asia:* in the western parts of *America;* in *New Holland;* in the isles of the *Pacific Sea;* in the *West Indies;* and in the regions of *Greenland* and *Labrador; Malays, Chinese, Persians,* and *Arabians*, begin now to hear, or read in "their own tongues the wonderful works of God."

Dr. Buchanan, before he concluded these dis-

courses, addressed to an audience not much accustomed to hear plain evangelical truths, thought it his duty to give his emphatic testimony to the necessity and reality of that spiritual change inculcated in the Scriptures. "This change of heart," says he, "ever carries with it its own witness; and it alone exhibits the same character among men of every clime. It bears the fruit of righteousness; it affords the highest enjoyment of life which was intended by God or is attainable by man. It inspires the soul with a sense of pardon and acceptance through the Redeemer. It gives peace in death, and sure and certain hope of the resurrection unto eternal life!"

Upon his first visit to Cambridge, after his return from India, he presented to the public library of the University twenty-five valuable oriental manuscripts, which he had collected on the coast of Malabar, principally biblical, written in the Hebrew, Syriac, and Ethiopic languages.

In February, 1811, Dr. Buchanan had a slight paralytic stroke, affecting his voice and his right hand. As the spring approached his illness did not disappear but continued; and his physicians pronounced the disease to be a nervous weakness; for the removal of which a cessation from study was necessary.

Not wishing to remain unoccupied and useless, he now projected a *journey to Palestine;* which,

while it might be a means of restoring his health, would furnish the opportunity of collecting much important information respecting the religious state of that interesting country. His chief object, as he expressed it, was, to make inquiries respecting the churches, the Scriptures, and the translation of the Bible into the languages of the nations. But when he formed this noble plan he was not conscious of the debilitated state of his constitution. The journey was therefore never undertaken. By the advice of his physicians he now tried the waters of Buxton; and it was while using these waters he composed and preached his pleasing sermon, entitled, "The waters of Bethesda;" which was also given to the public through the press.

Though Dr. Buchanan's health continued to decline, his mental powers remained unimpaired; and the following passage from a letter, dated Kirby Hall, April 13, 1812, gives a delightful intimation of the heavenly state of his mind. "I am now seeking the comfort of the holy Scriptures and their promises, and love to contemplate Augustine and Luther. I look forward to nothing in this life but *these two things, repentance with bitter tears for past sins, and joy in the Holy Ghost.* These two blessings I am encouraged to look for, for they are promised to sinners; they are the 'gifts to the rebellious.' In the meantime I pray to do the will of God, and to use my voice, my pen, or my feet, as

he wishes me, while these members have any strength for his service."

Thus was God evidently preparing him for another sore domestic bereavement, which, by the workings of his inscrutable providence, he was now called to endure.

After the birth of a son, which did not live, his wife seemed to recover well from her confinement; but these favorable appearances were of short duration: she was called away by her Father in heaven. Concerning this event, Dr. Buchanan, in writing to a friend, April 1, 1813, says:

"Long before her last illness, my dear Mary had frequently contemplated the probability of her dying in early life. Her delight was to talk of things heavenly and spiritual; and her studies were almost entirely religious. Her spirits seemed to have been much chastened by personal and by domestic suffering; and her affections were gradually losing their hold of this world. After her last confinement her heart appeared to be devoted to God in a particular manner.

"She seemed to enjoy prayer and religious converse in a high degree, notwithstanding her indisposition and high fever. We mutually expressed the hope of devoting ourselves to the service of God, for the time to come, more affectionately and actively than we had done in time past. She look-

ed forward certainly to the comfort of enjoying more the life of a saint on earth, but I do not think she expected so early to be a saint in heaven.

"On the night previous to her death she sat on the couch in my study. She begged I would give her the Bible, and a little table, and a candle. She read one of the Psalms very attentively; the 46th, beginning, "God is our refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble." And when I took the Bible out of her hand, finding it open at that Psalm. I read it to her, as a portion of our evening religious exercise.

"On the morning of the day on which she died, after I had kneeled by her bed-side, as usual, and prayed with her, and had left her, she desired her maid to read a hymn to her. She began one, but said, 'It is a funeral hymn.' She replied, 'A funeral hymn will suit me very well.'

"About an hour after she was brought to my study, and took her seat in the arm-chair. About one o'clock her father and mother came to visit her. After her father had staid some time, he and I went out in the carriage for an hour, while her mother remained with her. On our return her mother took her leave, and I accompanied her down stairs to the carriage. On my coming up, my dear Mary had just got up from her chair, and walked over to the couch with a quick step, assisted by her nurse. I immediately supported her in my arms.

Slight faintings succeeded, but they were momentary. She complained of a pain near her heart. On my saying, I hoped it would soon be over, she replied, "O no, it is not over yet!—What is this that has come upon me? Send for mamma. After a few minutes' struggle she sat up in the couch with much strength; and looking towards the window she uttered a loud cry that might have been heard at a considerable distance. She then drank a little water; and immediately after drinking, without a groan or a sigh, fell upon my breast. I thought she had only fainted; but her spirit that moment had taken its flight.

"Thus died my beloved wife. She was ready for the summons. She had long lived as one who waited for the coming of the Lord. Her loins were girded, her lamp was burning, and the staff was in her hand; she had nothing to do but depart."

