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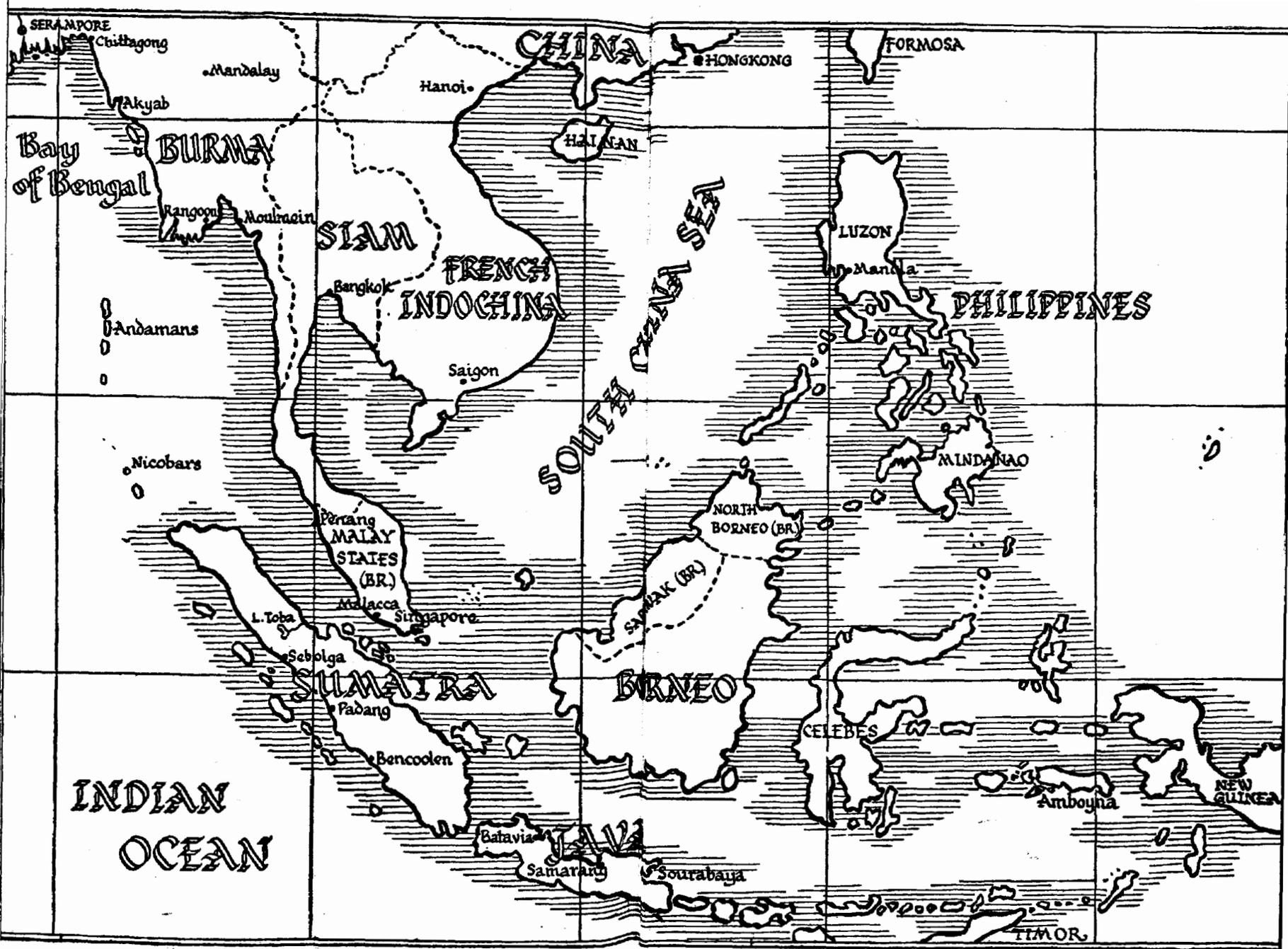


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SOUTH-EAST FROM SERAMPORE

MORE CHAPTERS IN THE STORY OF
THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY

By

ERNEST A. PAYNE

Senior Tutor in Regent's Park College, Oxford

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To
S. PEARCE CAREY
an
enthusiastic remembrancer
and encourager,
with affection and gratitude.

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FOREWORD

THE stories here told have been almost completely forgotten, but they concern a part of the world much in the public eye of recent years and likely to play an increasingly significant role in human affairs. The East Indies are the link between Asia and the Pacific. They are the meeting-place of many races and cultures. They are rich in natural resources. Their strategic value both for sea and air routes is obvious from a glance at the map. The strength or weakness of the Christian forces in this extensive area is bound to be an important factor in the days to come. There have, moreover, been some notable Christian achievements in the Indies of recent decades. In Java, greater success has been gained among a Moslem population than in any other Islamic land. In Sumatra, the Batak Church, with its swift growth and its sturdy independence, has been one of the most striking and hopeful developments of modern times.

Up to 1942, the Indies had been for more than a century in the undisturbed control of Holland. British contacts were relatively slight. Missionary work was almost entirely in Dutch or German hands. Many of the islands were, however, at one time British possessions, and missionaries from this country were among the first seriously to attempt the carrying of the gospel to the native inhabitants by methods other than political coercion. It is the re-calling of some of these British missionary efforts that is our concern in the chapters that follow. In particular, our task is the amplifying of two sentences in Dr. Latourette's *History of the Expansion of Christianity*. "During the British occupation," he says, "the English Baptists began missions in Amboina, manned by Jabez Carey, a son of William Carey, and in Java and Sumatra. The one in Amboina did not long continue, but those in Java and Sumatra persisted until the middle of the (nineteenth) century" (*op. cit.*, V. p. 179). In the chapters that follow Baptist missionaries will be found engaged in pioneering efforts in Java. Others will be discovered making the first journeys into Batak territory. Yet another will be seen accompanying Sir Stamford Raffles when he acquired the site where now stands Singapore. In addition

to valuable sidelights on Raffles himself, there are also glimpses of the evangelistic work which went on among British soldiers in the Far East and among French prisoners of war in England during the Napoleonic struggle.

The stories have thus considerable interest. Their end is inconclusive and disappointing. The return of the islands to the Dutch and the official policy adopted by the latter made impossible further evangelistic efforts by English missionaries in general and by Baptist missionaries in particular. Yet, looking back, after the lapse of more than a century, on what occurred, we may well believe that the pioneering efforts of these truly heroic men and women played an essential part in clearing a way for those who came after them. Their faithful planting and watering received an increase, though it was long in appearing and unexpected in character. There are, moreover, a number of lessons to be learned from what happened. There is always danger that enthusiasts may attempt too much and that their energies may be dissipated over too wide an area. The general political situation is still a very influential factor in missionary expansion. Government aid remains sometimes a temptation. Government hostility is in certain places a present and all too effective reality. Those who go out to preach the gospel to the inhabitants of distant places, to-day as yesterday, are often faced with a bewildering number of calls and those to which they decide to respond sometimes yield little permanent result. Different branches of the Church favour different missionary methods. The past, therefore, can throw much light on some modern problems of Christian strategy. But when all is said, probably its most effective and kindling gift to us is the record of individual human devotion, and that surely shines out from Baptist efforts in the East Indies.

Whatever may have been their limitations, men like Jabez Carey, William Robinson, Thomas Trowt, Nathaniel Ward, and, above all, Gottlob Brückner are worthy of remembrance and honour both in the Indies and in England. Deliberately I have let them speak for themselves as much as possible, for many rash and ill-supported generalisations are often made regarding what the first missionaries said and believed. This material has not been brought together before, and I have left it as a plain tale.

E.A.P.

CHAPTER I

HOW THE WORK BEGAN

How William Robinson went from Olney to Serampore ; how his mission to Bhutan was abandoned ; and how, after many delays, he sailed for Java.

THESE pages are to tell the unfamiliar story of Baptist missionary enterprise in the East Indies. Much has been written about Baptist effort in India, the West Indies, China and Africa, but, partly because it was inconclusive in its results, and partly because the Indian islands have been until recently remote from the main stream of world-life, a veil has been allowed to hang over what was attempted in Java, Sumatra and Amboyna. The veil is worth lifting, however. Some very noble figures are revealed, and deeds of lonely and patient heroism. There are stories connected with Baptist missionaries in the East Indies—strange unexpected stories—of which the whole Church may be proud. It is worthy of note, too, that during the early decades of the twentieth century, striking growth took place in the Christian communities in these parts. How they will have stood the ordeal of Japanese invasion remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that South-East Asia will have increasing importance in world affairs, and that the Christian Church there will have the opportunity of playing a very significant role. Baptists were not the first to carry the gospel to the Indian archipelago ; but they watered the seed, when there seemed little life in it. It is well that there be some account of what took place.

The first Baptist missionaries to go to the East Indies were William Robinson and Jabez Carey. It was in the year 1813. Two years earlier Java and other of the neighbouring islands had passed into British possession. When Napoleon, in the heyday of his conquests, annexed Holland in 1810, the Dutch possessions in the East Indies became French colonies, and were then naturally regarded as fair spoil for British capture. William Carey, the great pioneer of modern missions, had reached India in 1793, and from 1800 was at Serampore. He and his friends, Marshman and Ward, felt a growing responsibility for the lands that were within easy reach of Bengal. They

had extensive plans for the evangelisation of all Asia, and did not overlook what they called "the islands"—Ceylon, the Isle of France (now Mauritius), and the East Indies. In the second section of his famous *Enquiry*, Carey had referred to the work of the Dutch in Amboyna, Java, Macassar and Sumatra, and his eyes often turned lingeringly thither. With the British in authority in these parts, the way seemed open for the sending of missionaries, particularly since the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Java was Thomas Stamford Raffles, an energetic and able young man of wide Christian sympathies. Later he was to distinguish himself as the founder both of Singapore and of the London Zoo. Young Raffles had been introduced to the Serampore circle by Dr. John Leyden, and when in Calcutta, he, Thomas Manning, the orientalist, and Dr. Marshman were in the habit of having supper together. Moreover, the Serampore brethren had many friends among the English soldiery in Java. In the 14th regiment, which had been sent to Samarang,* and in the 59th, which was stationed at Weltevreden, were a number of men who had been baptized, while they were serving in India.

The immediate occasion of the Baptist Mission to Java, the earliest of the ventures here to be chronicled, was the hostility of the East India Company to the settlement of William Robinson in Bengal. His story must be told in some detail for he will appear frequently in this record.

Robinson was a native of Olney in Buckinghamshire, having been born there in 1784 of an old Baptist family. Like William Carey, whose early years had been spent not many miles away, Robinson was a shoemaker. The Baptist cause in the little town of Olney was already over a century old, and had links with John Bunyan. The most important period of its history was, however, that of Robinson's boyhood. The minister was John Sutcliff, that tall sagacious Yorkshireman who proved himself the counsellor and friend of Carey, a trusted leader in the Northamptonshire Association, the comrade of Andrew Fuller of Kettering and John Ryland of Northampton in the

* The Serampore Circular Letter of January, 1812, reports that to the three brethren in the regiment who had been members of the Calcutta Church, five others had been added since their arrival in Samarang. They had formed themselves into a little church under the care of "brethren" Baird and Russell.

founding and direction of the Baptist Missionary Society.*

The very year of Robinson's birth Sutcliff issued to the churches of the neighbourhood a *Call to Prayer* which helped to prepare the ground for the seed of Carey's challenging message.† Few could grow up uninfluenced and unstirred by a ministry like Sutcliff's. "Mr. Sutcliff's sermons were plain and simple," wrote Robinson afterwards, "but full of solid matter, and evidently the productions of deep and prayerful study. He spoke slowly and succeeded in his aim to make the great truths and doctrines of the gospel intelligible to the most ignorant of his hearers."

Olney, moreover, had as a resident William Cowper, the poet, and there had also lived there from 1764 to 1780, John Newton, the famous evangelical clergyman. It was, indeed, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, no mean place in which to be born and reared, though Cowper, writing six months after Robinson's birth, speaks of "the miserable huts of our lace-makers at Olney," who work "in the winter months, by the light of a farthing candle, from five in the afternoon till midnight," while, a year later, he says, "Children, seven years of age, infest the streets every evening with curses and songs, to which it would be unseemly to give their proper epithet."‡

It was to a stranger that William Robinson owed the final impulse to a definite Christian profession and to missionary service. Early in 1802 there preached in Olney in the little Baptist Chapel, on several Sundays, a certain John Chamberlain. He was only twenty-five years old, but had already had an unusual career, for in a very brief space of time he had passed from following the plough to the pulpit, and was now looking forward to missionary service in India. Above middle height, with light brown hair and blue eyes, he was dignified in bearing, and obviously resolute and courageous. He was destined to become one of the outstanding figures among the early Baptist missionaries, and a pioneer of the gospel in North India.§

Many of those who heard "the Apostolic Chamberlain" in

* See Payne, *The First Generation*, ch. III—V.

† See Payne, *The Prayer Call of 1784*.

‡ Letter to Unwin, July 3rd, 1784, and letter to Newton, September 24th, 1785.

§ See *The First Generation*, ch. XII.

Olney that spring never forgot the experience. In particular the young people of the Baptist community were impressed. One March day, after a specially memorable sermon, the congregation went down to the banks of the slowly-flowing Ouse, and there a number of them confessed their faith in Christ by baptism. William Robinson was among them, and also Elizabeth Walker, who later became his wife.

Not many months passed before Robinson went to his minister to tell him of his desire to be a missionary. Sutcliff knew something of the young man's occasionally gloomy disposition, and that he must be made to count the cost of what he purposed. He was but eighteen years old. Sutcliff advised him to read the life of David Brainerd, that revealing record of devotion and self-sacrifice which had so deep an influence on many of that generation. But months of testing did not shake William Robinson's determination, and in 1804, with Sutcliff's backing, he offered himself to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society and was accepted for service abroad. He was placed for a while under the tuition of his own minister, who had a small Academy at his house in the wide Olney High Street, and afterwards passed on for a short time to Bristol College, following thus in the footsteps of John Chamberlain. Then, in the spring of 1806, he and James Chater, another young recruit, were valedicted at Oxford, Sutcliff, Ryland and Fuller being present at the service. Before they sailed for India, and on the anniversary of his baptism four years earlier, Robinson was married to Elizabeth Walker.

By 1806 the Baptist missionaries had firmly established themselves in Bengal, after years of the utmost difficulty and uncertainty. But they had done this only because they had found protection at Serampore under the Danish flag. The East India Company continued its hostility to missionary work in its territory, and, when Chater and Robinson reached the end of their long voyage, they found their friends at Serampore considerably embarrassed as to what to do with them. Ultimately, Chater was sent to Rangoon to discover the prospects for a mission to Burma: Robinson went to the mission station at Katwa, nearly one hundred miles north of Calcutta, to begin the study of Bengali, while strenuous efforts were made to secure permission for his permanent settlement in the country.

At the time John Chamberlain was in Katwa. He had had

many personal sorrows to bear, and it must have been some comfort to him to talk over old friends and scenes with his younger colleague. They were not long together, however, for the authorities refused to allow Robinson to stay in Bengal, and the Serampore brethren had therefore to make other plans.

It was decided to send Robinson up into Bhutan to begin missionary work in that area. It was a wild desolate country in the Himalayan foothills, and the young man's experience was small. Perhaps Carey, Marshman and Ward were sometimes in danger of measuring other men's possibilities by their own. The Bhutan venture was not a success. Robinson suffered much ill-health. His wife Elizabeth died, as did so many of the gallant women who accompanied the pioneers. At last, in 1811, after many dangers and difficulties, the enterprise had finally to be abandoned. A number of things made Carey feel that Robinson was not acquitting himself well. Some of his comments are severe. One only is recorded here because the story to be told in the following chapters shows how far the younger man went to redeem his character. "Brother Robinson, who never entered with spirit into the Bhutan Mission, has now relinquished it," wrote Carey. "His great object is to stay at Serampore, where he vainly imagines his abilities as a preacher . . . will be properly appreciated. His temper is such as absolutely unfits him for living at Serampore, or perhaps anywhere else with another brother."*

Andrew Fuller, a few months earlier, commenting to Ward on what he had heard, had written: "Poor Robinson reminds me of John Mark. His democratic notions of I know not what liberty and equality are utterly unsuitable for a Christian missionary."

When Robinson returned to Serampore from Bhutan, various proposals were made to him. It was suggested that he should take the place of James Chater in Burma. The illness of his wife was compelling the latter to a change of sphere, and someone was needed as a companion for Carey's son, Felix.† Alternatively, it was suggested that Robinson take the place of Carey's second son at Katwa, a station already known to him. Or, work in an entirely new part was offered to him. There appeared to be an opening in Java. As has been already told,

* See S. Pearce Carey, *William Carey*, 8th edition, p. 280.

† See *The First Generation*, ch. XIII.

the British were in possession, the Governor was known to be a sympathetic man, and there were some soldiers who were Baptists among the troops.

Robinson agreed to go to Java. The daughter of a respected deacon of the Calcutta Church, Margaret Gordon, was willing to share with him the dangers of a missionary life, and they were married. Marshman made application to the Governor-General for permission for them to settle in the island. Early in 1812 he was informed that, while Lord Minto did not wish to interfere with affairs in Java, he "saw no objection to Mr. Robinson's proceeding thither, feeling assured that he would conduct himself in a manner perfectly agreeable to the laws of that settlement."* In spite of the disastrous fire which took place at Serampore in March, 1812, preparations for Robinson's departure were made, and at last in May a passage was secured. But the vessel proved unseaworthy. There was further delay, and, while they waited, William Johns and John Lawson, two new missionary recruits from England, reached Bengal via America.

This was additional embarrassment for Serampore. That same summer Adoniram Judson had come to India from America and after fresh study of the New Testament on board ship, had sought believer's baptism. What was to be done with him and his brave wife? The East Indies seemed possible as a sphere for them as well. "They intend to settle eventually on the Island of Java," wrote Carey to America in October, 1812, "but must first go to the Isle of France, on account of the orders of government. One of our brethren is also going thither, viz. to Java."†

For Robinson no further passage seemed forthcoming. In the first week of 1813 Marshman boldly sought permission for him to go to Java in one of the ships of the East India Company. On the table of the secretary whom he interviewed was a letter regarding Johns and Lawson which revived official suspicion and jealousy. War had broken out between England and America.

* Of Lord Minto's general administration, Vincent Smith says, *Oxford History of India*, p. 611, "Being a cautious, canny, and yet genial Scotsman, he steered a middle course with a degree of success which has not always been sufficiently appreciated." He had been present with the expedition that captured Java in 1811. See p. 67 below.

† See *Serampore Letters* (edited by L. and M. Williams), New York, 1892, p. 145.

Marshman, in trying to do his best for the mission, was perhaps not as straightforward as he might have been in his answers to questions. After some months' delay the application was refused, Lord Minto's earlier permit was ignored, and an order was issued that Johns, Lawson and Robinson must all return to England at once.

On March 6th, 1813, however, Robinson had actually sailed from Calcutta in the *Trowbridge*. In a letter to Ryland written a few days later, Marshman graphically described what had happened :—

“Of a sudden a passage offered, and in four days everything was settled. This had not been done twelve hours before his wife was taken dangerously ill of a fever. This almost upset him again. In four days more they were to embark. We encouraged him, and told him that, as his work so evidently lay there, we thought he would be warranted in leaving her in the hands of God, amidst kind friends, and so to have her sent after him. To this, after much struggling of mind, he consented, when lo ! the day he was to go, she was a little better, and God so strengthened the minds of our dear brother and sister Gordon, her parents, that they determined she should accompany him even in her present state. . . . The day Brother Robinson went on board, the order was signed in Council for his being sent back to England. That order did not reach us till seven days after, when he was out at sea.”

