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I.

I N one important respect this volume differs from those which have hitherto appeared in the series to which it belongs. *They* had as their object the revival of memories which had faded; *this*, the perpetuation of a memory which is still fresh in the minds of many who will read it. *They* treated of "men worth remembering," with whom their several authors had no personal associations; *this* treats of one who very lately lived and moved and had his being among us, and the memory of whose intimate personal friendship, long enjoyed, is to the author a very precious treasure. This difference is certainly in some respects advantageous, in others it will probably prove to be disadvantageous, to the author. It is, of course, an advantage to a biographer to have had an intimate knowledge of him whose doings he is to record, and whose character he is to delineate and estimate. At the same time, he is liable to the severer criticism, because many of his readers are able to bring their own personal impressions into com-

parison with his, and, in case of a want of agreement, most will be disposed to regard their own as more accurate than his. And then there is, undoubtedly, an advantage in estimating a character or a career when the one and the other can be weighed in the scale of time, and judgment can be formed of the permanence of their results. There is probably a sound foundation for the prevalent opinion that the estimate of actions and characters by cotemporaries is not to be regarded as final, but is subject to revisal on appeal to posterity. Upon the whole, I am disposed to think that the task which I undertake is more difficult than those which have been accomplished by my predecessors. I therefore set about my work with much diffidence, yet with the hope of being able to deepen or to produce the conviction, in the minds of those who shall read the volume, that Dr. Duff holds a prominent place among "men worth remembering," and that the great work to which his life was devoted was "work worth doing," and the example which he has set of devotion to that work is an "example worth imitating."

My qualifications for the accomplishment of my undertaking are mainly these two: viz., the long and most intimate association with Dr. Duff, to which I have just referred; and the hearty consent of his biographer, Dr. George Smith, to my making as free use as I may find desirable of his extensive and minute, and generally accurate, work—accurate, I mean, as to the facts of Dr. Duff's life and work—while there are, of

course, as might be expected in so large a work, some estimates and sentiments with which I, to a greater or less extent, disagree. I ought to state that it was with a full knowledge of this disagreement with respect to some important portions of Dr. Duff's life and action, that the consent was frankly given. Through the kindness of the members of Dr. Duff's family, I have access also to various documents of considerable interest which came into their hands too late to be available for Dr. Smith's *Life*.

The life of Dr. Duff is so bound up with the work of missions, and with a certain method of carrying on that work in special circumstances, that a considerable portion of this volume must of necessity be occupied with details of that work, and with apologetic or controversial estimate of that method, with which the name of Dr. Duff is inseparably associated. I cannot imagine that any one who shall favour the volume with a perusal will regard the continual recurrence of these topics as impertinent, or will complain that he has too much of the work and too little of the man. However it may be with others—and to some extent it is with all, though confessedly not with all in the same degree—the man and his work were identical. Excepting as a missionary, Dr. Duff was, and desired to be, simply nothing; in no sense, and in no degree, “a man worth remembering.”

II.

IN our Scottish Biography, and especially in the ecclesiastical department of it, the statement that "the subject of this memoir was the son of poor but pious parents" is of constant recurrence. From this it might be inferred that poverty and piety are specially prevalent in the northern section of Great Britain; and perhaps the inference would not be erroneous with regard to an earlier date than the present. But as it is officially ascertained that Scotland is now the richest section of the British Isles, it is to be feared that it has lost somewhat of its pre-eminence in piety. Be this as it may, the statement is not unapplicable to Dr. Duff; only its application requires to be accompanied with a few sentences of explanation with reference to both its branches, otherwise misapprehension would certainly ensue.

It is true that Dr. Duff's parents were poor, in the sense that their pecuniary income was very small. But then it is to be remembered that there was very little money in the country in those days, and that the cost

of the necessaries and the ordinary comforts of life was consequently very small. At a later time than that in question, and within the writer's observation, actual money was a very rare commodity, even among people who occupied positions fraught with comfort, and imparting to their holders very considerable local influence. They lived almost exclusively on the produce of their own farms, were clothed with the flax which grew in their own fields, and with the fleeces of their own sheep; flax and wool being converted into yarn by the domestic spinning-wheel, and the remuneration of the weaver for converting the yarn into cloth, and of the tailor for constructing that cloth into garments, being wholly or mainly in kind, the superfluous products of the farm, without the intervention of the merchant. It was in such a home as this, comparatively moneyless indeed, but not poor in any sense implying squalor or any considerable privation, or indeed any extraordinary amount of struggle to secure the necessaries and ordinary comforts of life, that the earliest days of the future missionary were passed. I mention this, not because I wish to claim aristocratic or plutocratic ancestry for my friend, for certainly neither the one nor the other was his; but simply because it is true, and because advertence to it is necessary for the prevention of an erroneous impression on the minds of those who have had less acquaintance with our Scottish peasantry than it has been my lot to form. When, for example, it is stated that all the money that Duff got from his father was a sum of £20 on his first going to St. Andrews