About this time Dr. Buchanan heard of the death of two of the most excellent men who ever visited India, Rev. Mr. Brown and Henry Martyn. His remark, in a letter to a friend, is: "These good men have ascended up on high in the vigor of age and life. Let us aspire to follow them, and join the assembly of the first-born!" His own heart was too much in heaven to grieve unreasonably for the departure of his pious friends. His attachment to his wife seems to have been very tender, but the

stroke had no other effect than to wean him more and more from the world. Among his "Private Thoughts" we find the following:

"My first emotions of thankfulness (when I could seek subjects of thankfulness) were, that her last trial was so short. It was given me to witness for my soul's health, I trust; and it was awful indeed, but it was short.

"I suffer chiefly from the reflection, that *I did not commune with her more frequently and directly on the state of her soul*. God ordained her personal and domestic sufferings to mature her for her approaching change. Mature in my heart, blessed Saviour! this affliction, and enable me to obey the new commandment, 'that ye love one another.' This love, exercised towards a wife or child, acquires a double force; natural affection co-operating with spiritual love."

Under another date he adds: "I am now enabled to pray three times a day; and am not, as usual, drawn hastily from my knees. I have long prayed for a spirit of grace and supplication, and now the Lord hath been pleased to give it by means that I did not expect.

"The chief petitions of my heart have been:

"That God would strike the well of my affections, and cause the waters to flow:

"That I might open my mouth in the cause of God. Hitherto my lips have been locked up in a

torpid silence. There is indeed much that is constitutional in this taciturnity; and my late nervous indisposition has greatly increased it. Like Hooker, I can scarcely look my children or servants in the face. I have prayed that this unaccountable weakness may be removed; that I may become vocal for God at all times and in all places; that I may look earnestly into the eyes and countenances of men, and seek anxiously their salvation; that I may never forget the agonizing looks and powerful voice of my dear wife in the struggle of death.

"That I may learn to seek the glory of God as the first object of my conversation in the world, and to pray earnestly for the conversion of all men. Let me look on every person whom my eyes behold with benevolence, loving my neighbor as myself, and utter a mental prayer for that person, 'May this be a vessel of mercy prepared unto glory!'

"That the Spirit of grace and supplication may never depart from me; and that God may hear my morning, noontide, and evening supplication, during every day of my pilgrimage. That I may fix my love, hope, and affections on God, and obtain that fellowship which I learn, from Scripture, is attainable by men in the present state. Amen."

CHAPTER XIV.

Dr. Buchanan's Death.—Character.—Conclusion.

One of the last public acts of Dr. Buchanan's life was the sad duty of attending the funeral of his most excellent and highly esteemed friend, HENRY THORNTON, Esq. In the following letter to Colonel Macaulay, this event is noticed:

"BROXBOURNE, Thursday, Jan. 19.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,—On my return from Yorkshire this morning, where I have been for a fortnight on a visit to my family, I found your letter of the 11th inst. lying on my table.

"The first intimation I had of Mr. Thornton's illness was on Monday last at Carleton Hall Workshop. On my arrival here I found your letter, and one from Mr. John Thornton confirming the painful intelligence. I was just going to sit down to request that he would communicate to his uncle my feelings on the occasion, and my request to go to town to visit him, if he had strength to see me, when, casually looking into the paper, I found that he had died on Tuesday. All I can now do is to attend the funeral of this good man, my earliest and most particular friend and benefactor. I have requested Mr. John Thornton to let me know on

what day the funeral takes place. In case of mistake, will you have the goodness to mention to me the time and place, and I shall go out early in the morning and return in the evening, as my present work will not permit me conveniently to be absent a night.

"I desire to thank you most unfeignedly for your kindness to the two Cochin Jews.

"With kindest regards to Mrs. M. I am very affectionately yours, C. BUCHANAN."

It was upon the solemn and affecting occasion thus referred to, that the author of these memoirs met Dr. Buchanan for the last time. A crowd of other friends, distinguished by their talents, rank, and piety, united in lamenting the loss of the eminent person around whose tomb they were assembled. Amidst that mourning throng, it will readily be believed by those who recollect his obligations to Mr. Thornton, as well as his just appreciation of the various excellencies of his revered friend, that no one shed more sincere tears over his grave than Dr. Buchanan. Doubtless he then felt, as he seemed to feel, in common with a multitude of other persons, that another of those ties by which he had been linked to this world was destroyed. The writer of these pages remembers, with sensations of melancholy yet pleasing regret, the peculiarly holy and heavenly strain of conver-

sation with which Dr. Buchanan cheered and edified his friends on the evening of that mournful day, and on the morning of his return into Hertfordshire; little thinking that it would be the last opportunity of their enjoying that privilege.

Of this short and affecting visit to Clapham, the following interesting anecdote has been communicated by a friend at whose house Dr. Buchanan took up his abode:

"He was relating to me," observes this gentleman, "as we walked together from the churchyard where we had deposited the mortal remains of Henry Thornton, the course he was pursuing with respect to the printing of the Syriac Testament. He stated that his solicitude to render it correct had led him to adopt a plan of revision which required him to read each sheet five times over before it went finally to the printer. The particulars of the plan I do not very distinctly remember. It was, however, something of this kind: he first prepared the sheets for the press; when the proof was sent, he read it over attentively, instituting a comparison with the original, and looking into the various readings, &c. A revise was sent him, which he carefully examined, making corrections. This was submitted to Mr. Yeates. When it came from him he read it again, adopting such of his suggestions as he thought right. When

the printer had made the requisite corrections he sent a fresh revise, after being read, to Mr. Lee, and re-perused it when it came from him. A third revise was then procured, which he again examined before it was finally committed to the press. I do not know that I am precisely accurate in this statement, but it was something of the above description.