With the Robinsons there went a boy of thirteen years, Charles Leonard. It was hoped that a school might be opened in Java, and it seemed that it would be advantageous if they had someone with them with whom to make a start. Java had no very good reputation in the East. It was regarded as “a land of death.” None of the other missionaries were inclined to put their children in the care of the Robinsons, but at length Owen Leonard offered his son. Leonard was an Irish soldier, who, after becoming a deacon of the Calcutta church, served as a full time missionary in Dacca ; his wife was the daughter of a French officer. And so young Charles sailed with the party in the *Trowbridge*. “The boy was as willing as his father,” wrote Marshman.

Robinson had received from the Serampore missionaries a long letter of commission to his new task. It was a characteristic and revealing document :—

"You appear to have a plain call to labour in Java," he was told, "and a more interesting scene of labour you could not have: the Dutch Christians; the converted and unconverted Malays; the Chinese settlers, and the Javanese all call you to your work, and we pray that from them all you and your future colleagues may have many souls for your hire.

"We wish you to consider yourself, however, as a Javanese missionary. You must, depending on the Divine blessing, secure their language so as to preach to them, and to give them the Holy Scriptures in their own tongue. You will find a necessity for the Dutch and Malay languages; but if you should not be able, by calls of immediate duty to learn accurately the three languages, let the Javanese at any rate be first secured. . . .

"If you should have a clear opening to begin an English school, we would have you embrace it, that you may meet as much as possible the extremely low state of the Society's funds. We recommend to you the most rigid economy, remembering that poverty in a missionary never lowers his character in the sight of his neighbours. . . .

"We shall be happy to receive frequent communications for our Circular Letters, not forgetting all the facts you can collect, respecting language, religion, manners, etc., of the Javanese and Malays."

It was no small nor easy programme that was set before the men of that generation. The Batavia roads were reached on May 1st, 1813, and two days later the passengers disembarked. William Robinson, the erstwhile Olney shoemaker, not yet thirty years old, was beginning the third chapter of his eventful life. The Baptist Mission to the East Indies had commenced.

CHAPTER II

AMBOYNA

How Jabez Carey went to Amboyna; what befell him there; how he was joined by Joseph Kam, and influenced J. W. Ricketts; how he had to leave the island, and to return to India.

NINE months after William Robinson sailed for Java, Jabez Carey left Calcutta for the island of Amboyna, still farther east.

He was the third of Carey's surviving sons, and had been born in the exciting weeks when Carey and Thomas were seeking a passage for India. He was only a few months old when the missionary party reached Bengal in November, 1793. The years of his boyhood were the grim years of Carey's struggle as an indigo planter at Mudnabati. As a youth, in spite of the example of his elder brothers, Felix and William, he showed no great interest in religious things. None of Carey's children can have suffered more from the tragic breakdown in health of their mother. When Jabez was nineteen, his father articted him to a Calcutta attorney, and a useful and prosperous career seemed open before him, though not of the kind that the Serampore brethren most wished for him. Carey wrote home frankly of his regrets, but he was most careful never to force his sons against their own inclinations and convictions, just as he jealously guarded against any favouritism towards his own relations in the arrangements of the missionary settlement.

At the first annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society to be held in London, in June, 1812, Andrew Fuller and John Ryland preached in the old Dutch Church, Austin Friars.* Ryland referred to Carey's happiness in having two of his sons in the service of the Mission, and then mentioned Jabez, after a pause adding: "Brethren, let us send up a united, universal and fervent prayer to God, in solemn silence, for the conversion of Jabez Carey." Greatly were the leaders moved when, among the first letters afterwards received from India, was one telling of the young man's change of heart.

* The Church, given to the Dutch in 1550 by Edward VI, was totally destroyed in the air-raids on London in the autumn of 1940.

These were some of the circumstances leading to the surrender by Jabez of his fine prospects in Calcutta, and his decision to go to the East Indies. Amboyna is one of the Molucca Islands. It had been taken by the British in 1796, restored to the Dutch in 1801, and then captured again in 1810. The Serampore brethren considered the possibility of missionary work there, as in many other places, but could find no one to send. Then, in June, 1813, just after Robinson's departure for Java, the British Resident in Amboyna, William Byam Martin,* submitted to the new Governor-General of India, the Marquess of Hastings, a plan for improving the system of education in the Spice Islands.

Byam Martin had been one of Carey's ablest students at Fort William College, Calcutta, where the Serampore missionary taught Bengali and Sanscrit. He boldly suggested to the Governor-General that help should be sought from his old teacher.

"As it is probable that some of the missionaries attached to the Society at Serampore would eagerly embrace this opportunity of contributing their exertions towards the accomplishment of so important an object as that of disseminating the benefits of pure religion among the natives of these valuable islands, I am induced to think that it may be advisable to hold out encouragement to such of them as may be desirous of proceeding to the Moluccas."

Strangely enough, in view of the general policy of the Government and the recent troubles over Johns and Lawson, a copy of Byam Martin's letter was at once sent to Serampore with an intimation that, if any of the missionaries would respond to the appeal, "his Lordship in Council would be happy to afford every proper facility." Jabez Carey volunteered and was accepted. The joy at Serampore was great.

Much had to be done in a short time. There is still in existence the letter in which the young man wrote to his father and asked for baptism :—

"My dear Father, As there is no certainty of the time when I may be called upon to embark for Amboyna, I should wish to avow myself on the side of the Lord and to follow the

* W. B. Martin entered the Indian Civil Service as a writer in 1798. While a collector at Dinajpur he contributed 500 rupees to the Lall Bazar Church Building Fund. After service in Amboyna, Hyderabad, Delhi and Indore, he retired in 1836.

example of Christ my Lord and Saviour in Baptism to whose service I hope I have devoted myself and shall do to the end of my days. Pray for me, my dear Father, that I may be enabled to offer myself to the Lord without reserve and with a sincere heart. I remain, my dear Father,

Your dutiful son,

January 12th, 1814.

J. CAREY."

Next came his marriage to Eliza Mills and then his solemn setting apart for his new career. By good fortune, his eldest brother, Felix, arrived from Burma just before the service, and was able to join his father and young William in the laying on of hands. Jabez left Calcutta in the *Streatham* on January 25th, 1814, the passages of himself and his wife costing the Government 3,000 rupees. The following day Carey wrote thus characteristically to Andrew Fuller: "Oh praise the Lord with me, and let us exalt His name together! To me the Lord has been very gracious. I trust all my children love the Lord in truth, and three out of four are actually engaged in the important work of publishing His gospel among the heathen, two of them in new countries."

To his wife, the frail Danish lady, Charlotte Rumohr, who since 1808 had been a loving and sympathetic step-mother to his sons, Carey, in sending her Jabez's first letter from the ship, said:—

"You see we have new reason to bless the Lord for His goodness to us. It is right to honour the Lord with our all, even those who are dearest to us; and the enjoyment of seeing them faithful in the ways of the Lord is superior to every pleasure that can arise from having them near us, however prosperous they may be."

To Jabez himself, Carey addressed a lengthy letter of instructions, dealing with his personal religion, his conduct as a married man, as a missionary, and as a superintendent of schools, and also exhorting him to send back to Serampore as many specimens as possible of the local flora and fauna.*

It took Jabez nearly six months to reach Amboyna. On the way he was able to see William Robinson, still in the early months of his life in Java. "I wish Amboyna may be but half as good as Batavia," he wrote optimistically. "I shall be

* For the full text of this most interesting letter, the original of which is at Regent's Park College, see Appendix A.

satisfied." But it was no very pleasant voyage. "Our captain," said the young missionary in one of his letters to his father, "often doubted of our ever gaining our port, and had resolved at last to try one full week more, and, if we did not then succeed, to return to Batavia; we were put on an allowance of water." On June 6th, 1814, however, they at last reached their destination.

Before returning to William Robinson, it will be convenient to complete the account of the adventures of Jabez Carey in the East Indies, and of the Baptist Mission in Amboyna.

It was a small hilly island to which Jabez had come, thirty-two miles long and ten miles across, situated off the south-west coast of Ceram. Three thousand five hundred miles separated it from Serampore, so that, particularly in those days of slow and uncertain travel, regular communication was extremely difficult.

The inhabitants of the Molucca Islands are said to have become Moslems in the fifteenth century. Early in the sixteenth a Portuguese squadron was sent from Molucca to Amboyna, and secured a cargo of spices from the natives, who appeared friendly. Ten years later the Portuguese returned and took formal possession of the islands. The inhabitants were tyrannically treated, but vigorous efforts were made to "convert" them to Christianity. Among the missionaries who visited the Spice Islands was Francis Xavier. The Portuguese ownership lasted less than a hundred years, for in 1607 the Dutch secured possession. The notorious massacre of Amboyna took place in 1623, a number of Englishmen and Japanese being cruelly treated and executed. This effectually checked British competition in this region, though Cromwell, thirty-one years later, exacted an indemnity from Holland. The original inhabitants were treated with little less severity by the Dutch than by the Portuguese, and were still proselytized by processes of coercion. Those who had previously accepted Christianity were made to renounce it in its Roman form, and to become nominal Protestants. In contrast with later Dutch policy, clergy were supported by the Government, the Bible and other books were translated and published in the Malay language, and churches and schools were erected. When Amboyna was taken by the British in 1796 there are said to have been 45,000 inhabitants, of whom 17,500 were Protestants. As already noted, the Peace of Amiens

restored the island to the Dutch, but in 1810 it was again captured by the British.

On his arrival in June, 1814, Jabez Carey was warmly received by Byam Martin, the Resident. The latter was, however, much disappointed to find that the young man came alone, and wrote as follows to William Carey at Serampore.

“ It appears that you have very little intelligence in Bengal respecting the opportunities which exist at the Moluccas for diffusing the blessings of Christianity among the natives. We have about 20,000 Christians, scattered among the dependencies of Amboyna ; men, who, though professing Christianity, are very destitute of the requisite means of knowledge and improvement. What an extensive field is here opened for a pious and zealous missionary ! . . . Never did such favourable circumstances exist, to justify the most sanguine expectations of complete success.”

Jabez Carey settled happily to his new task, making rapid progress in the study of Malay. Like all Carey's sons he showed unusual linguistic aptitude. As a boy he had learned Chinese to help with Marshman's remarkable translation of the Bible into that language. In Amboyna his official duties were those of Superintendent of the Schools, of which there were some four dozen in the villages and the neighbouring small islands. As he journeyed about, there were dangers from storms and pirates to be met. School attendance was compulsory, but many of the masters were ignorant as well as poorly paid. A central school was established in Amboyna with over three hundred children in it. Carey also undertook the distribution of public relief to the poor, and, never forgetting the main purpose of his coming to the island, began as soon as possible, to preach in the vernacular. He seems to have kept constantly in mind the advice given him by his father : “ You must not expect the Malays to pay much attention to what you say, unless you win their love. The more attention you pay them, the more will they pay you.”

On hearing of the openings there appeared to be in the Moluccas, the Serampore brethren had written to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society in London strongly urging that someone should be sent out to Amboyna to work with Jabez Carey. As we shall see in a later chapter, Thomas Trowt was duly commissioned, and in the autumn of 1814 reached Java on his way eastwards. He was greatly impressed with the

need there, and appears to have thought that from Serampore reinforcements were being sent to Amboyna. He decided, therefore, to remain with William Robinson; so for a winter, Jabez Carey was quite alone.

In the spring of 1815, however, there arrived at the island Joseph Carel Kam, a middle-aged man from Flanders, who a year earlier had come to Batavia with John Christopher Supper and Gottlob Brückner, as an agent of the London Missionary Society. Something of the strange story of these three men will have to be told later. Kam had been born in Brabant in 1769, and, when the Netherlands Missionary Society was formed in 1797, desired to volunteer for service abroad. He was hindered, however, first by his father's death, and then by his own family responsibilities. The deaths of his wife and daughter opened the way, and, his missionary purpose being in no way weakened, he commenced studies in Rotterdam in 1808. The Napoleonic wars prevented his being sent out as a missionary, but at length, in romantic circumstances, he reached London by way of Germany and Sweden, and was accepted for service in the East Indies by the London Missionary Society.

Jabez Carey gave Kam a warm welcome and secured for him an appointment from the Government as minister of the old Dutch Church. Carey wrote somewhat cautiously to Jabez from Serampore in 1817:—

“I received a letter from Mr. Kam, to which I shall reply when I am able to command time, but I am afraid his idea of the nature of conversion and Christianity are very defective and confused. I hope you keep on good terms with him, but you must carry on a work entirely separate from him if you ever hope to be useful.”

The newcomer, however, had a true missionary purpose, and, having already picked up some knowledge of Malay, was soon at work, not only among the Europeans and half-castes, but also among the natives, both those who were nominal Christians and those who were heathen.

Although Carey's own work promised well, there was growing uncertainty as to the future ownership of Amboyna. Byam Martin continued to do all he could for the welfare of the people of the islands, but it became increasingly clear that the British ownership might again be only a temporary one.

The Resident took a lead in the formation of a local Bible

Society, of which Jabez Carey became the Treasurer. In Calcutta a large edition of the old Malay Bible was reprinted for circulation in Amboyna. In October, 1815, Carey was appointed second member of the College of Justice in the island, thanks to his legal training. The money he received from this official position enabled him to pay back to Serampore nearly all that had been spent in sending him to the Moluccas, and in opening there a mission station. In remitting 1,000 Spanish dollars to his father, Jabez wrote :—

“ This is to pay off a debt I owe, and, unless that is paid, I shall never feel satisfied in my own conscience. I well know, money collected on account of missions is from the pockets of the poor, and any of it expended or thrown away needlessly is wrong and unjust ; and therefore, so long as I have health and strength, I hope I shall never fail to work with my own hands to support myself. I was always of opinion that a minister should support himself, if possible, and not appear like one paid to do good.”

From the letters of Jabez Carey that survive we get a pleasing picture of his activities. As he had been asked to do, he sent back to his father interesting animals, birds and plants, and a full account of his doings. The problem of slavery caused him much concern.

“ I have likewise been engaged in the traffic of buying slaves,” he wrote in the autumn of 1815, “ by buying one, but not to make a slave of him. I have lately been thinking much about it, and the plan I have resolved to pursue is, to buy a good slave, and let him serve me at a certain salary, half of which I keep to pay off his price, and the other half I spend for his food and raiment ; and when he has thus paid himself off, he is entitled to his liberty. . . . I shall be happy to see this example followed here.”

His house was open to all interested in Christian truth. “ What an open-hearted Christian friend we found in Mr. J. Carey,” wrote a soldier to William Ward in March, 1816, after a visit to Amboyna on his way back to England. Among his other activities, Carey found time to translate into Malay Watts’ *Catechism*, Baxter’s *Serious Call* and other works.

One of those who came much under the influence of Jabez was J. W. Ricketts, a clerk in the service of the Government. He was the son of an ensign killed at the siege of Seringapatam,

and had been educated at a military orphanage. As a lad he had become an apprentice in the East India Company, and, when Jabez Carey reached Amboyna, was in his early twenties and already Byam Martin's secretary. In January, 1816, Carey wrote from Serampore to his son :—

“ I have not been able to get more of the books you ordered for Mr. Ricketts than a copy of the Periodical Accounts. I shall keep on the look-out for the rest. Mr. Martin also sent me a list of the books which he had desired me to purchase for him but though I and Bro. Lawson, who now lives in Calcutta, have done everything we could, we have only been able to procure a very few of them.”

When the local Bible Society was formed, Ricketts became one of the officials, and not very long afterwards signified his intention of surrendering all his prospects under the Government that he might devote himself to missionary service. With this in view he returned to Bengal in the summer of 1816.

“ Mr. Ricketts,” wrote Carey in September, 1816, “ with your former letter arrived here about a month ago. I think highly of him. He is proposed to the Church and after he has been received will in all probability be employed in the work of the ministry. . . . We think of him going to Berhampore or Moorshedabad. I am sorry that he is going rather precipitately to marry a girl from the Kidderpore school. I fear she may be a burden to him, but hope for the best.”

A *Circular Letter* of the time has this intimation :—

“ On the first Lord's Day of the month was baptized at Serampore by Brother Carey, Mr. J. W. Ricketts, whose education under Mr. Burney* seems to have sown the good seed in his heart ; this we hope has been watered from heaven in Amboyna, from whence he lately came into Bengal with the design of endeavouring to do good to the natives.”

The Serampore missionaries decided to station Ricketts at Moorshedabad, but it was not long before his health failed. After a time he was able to re-enter Government service, and played a notable part in securing the rights of Anglo-Indians, coming on their behalf to England for examination before a Parliamentary Committee. He remained closely connected

* Richard, brother of Fanny Burney, authoress of *Evelina*. He was influenced as a young man in Calcutta by John Thomas and became the head of the military orphanage.

with the Calcutta Baptist Churches at Lall Bazar and Circular Road, and was much respected throughout Bengal.

It was in March, 1817, that the anticipated blow fell in Amboyna. The island was handed back to the Dutch. Jabez Carey had by then made for himself an important position and was highly esteemed. The Dutch authorities, recognising the value of his services, confirmed him in his offices. They needed his moderating influence, for in several of the islands the change of ownership was followed by popular insurrections. It soon became clear, however, that there were some who were jealous of Carey's power, and many were hostile to his missionary purposes.

Jabez requested the new Governor to give him express permission to work as a Baptist missionary, and to be joined by others of the same persuasion. An unsatisfactory reply was received stating that work might go on among the Moslems and the Chinese, but not among those who were nominally Christians and it was added that Baptist principles were not to be spread unless the explicit consent of the Netherlands Government had first been obtained.

A few months' experience proved to Jabez Carey that under the new régime he could hope to do no useful work of the kind closest to his heart. "Above all things," he wrote to William Robinson in June, 1817, "pray for us here, that we may not do anything unworthy our station." The same month, in a letter to his father, he said: "I can never be of any use here as a missionary while oppression and injustice is the characteristic of the Government and that even now in the midst of all their troubles." He therefore resigned his offices. The Governor of Amboyna gave him an introduction to the Governor-General of the East Indies, Baron Van der Capellen, and in the summer of 1818, Carey proceeded, with his wife and a recently born child, to Batavia to interview him. The authorities were ready, and indeed eager, that the Englishman should return to Amboyna, but could hold out no hope that any other missionaries would be allowed to join him, or that restrictions placed upon his religious activities would be removed. Carey accordingly continued his journey back to Bengal.

His father had written to him a letter which followed him back from Amboyna:—

"I am truly distressed at all the grievous and lamentable

circumstances which have taken place and heartily wish the present rulers of the Moluccas may adopt a mode of management more agreeable to the feelings of the natives. This would no doubt have the effect of tranquilising their minds and restoring order and harmony to that now distracted country. I hope they will also give you free liberty to preach the Gospel and form churches among the natives of the Islands. The Dutch have always been noted for the liberal manner in which they have treated persons of every religious persuasion and Holland has always been the asylum for persecuted Christians of every denomination and firm enemy to persecution in Europe. I therefore feel astonished at the Governor's reply to you, and as it is so contrary to every part of the conduct of this nation towards foreigners, and so contrary to the treatment which the Dutch have received from the English when they were in possession of the Islands, I cannot think the measure will be persevered in."

When Jabez laid the facts before his father and the other Serampore missionaries, they were unanimous in approving his withdrawal from Amboyna. Thus ended the Baptist venture in this remote part of the East Indies.

Someone was needed to open up missionary and educational work in Rajputana, and in November, 1818, Jabez Carey left Serampore for Ajmere with his wife and family and his mother-in-law, Mrs. Mills. For nearly twenty years he worked there faithfully, often in very difficult circumstances. While Jabez was in Amboyna, Carey had written to his son of Mrs. Mills:—"I fear that she is naturally of a complaining turn of mind, a thing which we ought all to watch against with the utmost solicitude." Both she and her daughter found conditions in Ajmere uncongenial. Their tastes were expensive and Jabez does not seem to have been a strong man. There are still in existence some seventy letters written to him by his father between 1818 and 1832. They must have played a big part in keeping Jabez at his post. After his father's death in 1834, he returned to Bengal and was for a while a Sessions Judge in Calcutta. He died in 1862. "He was always very humble," says an obituary notice.