as a student, there are many who will regard this as a proof of extreme poverty, and who will wonder how one so slenderly endowed could enter upon and maintain the struggle for physical existence and mental nurture; whereas I am confident that the ability to part with such a sum in a single cash payment was in those days indicative of a very considerable measure of "well-to-do-ness." It may indeed be doubted, while of course it cannot be ascertained, whether the whole sum taken to St. Andrews by the entrants at its university in any of the sessions at the beginning of the century, would, if divided by the number of entrants, have given a quotient much in excess of that sum. Poor, then, in the sense explained, were Dr. Duff's parents; tenants of a small farm—when, however, there were no large farms—the work of which appears to have been done by his father's unaided hand; while, apparently also without assistance, his mother was occupied with the work of the dairy. The farm was in the parish of Moulin, in Perthshire, at once the fairest and the grandest of all our Scottish counties; and with this peculiarity, that not only are the sublime and the beautiful in close local proximity, but that they merge into one another with the variations of season, or with the changeful weather of a single day, the grandest being beautiful in the fair sunlight, and the fairest becoming sublime under the lowering storm. I know not how far Dr. Duff was right in the opinion which I have very often heard him express, that the passing of his earliest days in the midst of such scenery was the most potent factor in the forma-

tion of his mental and spiritual character. Very sadly did he feel the privation in Bengal, with its monotonous skies and boundless plains, which were not without a measure of attractiveness to a Lowlander like me. In estimating all such statements as are often made as to the influence of external circumstances upon character, we should remember that the influence at most is only of a plastic nature. There must be a character to mould before any circumstances can mould it; otherwise all Perthshire boys ought to become Duffs. But given the character, external circumstances must unquestionably modify its development and the direction which it shall assume.

I have promised a word of explanation with reference to the piety, as well as with regard to the poverty, of Dr. Duff's parents. The stereotyped expression which I have quoted is often used, it is to be feared, in a very vague and indefinite sense—*piety* meaning little more than decency of outward conduct, combined with a modicum of formalism. But with Dr. Duff's parents it was far otherwise. Their piety was not negative merely; it was very strongly positive. It comprehended not only abstinence from offence against human rights, but a very earnest desire to do good to all. It embraced in its wide scope, not only man in all the extent of humanity, but God also in all the relations in which it has pleased Him to deal with man—as the Creator of earth and sky, the Giver of rain and fruitful seasons, the Preserver of man and beast; and, above all, as the God and Father of

Jesus Christ, the Saviour of sinful men, and distinctively the Saviour of themselves, consciously lost and consciously saved. Thus its outcome was not morality only but holiness, attained in measure, and longed for and striven after in perfection. As a natural result of this, their worship, whether domestic or public, was not decent formalism, but self-consecration, an earnest seeking for participation of a Divine nature, and for escape from the corruption that is in the world through lust. It had not been always so with them; and the way in which it had come to be so is so interesting an instance of the manifold wisdom of God in effecting His purposes of grace, and is withal so germane to our subject, that the introduction of a paragraph relating to it will not be accounted a digression.

In the year 1796, Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, was enjoying the delights, rare in those days for an English clergyman, of a tour in the Scottish Highlands. A carriage was at the door of the inn at Dunkeld, where he had spent the night, to convey him back to the south. But feeling himself slightly unwell, he resolved to postpone his departure till next day. But the following day was Saturday, and to have left on that day would have involved the alternative of travelling on the Sabbath—which he would not do—or of spending the day in some village inn, where the accommodations and provisions might be unsuited to his state of health. He therefore made up his mind to remain till Monday.

After a walk through the pass of Killikrankie, he called at the manse of Moulin, and was civilly received by Mr. Stewart, whom he found to be an intelligent and accomplished man, but wholly destitute of any right apprehension of the gospel which it was his professional work to preach. That he asked Mr. Simeon to officiate for him in the parish church on the following day, and that Simeon complied with the request, were probably, on the one side and on the other, results of simple civility. According to all human modes of estimation, nought else could have suggested such an arrangement. The over-polished and exquisitely finical Mr. Simeon was the very last man that one would have thought of as likely to be the instrument of commending the gospel of God's grace to the people of Moulin. His very language must have been barely intelligible even to those of them who knew English best, while it must have been utterly meaningless to most of those who habitually attended the English service, but to whom English was essentially a foreign tongue. In point of fact it does not appear than any of his audience, *with a single exception*, received either instruction or impression through the sermon. The exception was Mr. Stewart, to whom the stranger whom he had entertained proved as an angel of God, and who, from that day forth, counted loss for Christ what things had been gain to him before. Thenceforth he determined to know nothing among his people save Jesus Christ and Him crucified. The result was that the Word of God grew mightily and prevailed throughout

the large parish and a wide district around ; that religion became a reality to multitudes to whom it had never before been more than a name ; and that the standard of Christian life and earnestness received a permanent elevation. Those who ten years afterwards became the parents of Dr. Duff, were then in their teens. Whether they were among Mr. Simeon's audience on that eventful day I am not aware ; but they partook abundantly of the blessing of which his preaching was the beginning ; and often did their son revert to the singular providence by which his parents and his parental home were made to be what he delighted, above almost any earthly delight, to remember them as having been. He will be a very sceptical man who will doubt, a very bold man who will deny, that there was more in the whole matter than Mr. Simeon's delicacy or Mr. Stewart's civility will suffice to account for. Neither the one nor the other knew it ; but none the less was the finger of God there. Of course Dr. Duff's parents might have been Christians although Simeon had never crossed the border. They might have become such through instrumentalities still more remarkable, or through others unremarked and wholly unremarkable. To enunciate this truism is only to say in other words that the manifold wisdom of God can employ many means to effect His purpose, but not to cast discredit upon the comforting belief that the means actually employed are of His appointment.