"While giving me this detail, he stopped suddenly and burst into tears. I was somewhat alarmed. When he had recovered himself, he said, 'Do not be alarmed. I am not ill; but I was completely overcome with the recollection of the delight which I had enjoyed in this exercise. At first I was disposed to shrink from the task as irksome, and apprehended that I should find even the Scriptures pall by the frequency of this critical examination; but, so far from it, every fresh perusal seemed to throw fresh light on the word of God, and to convey additional joy and consolation to my mind.'"

How delightful is the contemplation of a servant of Christ thus devoutly engaged in his heavenly Master's work, almost to the very moment of his transition to the divine source of light and truth itself!

The pious and elevated frame of Dr. Buchanan's mind is evident from another incident which occurred at this time.

In passing through London, on his return to

Broxbourne, he spent a few hours with a friend whom he had met upon the solemn occasion of the preceding day. In the course of their conversation his friend observed, how affecting was the consideration of the removal of so many great and good men, whom they had lately had occasion to lament, in the prime of life and in the midst of their usefulness. To this observation Dr. Buchanan replied, "So long as they were still on earth, and the divine will was not known, it was our duty fervently to pray for their recovery and lengthened life; but, when once that will has been discovered by the event, we should rejoice and praise God that he has received them to himself, and hasten to follow them to his heavenly kingdom." It was not long before he himself afforded another illustration of this remark, which, though not unfrequently made, was peculiarly characteristic of that spirit of calm and habitual submission to the will of God, and of lively faith in the realities of an eternal world, by which he was distinguished.

The extreme severity of the weather had excited some apprehensions in the minds of many as to the probable effect of Dr. Buchanan's exposure to it during some hours of the preceding day. He did not, however, appear at the time to have suffered by it, and reached Broxbourne on the 25th of January in safety.

On the 1st of February he wrote to Mrs. Thomp-

son informing her of the solemn scene at which he had lately been present, describing the numerous and respectful attendance at the funeral of Mr. Thornton, and expressing his earnest desire to follow him to the same blessed inheritance.

This was the last communication of Dr. Buchanan to his distant friends. The time of his departure was now fast approaching. He continued, however, his christian undertaking to the last. On his return from Yorkshire he had proceeded with the preparation of the Syriac version of the Acts of the Apostles, and had advanced, on the day preceding his death, to the twentieth chapter, in which the zealous and affectionate apostle, in his address to the elders of Ephesus, expresses his conviction of his final separation from his friends, in these remarkable words: "And now, behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more." The chapter which thus closed the labors of Dr. Buchanan, and in which he seemed to bid farewell to every earthly association, was but too prophetic of the event which was about so shortly to take place. Of his few remaining days, and of his sudden removal to that higher world, for which he had long been ripening, the following letter to the Rev. Mr. Kempthorne, from his confidential servant, who was his only attendant in Hertfordshire, though unavoidably inadequate to the anxious wishes of

his friends, affords a minute and faithful account:

"BROXBOURNE, Feb. 12, 1815.

"REV. SIR,—In case of your not having been made acquainted, through the public papers, with the decease of Dr. Buchanan, I feel it my duty to write to you on the subject.

"The doctor's state of health, as you may have understood, had improved during his residence here up to the time of his late visit to Yorkshire; but the fatigue of that journey, probably added to an attendance, in a week after his return, in bad weather, at the funeral of Mr. Henry Thornton, brought on an apparently slight indisposition, which the doctor himself, I believe, considered merely a cold. On Thursday last, however, while making a morning's call on some of the neighbors, he was taken with something of a fainting fit, which passed off without his considering it of consequence enough to require medical assistance. As the sickness came on again towards evening, I took the liberty to disobey his orders, and to send for the medical gentleman whose skill had so much appeared in the improvement of the doctor's health in the preceding months. This gentleman was with him about nine o'clock in the evening, and did not express any apprehension of danger. Dr. Buchanan retired a little past ten, saying he was better; and, as he expected to get a little sleep, wished me not to disturb him

to take the second medicine till he rung the bell. About half-past eleven, sitting on the watch for the summons, I fancied I heard something of an hiccough; which induced me to enter the chamber, and to inquire if he was worse. He signified he *was* worse. On which I instantly alarmed the family and sent for assistance; and then returned to the bedside, where he appeared laboring under a spasm in the breast. He intimated a wish for me to hold his head; and in this posture, without struggle or convulsion, his breath appeared to leave him; so that before twelve, by which time Mr. Watts, the printer, Mr. Yeates, and a few other neighbors were with me, we were obliged to conclude that our excellent friend's spirit had joined the glorified saints above. I should have mentioned that, on returning home in the morning after the fit, Dr. Buchanan seemed lame on the left side; but, as it went off, he did not think it of any consequence. I have reason to think it might be a third attack of paralysis. The medical man, on coming after his dissolution, said it did not surprise him. A letter was immediately forwarded, by express, to communicate the melancholy intelligence to my master's family in Yorkshire; from whence some one is hourly expected. Mr. Macaulay was also written to, and Mr. Simeon at Cambridge. On Saturday Mr. Babington, the member for Leicester, came down, and approved of the precaution and arrange-

ments taken immediately after his departure; both as to putting seals on the drawers, study, &c. &c.