Joseph Kam remained in Amboyna, and was joined before long by five missionaries sent out by the Netherlands Missionary Society. They and their successors were established in a number

of island centres and did good work.* After 1828 Kam's name drops out of the records of the London Missionary Society under whose auspices he had reached the East Indies; for some time before that he had ceased to require financial aid from England. Under his leadership schools were organised and a press established. Kam was not of brilliant talents, but he had sound judgment and a burning zeal, and he is sometimes spoken of as "the apostle of the Moluccas."† A vigorous and hardy constitution, and a simple way of life, enabled him to do a notable piece of work. Two or three times a year, in a small brig of his own, which he managed himself with the assistance of a few lascars, he sailed from island to island under the burning sun, exposed to many dangers, acting as peacemaker and preacher, and baptizing Moslems as well as pagans. In March, 1833, he started off on his last voyage, and four months later reached Banda exceedingly ill, dying there in the arms of his young friend and successor, Gerické. †

* See *Memoirs of Rev. George Burder*, 1833, p. 264, "I was informed by the Rev. Mr. Kam, in a letter from Amboyna, that some of my village sermons are translated into the Malay, and printed there, especially for the use of schoolmasters, to be read by them to destitute congregations, of which there are very many."

† Latourette, *op. cit.*, V, p. 278.

CHAPTER III

BATAVIA

How William Robinson fared in Batavia ; how missionary reinforcements came, and found spheres of work elsewhere ; how parts of the New Testament were translated ; how Diering and J. C. Fink responded to the message ; how the Baptist Mission in Batavia came to an end.

THE fortunes of William Robinson in Java have now to be traced. He and his wife and young Charles Leonard reached Batavia in May, 1813. A description of the place, written a few years later in the report of two visitors from England, gives a vivid picture of the scene which must have greeted the little party on their arrival.

" We came into the Bay of Batavia this evening. As we doubled the Madura-point, or the extremity of land on the eastern quarter, we were struck with the magnificent picture presented to our eyes—a long range of lofty mountains inland ; thick forest jungles, stretching down to the edge of the water ; on the one side many small islands, with beacons upon them ; and in the middle distance the broad plain between the shore and the high ground on which the city of Batavia stands. . . . Fifty or sixty ships, of many sizes, and from various countries, were reposing on the tide. . . . Besides these, the harbour was thronged with barges, boats and other small craft, some of very outlandish appearance. . . . Four huge Chinese junks particularly attracted our notice. . . . We took an early opportunity of walking through the various quarters of this great city, which everywhere bears evidence of extensive commercial enterprise and traffic to distant lands. Two considerable rivers meeting here, canals have been made to branch forth from them in different directions, to ventilate and cleanse the place ; and down each of the principal streets a channel has been formed, of depth sufficient for barges to pass to and fro upon it. Trees are planted at equal distances, on the banks."*

* Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet : *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, London, 1831. See p. 65 below for an account of Batavia by Thomas Trowt.

The newcomers found lodgings in Batavia with a man who had been a member of the Lall Bazar Church in Calcutta. Robinson at once got into touch with the soldiers of the 59th Regiment, a number of whom were old friends of the Serampore missionaries, some having been baptized not long before in Calcutta. Before the month of May was out, a further baptismal service had been held—in a river at a secluded spot surrounded by thick jungle, lest there should be disturbances—and a church was formed. In a letter describing the soldiers' church-meeting, Robinson wrote: "I think I am now in the very place for which Providence has designed me, and I earnestly wish to go to heaven from Java."

Many months later this letter reached Bristol for printing in the *Periodical Accounts* of the Mission. It was given to a young apprentice to set up in type. His name was Thomas Knibb. "One sentence, I remember, struck my mind very particularly," he wrote afterwards, "wherein Mr. Robinson, speaking of the pleasing prospect of success, desired that he might go to heaven from Java. I thought that, however Christians were separated during the short period allowed to human life, they all reached the same home: and that it would be far more delightful, and more honourable, to go to heaven from a heathen country than a Christian one." Thomas Knibb ultimately became a missionary in Jamaica, and it was his death, in 1823, that brought into the service of the Baptist Missionary Society his more famous brother, William, the great champion of the slaves.*

Honourable though it might be, William Robinson soon found his service in Java arduous. Java is roughly the same size as England. It is a beautiful island, with a rich volcanic soil able to produce almost anything. It is populated by a medley of races with many different religious traditions. There are traces of ancient Buddhism and Hinduism. In the fifteenth century a degenerate form of Mohammedanism spread over all parts of the island save the mountainous east. The Portuguese came to Java in 1520, and the Dutch succeeded them in 1610. As in Amboyna, so here, strenuous efforts were made by both régimes to secure converts to Christianity, but still by methods of coercion. Robinson found some three thousand nominal

* See Payne, *The Great Succession*, ch. iv.

Christians, some speaking Malay, some Portuguese, and some Dutch.

“ I found these native Christians, as they are called, deeply sunk in sin,” he reported to Dr. Ryland. “ Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, gaming, fornication, and (if I may credit report) conjuring, and almost all other gross sins were common among them, and are common among them to this day. Some of them pretend to believe the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, and others are deeply tinctured with the spirit of Deism, through becoming acquainted with the works of Voltaire.”

In Batavia were a Dutch Reformed minister and a Lutheran pastor, but neither of them showed any great religious zeal, though the former was to prove a good friend to Robinson later on. The Englishman had intended to work mainly among the non-Christian section of the population, and to make the Javanese language his first study. He has indeed the honour of being the first person to visit the island with the avowed intention of preaching the gospel to its original inhabitants. But the opportunities among the soldiers, the need of the so-called “ Christians,” and financial difficulties at Serampore, which was still feeling the effects of the fire of 1812, caused Robinson to alter his plans.

Javanese was not generally spoken in Batavia, and to have settled in the interior would have been very difficult. Then there were, in addition to the racial groups already mentioned, a large number of Chinese in the town. Robinson had brought with him copies of Marshman's Chinese translation of the Gospels. It was the presence of so many Chinese in Java and the other East Indian islands that drew thither the attention of the great pioneer missionary, Robert Morrison, and later that of William Milne and W. H. Medhurst. Milne, indeed, spent some months in Java, in 1814, distributing copies of Morrison's Chinese New Testament and other tracts, and surveying the ground.

The Governor of Java, Stamford Raffles, extended to Robinson a warm welcome. He was busy with many plans for the better government of the island and the welfare of its inhabitants. Professor Coupland says of Raffles' work in Java :

“ He had set a great example, not only of selfless labour in the public service—there were precedents enough for that—

but of something rare in the annals of the British Empire a century ago. He had been one of the first Englishmen to put in practice the new doctrine of trusteeship. In no European dependency other than India, nowhere in the tropics, except in the artificial, anomalous, and unfortunate settlement of enfranchised slaves under Zachary Macaulay at Sierra Leone, had a Governor made the welfare of the natives, as Raffles had made it, the primary object of his government. More than that, and no less practically important, Raffles, far in advance of his time, had conceived, applied, and gone far to prove the theory that there is no inevitable and universal conflict between the legitimate aspirations of the advanced and backward races of the world, that the economic freedom and self-interest of the native peoples are in fact, under normal conditions, the means by which the needs of the European peoples for the produce of the tropics can be most easily and most effectually satisfied. And, finally, Raffles had done something immediate and concrete for the Javanese. He had given them, if only for a year or two, a liberty, a security, a hope and a purpose, a taste of human rights, such as they had never known."*

The military authorities gave Robinson permission for work among the soldiers. An English school was started, Mrs. Robinson assisting in its direction, and the proceeds for a while met the expenses of the mission station. Meantime, Robinson started the study of Dutch and of Malay, making considerable progress in spite of the difficulties of being in such a polyglot community. Writing to William Carey at Serampore, after a few months in Java, he said :

" I think I am placed much in the same circumstances relative to the Malay, as you were relative to the Bengali. I pick up a few words as I can ; my progress is very slow ; so slow as to be almost imperceptible. I must make my own Dictionary, if I wish to have one on which I can depend. I generally put down all the words whose meaning I can ascertain, from whatever quarter I can get them ; then I hope in time to form a vocabulary which may be useful to myself and to any brother who may join me. The Malays have no printed books ; so that I am obliged to employ my teacher

Raffles, O.U.P., 1926, pp. 57—58.

one part of the day in copying books for me to read the other."

Nevertheless, by April, 1814, less than a year after reaching Batavia, Robinson was able to conduct his first regular service in the Malay language, and almost at once began to give attention to Javanese as well. Humour, even of the unintentional kind, is not often met with in the missionary letters of this period. It is therefore refreshing to come upon this sentence in one of Robinson's early communications to Carey:—"Concerning animals I can say but little; the most common are horses, dogs, ants and mosquitoes."

Carey and his friends did not forget the young man, nor the needs of Java. Early in 1814 two assistant missionaries were sent to the island. "Mr. Reiley and Albert are both gone to Java to assist Bro. Robinson," wrote Carey to Jabez. "The harvest now opening to our view is immensely great and the labourers are indeed very few." James Reily, was a probationer who had already begun the study of Chinese at Serampore; his companion was a young Portuguese, recently baptized at Katwa. This second young man soon deserted the mission, and in 1815 was reported to be employed in an indigo factory. "Pray write to America as soon as possible, for missionaries for the Eastern islands," implored Robinson of Carey. "Our field is nearly as large as yours, and includes almost as many languages." Within a few days unexpected help came from a different quarter. "Yesterday," wrote Robinson, in May, 1815, within a few weeks of the battle of Waterloo, "three missionaries arrived from the London Missionary Society. Two of them were at my house last evening; the other I have not yet seen. I think it probable they will be disposed of in the following manner; one to remain here, one to go to Samarang, and the other to Amboyna."

The new arrivals were John Christopher Supper, Gottlob Brückner and Joseph Kam, the first missionaries of the so-called "Ultra-Ganges Mission," come to serve the desolate Dutch Churches in the East Indies. Kam went on to Amboyna, and of him something has already been told. Brückner will be met with in subsequent chapters. J. C. Supper remained in Batavia itself.

Only a few months later, reinforcements arrived from the Baptist Missionary Society. Thomas Trowt and his wife reached

Java from England. Their intention had been to proceed at once to Amboyna, but they decided to remain in Batavia in view of the opportunities there, and the report that from Serampore itself help was being sent to Jabez Carey.

The English soldiers had been moved from Batavia, but William Robinson had already enough knowledge of Malay to preach in that tongue. The Dutch minister allowed the Englishman the use of his church for public worship in Malay, and a congregation of about one hundred and fifty came together, "people of all ranks, from the richest to the poorest slaves." The clergyman disapproved of many of his friend's views, but he considered it safe to allow him to preach because "as Mr. Robinson would not baptize the children, so neither would any of the adults permit themselves to be baptized by him." Mutual respect and regard had been deepened during an illness of William Robinson when the minister had opened his own home to him.

One or two individuals, however, did show themselves ready to confess their faith by baptism. There is preserved in the records of the time the story of John Phipps, probably a coloured man, who had been born far away at St. Kitts in the West Indies. After employment in England, where he came under Methodist influence, he went to Batavia in the service of Stamford Raffles. There he came to know Robinson and was baptized by him. When, in 1816, Raffles left Java for England, Phipps went to Bengal, where soon after he died, known and befriended by the Baptist missionaries.

Nevertheless, in general, there was not much to encourage William Robinson. His school declined in numbers, and had to be given up. As there was uncertainty whether the British would remain in possession of Java, there was little desire to learn English. The Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society urged that some means of self-support must be found by the missionaries if the station was not to be abandoned. How difficult Robinson found it to live may be judged from his decision to give up preaching in Malay in the Dutch Church, as he could not afford the necessary black clothes. That his work was appreciated is proved by the public subscription to supply his needs in this direction, but he was clearly in humiliating straits.

Robinson, Trowt and Reily all suffered from severe fever.

Trowt had successfully begun the study of Malay, and had worked usefully among the soldiers of the 78th Regiment, which had taken the place of the 59th at Weltevreden.* Trowt did not find Robinson an easy colleague, or perhaps it would be truer to say he disapproved of Mrs. Robinson, whose conduct had more than once proved embarrassing to her husband. When an appeal came from Gottlob Brückner for help in Samarang, Trowt and Reily, with the approval of Serampore, decided to respond to it.

Once again, therefore, Robinson found himself alone. Much of his time was taken up with Bible translation work. As early as 1668 a Malay New Testament had been printed in Roman characters, and in 1733 the whole Bible. Twenty years later the same version was issued in Arabic script. This translation was of little value in Java because of local differences in the language. In June, 1814, a Bible Society was formed in Batavia, under the patronage of Stamford Raffles. The Government translator named Coles and William Robinson were both asked to submit specimen translations, with a view to the issue of a New Testament in "Low Malay." Robinson's work was preferred, and he was commissioned to prepare a version of the Gospels and the *Acts*. By 1816 he had *Matthew* ready, and it was printed at Batavia in Roman characters, Robinson receiving a grant in aid. Even this new version was not found suitable for general distribution, and the larger project was not proceeded with, though the Serampore Press issued further editions of Robinson's *Matthew* to supply a steady demand.

Between May, 1813, when he reached the island, and August, 1816, Robinson baptized more than forty soldiers, but from the other sections of the population there was little response. In July, 1816, however, together with two soldiers, a man named Diering and his wife were baptized. They had been among the hearers at the Malay services. Diering had been born at Negapatnam, once a Dutch settlement on the Madras coast. He had been at a mission school under Christian William

* A new residential town a few miles inland, built by the European population at the beginning of the nineteenth century because of the unhealthiness of old Batavia. The name means "Well content." The two towns are connected by about two miles of river and canal, along the side of which runs a wide shady road.

Gerické,* the colleague and successor of the great Schwartz. As a young man Diering went to Batavia, finding there a wife of Portuguese extraction, who knew no language but Malay. Robinson looked upon the woman as "the first fruit of the Mission among the natives of the country." She and her husband became the staunch helpers and friends of the lonely missionary. "I have never yet seen a person born in a hot country, who possesses his energy of mind and talent for exertion," wrote Robinson to J. H. Hinton. "He is employed in a mercantile house, where he does more business than two or three other persons would do ; but not content with that, he employs every half hour he has to spare in the service of the Mission."†

Another of those won for Christ about this time was John Christopher Fink. His birthplace was Ternate in the Moluccas. He was the son of the Dutch commandant. After his parents' death, Fink made his way to Amboyna, finding employment as apprentice and assistant to an English doctor. After a year or so there, when still only a youth, he came to Batavia in the hope of further study of medicine. As assistant apothecary to the Dutch Hussars, he saw service in Sumatra, and was wounded. Back in Batavia, partly with the object of improving his English, Fink went casually to one of William Robinson's services for soldiers, and was gripped by a sermon on the text : "Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die?" He became one of Robinson's frequent visitors, and at length there grew up in his heart the desire to become a missionary. "He liberated the fourteen slaves he owned," says an old record, "resigned his appointment in the Hussars, and sailed for Calcutta as Medical Assistant with a detachment of the 78th Regiment at the end of 1816. He arrived at Calcutta on the 3rd January, 1817, and that very evening came to the Lall Bazar Church. He was baptized by the Rev. John Lawson at the chapel on the 23rd February, 1817."

For a while Fink secured employment in a shipping office, studying hard at Bengali and English, and showing great zeal in missionary work in and about Calcutta. Then, when someone

* Gerické was in correspondence with William Carey and his colleagues from 1798 onwards. See *Periodical Accounts* I, pp. 430—433 ; II, pp. 82, 316—317, 409, 413. He died in 1803 and was described by Marshman as "that great and good man."

† April 8th, 1818, *Baptist Magazine*, 1818, p. 474.

was needed to settle among the Mogs on the borders of Burma, he volunteered, and in 1821 was ordained. At Aracan and Chittagong he lived a devoted and influential life. After his death in 1856 it was said of him : " He had been doctor, soldier, magistrate and missionary, as circumstances required. . . . His spirit was most patient and his temper most placid. . . . He was distinguished through his life by his artlessness, being an Israelite indeed in whom was no guile."*

The influencing of men like Diering and Fink was abundantly worth while, but direct missionary work in Java was made very difficult by the return of the island to the Dutch in August, 1816. This had been in prospect for some time, and in the last letter he ever wrote to Carey, that dated February 11th, 1815, Fuller had stated : " I have been much pleased of late with Bro. Robinson's proceedings ; and knowing that Java and Amboyna were or were to be ceded from the English to the Dutch, I have applied to both Governments on behalf of our missionaries there, and have received from both favourable answers." For some time popular feeling had been running high in Java itself. Orange ribbons and cockades had been worn in the streets. The Dutch promised full liberty of conscience, but Robinson could get no assurance that he would be allowed to continue to reside and work in Batavia. An increasing hostility towards him was, indeed, soon evident, particularly at any mention of baptism. The new Dutch Governor appointed J. C. Supper† as preacher in Malay in the Church, and Robinson had to content himself with small congregations in private houses.

For a few months from December, 1816, Robinson had the company of two new Baptist missionaries from England. Joseph Luxford Phillips came from Joseph Ivimey's church in London. He was a young man of twenty-three, and had been superintendent of the Eagle Street Sunday School, before going for a year to Bristol College. He and his wife had letters from the Dutch Ambassador in London and from Sir Stamford Raffles, the late English Governor, and were destined for Samarang farther along the northern coast of Java. Permission for their settlement there proved difficult to secure, and in the meantime

* A lengthy memoir, compiled from various sources, is to be found in E. S. Wenger's *Story of the Lall Bazar Baptist Church, Calcutta*.

† " This promising missionary," as W. H. Medhurst called him, died in 1818 after only three years in Batavia.

in Batavia they began the study of Malay. Phillips, writing home in March, 1817, gave an interesting picture of his surroundings :—

“ We are now at Ryswick, near Batavia, at the house of Mr. Robinson. It is situated about three miles from Batavia, which renders it more healthy, as Batavia is a very dangerous place, especially for Europeans, who have been accustomed to a more temperate climate, and a pure air. Its insalubrity is considered to be owing to the lowness of its situation, and the canals of stagnant water, into which many obnoxious animals are cast after death. . . . There is one circumstance that renders Batavia pleasant. It is a very fertile country. . . . Our house is surrounded with cocoa-nut trees and plaintains, two of the standing fruits of the country, and which are of great importance to the natives ; as, with the addition of rice and salt, they furnish them with almost all that they deem the necessities of life. . . . It is a house principally constructed of bamboo, in a pleasant green lane. . . . My little canary bird, which was my companion for 15,000 miles, hangs in the front veranda, and has never ceased to warble.”*

Six months later, as he was about to move on to Samarang, he wrote :—

“ Our church in Java consists of nine members. We have worship seven times a week, and also a weekly prayer meeting, for the spread of the gospel throughout the world, and particularly in this island. We have five persons who can pray with fluency, propriety and fervour in Malay ; and it does one good to see the people attend.”†

A baptism in August, 1817, much increased the hostility with which Robinson was regarded. He persuaded the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society to send a deputation to the King of the Netherlands to secure better status ; but little was achieved, for Java was many miles away from the Dutch Court.

Robinson continued busy, however, preparing tracts‡ and hymns in Malay. They were printed for him at Serampore, and were widely distributed. Many years later his hymns were re-issued from Holland. Writing to J. H. Hinton in April, 1818,

* *Baptist Magazine*, 1818, p. 32. † *Baptist Magazine*, 1818, p. 118.

‡ Cf. W. H. Medhurst : *China : its State and Prospects*, 1838, p. 334.