No one could be much in company with Dr. Duff without perceiving to what an extent he had been indebted

to his father for the development of his character—mental, moral, and spiritual. For a detailed account of this father, and of the influences which he exerted on the mind and character of his son, I can but refer the reader to Dr. George Smith's first volume. The letter written to Dr. Tweedie on hearing in India of his father's death is too long for quotation, and would be spoiled by abridgment. It presents a picture of a man of superior mental powers, cultured by familiarity with the grandest scenes of nature, with the grand literature of the Bible, and with the grand doings and grander sufferings of the people of God. It is not likely that James Duff ever read a chapter of a treatise on pedagogic methods, or ever received a lesson in the art of teaching; but under the impulse of paternal love and evangelistic zeal, controlled by the instinct of strong common sense, he apprehended much of what is most valuable in educational systems and methods. I am not aware that he anticipated a missionary career for his son—indeed I rather think that he did not—but consciously or unconsciously he began the best preparation for that career, by stirring up in the impressible mind of that son a strong sympathy with the millions who are living without God, and dying without Christian hope. “Into a general knowledge of the objects and progress of modern missions I was initiated from my earliest youth by my revered father, whose catholic spirit rejoiced in tracing the triumphs of the gospel in different lands, in connection with the different branches of the Christian Church. Pictures of Jagannath and other heathen idols he was

went to exhibit, accompanying the exhibition with copious explanations, well fitted to create a feeling of horror towards idolatry and of compassion towards the poor blinded idolaters, and intermixing the whole with statements of the love of Jesus."

Such a boy, so taught and so reared, could not fail to have his mind deeply imbued with Highland legends, and with the wild and weird traditions of the times of old. I remember well that in the earlier days of my association with him I used sometimes to arouse all his argumentative and declamatory energies by suggesting a doubt of the authenticity of the Ossianic poems. On one occasion I made a remark to the effect that he could not be more earnest if the authenticity of the Gospels were called in question. "No, sir," was his reply, "I could not: for if I could doubt the authenticity of these poems, I should be reduced to absolute scepticism, and could thenceforth believe neither the Gospels nor aught else." I perceived that the matter was too serious for jest, and from that day it was never again adverted to. In body and in mind Duff was out and out a Scottish Highlander.

His early schooling was got at several schools: first, the parish school of his native Moulin; then a subscription school near Dunkeld; then the parish school of Kirk-michael, where he was a boarder with the teacher; and lastly, for a year, the grammar school of Perth. Various schoolboy adventures and experiences are recorded by Dr. George Smith. They are such as all schoolboys

pass through ; but with the habits of thoughtfulness and introspection which were all his days characteristic of him, they made a far deeper impression, and exercised a far more enduring influence on him than they do upon boys of other temperaments. He was from the first a diligent scholar, and when, at the beginning of the winter session of 1820-21, he went as a student to the University of St. Andrews, he gained by competition one of the highest bursaries, which made him independent of any further help from home than the £20 to which I have already referred. His career at St. Andrews was one of distinction throughout. In all the classes of the undergraduate course he took a high place, in several of them the highest. All through his life the memory of St. Andrews was very dear to him. He and his beloved colleagues and mine, Drs. Mackay and Ewart, spoke so constantly of their St. Andrews' days, and repeated so lovingly their reminiscences of professors and fellow-students, that these grew strangely familiar even to me, and I used sometimes to say, in the language of the East, that I must surely in some former birth have been a St. Andrews' student !

As I have said of the Highlands, so I may say of St. Andrews, that the *genius loci* exercised a potent and a permanent influence over him. Its historical associations—whether enveloped in the mysterious haze of mediæval tradition, or ringing with the clash of arms in the great Reformation struggles, or clustering around the graves of the victims of a later persecution—all had a peculiar fascination for him, fitting in marvellously with

the structure of his mind, and with its earliest development under his father's training. To him St. Regulus, Hamilton, and Wishart, and Knox, and Norman Leslie, and Cardinal Beaton, Rutherford, and Halyburton, and Archbishop Sharpe were not mere abstractions, or the historical actors in dramas enacted long ago ; they were living realities with whom he held constant converse in most realizing imaginings. He regarded them, and never ceased to regard them, as living men with whom it was his delight to consort as personal friends, or with whom it was at once his duty and his delight to contend as personal foes. By the studies of the university he profited fairly. Neither for minute scholarship nor for profound scientific research had he special aptitude or taste. But he had a vigorous mind, which, under a combined sense of duty and a constitutional incapability of inaction, he applied to the mastery of the subjects prescribed for undergraduate study, with the result of his acquiring much more than an average amount both of classical and mathematical knowledge.