"With the greatest respect, I beg to subscribe myself, Rev. Sir, your most obedient faithful servant, T. VAUX."

Such was the sudden summons by which, on the 9th of February, 1815, in the 49th year of his age, this eminent servant of God was called to his heavenly rest. To himself it could scarcely be said to be unexpected. The debilitated constitution which he brought from India, and the repeated shocks it had subsequently sustained, led him habitually to regard his continuance in life as extremely uncertain and precarious; while his various afflictions, personal and domestic, had tended to withdraw his thoughts and affections from the world, and to fix them on spiritual and eternal objects. We have seen that in fulfilling the important engagement which terminated his earthly course, he evidently appeared to be working while it was called "to-day," and to be constantly anticipating the near approach of "the night" in which he could no longer work. Of his habitual preparation for the hour of his departure, no one can entertain a doubt who has marked the scriptural foundation of his faith, and the unquestionable evidences of its sincerity in the long and uniform tenor of his truly christian career. It might, perhaps, have been desirable, both for

himself and for others, that some interval, however short, had been vouchsafed; in which this "good and faithful servant" of his Lord might have had an opportunity of renewing his repentance, of testifying his faith, of perfecting his patience, of purifying and exalting his charity, of bidding a more solemn and express farewell to "things seen and temporal," of preparing more deliberately and devoutly for an immediate entrance upon "things unseen and eternal." Such an interval, however, so precious to the generality of mankind, and usually so important, the divine wisdom did not see fit to grant to the subject of these memoirs. Neither, indeed, can it be said to have been necessary. The readers of the preceding narrative have already observed Dr. Buchanan in India, upon what he believed would prove his death-bed; and they have witnessed the deeply penitent, yet resigned and peaceful frame of mind which he then exhibited. Such, as we are evidently authorized to conclude, only of a mature and heavenly nature, would have been his testimony and his feelings, had he been allowed again to express them. In the absence, however, of any such opportunity, we must be contented to recur to that scene; and, together with the recollection of his subsequent "work of faith, and labor of love, and patience of hope," endeavor to enter into the full meaning of the following brief sentence, which occurs amidst a few other "pri-

vate thoughts," and in which its author appears plainly to have anticipated the probability of some final stroke, which should impede the exercise of his faculties, and prove the prelude to his departure. "If," said he, "my mind and memory should be affected by illness of body, I shall look to my head, Christ. I am but a member." From any painful infliction of this kind Dr. Buchanan was mercifully spared; and, after having paid the last sad tribute of affection to the friend and benefactor of his early years, was removed almost contemporaneously and reunited to him and to other kindred spirits of the "just made perfect," in regions where sickness and sorrow, change and separation, are for ever unknown.

In consequence of a wish he had expressed to Mrs. Thompson, not long before his death, the remains of Dr. Buchanan were removed from Broxbourne to Little Ouseburn, in Yorkshire, and deposited near those of his second lamented wife. A monumental inscription, written by the Rev. W. Richardson, of York, records in plain but expressive language the leading particulars of his life and character.*

In reviewing the history of Dr. Buchanan, our attention must be first directed to his religious character. It was this which originally introduced him

* See the end of the volume.

to our notice, and by this he was principally distinguished throughout his benevolent and useful career. The deep and solemn impression of religion, which, through the grace of God, was made upon his mind in his twenty-fourth year, formed the commencement of a life devoted to the service of Christ. We have traced the effects of this great spiritual change in the course of his studies at the University of Cambridge, during his various labors in India, and his continued exertions after his return to Britain. Amidst these diversified scenes and engagements, an energetic conviction of the infinite importance and value of the Gospel, and a lively sense of his own obligations to that grace which had made him effectually acquainted with its blessings, were the commanding principles which actuated his conduct.

Those who know little of real christianity may, perhaps, attribute his earnestness and activity in religion, as they would that of the great apostle himself, to enthusiasm, zeal for proselytism, or the love of fame. But the whole tenor of this narrative sufficiently proves that no corrupt, weak, or worldly motives swayed his mind. The great object to which he devoted his life engaged him in an unceasing contest with the principles and the prejudices of those whom a regard to his worldly interest would have led him carefully to conciliate; and, though his benevolent exertions undoubtedly

procured him many valuable friends, few men of such sober and practical views, and of such genuine philanthropy, have gone through a greater variety of "evil" as well as of "good report." With still less justice can the activity of Dr. Buchanan in the great labor of his life be ascribed to a controversial or innovating spirit. He was, on the contrary, disposed, both by constitution and principle, to avoid rather than court opposition; while, during several years, the langor of declining health was continually urging him to self-indulgence and repose.

Amidst such powerful inducements to a very different line of conduct, it is scarcely possible not to perceive that Dr. Buchanan could only have been actuated by pure and disinterested motives. The love of Christ and of the souls of men, and a fervent desire to be the instrument of imparting to others that unspeakable blessing which he had himself received, were in reality the springs both of his public and private exertions. These were the principles by which he was animated, and which supported him with equanimity and patience amidst labor and reproach, infirmity and sorrow, and even rendered him joyful in tribulation.