“ One tract written by Mr. Robinson . . . contains as clear a statement of the all-important doctrine as was ever penned in any language.”

Robinson thus described his manifold activities :

" On Sabbath morning, I preach or expound at Mr. Diering's on the west side of Batavia ; in the afternoon, I preach in a house on the east side ; and at seven o'clock in the evening I hold English worship in my own house, when a few Americans and English sometimes attend. On Monday evening I hold a prayer-meeting in Batavia, to pray for the spread of the gospel in Java. We have two or three praying friends, besides Diering and myself. On Tuesday evening I speak to a few people, at Mr. Diering's ; and on Wednesday evening I explain the Scriptures to a few poor people, at a house about midway between Batavia and my own house. On Thursday evening I call my servants together, and any neighbours who choose to come, and speak to them for half-an-hour. On Friday evening I preach in the same house as on the Sabbath afternoon ; and on Saturday evening I shut myself up in my study. The rest of my time is spent in studying, writing, etc. . . . yet after all the Mussalmans and Chinese are almost neglected."*

When there were English or American ships in the port, the numbers at the English service sometimes rose to two dozen. The American Consul at Batavia came to a Thursday evening prayer-meeting. A letter to William Carey at Serampore, written in the summer of 1818, shows that Robinson was learning from his experiences. " I am afraid," he writes, " that there is too much truth in your remarks relative to the diversion of labour occasioned by a too great attention to Europeans." His persistence was rewarded in the autumn of 1819 by the conversion and baptism of a Chinese, Thyan, who proved a zealous and consistent Christian. After the baptismal service, wrote Robinson to Ryland, " it was with difficulty the crowd were kept from forcing their way in at the door, for they had an idea that I was going to cut the Chinaman's tail off, and dress him in the European fashion and they were exceedingly anxious to see this wonderful ceremony."†

Slowly the years passed. For some time it was uncertain what would be the final attitude of the Dutch authorities towards foreign missions in Java. Robinson continued to hope for the removal of the restrictions on his activities and for reinforce-

* *Baptist Magazine*, 1818, p. 473.

† *Baptist Magazine*, 1820, p. 130.

ments. He suffered much in health from the climate and from the general uncertainty, and, at last, when he was refused permission to journey up country to recuperate, he decided to leave the island. He had received a warm invitation from his old friend, Sir Stamford Raffles and a group of Baptist missionaries in Sumatra, to join them at Bencoolen, where a promising mission-station had been established.

On June 26th, 1821, therefore, after eight faithful but gruelling and unsatisfactory years of labour, William Robinson sailed from Batavia. His daughters he had already sent to Serampore for education. With him to Sumatra went his wife and little son of eighteen months, whom he had named John—perhaps in memory of the Olney minister of his boyhood, or of Ryland under whom he had studied in Bristol.* Of the friends he left behind him, Diering and his wife remained faithful Christian workers. In 1822, W. H. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society, settled in Batavia, and found them most valuable helpers. "We journeyed into the villages," wrote Medhurst later to John Dyer, the B.M.S. Secretary, "and visited the heathen markets and fairs, where we aided each other in collecting the crowds and addressing them on the all-important doctrines of the gospel. I have seen Mr. Diering, without fear or shame, standing up before a mixed multitude of Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese, and Malays, and exhorting them in earnest strains to repent and believe in Christ. . . . Our dear friend remained firm in the truth even to his life's end. . . . You know full well what a sad deadening place Batavia is, and how much a religious friend, and almost the only religious friend, would be missed."

It happened that Daniel Tyerman, a Congregational minister, and George Bennet, a Sheffield merchant, were in Batavia on behalf of the London Missionary Society when Diering died on August 15th, 1825. In their diary the funeral is described. "The deceased," they noted, "was of the Baptist persuasion, and almost the only layman here who was known to concern himself much about the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants."

* John Robinson (1819—78) was educated at Serampore and became pastor of the native church there. His first wife, Margaret, had been born in Sumatra and, her father dying, became a Government ward at Bencoolen. In 1825, when Bencoolen was ceded to the Dutch, she and a number of other children were moved to Mrs. Marshman's school at Serampore. She had been teaching in the Indian school for some time when, in 1841, she married John Robinson. She died at the age of twenty-nine in 1850. John Robinson later became Bengali Translator to the Government. From 1868—76 he was minister of the Lall Bazar Church. He died in 1878 at Benares.

CHAPTER IV

SUMATRA

How the Baptist Mission commenced in Bencoolen, Sumatra; how Nathaniel Ward went there as printer, and was joined by William Robinson, Richard Burton, and Charles Evans; how the work developed; how Ward and Burton journeyed among the Bataks.

IN his letters from Java William Robinson had frequently called the attention both of the Serampore missionaries and the Baptist Missionary Society's Committee in London, to the large and fertile island of Sumatra as a possible field for their activities. When a beginning was actually made with missionary work there, it was largely the result of a direct appeal by Sir Stamford Raffles.

There had been controversy regarding Raffles' governorship of Java. In England, where he spent the years 1816 and 1817, following the return of Java to the Dutch, there were delicate questions to be discussed with the Court of Directors of the East India Company. These were satisfactorily settled, however, and Raffles was expressly declared free from any stain upon his moral character. In 1817 he was knighted. Then, having married a second time, he turned his face eastwards again, and set out to take up new duties as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen in Sumatra. There he arrived on March 22nd, 1818. His first impressions are instructive:—

“This is, without exception, the most wretched place I ever beheld,” he wrote to a friend. “I cannot convey to you an adequate idea of the state of ruin and dilapidation which surrounds me. What with natural impediments, bad government, and the awful visitations of Providence which we have recently experienced in repeated earthquakes, we have scarcely a dwelling in which to lay our heads, or wherewithal to satisfy the cravings of Nature. The roads are impassable, the highways in the town over-run with rank grass, the Government House a den of ravenous dogs and polecats. The natives say that Bencoolen is now a *tana mati* (dead land). In truth, I never could have conceived anything half so bad. We will try and make it better, and, if I am well supported from home, the west coast may yet be turned to

account. You must, however, be prepared for the abolition of slavery, the emancipation of the country people from the forced cultivation of pepper, the discontinuance of the gaming and cock-fighting farms, and a thousand other practices equally distasteful and repugnant to the British character and government."*

The climate was certainly bad, deserving of its ill-reputation. The places on the coast were difficult of access because of the wild surf. Earthquakes were common. But Bencoolen already had a long history of connection with the East India Company, the settlement there having been established in 1685. In the early years of the eighteenth century Joseph Collet, a Baptist, had been Governor. It was he who superseded York Fort, built in a swamp by the sea-shore, by Marlborough Fort, named after the great Whig general. Collet's letters are full of picturesque details and of rich human interest. One quaint rhymed epistle to Joseph Stennett, a Baptist minister, describes a farmhouse belonging to the East India Company, and gives an attractive picture of the surroundings.

" My Homely Seat built on a rising Ground
 The Coco Orange and the Lime surround :
 The fragrant bloom and glowing fruit appear
 Thro' all the Months, and crown the circling Year.
 The Verdant Fields sustain the smiling Sun
 Unparch'd, his rays directly pouring down :
 Moist dews by night supply the liquid Store,
 And fountain Nymphs around unwearied pour
 From unexhausted Urns. Their Streams are seen
 On each side crowned with everlasting Green :
 To these my lowing Kine returning home
 With strutting Udders ev'ry evening come,
 There Slake their Thirst, retreat thence with the Light,
 Quitting the Plains where Tygers range by Night :
 Then to my Yard return the bleating Dams :
 A Medley there of Animals one sees,
 Hens, Capons, Ducks and Doves, Eagles and Geese,
 Hogs, Dogs and Monkeys, Red Coats and Great Guns,
 A Scene unusual in your Country Towns."†

* See H. E. Egerton, *Sir Stamford Raffles*, 1900, p. 146.

† For the whole letter see *The Private Letter Books of Joseph Collet*. Edited by H. H. Dodwell, 1933, p. 51. It was written on Aug. 22, 1713.

From 1771 to 1778, William Marsden, one of the earliest and keenest of Oriental Scholars was in the service of the E.I.C. at Bencoolen, and in 1783, published a *History of Sumatra*. But from 1797 Bencoolen had been a penal settlement to which convicts were transported from Bengal. Hence the desolation of which Sir Stamford Raffles wrote in 1818. Chinese, African slaves, Malayans and a few Europeans made up the total population to some ten thousand persons. The general moral condition was most degraded. As a commercial station it had been a constant drain upon the East India Company. "It was estimated that the settlement cost the Company £100,000 a year, and only a few hundred tons of pepper ever came out of it."* With characteristic energy and enlightenment Raffles began its re-organisation and improvement, slowly evolving order out of the chaos he had found. But it was a formidable task. Though he was young in years and buoyant of spirit, the climate and circumstances took heavy toll of him, and after only four years at Bencoolen he described himself as "a little old man, all yellow and shrivelled," with his "hair pretty well blanched." The native Sumatrans were nearly a thousand years behind the Javanese in civilisation. Raffles, however, won their confidence, and in a comparatively few months he could confess himself happy in his new situation. He found time not only to indulge his strong family affections but also his interest in animals, collecting in his house all manner of pets.

Almost as soon as he reached Sumatra, Sir Stamford Raffles sent to Serampore asking help in his plans for the improvement of the inhabitants. Writing to Dr. John Ryland in October, 1818, Carey said: "Sir T. S. Raffles, as soon as he arrived at Bencoolen, wrote to us to send a printing-press there, and said all that a Governor of a province could with prudence say, to encourage our hopes there. I pressed brother Pearce to go thither, and take brother Yates with him,† where a field opens for translating the sacred word and printing it in all the languages of the islands; but all was in vain. I wrote to Amboyna for Jabez to go thither, and brother Ward engaged his nephew to go as a printer. Sir T. S. Raffles is now in Bengal, and we shall undoubtedly see him within a few days." Jabez Carey,

* H. W. Ponder, *Java Pageant*, p. 102.

† William Hopkins Pearce (1794—1840) and William Yates (1792—1845).

as we have seen, on returning from Amboyna that autumn, went up to Ajmere. It was Ward's nephew who answered the call to Sumatra.

Nathaniel Moore Ward had come to India five years earlier as a boy of fifteen. Apparently the lad's father had died, and William Ward asked Andrew Fuller to inquire into the circumstances of the widow and children, and to see whether one of the latter could not come out to him at Serampore to learn printing. A letter from Fuller to Ward has survived, written from Derby in July, 1812.

· "I preached in the evening, and they both (*i.e.*, mother and son) came to hear. The boy has a fine open countenance, and apparently healthy constitution. He bears a great resemblance to what I can conceive my dear brother Ward to have been at his age. I requested his, and all the other children's acceptance of some small presents *as from their uncle*. . . . I have appointed to meet all the children in about two hours' time, when I shall talk to them and recommend to them their uncle's God."

Nathaniel was at the time apprenticed to a carpenter and joiner, but he was eager to go to India, and early the following year sailed from Portsmouth. "He was in good spirits," reported Andrew Fuller, "and seems to me a fine lad." He acquitted himself well under his uncle's training, and on April 23rd, 1815, a young fellow of seventeen, was baptized in the Lall Bazar Church. In 1818 he was working at an indigo factory in Bengal and impressed all who knew him with his energy and enterprise. When the letter of Sir Stamford Raffles was put before him, he replied at once: "Though I do not feel myself equal to all such a situation may require, yet I can readily consent to go."

By the end of 1818 Nathaniel Ward was on his way to Sumatra with a press and types, and in the company of the Governor, who had been visiting Bengal to confer with the authorities. They touched at Malacca and Penang, and from the latter place young Ward wrote enthusiastically to his friend, J. C. Marshman :*

"Sir Stamford is admired even by his enemies. He is exactly the man who is required to oppose the Dutch."

* John Clark Marshman (1794—1877) was the gifted son of the Serampore missionary, Joshua Marshman.

The letter from which these sentences come has added interest on account of its allusions to Sir Stamford Raffles' plans for Singapore, which, with a foresight amounting to genius, he acquired on that very journey. Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen, was reached in the summer of 1819.

That same year William Ward journeyed to England on account of ill-health. While at home he applied to the Baptist Missionary Society's Committee for the recognition of his nephew as one of its agents. There appears to have been some discussion as to whether he was to be regarded as a B.M.S. or a Serampore missionary. In the spring of 1821, Nathaniel paid a visit to Bengal, pressing his suit with William Ward's eldest daughter. He was apparently favourably received, but, when William Ward returned from England, he forbade the marriage of the cousins, to Nathaniel's intense disappointment and chagrin.

Meantime, the mission to Sumatra had grown considerably. The Committee in London had been convinced of the wisdom of exploiting the opportunity there, and decided to send out two new missionaries. In the presence of William Ward, Richard Burton of Joseph Ivimey's church in London, was ordained at Reading in December, 1819, and, shortly afterwards, Charles Evans was ordained at Bristol. They were formally commissioned for their task "at a special meeting of the Committee held at the Society's Rooms, No. 15 Wood Street, Cheapside, London—Joseph Gutteridge, Esq., in the Chair."

Their letter of instructions contained the following sentences :

"To be useful among them (*i.e.*, the Sumatrans) you must avoid all airs of conscious superiority, express no disgust at what may appear strange or uncouth in their manners, but display on all occasions a spirit of gentle conciliation and kind familiarity, such in fact as shall impress them with a conviction that you are really seeking their good. Use no harsh language either with reference to the person, character, or writings of Mahomed, or the notions and practices of heathen superstition, but attempt gradually to awaken a concern after superior information ; and then communicate that information as they are able to bear it. Remember especially the fact of which you have so often been reminded, that the great Engine which God has employed in the conversion of the

heathen is the declaration of His love as displayed in the Cross of Christ."

On the voyage out the new missionaries spent some weeks at St. Helena, where they were received in kindly fashion by the British chaplain and had the chance of meeting Mrs. Marshman who was on her way to England from Serampore. Napoleon was a prisoner there at the time and in the last months of his life.

Sumatra was reached by Burton and Evans in June, 1820, and they were given a warm welcome by Sir Stamford Raffles, who wrote to the Committee of the Society in England commending their selection of missionaries "whose habits, manners and education, peculiarly qualify them to do credit to the cause, and to fulfil the expectations of those who selected them." To another correspondent he wrote: "They are scholars and gentlemen, and their wives are well calculated to aid their endeavours." But he fears "they are hardly prepared for the difficulties and privations of missionary life in such a barbarous country as this." A mission-station was established close to Fort Marlborough by Evans and Nathaniel Ward. Burton went northwards. After but a few months, Evans found himself unequal to the task of conducting a school and learning the native language, so he moved up the coast to Padang, an old Dutch settlement and a port of considerable commercial importance, with a number of English and Dutch residents and a large Malay population in the country around.

Not many months after Evans' departure, William Robinson reached Bencoolen from Java. To him there was a welcome air of religious freedom about the place. The climate, too, was far healthier than that of Batavia. Sir Stamford Raffles was clearly pleased to have him at Bencoolen. In a letter to William Marsden, the Orientalist, dated November 9th, 1821, Raffles speaks of Robinson as "a close student of Malay literature and language for the last seven years. . . . long in the habit of preaching to the natives."

A chapel was built for regular preaching in Malay. Prayer-meetings were held in which the Anglican chaplain of Fort Marlborough, "the pious and amiable Mr. Winter," co-operated, and at which missions throughout Asia were constantly remembered. But the evangelistic work which was the real purpose of the Baptist missionaries proved far from easy. "People in England know but little of the difficulties and discouragements

which we have to bear," wrote William Robinson to his aged father in Olney: "We ride miles, perhaps, under a burning sun to talk to a few people, and, when we address them on the subject of religion, they treat us with cold indifference, or laugh at us, or are angry with us, or endeavour to prove all we say to be false."

There was plenty to occupy the time of the missionaries, however. Schools were established for the native population. Under Nathaniel Ward's direction books and tracts were published, some of the latter dealing with general subjects such as history, geography and astronomy.* "Science will not make them Christians," wrote Robinson, "but it will assist in dispelling the mists of Mohammedanism and teach them to use their mental powers." An Agricultural Society was formed. Ward and Burton were members, as well as Sir Stamford Raffles. The Baptist Mission Press published a volume of Proceedings. Monthly public lectures created considerable interest. Robinson had under his care a boarding school for Government wards. He also continued his work on a Malay version of the Bible, and issued a volume of hymns in Malay. The *Baptist Magazine* for 1822 printed two essays of his on Mohammedanism, written probably while he was in Batavia. Ward was the secretary of the local Bible Society, and a Javanese translation was mooted in addition to that in Malay. The letters of Robinson and Ward to John Ryland and John Dyer in England tell of most varied activities.

Like Batavia, however, Bencoolen was a place that took heavy toll of life and energy. In 1821, in the course of a few weeks, Sir Stamford Raffles lost three of his dearly-loved children, and both he and his wife were seriously ill. A number of his most intimate companions were also stricken down. Nor did the missionary band escape. In May, 1822, William Robinson's wife died. She had been his faithful companion through long and difficult years. "My poor Peggy," he calls her in a

* The first book from the Sumatran Mission Press was entitled *Malayan Miscellanies*, Volume I (1820). It contains notes on a variety of different subjects, one of the most interesting being a record of the proceedings of the Native School Institution, in which both Ward and Chaplain Winter had a share. A book by Robinson, *An Attempt to elucidate the Principles of Malayan Orthography*, was printed in 1823. It is dedicated to Sir T. S. Raffles, and is of 238 pages.

letter to Serampore.* Chaplain Winter conducted the funeral service, and only a few weeks later himself passed away. Robinson was invited by the local residents, with the sanction of the Governor, to succeed him, and agreed, reserving to himself the right to omit certain parts of the Anglican service. He preached courageously outspoken sermons, and in November of that year conducted the baptismal service of an aged Malay woman, a native of Amboyna. This was his only baptism during his residence at Bencoolen.

There had come with Robinson's family from Batavia a Dutch lady. She had been born in Ceylon, her parents being Hanoverians, but members of the Dutch Church. Her husband, an army officer, ill-treated her, but she went with him to Batavia, and there, after his death, married an Englishman, James Knaggs, one of the first to be baptized by William Robinson in Java. Mrs. Knaggs was herself baptized in 1816, and, after being a second time left a widow, joined the Robinson household. In June, 1823, at Bencoolen, William Robinson married her.

Richard Burton, at the suggestion of Sir Stamford Raffles, had interested himself in the Battas, a tribe in the northern and inland parts of Sumatra, cannibals of a most degraded kind, who were said to eat their prisoners alive. His first exploration was made under very primitive conditions. He made the return journey in an open boat, eighteen feet long, which he had to steer himself. There were three seamen, but they had no light for the nights, and were close in to a dangerous reefy coast. Wind and rain added to their discomfort. He and his wife, Mary—"in the true sense of the word, a female missionary"—decided to settle at Sebolga, a beautiful spot in the bay of Tappanooly, the local rajah having presented them with a piece of ground for the erection of a house. They were much helped by a certain John Prince, the Resident of Nattal, some eighty miles south, "a man whose uprightness, benevolence, misfortunes and hospitality, have gained him the sympathy and admiration of the East."† Prince was then in middle life,

* *Friend of India*, 1823, p. 32.

† The words are Burton's in a letter to John Dyer, *Baptist Magazine*, 1821, p. 546. The copy of Anderson's *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra* in the Library of the Baptist Mission House has on its flyleaf, "To the Honourable John Prince, Esq., with the Author's Compliments."

and had been there in his " quiet and retired residence " since the age of fifteen. He had translated into the Malay language the Sermon on the Mount and a number of prayers, and as merchant and master had gained a wide influence by his kindly and fair dealing. At Sir Stamford Raffles' request he had made preliminary inquiries into the religion of the Battas. Within a year Burton had made considerable progress with the language, had commenced to translate the Bible, and had already issued some tracts. He was a devoted missionary, much influenced, like so many of his generation, by the life of David Brainerd.