But it was the appointment of Dr. Chalmers to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews which formed the crisis of Dr. Duff's career, and modified, to a remarkable extent, all his subsequent history, internal and external. In this connection, therefore, it is impossible to avoid a somewhat lengthened reference to the influence which the teaching and the friendship of Dr. Chalmers exercised over Dr. Duff. I believe that Duff's attendance on the Moral Philosophy class was coincident

with the first year of Dr. Chalmers's professorship. While, as I have said, the young student had no very special aptitude for philological or mathematical studies, beyond the aptitude which a vigorous mind and habits of application constitute for any study or for any work, he had in his constitution a natural taste and talent for the study of the subjects comprehended under the departments of mental and moral science. Of this taste, that tendency to introspection, of which mention has been made in another connection, formed one important element. Then there was a certain amount of generality, and a field for speculation, which gave scope for the exercise of his imagination, such as was not afforded by linguistic or mathematical studies. And then there was a strong instinctive approbation of the poetic statement that "the proper study of mankind is man," more especially in the mental and moral relations of his being. Perhaps, fortunately—at all events in point of fact—the line of demarcation betwixt the mental and the moral departments of the common science of mind was not very definitely drawn by the occupants of the relative chairs in our universities in those days. Certainly the professors of Moral Philosophy did encroach, and it was expected and demanded of them that they should encroach, to a very great extent, on the field which might have been expected to form the domain of their colleagues in the chairs of "Logic and Metaphysics." In our metropolitan university, for example, the published writings of Dugald Stewart and of Thomas Brown make it evident that their

teaching bore far more upon mental than upon properly moral subjects. This indicates the estimate which they formed of the duties imposed upon them. It was probably much the same in St. Andrews. This was probably fortunate, as I have said, and for this reason : while the cotemporary professor of Logic was, as I believe, a thoroughly respectable man, and a conscientious and able teacher, of whom the St. Andrews reminiscences in Calcutta bore kindly and respectful testimony, it is no disparagement to him to say that he was not the equal of Dr. Chalmers in the power of investing his subject with interest, and of fascinating the students to enter upon the study of it with all the enthusiasm of which they were capable. There were far better *teachers* than Dr. Chalmers, if teaching means merely the presentation of knowledge in more or less systematic form, so that at the end of each lesson the student may know as much more as possible than he did at the beginning of it. But if teaching, such as is adapted to an academic chair, have for its aim the development of the energies of the mind, and the direction of these energies into the best channels for the apprehension of truth known, and the investigation of truth yet unknown, every one who studied under Dr. Chalmers will bear emphatic and enthusiastic testimony to his qualifications, not as an orator merely, about which there can be no dispute, but as a teacher or educator. Adverting for the present only to the educational contribution of Dr. Chalmers towards the development of Dr. Duff's mind, I have no hesitation

in saying that it was precisely the influence which he needed at the time. Estimating very highly the study of languages and of mathematics and of technical logic as educational instruments, I have yet no doubt that in every case more or less, but in Dr. Duff's case very specially, these studies alone would have left the most important of his mental faculties unexercised and therefore undeveloped. The stimulation which these faculties required they got from the marvellous eloquence of Dr. Chalmers's lectures. But all the more the faculties were stimulated, they needed to be directed and restrained; and the direction and restraint which they required, they got in the severe Baconianism and sturdy common sense of the professor. Such were the effects of Dr. Chalmers's St. Andrews and Edinburgh teaching upon many young men of good abilities. But in the present case we have to contemplate the contact of genius with genius, and the result was necessarily exceptional. Although Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Duff were intellectually very different men from each other, in some respects presenting broad contrasts rather than identity or similarity, yet I am confident that, to a very large extent, the latter was what he was in consequence of the influences exerted over him by the former. From Dr. Chalmers's *Life* it appears that it was a question with many whether he did wisely, or even rightly, in abandoning the position of immense influence which he was occupying in Glasgow, and undertaking the training of a few dozens of students in St. Andrews, and that in a secular subject. No one looking

back upon his experience there, and cognizant of the influence which he exerted upon these students, and through them upon the Church and the world at home and abroad, will have much hesitation as to the answer which should now be given to the question. It may be supposed that I have dwelt at disproportionate length upon this point, which of course refers only to the exercises of a single short session. But if it was, as I believe it was, the critical point of Dr. Duff's life-history, its importance is not to be measured by the time occupied in the production of the effect, but by the extent and permanence of the effect itself. Of this I am sure, that Dr. Duff himself would not have considered this reference to the matter too long or too strong, for he ever delighted in acknowledging how much he owed to his great teacher; and if he could have been brought to contemplate the idea of his being regarded as a "man worth remembering," he would have desired that very special notice should be taken of the advantages which he derived from the instructions of one of whom he ever thought, and often spoke, as the most special gift which God has been pleased in our day to bestow upon the Church and the people of our land.

But I have intimated that over and above the intellectual impulse which Dr. Duff's mind received under the teaching of Dr. Chalmers, I should have to advert to the still more important influence exerted on his spirit by the professor's extra-academical exertions. Coming fresh from a great evangelistic work in Glasgow, where he

had experienced that himself and his coadjutors had been greatly blessed in connection with their unselfish efforts to convey the blessings of the gospel to others, his spirit was stirred within him when he saw the cold formalism which prevailed in St. Andrews; and he set himself, with characteristic zeal, to induce all with whom he came into contact to make trial of a life of Christian activity. With this view he organized local Sabbath-schools, in which he set the students to teach, and employed some of the most advanced of them in acting as home missionaries, visiting the families of a district, and conducting meetings of an evangelic and evangelistic character. Above all, it was under his influence that some of the students formed a missionary association, with the view of increasing their knowledge of, and their interest in, the work of Missions. It was a time when many causes were at work to waken Christendom from its death-threatening sleep, and many others of these causes may bulk far more largely than the St. Andrews Association; but in point of fact it did contribute materially to the production of a better state of feeling with reference to Missions than had existed, except in the hearts of a few isolated individuals, in any of the Protestant churches since the Reformation. In Scotland we have had our share of this blessing, and are hoping for far more of it than we have hitherto experienced. It will appear in the sequel that for this share, experienced or hoped for, we are in large measure indebted, under God, to Dr. Duff; and it is right that we acknowledge that the

beginning of the blessing was vouchsafed through the instrumentality of Chalmers, to whom we owe so much besides. But it was not in Scotland alone that Dr. Duff was employed of God to excite or intensify missionary zeal, but largely also in England, Ireland, and America, and to some extent in Continental Europe; and all this may be fairly regarded as the fruitage of the seed which the St. Andrews professor noiselessly sowed.