Combined with these motives, Dr. Buchanan possessed a spirit of lively and vigorous faith, which substantiated "things not seen," and led him to think and act under a strong impression of their

truth and reality. He was therefore eminently a practical man. Though inclined by natural taste and the habits of a learned and scientific education to indulge in speculative pursuits and pleasures, the strength of his faith and the ardor of his love towards objects of spiritual and eternal concern, rescued him from their fascination, and taught him to account all knowledge and all occupation vain and unimportant, compared with that which tended to render himself and others "wise unto salvation." Hence, from the period at which the religious necessities of his own countrymen in India and the moral state of its benighted native inhabitants first impressed his mind, the life of Dr. Buchanan exhibits a continued series of strenuous, self-denying, and disinterested efforts to supply the deficiencies and to ameliorate the condition which he lamented.

For the accomplishment of this great purpose he was admirably qualified, both by natural and acquired advantages. Sagacious and observant, calm and persevering, resolute, yet mild and courteous, he took a penetrating and extensive survey of the various objects around him; and, omitting points of inferior consideration and importance, fixed his attention on the grand and prominent features by which they were distinguished. The temper also and habits of Dr. Buchanan were peculiarly calculated to soften the asperities and to remove the prejudices of opponents, to treat with

men of every rank upon their own grounds, and to engage them in promoting the great objects which he himself had in view; while the comprehensiveness of his mind and the munificence of his disposition enabled him both to conceive and execute designs of no ordinary difficulty and magnitude.

We have accordingly seen, in the course of these memoirs, that, by the publication of authentic documents and convincing statements, by the proposal of magnificent prizes, by the active exercise of his influence with those who respected and esteemed him, and by personal exertions, which included a journey of more than five thousand miles, amidst many difficulties and dangers, he endeavored to extend and perpetuate among the European population of India the national faith and worship; and, unmoved by the obloquy of opponents, and by the want of cordial assistance on the part of some who might have been expected to support and cheer him, labored unceasingly to diffuse among millions, immersed in the thickest darkness, "the light that leads to heaven."

The qualifications of Dr. Buchanan, as a writer, were peculiarly suited to the task which he had undertaken. Bold, perspicuous, and decisive; he is distinguished in all his works by the accumulation and display of new and striking facts, connected, for the most part, by brief, pointed, and sententious observations. Even in his writings which are more

strictly theological, he adopted a similar plan; seldom pursuing a long train of reasoning, but laying down certain undoubted facts, truths, or principles, and arguing from them directly and practically to the conclusions which he had in view. The style, however, of Dr. Buchanan, though in general simple and unambitious, was, as we have more than once had occasion to notice, frequently dignified and eloquent.

His delivery was slow, but impressive, and though far from being studied, was yet pleasing and persuasive. His sermons were often doctrinal, but more frequently practical and experimental; and generally interesting, either from the historical or parabolical form, or from the simple, yet energetic and affecting style in which they were composed. So far as mere popularity of manner is concerned, he may not be considered as entitled to much distinction. But if success be admitted as any test of merit, he must be allowed to rank high as a preacher. Both in India and this country he was honored as the instrument of converting many from "the error of their way," and of instructing and edifying others in the faith of the Gospel.

Preaching was not, however, that by which Dr. Buchanan was chiefly distinguished. His peculiar excellencies, as a public character, were of another kind, and are to be discerned in his enlarged and truly christian philanthropy, in the extent and

acknowledged importance, utility, and disinterestedness of his plans, and in the boldness, generosity, and ability, with which he labored to accomplish them.

Of his fidelity, diligence, and activity, in the fulfilment of his official duties, the conduct of Dr. Buchanan, as Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William, is a striking and satisfactory instance. During his residence in India, independently of his acknowledged value as a public servant, he was, according to the memorialist of his excellent colleague, "beloved and admired by many of every rank for his fine abilities, and for the estimable qualities of his heart;" and, after his return to this country, his uninterrupted labors in the cause of christianity, amidst accumulated infirmities and sorrows, equally secured him the respect and esteem of all who are capable of appreciating pure and exalted virtue.

Dr. Buchanan, however, sought not "honor from men." His faith enabled him to "overcome the world," and rendered him comparatively indifferent to its applauses and its frowns. He lived

"As ever in his great Task-master's eye;"

and appeared on all occasions supremely anxious to fulfil his appointed duties, and to hasten towards the heavenly prize. "He carried about with him," observed one of his intimate friends, "a deep sense

of the reality of religion, as a principle of action; and, from various conversations which I recollect with him, I could strongly infer how much he labored to attain purity of heart." His last commonplace book contains various proofs of his simple, devoted, and progressive piety. Observations occur, chiefly founded upon passages of Scripture, on the great doctrines of the Gospel, particularly on faith in the atonement, on divine grace, on holiness, on the love of God and of our neighbor, on humility, on communion with God, and on the world of spirits.

One brief extract, entitled "A general Topic of Prayer," may serve to show the practical piety and the humble and subdued disposition of its author.