In the spring of 1824, Nathaniel Ward joined Richard Burton, and together they made an important and daring journey inland, taking with them sixteen coolies and two servants. The Batak country is only just above the equator. The lake of Toba, which has an area of 800 square miles, is in its centre. There had been no known former contact with the inland natives save for an expedition by two Englishmen fifty years earlier about which little information had survived. In 1823 a party was sent by the government of Prince of Wales Island to explore the low and swampy coast of Sumatra.* There was some talk of a British settlement at Siack. Abundant evidence of cannibalism among the Battas was found. This journey by the missionaries was therefore one of danger and responsibility.

Nathaniel Ward described some of their experiences in a letter printed in *The Friend of India*, the important Serampore periodical.

" Three days after my arrival at Tappanooly, I set out with Mr. Burton to visit the inland Bataks. I performed the journey on foot, chiefly without shoes and stockings, in a Malay dress and a straw hat. The first two days were extremely fatiguing ; once, indeed, in mounting the first range of mountains, I was almost tempted to return, but by the third I became so far practised as to take the lead of the party and tire out the Bataks themselves. On the fifth day we emerged into a country so beautiful and cultivated, and a population so dense, as filled us with astonishment. We remained some time visiting the villages and surrounding country, reading to the people some of Burton's tracts, and explaining the object of the mission, and were uniformly

* See Anderson's *Mission to the East Coast of Sumatra*, London, 1826.

treated with attention and respect. None or few of them had seen a white face before, and we were objects of perhaps quite as much curiosity as the first Spaniards in America. Burton had unfortunately an attack of dysentery while thus employed, which prevented our going further, but we gained some tolerably correct information of a lake, a couple of days' march further east, communicating with the sea, and surrounded by a population still more numerous. The intermediate space was perfectly free from wood, and covered with rice and habitations, affording a prospect more beautiful than anything I have yet seen in any country. We have since received letters from the king residing on the borders of the lake, inviting us to return and visit him."*

The travellers brought back important information regarding the manners and customs of the sturdy light-skinned Batak people. Their religion was a form of Hinduism, and their language was related to Malay. Had the Baptist missionaries continued in their neighbourhood, much good work might have been done among them. In spite of its promising beginnings, however, the mission in Sumatra was not destined to continue.

* *Friend of India*, November, 1824. Cf. *Quarterly Series*, No. XII, 1825.

CHAPTER V

SUMATRA

How Bencoolen was returned to the Dutch ; how William Robinson and Richard Burton went to Bengal, and Charles Evans to England ; how Nathaniel Ward remained in Sumatra, and what happened to him there.

At the end of 1824 there happened in Sumatra what had already occurred in Amboyna and Java. The English settlements were handed over to the Dutch in return for factories in India. Bencoolen was ceded for Chinsurah in Bengal. On balance it seemed a costly exchange for England, but there had to be set on the other side the fact that recognition was secured of our new settlement at Singapore, later to prove of great importance and value, one of the greatest of the legacies left by Sir Stamford Raffles to the British Empire. The Governor himself left Bencoolen in February, 1824, a sick and disappointed man. Only the day after he embarked on the *Fame*, fire broke out on board, and, though no lives were lost, his marvellous collection of birds, beasts and fishes, and the books, manuscripts and pictures he was taking home, were completely destroyed. When he reached England, Sir Stamford Raffles took the lead in establishing the Zoological Society, and became its first President. But his time of retirement was brief, for in June, 1826, he died, on the eve of his forty-sixth birthday.

With Sumatra again in Dutch hands, it was at once clear that missionary work in Bencoolen would have to cease. William Robinson had, therefore, again to change his sphere of labour. Following a severe fever, he had not been at all well. Though he was but forty years old, there seemed danger of apoplexy. A sea voyage had already been determined upon, when the political changes were announced. Robinson's letters are full of not unnatural depression :

“ I was a better missionary in Java than I have been here,” he wrote in January, 1825. “ There I attended to nothing but my work, and found time for extraordinary prayer ; here I have been too much engaged in secular concerns, hoping to support my wife and family in future. But it has pleased the Lord by the cession of this place to the Dutch, and by this

heavy affliction to disappoint all my hopes. But be it so ; I am content. I am more than content. I think I have come to rejoice the snare is now broken ; the spell which held me is now dissolved, and I am free again for the work of the mission."

Richard Burton wrote to his friend, approving his decision to leave Bencoolen, but added :

" I cannot but wish, however, that your health had permitted you to remain amongst us a little longer, that we might have had the benefit of your counsels at this critical juncture. The Dutch have not yet taken possession, nor do we know when they intend coming ; but *we* have more formidable enemies at hand who have lately threatened our entire expulsion from Sebolga—namely the Padrees* When we were in daily expectation of being obliged to flee to the island (i.e., Tappanooly), at a moment's warning, I wrote to Brother Evans informing him of our situation, and requesting him to enquire of the Dutch authorities, if they intended fighting the Padrees, on obtaining the sovereignty of the Island. They gave him an answer in the negative, saying it was not their intention to spend blood or money upon them. What then have we to hope for ? That we shall soon be obliged to quit this seems pretty evident ; and whither shall we go ? My translation of *John* into the Batak was finished early in February. I am now going on with an English-Batak dictionary."

That summer things became so threatening in the northern part of Sumatra that Burton and his wife and family, and a group of orphan girls who were in their care, had quickly to leave. They sailed for Calcutta. The voyage was an adventurous one, for the vessel was so leaky that the pumps had to be kept going the whole time, but the Burtons at length reached Serampore in safety. Soon afterwards the Bataks embraced Mohammedanism. Nathaniel Ward speaks of missionaries coming from the Netherlands in 1827, to work among them ; but it

* The identification of these people is uncertain, but Burton clearly refers to natives of Sumatra. Is the name an unusual, and perhaps local, adaptation of "Padre," which was often applied to native priests as well as to Christian clergy ?

was long before very much was accomplished. That contact with them was accompanied with very great dangers was proved by the fate of two American Board missionaries, Munson and Lymann, who visited the country in 1834. They were engaged in an expedition similar to that of Burton and Ward, described in the previous chapter, but were killed and eaten.*

Charles Evans continued at Padang some months after Robinson and Burton had left Sumatra. Though he had undertaken school work with official blessing and support, he had many difficulties to contend with. A considerable number of army officers were gathered at Padang—"mostly Deists and open scoffers at Religion of the French Revolutionary School," according to Nathaniel Ward. Evans clung on hoping for better times, but the authorities forbade the teaching of Christianity in the schools. In 1826 the Baptist Missionary Society's Committee decided that the mission in the East Indies must be abandoned, and directed Evans to proceed to Bengal. Before this news reached him, he had received the offer of a free passage to England and back, and in view of the ill-health of his wife and their little boy, had decided to accept it. He seems to have hoped that representations to the Dutch Government in Holland might secure him permission to continue the work he had begun, and anticipated that Ward would be coming northwards to Padang. He and his family reached England early in 1827.

For some time after the change of ownership, Nathaniel Ward remained at Bencoolen. He was involved in extensive educational plans as well as in much printing and translation work, and was loth to accept the suggestion of the B.M.S. that he should proceed to Bengal. Did he also hesitate because of memories of the lady there whom he had hoped to marry? But Bencoolen was rapidly deserted by almost all its European inhabitants. Property declined greatly in value. The Dutch authorities favoured Mohammedanism rather than Christianity. The press became short of paper. Padang came to be looked upon as the capital of the island.

* The Batak Christians celebrated the centenary of these martyrdoms on June 28th, 1934, with a three-hour service. Actual descendants of the cannibals who ate the missionaries made presents to the head of the Rhenish Mission, Bishop Lee of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, and a Dutch official.

Ward, therefore, resigned his charge of the Native School Institution. "Your exertions," wrote the Dutch Resident in reply, "have brought that institution to such a height that the most favourable results might have been anticipated, had you been able to persevere with it and prolong your residence in this place. Your departure and the public measures of retrenchment in every department of public expenditure has upset entirely the work of many years' exertion."

Many of Ward's letters between the years 1825 and 1828, to John Dyer, the B.M.S. secretary in London, have been preserved. They are full of appeals to be allowed to remain in Sumatra. Ward was not yet thirty years of age, and might have been expected to welcome fresh adventures. Ceylon was suggested to him; James Chater was in need of a younger colleague there. But Ward was anxious to complete a Malay translation of the New Testament. He sold the Bencoolen property by public auction for only 700 guilders, a ninety per cent. loss on its purchase price, so little worth had the settlement become. He had difficulty even then in getting the money. Anticipating the return of Charles Evans, or perhaps that Gottlob Brückner would come from Java, he secured a house in Padang in 1826. In the end the B.M.S. Committee had to acquiesce in his remaining in Sumatra, and secured from the Religious Tract Society a valuable grant of paper for him.

For a quarter of a century at least Nathaniel Ward lived on at Padang. It is a strange story of which few details have survived. In the end his name simply disappears without notice from the records.

"While Mr. Ward is thus acting as a pioneer to facilitate the future entrance of the heralds of salvation into those distant regions," said the B.M.S. Annual Report of 1830, "he has the additional gratification of rendering this service without charge to the Society; certain arrangements of a commercial nature affording him the opportunity of suspending his drafts on the Mission funds, without depriving him of the time requisite for his higher and more important avocations."

Six years later it was reported: "For various causes, his exertions are confined for the present to researches into the Malay language, with a view to the preparation of a new version of the Holy Scriptures in that widely spoken tongue."

Dr. F. A. Cox, in his *History of the Mission*, written for the B.M.S. Jubilee in 1842, said: "Mr. N. M. Ward has persevered in his gratuitous service. Versions of the Gospel of John, the Book of Genesis, and a Harmony of the Gospels have been completed."

As early as 1825 Nathaniel Ward had told John Dyer that he had "a moral antipathy to writing." Perhaps that points to the secret of his apparent failure. But from time to time, though often at long intervals, letters from him were printed in the magazines.* One dated from Padang in February, 1844, is worth quoting somewhat extensively for its picture of the man, his situation and his work.

"Your favour of July, 1843, reached me a few days ago, in a moment of deep distress for the death of an only brother, just removed. All communication with friends at home has been so long interrupted that I have often felt myself an outcast from civilised life, doomed to close my days in solitude amongst barbarians, without the power to benefit either them or myself

"You are aware, perhaps, that when it was deemed advisable to withdraw the Sumatran mission, I remained for the purpose of pursuing the language, and securing an intelligible version of the scriptures, supporting myself by means of agriculture. I thought such occupation, by placing me in daily intercourse with the natives, and in the constant use of their language, would be one of the best means of preparation for the work before me, while such pursuits, where Europeans had never been thus engaged, would be a further means of good to the country. All these objects have, I trust, been in some measure realized, though not to the extent of my wishes. I have secured a copious dictionary of the language, chiefly of native composition, under my superintendence, which will be highly valuable for missionary purposes; and I have at command, I believe, ample means for an intelligible version of the Scriptures. I have a version of the New Testament completed, but requiring revision; and I have made repeated trials of portions of both the Old and New Testament Having made a trip to Java some time ago, Mr. Medhurst was good enough to print for

* Among the papers in the B.M.S. Strong Room (A 2) is a memorandum by Nathaniel Ward on "The Flying Serpent," dated Padang, 1833—34.

me a version of Genesis on trial This I am now trying among the natives. I left with Mr. Medhurst, also, a *Life of Christ in the Roman character*, comprising a harmony of the four gospels, and embracing the whole history, which I think will be pretty generally understood. He has taken it to China, intending, I suppose, to print it there.

“In the various objects which have thus for so long a period engaged a share of my attention I have expended perhaps four or five thousand guilders, and the agricultural speculations, in which I have been concerned, have proved altogether unprofitable. I am now reduced to the necessity of withholding every further expenditure for such objects, even a personal subsistence being a matter of uncertainty, unless I remove from Padang, and enter upon some new pursuit elsewhere.

“I am sorry I can offer no prospect of an opening door for missions in Sumatra yet. The Dutch Government have extended their authority to almost every part of the island, and they are not friendly to any means of enlightening the people. Sumatra and Java, and every other part of the Netherlands India, except Borneo, are closed against all foreign missions by positive enactments, and for Borneo they are under restrictions which must render them nugatory. The only manner, in fact, in which the natives of these extensive countries can become acquainted with the word of truth is through the medium of the press I could do something effectual towards meeting it; but the fact is that I am without means, either personal or pecuniary; my time and attention being too much occupied with private business, and having no longer the income which can be devoted to native assistance as hitherto.

“In my agricultural speculations I have been encouraged and assisted by Government, and have received a grant of land as a security for the funds employed; but from various causes they have proved unprofitable, and must be abandoned with loss. The principal reason has been want of labour and its expense.”*

This somewhat pathetic letter, written twenty years after the mission in Sumatra had really ended, closed with an appeal

* Further parts of this interesting letter may be found in the *Baptist Missionary Herald*, October, 1844.

for money, or for a general power of attorney to act as the Society's agent in all transactions with the Government. A sentence at the end reveals Ward as still interested in affairs generally: "I have seen some notice of the West Indies missions, and should be glad to be made particularly acquainted with them; as also with the mission to Africa, a mere report of which has reached me." The Baptist churches in Jamaica had become independent in 1842, the year of the Society's jubilee. The *Chilmark*, with a party of Jamaican missionaries led by John Clarke and Alfred Saker, reached Fernando Po the very month that Ward was writing his lengthy letter from Sumatra.†

Ward's request could not possibly be granted. John Dyer, who had become Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society only a few months before the mission to Bencoolen had commenced, had died in 1841. He and Ward had been in the earlier years fairly regular correspondents. But a new generation was in control, and men's enthusiasms went towards Africa rather than to the disappointing closed territories in the Dutch East Indies. After 1850, the name of Nathaniel Ward and that of Gottlob Brückner, whose story remains to be told, disappeared from the annual report. For how much longer the Englishman remained in Sumatra and what became of him, we do not know.

Of the other actors in this Sumatran drama a few more words can be said. Richard Burton, on his arrival in Bengal, was appointed by the Serampore missionaries to their station at Digah. After only a few months there his wife died, and in September, 1828, he passed away, much regretted by all who knew him. Charles Evans, after his return to England, did not again set out for the mission field. A memorandum in his handwriting has survived, urging the opportunities that would be his, if he returned to Padang, but the Committee were convinced that the mission to the East Indies must be abandoned. Moreover, Evans' health had been undermined by his years in Sumatra. Frederick Trestrail, later one of the Secretaries of the B.M.S., remembered that as a student at Bristol he once met at a tea-party John Foster, the celebrated essayist. "He was engaged in an animated conversation with Mr. Evans, a missionary lately returned from Sumatra, from whom, by a † See Payne, *Freedom in Jamaica*, ch. vii.

few plain, but searching questions, he extracted all that he knew of that island."* After a few years in the English ministry, Evans migrated, about 1840, to America. There he held several pastoral charges and from 1850 to 1866 was an agent of the American Tract Society in New York. He died in 1869.†

William Robinson, whose changing fortunes have been traced from Olney to Serampore, from Serampore to Bhutan, from Bhutan to Batavia, and from Batavia to Bencoolen, returned from Sumatra to Bengal, and was asked to become pastor of Lall Bazar Church in Calcutta. "You have been enough driven about in the world," wrote Brückner to him. For thirteen years he ministered there with much acceptance. He had learned from his experiences, and throughout the difficult periods of controversy between the missionaries at Serampore and the younger ones in Calcutta, and between the London Committee and the Serampore brethren, Robinson proved a great comfort to Carey and his friends. "Brother Robinson is a very useful man in Calcutta," wrote Carey to his son, Jabez, in April, 1829. A few months later he recorded :

"There has lately been a very encouraging work carried on below Calcutta in a district bordering on the Soonder Bun and reaching almost to Diamond Harbour. Bro. Mack and Bro. Marshman have been down, but Bro. Robinson has been mostly useful and some young men with him, in promoting it. The work was first begun some years ago under the labours of our Independent Brethren but has spread now through several villages, perhaps ten or twelve. They first made application to Bro. Robinson to visit them and lately we have sent a young man named Rabeholm, a country born native of Serampore, to go to labour there."

Carey is reported once to have said of Robinson : "If you wish to hear Fuller, go and hear Brother Robinson." He showed his confidence and regard by appointing Robinson one of his executors.

In 1835, Carey having passed away the previous year, Robinson moved to Dacca, and was there until his own death in 1853. He outlived almost all the missionaries of his own

* Trestrail, *College Life in Bristol*, p. 32.

† The above facts were communicated to me in 1936 by his grandson, William Evans Hoyt, of Williamstown, Massachusetts.

generation. Those who knew him in his last years, told of his humility, his diligent study of the Bible, his unadorned directness of speech. That he came to be greatly appreciated and honoured is shown by some lines written shortly after his death.

“I see him now—his burly form
Looms large, just round the corner wall ;
Like some dark cloud, ere yet the storm
Begins, in drenching showers to fall—
Grave is his walk—and grave his face,
As now he nears the chapel gate ;
And now he takes his wonted place,
While round the anxious hearers wait.
In fervent words but clear and plain,
He pours the Gospel tidings forth
Or underneath the spreading boughs,
Of some tall tree he takes his stand,
Where, unconfined, the space allows
Room, full and free, on either hand
There have I heard him oft, but now,
I ne'er shall hear his voice again ;
Nor more behold that thoughtful brow
Betray the workings of the brain
For forty years this man of God,
Still toiling in his Master's cause,
The path of duty firmly trod,
Indifferent all to man's applause.”*

* *The Missionary*, by John Dunbar. See *The Story of Lall Bazar Baptist Church*.

CHAPTER VI

FROM SAXONY AND DEVONSHIRE TO SAMARANG

How Gottlob Brückner went from his village home to Berlin, and thence to Rotterdam ; how he, J. C. Supper, and Joseph Kam escaped to England ; how they studied at Gosport and were sent to the East Indies ; how Thomas Trowt went from Kingsbridge, via Bristol, to Java

To tell the stories of the two remaining figures in these Baptist venturings in the East Indies we must retrace our steps. A German and an Englishman, Gottlob Brückner and Thomas Trowt, became associated in work at Samarang in Java, and both are worthy of remembrance. Their paths did not cross till they met in the East Indies. The one, who came from Devonshire, had a short but influential missionary career, leaving behind him a very fragrant memory. The other, who had been born in Saxony, lived on until the year of the Indian Mutiny, and, though little known, is one of the finest figures in the history of the Baptist Missionary Society. Some account must first be given of the early days of these two men.

* * * *

In 1783, the year of the outbreak of the American War of Independence, the year also of the baptism of William Carey, on July 19th, in the village of Leinda, in the dukedom of Upper Lusatia, a son was born to a godly farmer named Brückner. He was given the name of Gottlob, and as he grew up found himself one of six brothers. The hymns, texts, and catechism taught him in his youth he ever remembered. At fourteen he was confirmed, though, to use his own words, he had experienced "no real change of heart."* It was not long before he began to spend his Sundays in careless fashion with companions of his own age, growingly restless and dissatisfied.

As Gottlob Brückner came to manhood, he wished to go to Berlin to seek his fortune, but was restrained by his father, till the latter heard that young men in the neighbourhood were

* A valuable autobiographical fragment gives the basis for much of our knowledge of Brückner. It was printed by C. B. Lewis in *The Oriental Baptist*.

being impressed into military service. Lest this fate should befall the youth, he was sent off with a small sum of money and his father's blessing. "Keep in remembrance Jesus Christ, Who is risen from the dead," were the parting words to him. He set out on foot and alone, and, as he journeyed, was often nervous and afraid. Passing through a lonely forest, he met a man who told him he had recently been in Berlin, and who gave him the name and address of his brother.