Dr. Duff's college course terminated with the session of 1828-29, and after the usual examinations, he was licensed as a probationer by the Presbytery of St. Andrews. The feelings of a Scottish probationer on the occasion of his "preaching his first sermon," in days when the student never entered a pulpit or conducted any religious service until he was licensed, have been described in solemn earnest in many biographies, and with generally good-natured exaggeration in multitudes of fictional works and sketches. I have no record of Dr. Duff's feelings on the occasion of his passing through this ordeal, nor do I remember his ever alluding in conversation to the solemn occasion—for solemn, I am sure, he must have felt it. To him the preaching of the gospel never became—as it unhappily becomes too much to most of us—a matter of routine duty. It was to the last—and doubtless from the first—to him a solemn dealing, first with God, then with himself, then with the congregation, and again with himself and with God. I know neither where it was that he preached his first sermon, nor what was the impression made upon his

hearers. The following sentences, in a letter addressed to his father, and published by Dr. George Smith, evidently refer to a report given by his father of the impression produced by his preaching in his native place, and contains probably his only extant allusion to a subject on which many would have liked to have had fuller information :—

“Your account of the people about Moulin has driven me to pray, and humbled me in the dust. Lord, what am I that I should be so highly honoured as to be the instrument of conveying such truths as are calculated to arouse, to awaken, to edify! Merit, is it said? No, no; had I any more than the hollowed channel of the river along which are made to flow those streams that enrich and fertilize the neighbouring lands?”

III.

THE *Genesis* of the Church of Scotland's Mission is of great historical interest; but I must not do more than allude in the most cursory way to its several stages. When, in 1796, a proposal was made in the General Assembly that the Church should interest itself in the work of evangelizing the heathen, it was met and defeated by a large majority—58 to 44; any attempt to convert the heathen being represented by the speakers as being a forestalling, if not a counteracting, of the purposes of Divine providence! However we may lament this, we cannot greatly wonder at it, when we remember that about the same period, and among a body of Christians deemed evangelical, and destined shortly to prove itself nobly evangelistic, the mouth of Carey was stopped by a venerable man with the stern rebuke, "Sit down, young man; when God pleases to convert the heathen, He will do it without your help or mine." Almost identical was the language of the leader of the Scottish Assembly. Yet I suspect that the animating spirit in

the two cases was widely different. The Englishman spoke under the influence of an overstrained and misunderstood Calvinism, which, however deplorable, was respectable; the Scotchman, I fear, under the influence of indifference to conversion, which was still more deplorable, and which, in a man charged with the ministration of the gospel, was the opposite of respectable.

Yet in the Scottish Assembly there was a zealous minority who made their appeal to the Bible, and took a firm stand on the Lord's command to His disciples to "go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." And it is comforting to a Scottish heart to know that the members of that minority, and those who throughout the country were in sympathy with them, while not permitted to exert their heaven-inspired evangelistic energies through what they deemed the proper channel of their ecclesiastical organization, did not suffer these energies to be unemployed, but betook themselves to missionary work in independent fashion. I do not think it is so generally known as a Scotchman would wish it to be, that David Brainerd, though not a Scotchman or a Briton, was a Scotch missionary, maintained exclusively by Scotchmen, at the head of whom was that John Erskine who was the leader of the minority in the General Assembly. The same party also united with men of other denominations in founding—towards the close of the century—the Scottish Missionary Society, on the same catholic basis on which the great London Society was originally constituted. This Society sent missionaries to

the West Coast of Africa and to India, and did good work, and kept alive the missionary spirit, until the reviving churches undertook the work which they had previously declined.

In 1824 it was again proposed in the Assembly that the Church should take part in missionary work ; and this time the duty was admitted, and a committee was appointed to devise preparatory measures in order to its discharge. It was uphill work, and slow. But at last, in 1827, it was considered that the time had come when a beginning should be made, and the Committee were instructed to endeavour to procure a man to whom the work might be committed. It would appear that even then a proposal was indirectly made to the St. Andrews student to become the first missionary of his Church. But although he had probably by this time made up his mind to volunteer for foreign service ; yet, as he had still to attend college another session before he could be licensed, he very properly declined to commit himself to the ultimate acceptance of a call which he could not actually accept at the time, and which could not indeed be presented to him then. The Committee seem to have made application to several others, but without success. They, therefore, as soon as they knew that Dr. Duff was licensed, made application to him ; and after anxious and prayerful deliberation, but apparently without conference or consultation with any one, he intimated his willingness to accept the call. This was reported to the General Assembly of 1829, by which he was appointed to the

office ; and in due time he was ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the service on the occasion being conducted by Dr. Chalmers, who had ere then become Professor of Theology in the metropolitan university, and so a member of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. The service, as we may be sure, was very solemn, and made a deep impression on the mind of him who was most immediately interested in it—an impression which was never effaced, and to which he made frequent references in after years. The crowd who resorted to it were of course mainly attracted by the fame of the great preacher ; but with whatever motive they came, many were led to suspect that the command to evangelize the heathen had some meaning in it, and haply a meaning with which they had some concern. And there were some who had been mourning over the inactivity of their Church, who regarded the occasion as the dawn-streak of a better day. Far are we still from the noontide of that day ; but it were gross ingratitude to deny that the light has continuously spread and brightened since then.