"Let us," says this excellent man, "endeavor to seek happiness and contentment in our own place and condition, not looking abroad for it. Let us seek and expect it in existing circumstances; contented with little domains, little possessions, a little dwelling; that we may prepare for a less house, a smaller tenement under ground."

If we descend to the more private features of his character, the reader of his memoirs must be struck by his patience under protracted weakness and suffering, and his submission to the will of God under frequent and severe privations of domestic and personal happiness, and by his extraordinary liberality and diffusive charity. Of the more remarkable instances of these virtues, sufficient notice has

been already taken; but Dr. Buchanan was cordially and habitually generous; and, independently of those munificent acts which were unavoidably public, the writer of this narrative has met with many other instances, scarcely less noble, of which the world never heard; while, in addition to his liberal support of various christian institutions which adorn our country, there were, no doubt, numerous exertions of private benevolence which were utterly unknown.

His social virtues require only to be mentioned. His invariable kindness and candor, his forbearance and readiness to forgive, together with all the charities of domestic life, are excellencies which, though happily too common to be much dwelt upon, will long live in the recollection and regret of his family and friends. And among all who can justly appreciate distinguished worth, geniune piety, and enlarged and active philanthrophy there can surely be but one opinion—that Dr. Buchanan was "a burning and a shining light," and a signal blessing to the nations of the East. We may, indeed, safely leave his eulogy to be pronounced by future generations in Great Britain and Hindostan, who will probably vie with each other in doing honor to his memory, and unite in venerating him as one of the best benefactors of mankind; as having labored to impart to those who, in a spiritual sense, are "poor indeed," a treasure

——————"Transcending in its worth
The gems of India."———

But if it were possible that men should forget or be insensible to their obligations to this excellent person, he is now far removed from human censure and applause; his judgment and his work are with God; his record is on high, and his witness in heaven. He has "entered into peace," and will doubtless stand in no unenvied lot "at the end of the days;" when "they that are wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever."

CONCLUSION.

(BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.)

The dispensations of divine Providence towards Dr. Buchanan, from his youth, were very remarkable, and seem to have been specially directed to prepare and qualify him for eminent usefulness in propagating the Gospel in the East.

Naturally, he was endued with a mind of uncommon vigor and fertility; his genius was, indeed,

romantic, and in some degree eccentric; but this very defect of character was overruled by Providence to draw him out from his native obscurity, and to bring him into an intimate friendship with those excellent men, the Rev. John Newton, and Henry Thornton, Esq. by whose counsel and effectual aid he was prepared to occupy a very important place in the church. The former was, in all respects, a spiritual father to him; and, as long as he lived, acted the part of a wise and faithful friend, who, by his deep acquaintance with experimental religion, and thorough knowledge of evangelical truth, was qualified to be, to an ardent young man, a counsellor of inestimable value. And certainly he did watch over him with a truly paternal solicitude, and no doubt bore him on his heart daily at the throne of grace. A young and ardent christian could not easily have found a safer and a more affectionate guide, if the whole world had been searched.

The latter was disposed and qualified to be an efficient friend and helper in all things in which money and influence were needed. By his liberality and disinterested friendship, Mr. Buchanan, in addition to the learning which he had acquired in Scotland, was enabled to obtain a finished university education at Cambridge. It is a fact confirmed by experience, that a man's qualifications for usefulness in high and important stations, requiring

much vigor of mind and large mental resources, must have an important relation to his early discipline and training. Had Dr. Buchanan, as he and his friends at first wished, entered the ministry without going through the university, he, no doubt, would have been a useful minister, and would have had several more years for his public work; but he never could have filled the station which he did so honorably in India; and he never could have exercised that influence over the public mind by his writings which has been attended with results so momentous and felicitous.

The fact that Dr. Buchanan was brought into the ministry in the established church of England, doubtless greatly enlarged the sphere of his exertions in the East. By reason of this he had access to a field, to which, as a dissenter, he could have had none; and by reason of which he was able to exercise a powerful influence over the universities, and over even the dignitaries of the church at home.

The zeal, exertion, and success with which Dr. Buchanan labored to awaken the attention of the christian public to the duty and importance of propagating christianity in India, have never yet been duly appreciated. Before his writings dispelled the darkness of prejudice which prevailed among those high in authority, it was deemed not only impolitic, but highly dangerous to the British posses-

sions in the East, to make the least attempt to disturb the inveterate prejudices of the Hindoos, which had been increasing for ages. All their superstitious rites and customs, however bloody or impure, it was thought necessary to leave unmolested. This delusion, the writings of Dr. Buchanan, and other men of talents, were the principal means of dispelling; and the open door at the present time for missions in British India, is doubtless owing, in no inconsiderable degree, to his exertions. It is, indeed, wonderful that he should have been able to take views, so large and comprehensive, of the great harvest which, by successive acts of divine Providence, was opening and ripening in the East. And not only did he perceive the work which was to be done, but he had the sagacity to discern the means and facilities requisite for its performance. The variety and extent of his labors show not only the abundant fertility of his mind and his extensive benevolence, but also his profound wisdom. When the millions of India shall become christian, and the other eastern nations be converted unto God, we believe that few names will be more highly honored and revered than that of Dr. Buchanan.