The fifth day of young Brückner's travels was spent in the company of a man with a wheelbarrow full of fowls. "He treated me very kindly on the road," wrote Brückner, many years later, "and I, being young and strong, assisted him by trundling his barrow for him part of the way." When Berlin was at last reached, they went together to the market, and Brückner, wandering off alone, saw to his surprise the name of the street in which lived the man whose address had been given him in the forest some days before. He decided to call, and was warmly received and given lodgings. Work was found for him at a cotton loom, and a young weaver, with whom he became friendly, introduced him to John Jaenicke, the minister of the Bohemian congregation in Berlin.

Brückner's story is so little known and so unusual that it is worth following in some detail. He went through a period of intellectual doubt and difficulty, and then passed, under Jaenicke's influence, to a realisation of his personal sinfulness. A sermon on the Prodigal Son deeply impressed him. "After some time, light and peace broke in upon my mind, and my great sorrow was turned into joy," he afterwards related. "My soul was filled with love and gratitude to my Saviour, Whom I thought it easy henceforth to love with my whole heart and strength. Sin seemed to have been banished from my affection, and I believed my course thereafter would be only delightful. This state of mind lasted but a little, and I soon learned that conflict and temptation were necessary to the development of the Christian character, and for growth in grace."

In some way which it would be interesting now to know—probably by way of his friend and minister, Jaenicke—the young German read accounts of the doings of Carey and his friends in India, and resolved himself to become some day a missionary. Jaenicke was at the time in charge of a small

seminary, where he gave preliminary training to men afterwards sent on to Holland, and thence to missionary service. He was also then taking the first steps towards the formation of the Berlin Bible Society.* When Brückner made known his purpose to him, he had no vacant place in his seminary, so for two years the young man's desire was tested by delay.

At length, in October, 1806, he was allowed to commence his studies. There were eleven other students. Jaenicke instructed them in divinity and sermon-making, and under other teachers they learned languages, arithmetic and music. From time to time they preached in Jaenicke's church. Each student received weekly a small sum for his board, clothing and lodgings, but not seldom they were in real want. At the time Europe was in the midst of the turmoils of the Napoleonic wars. In many places there was acute distress. "While I was there," said Brückner of his student days, "the French having taken possession of Berlin, much fear was entertained that our seminary would be broken up But we went on as usual, and no hindrance whatever arose."

Brückner had spent sixteen happy months in this fashion, when the Director of the Netherlands Missionary Society† asked Jaenicke to send two students to Rotterdam with a view to further training and then service with the German missionaries on the coast of Coromandel in India. Gottlob Brückner and John Christopher Supper were chosen. Rotterdam was reached in February, 1808.

Looking back on his experiences in Holland, Brückner remembered how intense was the cold. Four Dutch ministers gave the students lessons in Bible study, theology, and "missions," and they were also instructed in mathematics, history, drawing and music. Brückner and his companion were in Rotterdam for four years. "There was no ship then going to sea from Holland, because of the war between England and France, otherwise we should have been sent out earlier." Early in 1812, the authorities of the Netherlands Missionary Society sent them to the Moravian Settlement at Zeist, and they

* See William Canton, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Vol. I. Jaenicke was made an Honorary Life Governor of the parent Society in 1812.

† For some account of this Society and of Moravian work in and from Holland see Rauws in *The Netherlands Indies* (World Dominion Survey), ch. iii.

helped with work in the villages around. It was there, apparently, that the plan suggested itself of trying to get to England by way of Denmark and Sweden. On August 16th, 1812, Brückner, Supper and Joseph Kam, whose subsequent career in Amboyna has already been outlined, started out in the garb of "travelling mechanics," and passed through Hamburg, Copenhagen and Gottenburg to England—"and thus altogether escaped from the French power."

From Harwich, where the three young men landed, they came to London, arriving in the middle of October, 1812. They presented themselves at the headquarters of the London Missionary Society, and lodgings were found for them in Islington by George Burder, the Secretary. After some delay, the L.M.S. authorities received letters from Holland regarding the strangers.

"In them," stated Brückner, in his account of his experiences, "we were made over to the Directors of the L.M.S., that they might dispose of us as they saw fit, since for the present the Dutch mission could do nothing We were then required to pass an examination in Divinity before some of the Directors; but, being strangers to the technicalities of English theology, we were misunderstood and gave no satisfaction."

One has sympathy both with the examining divines and with the candidates. It was decided that Brückner and Kam should be placed under the care of Dr. Bogue.

David Bogue was one of the fathers and founders of the London Missionary Society.* In 1794 he was in Bristol, and was invited by Dr. John Ryland of the Baptist Academy to hear read the first letters that had come from India from William Carey. Bogue's enthusiasm was so fired that he took a leading part in the events which led to the formation of the London Missionary Society the following year. At one time he thought of going himself to India, with Robert Haldane of Edinburgh, but they were refused permission by the East India Company.† In 1800, he was appointed tutor to the missionary candidates of the Society, and his Academy at Gosport became an important training centre.

* See E. A. Payne, *Before the Start: Steps towards the Founding of the London Missionary Society*, 1942.

† See E. A. Payne, *The Church Awakes*, 1942, pp. 110f.

When Brückner and Kam came under his influence, David Bogue was a man of sixty-four. He had under him some twenty students, who lodged in the town of Gosport. Brückner took classes in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and preached occasionally.

"When I was not thus employed," he says, "I went to labour amongst my countrymen, of whom there were some thousands among the French prisoners of war, who were confined in ships or other places near Gosport . . . The evangelical preaching of Dr. Bogue was very salutary, and I thank the Lord that I was not permitted to go forth to the heathen before I had been brought under these renewing influences."*

Brückner and Kam had been nearly a year at Gosport when events transpired which led to their being sent, together with their companion, J. C. Supper, to the East Indies. The great Robert Morrison was at the beginning of his amazing work of preparing for the entry of the gospel into the closed land of China. The idea had come to him of what he called the "Ultra-Ganges" Mission, the plan of which was to choose places frequented by Chinese, as near to China as possible, and to make the Christian work carried on in them a basis for future work in China itself.

Morrison wrote to the authorities of the London Missionary Society, drawing their attention to the desolate state of the Reformed Churches in Java. Lieutenant-Governor Raffles was known to be friendly to missionary work. Just at this time, as we have already seen, Raffles was welcoming William Robinson in Batavia. After careful consideration the Directors of the L.M.S. decided upon a mission to Java—"under a strong desire to become the instruments of communicating to the inhabitants the blessings of the Gospel," so ran their Minute, "especially as there are multitudes of Chinese resident there among whom, it is hoped, the Scriptures translated by Mr. Morrison may be freely circulated." Brückner, Supper, and Kam could speak Dutch, and were obviously the men for the venture. Towards the end of 1813, they sailed from England. It is worthy of note that it was that same year that the gifted

* *The New Evangelical Magazine*, 1818, p. 59 contains a letter from Brückner to Bogue written in February, 1816, shortly before the former became a Baptist.

William Milne, their companion at Dr. Bogue's Gosport Academy, was sent to Canton.

Brückner, Supper and Kam reached Batavia on March 26th, 1814. How Kam went to Amboyna, and how Supper remained in Batavia, has already been told. Brückner decided to start work at Samarang, a populous place in the middle of the long northern coast of Java. After an exciting journey through the wilds, he arrived there at the end of August.

* * * *

Three weeks after Brückner reached Samarang, there arrived in Batavia a young Englishman, Thomas Trowt, destined to be a decisive influence in the life of the German. He had come to Java under the auspices of the Baptist Missionary Society.

Trowt was born at Kingsbridge, in Devonshire, in December, 1784, being thus almost exactly the same age as William Robinson. He was the son of a shoemaker. As a boy he attended a chapel belonging to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. After three years at the local Grammar School, he entered his father's shop, but when nineteen years of age became a draper's assistant, ultimately securing a position in Plymouth. There his endowments of intellect and character soon attracted attention.

In December, 1811, soon after becoming a partner in the business where he worked, Trowt was baptized in the How's Lane Church by the new young minister, John Dyer, afterwards for many years the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society.* Ten months later, the young man was accepted as a missionary candidate, and the following summer, in August, 1813, he entered Bristol College. There his particular friends were William Yates, who afterwards went to Bengal, and James Hoby, later a distinguished minister in England and the biographer of Yates.

Trowt's course at Bristol was a short one. Someone was needed for the East Indies, about which both the Serampore brethren and William Robinson had written home, and a Quaker merchant had offered a free passage to a missionary in one of his ships. On April 19th, 1814, at the Pithay Church, Bristol, Trowt was "set apart as a missionary to Java or Amboyna." John Dyer came from Plymouth to offer prayer.

* See *The First Generation*, ch. xvi.

John Ryland preached from the words, "The people which sat in darkness saw a great light, and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death light is sprung up." His report on his student was as follows:—"Since Mr. Trowt came to Bristol at the expense of the B.M.S. he has discovered much ardent piety and remarkable diligence in the acquisition of learning."

Those were great days for the supporters of the Baptist Missionary Society. It was but four months since the first missionary to the West Indies, John Rowe, had been valedicted there in Bristol. It was only three months since Eustace Carey, nephew of William Carey, had been solemnly charged at Northampton by Robert Hall on setting out for Bengal. Before the summer was out, William Yates had also been ordained for work in India.

Thomas Trowt sailed from Portsmouth on May 10th, 1814. Before leaving home he had been married to Eliza Burnell of Plymouth, the sister of his minister's wife. Extracts from Trowt's journal give a vivid picture of his experiences on his voyage and the conditions of travel at the time. The route chosen was by way of Madeira, and from there more than forty vessels sailed together for better security.

"May 29th, 1814. Lord's Day. This has been the beginning of days to me on board the ship. Having informed the Captain of the manner in which I proposed to conduct the service, and distributed Bibles and Testaments to the crew, I went upon deck about half-past ten. The awning was spread; an old ragged red flag was spread over and fastened round the capstan; planks were laid across the ship from side to side over the hatchway, to form a seat for the crew. Some flags were suspended around the sides to confine the sound, and others were spread over the hencoop alongside the companion. The captain and Mr. P. took their seat on the larboard; my wife and Mr. G. on the starboard side of the binnacle; the crew filled up the planks and I stood before the capstan. I read from the Pantalogia an account of the design of the Sabbath, and the manner in which it should be kept; then introduced the service by reading John III, the men opening their Bibles and Testaments and following me. Then I prayed; the men knelt down during prayer, and concluded with their Amen. I

had chosen the twelfth in the second volume of Milner's Sermons* as level to the comprehension of all and more calculated to get an attention to the truths of the Gospel than one more pointed and alarming Concluded prayer, about a quarter past twelve. The people appeared to be very attentive

" June 22nd, 1814. On the 22nd we crossed the equator. To-day, at the particular request of Captain Scott, I went on board the *Somerset*, and delivered the glad tidings of the Gospel. He has two hundred convicts, and thirty soldiers on board, for Port Jackson. His ship's crew, added to these, makes the whole number on board about two hundred and seventy. All the convicts had permission to attend; about one hundred and fifty availed themselves of it, several of whom were Jews. The people were in general attentive; a few of the convicts particularly so. If it should one day appear that I was sent into the midst of the Atlantic Ocean to be the means of awakening one of these prisoners to a more serious concern for his soul, I shall receive an ample recompence for every sacrifice I have made, and have abundant reason to admire the wisdom discoverable in every part of the divine conduct."

" August 5th, 1814. Off the Cape. The only objects which are presented to our view are the heavens and the sea; with a vast number of albatrosses, Cape pigeons, Cape hens, and other birds. Though it has been repeatedly attempted, none of them have been caught. Our livestock is ended, our water very bad, and we long for the termination of our voyage."

Trowt's reading on board included William Marsden's important *History of Sumatra*, Watson's *Apology for the Bible*,† the Greek Testament, the Hebrew Bible, an account of the seventeenth-century persecution of the Waldensians, and Andrew Fuller's *Memoirs of "dear Samuel Pearce,"* that young, ardent and saintly figure among the founders of the Baptist Missionary Society, like Trowt himself, a native of

* Probably the sermons of Joseph Milner (1744—1797), an evangelical divine.

† Richard Watson, *Apology for the Bible . . . Letters to Thomas Paine*, 1796. Watson (1737—1816) was professor first of chemistry, then of divinity in Cambridge and from 1782 Bishop of Llandaff.

Devonshire.* The ship at length reached its destination in the middle of September.

"On the 17th," wrote Trowt, "we came to an anchor in Batavia roads, and, being heartily tired of our situation, we packed up necessaries for a few days, and determined to go on shore as soon as we had dined. The sea breeze being pretty high, we got very wet, and were a little apprehensive of being upset on the bar; however, we reached the shore in safety. Here our olfactory nerves were assailed with a most horrid smell from the putrid matter which is washed up on the beach near the mouth of the river, and which is thrown out on the adjoining marsh. The visual organs were actively employed to draw off the attention. A new world afforded them abundant scope for exercise. When we entered the city, as it is called, the miserable appearance of everything around me presented a striking but melancholy contrast to the cleanliness, health, activity and contentment which are found in every village in England."†

Trowt's stay with William Robinson in Batavia was a comparatively brief one, though during it he made good progress with the language, and did useful work among the English soldiers. The two missionaries did not find it very easy to maintain a joint establishment, and Trowt decided to move to Samarang where there would be more opportunity of work among the native population. An appeal for help had come from Gottlob Brückner, and with the approval of Serampore, Trowt and James Reily‡ decided to respond to it. They set out in April, 1815.

"The smell of the ship, the heat, the smoke, and the closeness of our sleeping-place," wrote Trowt, "conspired to excite apprehensions of an unpleasant voyage. These were, in some degree, increased by the nature of our cargo, part of which, consisting of about thirty male convicts, was taken from the prison of Batavia, and we were to collect the poor wretches from port to port."

But somehow the discomforts were endured, and Samarang was reached on May 10th, 1815, the first anniversary of the day on which Trowt and his wife had left Portsmouth, and little more than a month before the battle of Waterloo.

* See *The First Generation*, ch. vi.

† See chapter iii above.

‡ See p. 26 above for the account of Batavia by Tyerman and Bennet.

CHAPTER VII

SAMARANG

How Gottlob Brückner and Thomas Trowt met in Samarang; how Brückner was baptized and Trowt died; how the New Testament was translated into Javanese, and Brückner visited Serampore to get it printed; how, in spite of the difficulties to be faced, Brückner resolved to return to Samarang.

SAMARANG is a populous place on the northern coast of Java. When he arrived in August, 1814, Brückner found there some fifteen hundred nominal Christians, among them less than a hundred Roman Catholics. The European community struck him as a very worldly-minded one. He became assistant to the aged minister of the Dutch Church in the city, and on the latter's death succeeded him. Some four months after his arrival, he married the daughter of another Dutch clergyman—one who had been minister at Sourabaya, farther along the coast to the east. Sourabaya has been described as "a gleaming white town set in a mass of tropical foliage, with, beyond it, tier upon tier of misty blue mountains, piling themselves up as far as the eye can see."* In the nineteen-thirties it became a stopping-place on the England to Australia air route.

Brückner had a number of official duties to perform, and soon found the hot damp climate very trying to his health. There were some hundreds of nominal Christians who could be reached only through the medium of the Malay language. Yet to learn both that and Javanese at the same time was an extremely difficult task. This prompted him to appeal to the Baptist missionaries at Batavia for help, and it was this appeal that led to the arrival in Samarang of Thomas Trowt and James Reily. A warm welcome was given to the Englishman and his companion by a number of the Christian residents. The local Javanese ruler had some time before, with official encouragement, sent his two sons to be trained at Dr. Marshman's famous school at Serampore.

* H. W. Ponder, *Java Pageant*, p. 19. On more recent Christian missions in the Sourabaya area see *The Growing Church* (Madras Report, Vol. II), pp. 114 f., and Latourette, V, p. 292.

J. C. Marshman, writing to Jonathan Ryland, January 28th, 1814, said : " Lord Minto about six months before his departure sent here two young princes whom he had brought with him from Java ; the eldest is a fine lad, very diligent and forward in his studies, and owing to his having lived at Government House very polite and well-behaved ; he reads English fluently and seems to take great delight in reading English books. He is tenaciously attached to his own religion (Mahometanism)."

Whatever the reaction of the sons might be, the father in Samarang showed warm goodwill towards the new mission. At Serandole, a few miles away, a detachment of British soldiers was stationed. Among them were some who had come to know Trowt at Weltevreden, near Batavia. Services were started for the soldiers ; Trowt opened a small English school, began the study of Javanese, and did some preaching in Malay in a private house.

After only a few months in Samarang James Reily returned to Bengal and resigned from the mission. Trowt was left struggling on " with a body by no means as strong as when I left England," so he told his parents.* There was far more than one man could do. " I consider myself in one of the most important stations in the mission," he wrote to his friend William Yates, " at the open door of an empire ; and though alone, I would not relinquish it on any account." He appealed boldly to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society for six more missionaries—one for Batavia, one for Samarang, one for Sourabaya, one for Jugjakarta, the seat of the sultan (who still holds his throne by virtue of an old agreement with the Dutch), and two for other neighbouring centres. This was planning after the Carey model. But no reinforcements came, and, instead, fresh labours were put upon Trowt's already overburdened shoulders.

The new English Resident at Samarang, J. Crawford, the author of a History of the *Indian Archipelago*, had begun the preparation of a Javanese-English Dictionary. He passed over to Trowt his manuscript for completion and publication. At the beginning of 1816, Stamford Raffles was in Samarang shortly before his return to England. He showed the devoted and gifted missionary much kindness and honour. But already dysentery was undermining the young man's strength.

* See *Baptist Magazine*, 1816, p. 82.

The strenuous months were gladdened by a growingly close friendship with Gottlob Brückner—"a gentle pious man," as Trowt called him a letter to Serampore. They were nearly of the same age, and in temper and outlook had much in common, as well as being both in a lonely and difficult situation. Brückner was growingly troubled at having to receive at the Communion Table notoriously ungodly persons, who regarded themselves as members of the Dutch Church and expected him to baptize their children. "Probably the greater number of the children brought to me for baptism were illegitimate," he recorded. Trowt lent him Dr. Ryland's *Candid Statement of the Arguments for Adult Baptism*, and, after reading it, Brückner declared himself convinced of its truth. What subsequently happened is best told in his own words.

"This conviction placed me in a strait. What was I to do? Ought I to remain in my situation, which was a useful one, and one whereto the Lord's providence appeared to have led me? Or should I go over to the Baptists, and thus lose every worldly advantage, plunge myself into serious difficulties, and displease and alienate my best friends? I saw clearly, however, that the struggle was between self-interest and truth. . . . In the name of the Lord, therefore, I resolved to do what was right, and to leave the church, let the consequences be what they might. I told brother Trowt of my determination, and the day was fixed for my baptism. Before this took place, however, I resolved to declare my change of sentiment in regard to baptism to my congregation, and I accordingly preached a sermon from John V, 39: 'Search the Scriptures' . . . After delivering this discourse in the church in the morning, I was, on the same day,* baptized in the river by Mr. Trowt. I had invited the elders of my church and the members of my family to witness my baptism, which they did. It was soon in every one's mouth that I had been baptized, and I was mocked and sneered at by some, and blamed by all, for the step I had taken. The following Sunday I preached but the church was nearly empty. . . . My baptism, disastrous as it was to my worldly circumstances, was attended and followed by

* Trowt says the baptism took place the following Sunday, and on this point he is probably more accurate.

an unspeakable peace and joy in my soul."*

With Brückner that day, April 7th, 1816, was another candidate for baptism, John Shaw, an English soldier from Serandole, whose public confession of faith greatly rejoiced the heart of Thomas Trowt. "This afternoon," he wrote in his journal, "I baptized him and Brother Brückner. God grant that this may be an earnest of good things to come."