The pain of parting from beloved ones was—shall I say doubled or diminished?—by the fact that there were two families to be parted from instead of one, while he took with him from his native land one dearer than all that he left behind. Of Mrs. Duff I shall say nothing excepting that she was the best of wives and of mothers, a loving and true help-meet to her husband, the soother of his many pains and cares and sorrows, deeply interested in his work, and intensely solicitous for his honour. She

was a true friend of her husband's friends ; and it is this that constrains me to say even so much of one who sensitively shrank from every kind of publicity. She did not engage personally in such work as has been undertaken by many missionaries' wives—to whom be all honour. But if not herself a missionary, she was heart and soul a missionary's wife. In consequence of Dr. Duff's habit, partly national and partly personal, of reticence and reserve with reference to all matters of feeling, outsiders and ordinary acquaintances little knew how much she was to him ; and I have no doubt that even intimate friends were unprepared for the tenderness of the letters which he wrote to her during their frequent separations, some of which are contained in Dr. George Smith's volumes. I was prepared for it only by having witnessed the change which her removal in 1865, after thirty-six years of married life, produced upon his mind and his habits. Although, through the habit of reserve and repression to which I have just referred, to an ordinary observer the difference might not be perceptible, yet it was very real and very marked.

On the 19th of September the young couple sailed from Leith for London, where for the first time they formed acquaintance with the innumerable "sights" of that wonderful city. There were in those days various formalities to be gone through before any one not in the service of the East India Company could be permitted to leave this country with a view of residing within the Company's territory. These were all satisfactorily ar-

ranged, with the kind aid of Sir John Pirie, who ever after held a high place in the list of friends of husband and wife, as did Lady Pirie.

In these days, when a voyage to India means a delightful pleasure-trip of three weeks' duration, with the only drawback that there is not excitement enough to make it perfectly enjoyable by the younger portion of the passengers, it is difficult to realize what was the meaning of the term half a century ago. Tediousness always, disaster frequently, was included in the signification which facts and experience assigned to it. And few voyages of the time, or of any time, were more tedious or more disastrous than that upon which the Duffs now entered. On the 6th of October they left London, and next day went on board the *Lady Holland* at Portsmouth. Nothing worse than baffling winds and abundant discomfort ensued until they reached Madeira. Here the ship was to take in a large consignment of wine, the shipment of which was expected to occupy about a week. The Duffs were hospitably entertained on shore by a family to whom they had been introduced by Sir John Pirie. The loading was at last completed, and a farewell ball was given by one of the merchants of the place. The captain, and all the passengers, excepting the Duffs and one other, were thus occupied when a severe gale sprang up. The captain could only signal to the officer in charge of the *Lady Holland* to slip cable and stand out to sea. So it was done, and for three weary weeks the *Lady Holland* could not fight her way back to the Funchal Roads. The

feelings of the captain, uncertain as to the fate of his ship and crew, must have been terrible, while the discomfort of the passengers, doomed to wear their ball dresses for all that length of time, must have been scarcely more endurable. From this discomfort the Duffs of course were free. At last the ship returned, the passengers re-embarked, and the voyage was resumed. On the 13th of February, 1830, the ill-fated ship struck on a reef of rocks some forty miles from the Cape of Good Hope, and speedily became a total wreck. For several hours it was wholly uncertain whether any would be saved; but before morning, and just before the ship went to pieces, all landed safely on a small island called Dassen, whence they were able to communicate with the Cape. After four days relief was sent to them, and they were conveyed to the Cape, without the loss of a single life, and without the suffering of any considerable injury. It made a deep impression on Dr. Duff's mind, and all will admit that it was sufficiently remarkable to impress a mind less impressionable than his, that the first object found as cast ashore from the wreck, and almost the only object recovered in such a condition as to be of any use, was a Bible and Psalm-book which had been presented to him by some friends when he was leaving St. Andrews. He received this as almost a Divine monition that henceforth the Bible, with the blessed gospel which it contains, was to be to him all and in all. It was only to special friends, and even to these only on special occasions, that he ever showed that Bible. But to the Calcutta converts, who

were all of them special friends, and all his meetings with whom were special occasions, it was often exhibited, and ever with that moisture of the eye and that tremor of the voice on the part of the exhibitor which they so much loved to see and hear.

Dr. Duff's account of the wreck of the *Lady Holland*, sent from Cape Town to the Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, was published as a pamphlet, and, so far as I know, was the first of his compositions ever committed to the press. It had the effect of directing the attention of some to the fact of the Mission's existence, and of convincing many that the young missionary was possessed of powers from which much might be expected in the future.