If we seek to ascertain the secret of his extraordinary success, and how he was able to accomplish so much in so short a time, we shall find the solution in *the purity and elevation of his christian motives, and the unity and simplicity of the end* to

which he directed all his energies. Wherever he is, the same zeal for the propagation of the religion of Christ appears to animate him. This unity of purpose and purity of motive was remarkably displayed when a student in the university. Indeed, it would be difficult to find in evangelical biography a nobler triumph of christian principle over literary ambition. Here was self-denial of an uncommon kind, and in the exercise of which he found few even among his christian friends disposed to encourage him. The pious Newton alone approved his deliberate purpose to sacrifice the honors which he might have obtained, for the sake of making a thorough preparation for the sacred and important office for which he was a candidate. His whole correspondence during his residence at Cambridge, furnishes the most satisfactory evidence of his jealousy over himself, lest an attention to human learning should damp his zeal, or retard his progress in personal religion; and evinces the depth and purity of that principle of piety which had been implanted in his heart.

The same disinterested spirit he carried with him to the ministry. His object was not where he might find a situation where he could spend his days in ease, affluence, and honor; or how he might rise to a dignified station in the church; but when he saw a way open for his employment in the East, he cheerfully resigned all his prospects of

preferment in his own country, and embraced the offer of going as a chaplain to India. And while resident in that country he pursued but one object. All his studies, and exertions, and plans of promoting learning, and the translation of the Scriptures, were in exact subserviency to the grand design of propagating and extending christianity in the East.

Though his plans were great, and required the co-operation of many to accomplish them; yet were they not impracticable, but devised with a full *foresight of the means requisite* to carry them into effect. And he possessed a remarkable talent for bringing into requisition the instruments which the exigence required. To fertility of invention he added not only energy in the execution, but great versatility of mind, by which he could accommodate himself to new and unexpected circumstances.

That Dr. Buchanan was in some things too sanguine, and saw new and important events through a medium somewhat discolored by an ardent mind and vivid imagination, cannot be denied. This led him sometimes to represent things in such a light as to excite too high expectations, which have not been fully realized. But this very ardor, and, if it may be so called, enthusiasm, was necessary to the successful prosecution of the great objects which he had in view. No man has ever achieved any thing very great without some good degree of this ardor; and when it is, as in his case, guided by pure mo-

tives and elevated aims, it is a precious gift of God to qualify some men for great enterprises.

Two of the most prominent traits in Dr. Buchanan's character were *courage* and *enterprise*. The latter has already been sufficiently noticed; and, as an evidence of the former, we would refer to his visit to Goa, and to the interior of the prison of the Inquisition. Perhaps there is not on record in history an example of courage more cool, deliberate, and determined. It was that species of courage which arises from the consciousness of an upright intention, and confidence in the presence and overruling providence of God.

But with all Dr. Buchanan's genius, learning, enterprise, and zeal, he could not have accomplished what he did, if he had not been a man of incessant *indefatigable diligence*. His whole course was one of activity and exertion, steadily directed to one great object. When his health was so debilitated by the climate of the east that it was necessary for him to return home to England, it might have been supposed that he would have ceased from his labors, and sought repose for his declining years; but no such thought occupied his benevolent mind. His exertions for the best interests of India were undiminished, and even more successful than when in that country. Providence seems to have directed his return to his native country for the very purpose of using him as an instrument to enlighten the

public mind, and to exercise an extensive influence over men of the first order of intellect, and filling important stations, in favor of the East.

His public discourses before the universities, and that before the Church Missionary Society, not only produced a salutary effect when delivered, but were widely circulated in print, and gave an additional impulse in favor of eastern missions, which has been powerfully felt on this side the Atlantic; and that impulse, instead of gradually ceasing, has gone on accumulating force; and will go on from strength to strength, until it shall bear down all opposition.

Some of Dr. Buchanan's unaccomplished plans manifest as much wisdom and enterprise as those which he was enabled to carry into effect. It was his settled purpose to return from India by land for no other purpose than to collect information respecting the religious state of the people; and especially of the remnants of oriental christian sects who still inhabit that extensive region. But he was prevented from executing his purpose by the belligerent state of the people through whose territories he must have passed. It was, however, with evident regret that he relinquished this dangerous journey. And after his return to England, when his health had received a very serious shock by a paralytic stroke, he still had the courage and enterprise to project a journey into Palestine,

Syria, Asia Minor, &c. which journey was planned simply with a view to the propagation of the Gospel. In this cherished plan he was also disappointed. His health was entirely too feeble for the hardships of such a journey.

There is yet one trait in Dr. Buchanan's character which it would be unpardonable not to bring conspicuously before the public. And although it is fully manifested in the regular course of the preceding narrative, yet it seems proper to turn the attention of the reader pointedly to it, because it may be considered as rare, even in the character of sincere christians. We refer to his *extraordinary and princely munificence.* Seldom has the world had the opportunity of contemplating a character so perfectly exempt from avarice, and exhibiting a generosity so pure and disinterested. If Dr. Buchanan had been a man of ample fortune, or had been in the way of acquiring enormous gains in India, it would not have appeared so singular that he should bestow so many large sums of money to promote the extension of christianity in India. But when we consider that he went out a poor young man; and while in the East had no other income than from his office as chaplain, and for a time as vice-chancellor of the College of Fort William, and that he had a family of his own, for whom no permanent provision had been made, we cannot but think that his various munificent donations were a rare example of christian beneficence.