By becoming a Baptist Brückner surrendered an official position, and a salary of 150 Spanish dollars a month. Until a successor arrived to take his place, he continued to preach in the church, but to sadly diminished congregations, and he had now no means of subsistence. Trowt and he therefore joined forces. "I had a house," Brückner records, "and he drew a salary from the Baptist Missionary Society, which provided us with other necessaries for the time being, and, our families being small, we lived together in much happiness."

This shared life was a brief one, however. Trowt's ardent spirit had exhausted the strength of his frail body. He sought renewed health in the somewhat cooler climate of Salatiga, inland to the south, but without success, and, returning to Samarang, he passed away there on October 26th, 1816. "It was not his preaching in Malay which did him so much harm," wrote Brückner, "but chiefly his too close application to the study of the Javanese language. There he sat, studying almost unremittingly the whole day, except sometimes a short walk towards evening to some compound or village near to him. There he would talk to the natives as much as he was able to." "He was very diligent and very pious," wrote William Robinson on hearing of Trowt's death. His widow, Eliza, made her way to Serampore. In February, 1817, Carey wrote to his son Jabez. "Bro. Trowt is dead and Sister Trowt now at Serampore intending eventually to proceed to England. What need have we to work while it is day. The night of death will soon come when none of us can work. I look with deep regret on my past life and am ashamed to see what a loiterer I have been. I scarcely appear to live to any useful

* With this statement from the autobiographical fragment compare two letters written by Brückner shortly before his baptism, the one to Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, for transmission to the Directors of the L.M.S., the other to Dr. Ryland, of the B.M.S. They were printed in the *New Evangelical Magazine*, 1818, pp. 59—61.

purpose. Bro. Brückner continues at Samarang and will be, I hope, a useful man." From Serampore, Mrs. Trowt, with a little baby daughter, journeyed back to England. She passed away in Plymouth in 1823.

Brückner had written to William Carey at Serampore as soon as he had decided to be baptized. In the early autumn of the same year, 1816, he sent a further letter explaining his position. Trowt also communicated both with Serampore and London. At length Brückner received from William Ward authorisation to draw on the brethren at Serampore to the same amount as Trowt had been allowed, and, not long afterwards, there came a letter from Dr. Ryland telling of his official adoption as an agent of the Baptist Missionary Society.

The Javanese dictionary was about one third completed when Trowt died, and he had also made beginnings with some Bible translation. Brückner endeavoured to carry on the work singlehanded, but Crawford claimed the return of his manuscripts, and in spite of Brückner's appeal, burnt them. By the middle of 1817, however, the quiet but dauntless German missionary had completed the translation of a few chapters of *Matthew* into Javanese, and was able to send to Serampore some notes on the language, which were printed in an early number of *The Friend of India*.

How Java was ceded again to the Dutch has already been told. Brückner's German origin and Dutch contacts were no doubt useful assets to him. When the new Governor visited Samarang, he heard him preach and assured the missionary that he would not be interfered with or molested. In November, 1817, Joseph Luxford Phillips and his wife arrived in Samarang from Batavia. The Dutch Ambassador in London, as well as Sir Stamford Raffles, had given them letters of commendation. At first they were accommodated in Brückner's garden. Phillips started preaching in Malay and English, and eagerly began the study of Javanese, inspired by the memory of Thomas Trowt and working at the table at which he had often sat.* To help support himself, Phillips accepted the position of English teacher at the Dutch Military School. Brückner spoke of him as "a great comfort" and "much respected amongst

* "The work is great and arduous: outward circumstances appear forbidding: but an unshaken confidence in the power of divine grace forbids me to despair." (January, 1818, *Baptist Magazine*, 1818, p. 434).

his countrymen." Things promised well for him when suddenly, his young child having died a few months earlier, he went down with severe fever,[†] and he and his wife decided to return to England. Two English merchants each gave him fifty pounds towards his passage money home. His wife had a six weeks' old baby, and they took with them a Javanese girl as servant. In Bath and Reading Phillips sought renewed strength, but to no purpose. In June, 1820, he passed away.†

Alone once again, Brückner struggled on manfully. In his evangelistic efforts he had many disappointments. For a while he moved inland to Salatiga, but found the natives but little more responsive there.

"Long as I have preached," he confessed to William Robinson in the summer of 1819, "I have not yet seen a single instance of conversion under my ministry. . . . This is very discouraging indeed; yet what have we to do? To sit down? To despond? To be discouraged? To despair? This makes the case no better. . . . I have here no Christian friend with whom I can enter into spiritual conversation, except one with whom I can only go a certain way. We are as in a desert where the water is scarce, and hardly to be found at all. May we but see the dawn of a day of grace before we die: and may we but be honoured to aid in bringing it about."

But, when he wrote these words, his translation of the four gospels into Javanese was already complete, and, before very many months had passed, the whole New Testament was finished—no small achievement. Printing difficulties had been foreseen. Nothing had ever been printed in Javanese characters. Trowt had hoped to get a fount of type made at Serampore. Phillips had tried in England. A suggestion that young Nathaniel Ward, recently arrived at Bencoolen, should help, came to nothing. Brückner himself sought, unsuccessfully, to get Government aid for the establishment in Samarang of a printing press, which might produce official documents as well as his translations.

Early in 1823 inquiries reached Brückner from the Netherlands Bible Society regarding his translation of the New Testament, and from England he received a small litho-

† Cf. *Baptist Magazine*, 1820, p. 300. Ivey contributed a memoir to the *Baptist Magazine* of 1823 and there a portrait is to be found.

graphic press. Soon afterwards the Bible Society in Batavia suggested that his work be examined by two Javanese scholars. They pronounced favourably on it, and he was then invited to settle in Batavia that he might personally superintend its lithographing. W. H. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society, had commenced in 1822 his twenty years' residence in Batavia in the interests of Robert Morrison's "Ultra-Ganges" Mission, and his influence was no doubt behind this move. Medhurst visited Samarang, and met Brückner, being "exceedingly pleased with his company and conversation." For a while Brückner's hopes ran high, but the press could not be made to work adequately on so difficult a task. Then an insurrection in Jugjakarta against the Europeans made the authorities apprehensive, and unwilling that the New Testament should be circulated among the native population. With heavy heart and with his precious manuscript, Brückner returned to Samarang.

Many parts of the island of Java continued for long in arms against the Dutch. Evangelistic work was more than ever difficult. Brückner, therefore, turned again to his translation work, and began a version of *Genesis*. "I do this," he wrote, "because I think I cannot be better employed than in transcribing the oracles of truth, in opposition to a prevailing system of lies. It is true there is no prospect now of getting them printed and circulated, but I hope the time will come when there will be." The *Baptist Missionary Herald* did Brückner no more than justice when, in 1822, it spoke of "the calm, affectionate, faithful and persevering manner in which he is striving to make known the gospel." The *Baptist Magazine*, in 1825, referred truly to "the spirit of humility and patient zeal with which this good man is pursuing his important but unostentatious labours."

W. H. Medhurst of the London Missionary Society was not one to leave things in so unsatisfactory a state without every effort to find a remedy. In December, 1826, he wrote from Batavia to William Robinson, then settled in Calcutta, telling him of the refusal of the Batavia Bible Society to print Brückner's Javanese New Testament, and appealing for help from Serampore. Medhurst drew attention to the fact that the translator was forty-three years old, and that it was most important that the results of his long and careful work should not be lost.

The Serampore brethren responded nobly. They could get no assistance from the Calcutta Bible Society, but agreed to undertake the publication of the version themselves, inviting Brückner to come to Bengal to supervise the printing.

At this stage the Batavia Bible Society felt its honour at stake, and agreed to help pay for the work. A further £500 was secured from the British and Foreign Bible Society, who had heard of the translation from the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and Mr. George Bennet, who had visited Java for the London Missionary Society in 1825. The account of their contact with Brückner is of interest.

July 28. " We set out on an expedition to Samarang, which lies nearly 400 miles eastward from Batavia. The whole economy of posting being in the hands of government, travelling is accomplished with comparatively little inconvenience, and no unnecessary delay. The stages for changing horses (poneys) are at regular intervals, six miles asunder, and where, in the mountainous regions, the strength of these is not sufficient to draw the carriages, buffaloes are attached, in addition to them, with increased expense.

" July 31 (Lord's Day). Mr. Brückner, a Baptist missionary here at Samarang (formerly of our Society) accompanied us to the Dutch Church. The congregation might amount to three hundred persons; the women sat in the middle of the church before the pulpit, in full dress and without caps or bonnets, while the men occupied the galleries and the side seats beneath them. After the sermon, two children were baptized, and a couple of young people were married. . . . We afterwards repaired to Mr. Brückner's house, to attend a prayer-meeting for the universal diffusion of the gospel throughout this island, and all the dark regions of the earth. Mr. Brückner formerly resided in this city, and still continues occasionally to do the work of an evangelist in it; but he lives principally at Salatiga, a town about 40 m. distant from Samarang, where, under many difficulties and discouragements, he occupies himself in visiting the people from house to house, and, whenever he can find an open door or an open ear, announcing the message of salvation. Alas! it is to be feared that as yet all hearts are

closed against it."*

Writing of these visitors from England, Brückner said : " I was much refreshed by their prayers and counsel. Thus had the Lord prepared something pleasant for me in this wilderness ; but they met me still in a confused state, having just come down with my family from Salatiga : I had no room, nor even table to receive them in a decent manner."

Brückner accepted the invitation to Serampore, and, leaving his wife and two daughters in Samarang, started off with his sons. Bengal was reached in August, 1828. In announcing his arrival, the Serampore *Periodical Accounts* said : " The information which Mr. Brückner brings concerning the state of missions in Java and the neighbouring islands, is far from encouraging."

Dr. Joshua Marshman was at the time in England. His gifted son, John Clark Marshman, was placed in charge of the making of the intricate Javanese type, and showed great personal kindness to the retiring German missionary. Progress was necessarily very slow. Before the second sheet of the New Testament could be sent to the press, Brückner broke down in health, and during the spring and summer of 1829 had to take a voyage to Malacca in Malay. Then his eldest boy died, at the age of thirteen. All the proof reading Brückner had to do himself. It was not until 1831 that the work was finished. Three thousand copies were printed, one thousand for the British and Foreign Bible Society, who gave Brückner himself five hundred of them, and the rest for the Batavia Bible Society.† Eight tracts were also printed, and a Javanese grammar in Dutch.

The records of Brückner's stay at Serampore are disappointingly few. In November, 1829, he offered " the designation prayer " at the ordination of John Smith, who had been trained at the college, Marshman, recently back from England, conducting the service, and Carey preaching. Brückner was worthy of association with these men on such an occasion, for he was of the same heroic mould. It was suggested to him

* *Voyages and Travels round the World by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, Esq.* Compiled by James Montgomery. The full itinerary lasted from 1821 to 1829. Unfortunately, Tyerman died in Madagascar in 1828.

† A finely preserved copy is in the library of the Baptist Missionary Society, London.

that he should settle in Bengal, but he declined, and set out again for Java, taking with him his precious Testaments and tracts, and a fount of Javanese type. "He is a man of ardent piety and sound judgment," wrote Nathaniel Ward from Padang, commenting on the suggestion that Brückner should leave Java, "but diffident and unassuming, and accustomed to seclusion. . . . He is, moreover, a man of economical habits, and thoroughly imbued with the missionary spirit."

Brückner's own comments on his Serampore days are illuminating.

"The Marshman family had been exceedingly good to me," he wrote. "They had given me a room in their house to occupy with my children; I was fed at their table; and my children were instructed at exceedingly small cost. Dr. Carey and Mr. Mack* also were very kind to me during my stay, and I look back upon my sojourn at Serampore as one of the most agreeable periods in my life. Having taken leave of these brethren, I went to Calcutta to my old tried friend Robinson, who then accompanied me to the ship. Our vessel was bound for New South Wales, and was to touch at Batavia."

Off Borneo the vessel experienced a severe storm, but at length Brückner found himself safely united again with his wife in Samarang.

"I think, taking things connectedly," he wrote bravely and judicially on his way from Batavia to Samarang, "our mission—I mean the Baptist Mission—has not been fruitless to that nation (i.e., the Javan): yea, it has even been the means that other denominations of Christians have turned their eyes upon Java. Our Mission in this island has been the precursor in the great work of evangelising this numerous people; and I hope not to withdraw my hand from the plough, especially now, as I have so many means at my disposal."

There is courage and confidence in these words, but Brückner can have had little thought that he was to spend another quarter of a century in Java, or of the developments in the strange story of his service with the Baptist Missionary Society.

* See *The First Generation*, ch. xvii.

CHAPTER VIII

THE INCREASE

How Gottlob Brückner fared on his return to Java ; how the Baptist Missionary Society withdrew its support ; how fresh missionaries arrived, and how, after Brückner's death, the seed so patiently sown bore fruit.

ON the return of Gottlob Brückner to Samarang, it soon became evident that the inhabitants of Java were far more ready to read or hear read something that was printed, than to listen to an address, or to enter into conversation.

There was an immediate and eager demand for the tracts, and such excitement was created that the Dutch authorities stepped in, and, fearing another popular revolt, forbade their distribution, and confiscated Brückner's stocks. Strong representations were made against this action, but the tracts were not released. Copies of the New Testament had to be distributed secretly. The faithful Medhurst helped with the lithographing of further tracts at Batavia, a welcome grant of paper having been secured from the Religious Tract Society. Brückner had sent a copy of the New Testament from Serampore to the king of Holland, and in 1833 a commendatory letter reached the Batavia Bible Society. The king of Prussia, who had also received a copy, sent Brückner a pleasing message and a gold medal. These marks of royal favour somewhat lessened the opposition and interference to which the missionary had had to submit, but the Annual Report of the Baptist Missionary Society for 1834 stated: "Our laborious and self-denying missionary, Mr. Brückner, has summed up the policy under which they are governed in one brief sentence—'Let the Javanese remain what they are, it does not agree with our politics to enlighten them.'"

Slowly, however, the printed word did its own work. In 1842, Brückner heard of a group of natives in Sourabaya, two hundred and fifty miles from Samarang, under the leadership of an ex-priest, who had been won from Mohammedanism by reading one of the tracts. He visited them, and, though not prepared at once to baptize them, was full of thankfulness and

hope at what he discovered, and began to prepare hymns in Javanese for their use. It seemed as if at last the Gospel had begun to take root.

But the authorities of the Baptist Missionary Society were becoming tired of a station, which had been so unproductive, and where, owing to the attitude of the Dutch Government, the missionary force could not be strengthened. The generation that had known Brückner was gone, save for William Robinson, far away in Dacca. John Dyer, Trowt's brother-in-law, who had been for many years the Secretary of the Society, had died in 1841. W. H. Medhurst of the London Missionary Society had left Batavia for Shanghai. Occasional letters from Brückner were published in the *Missionary Herald*, but they were few and far between.* The Society was in considerable financial difficulties, and as already indicated, interest and enthusiasm were directed towards the West Indies and the contemplated mission to Africa rather than to the East.

The Committee again suggested to Brückner that he should leave Java, and move to Singapore or Penang, where he would be under the British flag. As an alternative it was suggested that he might be willing to go to South Africa to work among the descendants of the Dutch settlers. Brückner, however, was well over sixty years of age, and refused to leave the land where he had worked for more than thirty years. In 1847 he received a letter from London dissolving official connection with him, and withdrawing financial support. After 1850 his name, and that of Nathaniel Ward, disappear from the records of the Society. It is impossible not to feel some sadness and shame at the action that was taken, though Brückner himself was great enough to bear the authorities no ill-will.

“The B.M.S. is not to be blamed,” he wrote, “for withdrawing their mission which seems so unfruitful from this island, inasmuch as there was no prospect of sustaining their operations by sending more missionaries to Java; for the Government regulations were such as to amount to an entire prohibition of it.”

Some justification—or at any rate compensation—for the withdrawal of support from Gottlob Brückner may be found

* See November, 1839, July, 1840, August, 1841, October, 1846.

in the fact that other missionary bodies had, by the middle of the nineteenth century become interested in Java. The situation was indeed very different from what it had been in the days of Stamford Raffles.

In 1826 the Netherlands Missionary Society sent J. F. C. Gerické out to Java to translate the Old Testament into Javanese. He made excellent progress with the language, and in 1831, the year of Brückner's return from Serampore, was able to send a version of the Psalms to Holland for publication. Later he produced a revised New Testament, using Brückner's translation as a basis. Having gone to Holland himself to supervise its printing, Gerické wrote of his older missionary colleague :—

“ Ever since I had the pleasure to be acquainted with Mr. Brückner, I admired in him a true Christian character, a humble mind, an active promoter of the kingdom of Christ, a patient sufferer of many grievous disappointments, and a constant confessor of the faith of Christ crucified. Among all the missionaries who have been sent to an unconverted nation, perhaps none have met as many and great difficulties as Mr. Brückner. . . . He is until now the only missionary in Java who is tolerated by the Dutch Government.”*

Brückner rejoiced in the issue of the revised New Testament and thought highly and generously of it. “ For twenty years my translation was in circulation among the Javanese,” he said, “ but now it has been superseded by a better one made by my beloved brother, Mr. Gerické.”

From time to time American and German missionaries came to Batavia, but the Government declined to allow them to settle in the island. The agents of the London Missionary Society had continued there till 1843, working chiefly amongst the Chinese and Malay-speaking people. From 1828 W. H. Medhurst had had a younger colleague with him. They were in close touch with the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, established by William Milne, and at which the great James Legge arrived in 1840. It was primarily towards China that the eyes of all these missionaries were directed. In 1843, however, the “ Ultra-Ganges ” Mission came to an end. The Chinese ports were opened to foreigners, and Medhurst proceeded to Shanghai, where he spent the last thirteen years of

* Letter to B.M.S. See *Missionary Herald*, January, 1848.

his active life. He was, says Silvester Horne, "a peculiarly sympathetic and powerful missionary,"* and this is abundantly supported by all that we know of his contacts with his Baptist colleagues in the East Indies.

In 1846, the Netherlands Missionary Society sent out a deputation who stayed with Brückner in Samarang for some ten days. With them was a Dutch missionary, J. E. Jellesma, from the island of Ceram. He was much attracted by the need and opportunity in Java, and a year later returned and settled at Sourabaya, where, according to Brückner, "he found a fruitful soil for the Gospel." In 1854, two young missionaries came from Holland to assist Jellesma, whose work was increasingly successful.† For some time there had been a young man named Hoetzoo working in the Samarang neighbourhood. Brückner argued with him in friendly fashion regarding baptism, thus showing that his own convictions on the subject had not wavered with the passage of the years. In all these developments Brückner rejoiced.

"At Japara, about forty miles to the N.E. from this," he wrote in 1857, "another native church of some twenty members has been raised by a missionary sent out by the Mennonite denomination in Holland. Java wants more missionaries. Six men as missionaries in Java is too small a number! Six hundred would not be too many for this island."

Brückner's end was drawing near, however. He was nearly seventy-four years old. He had survived the dangers of the tropical climate in a remarkable manner. Less than two months before his death he was in correspondence with some of the Baptist missionaries in Bengal, with whom he had kept in touch.