The first outward-bound Indiaman that touched at the Cape was so full that she could take on no more than three of the shipwrecked passengers, and that on the payment of an exorbitant passage-money. The Duffs were therefore obliged to wait. At last they got a passage on board the *Moira*, the last ship of the season. After encountering a hurricane in the region of the Mauritius, the *Moira* at last reached the mouth of the Ganges, and took a pilot on board. Shortly after she anchored off Sagor Island, and in the course of the night, a cyclone came upon her with tremendous fury. The vessel was left high and almost dry on the sand-bank, and was only kept from heeling over by hawsers, which were with great difficulty carried ashore. The passengers were landed in a condition of as extreme

discomfort as it is possible to conceive. The islanders, who are employed in charcoal burning and salt manufacture, and who are among the most degraded of human beings, were not so lost to the proprieties of Hindu humanity as to allow their homes to be desecrated by the entrance of unclean Europeans! Consequently the passengers of the *Moira* intruded themselves on the hospitality of Kali, and the first abode of our missionaries was in her temple. It was before the days of telegraphs, and so hours elapsed before the tidings of the mishap reached Calcutta. But as soon as the tidings arrived abundance of boats proceeded to the scene; and after twenty-four hours' enjoyment of Kali's hospitality, they were taken off, and in due time conveyed to Calcutta. I may just state that the *Moira*, after being several weeks aground, was dragged off the bank by three steamers. Such was a voyage to India in those days. Lasting from the 6th of October—or counting from Edinburgh the 9th of September—1829, to the 27th of May, 1830, with the variations of two shipwrecks and a hurricane, over and above the strange experiences of Madeira, it was enough to satisfy the desires of the most ardent seeker for adventure. It is a strange thing, that in almost all of Dr. Duff's many voyages he was beset with difficulties, and generally with danger, though never to anything like the same extent as on his first voyage; whereas I have made as many and as long voyages without once encountering the slightest peril. But in addition to many dangers of the deep, he was

to the last what is called an extremely bad sailor, and suffered dreadfully in all his voyages from sea-sickness.

Dr. George Smith states that Dr. Duff was "forbidden" by the Committee who sent him out "to open his mission in Calcutta," and that "he resolved to begin his career by disobeying the one order which he had received." The statement is certainly not in accordance with my impression, and it seems to be inconsistent with the decisions of the General Assembly. Thus in 1825 the Committee reported to the Assembly that "in the first instance at least it would be desirable to make one or other of the British provinces in India the field of labour; that it would be desirable to establish, in the first instance, one central seminary of education, with branch schools in the surrounding country, &c." This met with the cordial approval of the Assembly. Of course many "central" positions could have been got in Bengal besides Calcutta; but a letter from Dr. Inglis, the convener, given at length by Dr. Smith, closes with these words, "The precise site of our institution will be an important object to fix. All that we have determined here is that it should be in the neighbourhood of Calcutta." I should be disposed to interpret this last expression, not as excluding Calcutta itself and preferring the neighbourhood, but as equivalent to "somewhere about Calcutta," or "in or near Calcutta;" and in point of fact the Institution, when it obtained a local habitation, *was* rather in the neighbourhood of Calcutta than properly within it. Whatever it may be now, Cornwallis

Square was then rather a suburb than a part of the city. It was, indeed, within the famous "ditch," but barely within it. Dr. Smith must have had what he considered good reason to make his statement; and it is quite possible that he may be right, and I wrong. The question, however, is not one which will be of so much interest to others as it naturally is to me, and, therefore, I shall not further dwell upon it.

At all events Dr. Duff speedily began educational operations. The time was propitious, providentially so. While the people of India generally were but little affected by European influences, governmental or commercial, there were in and about the Presidency cities, and especially in and about Calcutta, a large body of natives who saw that their interests depended upon the sunshine of European favour and European employment. They were sagacious enough to perceive that the portal into the sun-lighted region was through English. So long ago as 1817 the "Hindu College" had been started in Calcutta by natives of this class, aided by several Europeans. This afterwards became, to a certain extent, a Government institution, receiving a large subsidy from Government funds. But its success was small. At the time of Dr. Duff's arrival in Calcutta, when it had existed for thirteen years, and had received Government patronage and support for five or six years, the number of its students was little more than one hundred, and the standard of education was very low. In respect of religion it was loudly vaunted that absolute

neutrality was observed; and I have never heard that the profession of neutrality was ever violated in so far as the indication of any preference for Christianity was concerned. No doubt the books read and the lectures delivered contained innumerable statements which were absolutely contradictory of statements made in the Hindu books, and subversive of the authority which was supposed to attach to these as inspired books, the same books which gave its sole authority to the Hindu system. But the teachers were expressly prohibited from pointing out the incompatibility of the truths they taught with the truth or divine authority of Hinduism. It may be supposed that the mere presentation of the truth by the teacher, and its acceptance as truth by the scholars, would necessarily produce an anti-Hinduistic effect; and such an effect was certainly produced in some cases. But to a far less extent than many would suppose. For the very essence of Hinduism is that truth and falsehood are not contradictory of one another; or rather, that there is no such things as truth or falsehood, but that all propositions are equally true, and all are equally false; that the whole system of the universe is *Maya* or illusion. I shall have occasion further on to undertake the advocacy of that Christian education which is inseparably associated with the name of Dr. Duff; and therefore I content myself at present with pointing out that this neutral system, which was never represented as positively favourable to Christianity, had not even to any very great extent the negative recommendation of being unfavour-

able to Hinduism. In fact it was practically, although unintentionally on the part of many who employed in it, Hinduistic in its tendency, inasmuch as it fostered what is the most essential and fundamental principle of Hinduism, the principle of *Maya*. Its natural, and almost its necessary, effect was to make those brought under its influence either more Hindu than they were before, or to make them hypocrites. One thing is certain, that they generally regarded their professedly Christian teachers as belonging to the latter class, for they knew that *they* did not believe in the *Maya* doctrine.