Here, also, will be the proper place to remark on that delicate sense of moral propriety which led Dr. Buchanan, at an early period after he was settled in India, to *refund* to Mr. Thornton the whole sum which that gentleman had so generously expended in supporting him at the university. The return of this money was not expected, nor desired; but so nice was the sense of justice in Dr. Buchanan's conscientious mind, that he felt it to be obligatory on him to pay this debt; and thus has furnished an example worthy of imitation by other young men who have been aided in a similar manner. But not content with merely paying his debts, he felt it to be incumbent on him to bestow as much, or even more, for the support of some pious and promising candidate for the ministry at the university.

His *filial* piety, also, is worthy of all praise and of universal imitation. Before he left his native country for India he took a journey to Scotland, to visit his aged mother. And when it was in his power, he remitted a considerable sum of money to her; and finally, out of his moderate income, gave her, as long as he lived, an allowance of £300 per annum. Though long life in the land of Canaan is no longer the reward of filial piety; yet we believe that an equivalent is still promised, and that God often rewards the pious son who "honors his father and mother," with prosperity in all his un-

dertakings. Dr. Buchanan, on his return from India, finding that his mother still lived, undertook another journey to Scotland, breaking away from all his other friends and engagements, to show his respect and affection for his aged surviving parent.

Upon a review of Dr. Buchanan's life, we are of opinion that he may safely be recommended to those whom providence has called to take a lead in missionary efforts, as furnishing a *conspicuous and admirable example of wisdom, energy, industry, perseverance*, and *disinterestedness*, in the promotion of the kingdom of Christ among the heathen. This volume, we trust, therefore, with the biography of Brainerd, Pearce, Martyn, Carey, and others, will be the means of elevating the views and giving impulse to the pious feelings of many a youthful mind. There is no stronger encouragement to benevolent effort than observing the efficacy which God has graciously given to the example of such a man as David Brainerd, who spent his life in the deepest obscurity, in the dark bosom of the forest, among the untutored savages; but his memory is now embalmed, and he being dead, yet speaketh. May some of the same blessed fruits attend the reading of this memoir of Buchanan! English literature is now rich in evangelical biography; and the stock is increasing every day. How would Dr. Buchanan have rejoiced to behold what our eyes now see, of the wide-spread harvest in the

East already white, and only waiting for the reapers to enter in and gather precious sheaves. But he foresaw the scene which is now presented; and not only beheld it, but sowed an abundance of seed which since his death has sprung up. What more suitable termination, then, can we give to this volume than to repeat the exhortation of our Lord, "Pray ye the Lord of the harvest to send laborers into his harvest; for the harvest is plenteous, but the laborers are few."

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

In sure and certain hope
of a blessed resurrection unto eternal life,
was deposited here the mortal body of

MARY,

the beloved wife of the Rev. Dr. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN,
of Moat Hall,
and youngest daughter of Henry Thompson, Esq. of Kirby Hall,
who died on the 23d day of March, 1813,
in the 36th year of her age.
By the grace given unto her, this excellent woman
adorned by her conduct the doctrine of the Gospel.
Sincerity, honesty, and simplicity
were the characters of her mind, and she
delighted to serve God,
"who desireth truth in the inward parts."
Exercised by personal and domestic suffering, she was
early weaned from the love of the world:
Her affections were set on things which are above,
and she was enabled to overcome the world;
for she was born of God.
"For whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world: and
this is the victory that overcometh the world,
even our faith." 1 John, 5 : 4.
Close by her side lie her two infant children,

CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN,
aged three days,
born 28th December, 1810.
And his infant brother,
who lived and died the 27th Feb. 1813.

Thrice happy infants!
That saw the light, and turned their eyes aside
From our dim regions to the eternal Sun.

Sacred to the Memory of

CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN, D. D.

Late Vice-Provost of the College of Fort William in Bengal,
whose eminent character as a Christian,
zeal for the cause of his God and Saviour,
and unwearied endeavors to promote it in the earth,
deserve to be had in everlasting remembrance.

He was a native of Scotland,
but educated at Queen's College, Cambridge.
During the twelve years of his abode in India,
"his spirit was stirred in him,"
while he beheld millions of his fellow-subjects,
under a christian government,
as sheep without a shepherd, and perishing
for lack of knowledge.

To excite the attention of the British nation to this sad spectacle,
he devoted his time, his talents, and a
large portion of his income.

By his "Christian Researches," and other
valuable publications,
he pleaded the cause of neglected India, nor pleaded in vain;
Britain was roused to a sense of her duty,
and sent forth laborers to the harvest.

Though gentle and unassuming,
he was bold and intrepid in this work of faith and labor of love,
and exhibited mental vigor to the last,
amidst great bodily debility and severe affliction.

In social and domestic life he was holy and exemplary,
full of mercy and good works:
Yet in lowliness of mind, he renounced all dependance upon
the excellencies which others saw and admired in him,
and looked for eternal salvation through the
obedience unto death of Christ.

He departed this life, February 9, 1815, aged 48,
at Broxbourne, in Hertfordshire;
where he was superintending an edition of the Syriac Scriptures;
and was buried near the remains of his amiable wife,
whose virtues he has recorded on the adjoining stone.

"They were lovely and pleasant in their lives,
and in their death they were not" long "divided."

THE END.