"I do not regret my labours and the time which I have spent upon behalf of Java," he said. "I would gladly begin the same course were I now a young man. . . . I rejoice that it hath pleased God to open a wider door for the preaching of the Gospel to the natives; a door which I trust will be still more widened, and no man able to shut. The Lord

* *Short History of the L.M.S.*

† He is sometimes called "the apostle to the Javanese." He died in 1858, but in ten years had gathered more than 2,000 Christians in several Christian villages. See Latourette, V., p. 293.

hears the prayers of His people : and He has now brought a goodly number to the knowledge of Himself, who labour and pray with the missionaries in Java for the enlargement of His kingdom. A missionary here does not now stand alone, as I stood alone for so many years. I trusted in the Lord that He would at one time or another bless His word amongst these natives ; now He has already done amongst them more than I ever could have hoped or prayed for. His name be blessed for ever. I have lived just long enough to see the coming of His kingdom in this island, and have been favoured to contribute my small share to it, by tracts and preaching to the natives, thus making known to them the way of salvation, which had never been done by any European before. . . . All that I have detailed, and ever more is owing to the Baptist Mission in Java. It has not only done something itself for the ten millions of Javans ; but it has excited other societies also to labour for the inhabitants of this island. I question whether one Dutch missionary would now be in Java, had it not been for the Baptist Mission ; for it was imagined that the admission of missionaries in Java was quite impracticable ; but when it became gradually known in Holland that a Baptist missionary was settled and labouring in the interior of the island, the Dutch Bible Society took it to heart and sent out a man to translate the Scriptures. Then, too, the Dutch Missionary Society began to think seriously of sending their missionaries to Java."

With this glad " Nunc Dimittis " in his heart, and with the knowledge that one of his daughters was at work with her husband among the Dyaks of south-east Borneo, on the morning of the 9th July, 1857, Gottlob Brückner passed gently away. His faithful and devoted wife survived him. That same year also his friends Gerické and Medhurst died. A little known but moving chapter in missionary history had closed.

* * * *

It is nearly ninety years since the death of Brückner. Could he have returned to Java in the nineteen-thirties, he would have found a very different religious situation from that which he knew during most of his life there. " After a cold winter season may come a quickening spring," he had written in 1821,

"and from a barren wilderness may come a fruitful land, according to the very promise of the Lord." There gradually grew up a strong and self-conscious Protestant Church in the Dutch East Indies. In the middle of the nineteenth century there was a spiritual revival in Holland, which resulted in a new emphasis on personal conversion and faith, as well as on purity of doctrine and the authority of Scripture, and though at first the Netherlands Missionary Society was not greatly influenced, the movement did result in a deepened concern for the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies. A number of new missionary bodies came into existence. Early in the present century widespread support developed for an "ethical policy" in the Indies, which was interpreted as meaning that the Netherlands as a Christian power should encourage native Christians and Christian missions and "imbue the whole conduct of the colonial government with the consciousness that the Netherlands had a moral duty to the peoples of the archipelago."* There also developed a notable trend towards co-operation and unification with a view to the setting up of a Dutch Missionary Council in Holland, and ultimately of a National Missionary or Christian Council for the East Indies.

Official control remained, but it was exercised far more benevolently than in the earlier years. Government subsidies were received for missionary purposes, but the money was used with a growing sense of responsibility. There were signs, moreover, of an increasing measure of self-support. Only in one or two areas, where Moslem feeling was particularly strong, as for example in northern Sumatra and in western Java, was Christian propaganda definitely forbidden. The churches in the Netherlands Indies were served in the nineteen-thirties by missionaries of outstanding talents and devotion, among them Dr. Hendrik Kraemer, of Java, who made most valuable contributions to the Jerusalem Missionary Conference of 1928, and to that at Madras in 1938, and who, during the war, was one of the most outstanding leaders of Dutch resistance to the Germans in Holland.†

There is no more remarkable story of its kind than that of the evangelisation of the Bataks of Sumatra. The days of pioneering journeys like that of Richard Burton and Nathaniel

* Latourette, *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, V, p. 281.

† See *Christian Counter-Attack*, 1943, pp. 85f.

Ward are long over. For more than eighty years there has been settled work among this interesting people, chiefly by the Rhenish Missionary Society (from Barmen in Germany). Most striking results have been achieved. In 1871, it was estimated that there were some twelve hundred Christians among them. By 1911, there were over one hundred thousand. By 1938 the total had risen to more than three hundred and eighty thousand.* The Batak country has been the scene of one of the most important "mass-movements" into the Church. Roughly one-third of the population has now become Christian. Many difficulties and responsibilities were created by the great ingatherings that have taken place, but the mission there was fortunate in the leadership of men like Ludwig Nommensen (1834-1918) and Johann Warneck, son of Gustav Warneck, the well-known historian of missions. A striking measure of self-support was achieved. "The Rhenish Mission," wrote that experienced observer, J. Merle Davis, in 1937, "dug through the upper layer of dirt and cruel superstition to the granite in the Batak character and built on this foundation. . . . Here is one of the few cases in the history of modern missions in which a heroic mission policy and a people with heroic attributes have, under God's providence, been brought together."†

In 1938 it was estimated that the Dutch possessions in the East Indies had a total population of more than sixty millions, of whom about 1,600,000 might be classed as Protestant, and 400,000 as Roman Catholics. The population was at its densest in Java—some 900,000 persons per square mile—and in that island Mohammedanism was most strongly entrenched. It was noted, however, that the Christian Church had achieved greater success in the face of Islam in Java than in any other Mohammedan country. In the Archipelago generally, the more primitive religions seemed clearly to be waning in influence, and in other places besides Sumatra there had been considerable ingatherings into the Church. It was widely felt that special significance would attach to the progress of Christianity in

* *Interpretative Statistical Survey of the World Mission of the Christian Church, 1938*. For further details of the Batak Church see *The Growing Church* (Tambaram Madras Series, Vol. II), pp. 132f., *The Economic Basis of the Church* (*ibid.*, Vol. IV).

† *The Economic Basis of the Church*, pp. 454—455.

South-East Asia. "Paganism is disappearing rapidly," wrote Dr. Kraemer. "In the near future, we shall have a situation where two great religions exist side by side: Islam, which in the Netherlands East Indies is becoming more and more active, and Christianity. The fact that the vigorous young Batak Church will have to gain its own spiritual experience and development mainly from the confrontation of this formidable and stubborn adversary of the Christian faith, is of even greater significance than the remarkable fact, constantly cited in missionary literature, that the missionary enterprise has achieved considerable results in the wholly Moslem island of Java."*

An entirely new factor, however, and one foreseen by comparatively few, has entered into the situation. In the spring of 1942 Japanese invaders swept down from the North. The Dutch were driven from their possessions. The British had to withdraw from Malay and Burma. The wave of Japanese conquest swept over all the territories mentioned in the preceding pages—Amboyna, Java, and Sumatra. Even the great naval base at Singapore, with its memories of Sir Stamford Raffles, shared the fate of Batavia, Samarang, Sourabaya, Bencoolen, and Padang. The Christian communities have thus had to meet not simply the hostility of Islam, but the challenge of aggressive State Shinto. Information as to what has been happening is extremely scanty. The days of Japanese supremacy may be brief. The Christian Church, we may hope, was deeply enough rooted in the Indies to have remained alive, and even to have gained strength and confidence through sharing in the trials and adversities of the time. It cannot but have suffered much, however, and the renewal of contacts, the rebuilding and expansion of the work will be costly enterprises.

There will be no return in the Far East to the situation, political, economic or ecclesiastical, which existed in 1941. The motto emblazoned on the Dutch flag—"Never despair, for great work is still to be done in the Indies"—has been the inspiration of much heroic resistance and patient hope during the war years. The striking achievements of Dutch Colonial policy during recent decades are full of promise, if that rule can be resumed. But whatever the future political arrange-

* *Interpretative Statistical Survey*, p. 283.

ments in South-East Asia and the Pacific area generally, the Dutch motto may well be adopted by the Christian Church. It is true to the spirit of those whose lonely heroism has been recalled in these pages, and a patience and devotion like theirs will be needed again. "Never despair, for great work is still to be done in the Indies."

Letter from William Carey to his son Jabez on the latter's setting out for Amboyna. From the original in the possession of Regent's Park College, Oxford.

CALCUTTA,

January 24th, 1814.

Dear Jabez,

You are now engaging in a most important undertaking in which not only you and Eliza have my prayers for your success but those of all who love our Lord Jesus Christ and know of your engagement. I know a few hints for your future conduct from a parent who loves you very tenderly will be acceptable and shall therefore give you them, assured that they will not be given in vain.

1. Pay the utmost attention at all times to the state of your own mind both towards God and man. Cultivate an intimate acquaintance with your own heart, labour to obtain a deep sense of your depravity and to trust always in Christ. Be pure in heart and meditate much on the pure and holy character of God. Live a life of prayer and devotedness to God. Cherish every amiable and right disposition towards man. Be mild, gentle and unassuming yet firm and manly. As soon as you perceive any wrong in your spirit or behaviour set about correcting it and never suppose yourself so perfect as to need no correction.

2. You are now a married man. Be not satisfied with conducting yourself towards your wife with propriety. Let love to her be the spring of your conduct towards her. Esteem her highly and so act that she may be induced thereby to esteem you highly. The first impressions of love arising from form or beauty will soon wear off but the esteem arising from excellency of disposition and substance of character will endure and increase. Her honour is now yours and she cannot be insulted without your being degraded.

I hope as soon as you get on board and are settled in your cabin you will begin and end each day uniting together to pray and praise God. Let religion always have a place in your house. If the Lord bless you with children bring them up in the fear of God and be always an example to others of the power of Godliness. This advice I also give to Eliza and if followed you will be happy.

3. Behave affably and genteelly to all but not cringingly or unsteadily towards any. Feel that you are a man and always act with that dignified sincerity and truth which will command the esteem of all. Seek not the society of worldly men but when called to be with them, act and converse with dignity and propriety. To do this labour to gain a good acquaintance with history, geography, men and things. A gentleman is the next best character after a Christian and the latter includes the former. Money never makes a gentleman much less a fine appearance but an enlarged understanding joined to engaging manners.

4. On your arrival at Amboyna your first business must be to wait on Mr. Martin. You should first send a note to inform him of your arrival and know when it will suit him to receive you. Ask his advice upon every

occasion of importance and communicate freely to him all the steps you take.

5. As soon as you are settled begin your work. Get a Malay who can speak a little English and with him make a tour of the Islands and visit every school. Encourage all you see worthy of encouragement and correct with mildness yet with firmness. Keep a journal of the transactions of the schools and enter each one under a distinct head therein. Take account of the number of scholars, the names of the school masters, compare the progress at stated periods and in short consider this the work which the Lord has given you to do.

6. Do not however consider yourself as a mere superintendent of schools, consider yourself as a spiritual instructor of the people and devote yourself to their good. God has committed the spiritual interest of the Island, 20,000 men or more to you—a vast charge—but He can enable you to be fruitful to the trust. Revise the catechisms, tracts and school books used among them and labour to introduce among them sound doctrine and genuine piety. Pray with them as soon as you can and labour after a gift to preach to them. I expect you will have much to do with them respecting baptism. They all think infant sprinkling right and will apply to you to baptize their children. You must say little till you know something of the language and then prove to them from scripture what is the right mode of Baptism and who are the proper persons to be baptized. Form them into Gospel churches when you meet with a few who truly fear God and as soon as you see any fit to preach to others call them to the ministry and settle them with the churches. You must baptize and administer the Lord's Supper according to your own discretion when there is a proper occasion for it. Avoid indolence and love of ease and never attempt to act the part of the great and gay of this world.

7. Labour incessantly to become a perfect master of the Malay language. In order to this associate with the natives, walk out with them, ask the name of everything you see and note it down. Visit their houses especially when any of them are sick. Every night arrange the words you get in alphabetical order. Try to talk as soon as you get a few words and be as soon as possible one of them. A course of kind and attentive conduct will gain their esteem and confidence and give you an opportunity of doing much good.

8. You will soon learn from Mr. Martin the situation and disposition of the alfoors—an original inhabitant—and will see what can be done for them. Do not unnecessarily expose your life but incessantly contrive some way of giving them the Word of Life.

9. I come now to things of inferior importance but which I hope you will not neglect. I wish you to learn correctly the number, size and geography of the Islands, the number and description of the inhabitants, their customs and manners and everything of note relative to them and regularly communicate these things to me.

10. I wish you to pay the minutest attention to the natural productions of the Islands and regularly to send me all you can—fishes, and large animals must be excepted—but these you must describe. You

know how to send birds and insects. Send as many birds of every description alive as you possibly can, and also small quadrupeds, monkeys etc. and always send a new supply by every ship. Shells, including crabs and tortoises etc., corals, stones of every description may be put in a box but each should have a label with Malay or country name, the place where found etc. Rough stones, broken from the rock are preferable to such as are worn or washed round by the sea. Beetles, lizards, frogs and insects may be put into a small keg of rum or arrak and will come safely.

Every vegetable production is very desirable. They are of several kinds.

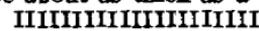
1. Bulbous roots viz—such as are like onions or garlick. They should be taken up and planted in a box so thickly as to touch one another or they may be put dry in a basket with no other care than to fasten in the cover well and hang them in an airy part of the ship.

2. Tuberos roots or such as resemble potatoes or yams. Some of these are very large and others small as a pea. They may in general be sent as the bulbous roots. If these are planted in earth they should have very little or no water given them on the passage. Send me two or three hundred of each sort if you can get them.

3. Common plants and trees. Of these I hope you will not think any one too insignificant. Send the smallest as well as the largest. Plant small plants of each sort in boxes and always have a number of boxes planted and well rooted ready, for if they are just planted they will all die on the passage. Just before they are put on board put seeds of trees, fruits, shrubs etc., as thick as you can sow them in the boxes among the planted trees and cover the seeds with about a finger's thickness of good fresh earth. These should have a little water now and then on the passage, not above once a week. You must often send the same thing as it will be ten to one whether they arrive alive.

4. Be very abundant in sending seeds of every sort. Let them be perfectly ripe and thoroughly dry and pack them in paper or put them in a basket or small box secured from the rats. The name should be put on every packet of seeds and if you can recollect, say whether it grows in sandy soil or mountain or rocks, in mire or water or where. One word is enough, that is, sand for sandy soil,—mountains for a mountainous situation etc.

5. Parasitical plants, or such as grow on other plants or trees, such as you have seen me tie on other trees and water with (Bhira) or small pots hung over them. These only need to be stripped from the trees where they grew or put into baskets without any earth. They may be hung up in any airy part of the ship or even hung at the main top and they will come safely.

6. All boxes of plants should have strips of wood put over them to keep out the rats. These strips should be about as thick as a finger and about a finger's breadth asunder thus . No plants or seeds must be put in the hold.

7. I shall be glad of specimens of every sort of wood (timber), a bit about six or eight inches long and two thick, with its Malay name is sufficient. Send it rough, I will get it planed.

I have much confidence in you to add greatly to my stock of natural productions. You must persevere in sending and be diligent in collecting.

Your great work, my dear Jabez, is that of a Christian minister. You would have been solemnly set apart thereto if you could have stayed long enough to have permitted it. The success of your labours does not depend upon outward ceremony nor does your right to preach the Gospel or administer the ordinances of the Gospel depend on any such thing but only on the divine call expressed in the Word of God. The church has however in their intentions and wishes borne a testimony to the grace given to you and will not cease to pray for you that you may be successful. May you be kept from all temptation, supported under every trial, made victorious in every conflict and may our hearts be mutually gladdened with accounts from each other of the triumph of divine grace. God has conferred a great favour on you in permitting to you this ministry. Take heed to it therefore in the Lord that thou fulfil it. We shall often meet at the Throne of Grace. Write to me by every opportunity and tell Eliza to write to your Mother.

Now, my dear Jabez, I commit you both to God and to the word of His grace which is able to make perfect in the knowledge of His will. Let that word be near your heart. I give you both up to God and should I never more see you on earth I trust we shall meet with joy before His throne of glory at last.

Your very very affectionate father,
W. CAREY.

A NOTE ON SOURCES.

The facts and documents here presented come from widely scattered sources. The scanty references to Baptist work in the East Indies to be found in the *Periodical Accounts* and the *Annual Reports* of the Baptist Missionary Society, and in J. C. Marshman's *Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 1859, have been supplemented from periodicals of the period, both those issued in India and in England, and by a study of a considerable amount of unpublished manuscript material. Of the periodicals, *The Oriental Baptist*, edited by C. B. Lewis of the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, has especially valuable material in the issues from 1854 onwards. Quotations from letters—unless otherwise indicated—come in the main from the archives of the Baptist Missionary Society. The one substantial exception is the series of ninety-two letters written by Carey to his son, Jabez, which are in the possession of Regent's Park College, Oxford. E. S. Wenger's *Story of the Lall Bazar Baptist Church, Calcutta*, Calcutta, 1908, contains useful information. Of the Baptist missionaries who worked in the East Indies only William Robinson was commemorated in a biography, and that is a brief and unsatisfactory one by his son, John, published at Benares in 1858. The printed lives of some of the figures who come only casually into the story, throw considerable light on much that happened, particularly the lives of Sir Stamford Raffles and Walter Henry Medhurst, though those of Raffles are not always reliable so far as missionary affairs are concerned. For example, J. A. Bethune Cook's *Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Founder of Singapore*, 1918, states quite wrongly that one of William Carey's sons and William Ward himself were at Bencoolen. The volume on the Netherlands Indies published in the *World Dominion Survey Series* in 1935 is by a number of Dutch mission authorities, including J. Rauws and Hendrik Kraemer; it is a valuable account of the situation at the time of writing, with much useful historical material but no allusions to Baptist work in the islands. K. S. Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, devotes chapter IX of Volume V, 1943, to the East Indies and gives an extensive general bibliography. Two recent general surveys of the area supply valuable background material and are evidence of its increasing importance: J. S. Furnivall's *Netherlands India*, 1939, and B. A. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara, A History of the East India Archipelago*, Harvard, 1943.

I am indebted to my friend, the Rev. H. M. Angus, for the drawing of the map used as end papers. Mr. H. L. Hemmens, the Editor of the Baptist Missionary Society, has given constant and unsparing help since my manuscript first reached him.

- 1783 AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.
Gottlob Brückner born in Saxony.
- 1784 William Robinson born at Olney, and Thomas Trowt at Kingsbridge.
- 1789 FRENCH REVOLUTION.
- 1792 Baptist Missionary Society formed.
- 1793 Joseph Phillips. born in London and Jabez Carey in Northamptonshire.
- 1795 London Missionary Society formed.
- 1797 Netherlands Missionary Society formed.
- 1800 Carey, Marshman and Ward settled at Serampore.
- 1806 William Robinson reached India.
- 1811—1816 Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Java.
- 1812 Great Fire at Serampore.
- 1813 William Robinson reached Batavia.
- 1814 Brückner, Supper and Kam reached Batavia.
Thomas Trowt reached Batavia.
Jabez Carey went to Amboyna.
- 1815 BATTLE OF WATERLOO.
- 1816 Brückner baptised by Trowt at Samarang.
Java ceded to the Dutch.
Death of Trowt.
- 1817 Amboyna handed over to the Dutch.
J. L. Phillips reached Batavia.
- 1818 Sir Stamford Raffles reached Bencoolen.
Jabez Carey returned to Bengal.
J. L. Phillips returned to England.
- 1819 Nathaniel Ward reached Bencoolen.
- 1820 Richard Burton and Charles Evans reached Sumatra.
Death of J. L. Phillips.
- 1821 William Robinson left Java for Sumatra.
- 1822 W. H. Medhurst settled at Batavia.
- 1824 Bencoolen ceded to the Dutch.
Sir Stamford Raffles returned to England.
Burton and Robinson went to Bengal.
- 1826 Gerické reached Java.
- 1828—1831 Brückner at Serampore.
- 1828 Death of Richard Burton.
- 1831 Brückner's Javanese New Testament issued.
- 1833 ACT FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.
- 1834 Death of William Carey.
- 1843 Medhurst went to Shanghai.
- 1847 Jellesma settled in Java.
B.M.S. dissolved connection with Brückner.
- 1857 INDIAN MUTINY.
Deaths of Brückner, Gerické and Medhurst.
- 1858 Death of J. E. Jellesma.
- 1861 Rhenish Mission entered Sumatra.
- 1862 Death of Jabez Carey.
- 1869 Death of Charles Evans at Stamford, Connecticut.

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