At present we have to do only with the historical fact that Dr. Duff, on his arrival in India, found a nascent desire for English education. He had sagacity enough to perceive that there were abundant influences at work which would cause this desire to spread and deepen. He knew that the great truths of history and science and philosophy are directly opposed to the errors of Hinduism; and he knew that education, well-conducted, must lead to the formation of minds which could not long rest in the persuasion that they believed or could believe as truths propositions which were mutually contradictory; and so he resolved to devote all his energy to the introduction and conduct of such an education. Such is summarily the history of the formation of the General Assembly's Institution, which in 1843 became the Free Church Institution, and which had soon institutions formed on its model by all the missionary bodies all over India. Its beginning was sufficiently

humble. With two of its five original "students" I was at a later period very intimate, and from them I heard more than I ever heard from Dr. Duff himself of the difficulties with which he had to contend, and of the wisdom and energy with which he encountered them. Single-handed at first—for he had neither means at his disposal to employ assistants, nor were there competent men available if he could have paid them—he had to spend hours every day in the teaching of the English alphabet. And then he was greatly hampered by his own necessarily extremely imperfect knowledge of the vernacular language of his pupils; a defect which he strove energetically to rectify. Although he never aimed at the distinction of being a great orientalist, he soon acquired a competent knowledge of the vernacular Bengali.

But while Dr. Duff had the responsibility of the Institution resting upon him, and the sense of that responsibility enhanced by the knowledge that many would rejoice at its failure, he did not from the first confine himself to the conduct of it. From the very day of his arrival in Calcutta, he sought to bring the gospel into contact with the minds and hearts of the more intelligent of the natives, and especially of those who had been already brought under the influence of the Hindu College system of education. Ere long he projected a course of lectures, to be delivered by him and others to this class of natives. A lecture-room was fitted up in his house, and the first lecture was given by a mis-

sonary of the London Missionary Society. It is difficult for any one now to realize the commotion which—not the lecture, but the projection of such a course of lectures—produced in the native community. The directors of the Hindu College, a mixed body of natives and Europeans, forthwith met and issued an address forbidding the college students, under pain of incurring their “serious displeasure”—which of course meant expulsion from the college—to attend the lectures. It was not thought expedient to subject the lads to the temptation of having to make this sacrifice, since it was not for principle; their desire to attend the lectures having in reality no higher motive than the hope of a triumph over the missionary lecturers which they had no doubt of their power to achieve. The lectures were therefore suspended for a time.

The result of this attempt, abortive as it was, was to give rise to immeasurable disputation and controversy, in debating societies and elsewhere. The meetings of these societies Dr. Duff very frequently attended, with the view mainly of becoming acquainted with the prevailing sentiments of the class amongst whom he desired to labour. The great majority of them exhibited virulent hatred to all religion and to all authority, human and Divine. The action of the college authorities had done more than ought that had been done for centuries to break up the stagnancy which is the general characteristic of the Hindu mind, and to substitute an attitude of universal opposition for one of universal acquiescence.

It was natural that these keen disputants should have recourse to the press. But the English newspapers had no space for the declamations of these young natives, upon whom the editors looked down with contempt; and the native press was in the hands of the orthodox Hindus, or of those who desired to perpetuate Hinduism by reforming it. Thus it was necessary for the "Young Bengal" party to found organs of their own. Two such organs were started, one in Bengali, and the other in English. The editor of the latter was a young Brahman, Krishna Mohan Banerjya, who is now a venerable Christian minister and theological professor, regarding whom it is difficult to realize that he should ever have been the genius of such a storm. But others as well as he differ widely from themselves of fifty years ago! It was in his house, but in his absence from it, that some of his associates resolved to do a terrible deed, which should at once seal the fate of Hinduism, assert the rights of man, and break the chains which had for centuries shackled humanity. They resolved to eat a beef-steak! How or whence they procured it I do not know; but in some way or other it was procured, and certainly not by the intervention, or with the knowledge, of Dr. Duff or any missionary. Before the party broke up—whether before or after the conclusion of the repast I do not know—the editor returned home: and when his guests were departing a question arose as to the disposal of the fragments of the feast. It was suggested by some one that they should be thrown over the wall into the

premises of the next-door neighbour, who was a Brahman of the strictest sort. No sooner said than done, and done in such a way that it could not be supposed to have been done accidentally. This wanton and unjustifiable outrage was terribly avenged. Krishna Mohan's family were required, on pain of loss of caste and excommunication, to cast out him who, although he had not taken a prominent part in it, was undoubtedly concerned in the perpetration. The excommunication actually took place; Krishna Mohan was exiled from his home, and pursued by an infuriated crowd through the streets until he found refuge in the house of one of his friends. Here he was for a time prostrated by illness, but still contrived to continue the publication of his paper. It was now that Dr. Duff sought an interview with him, and invited him freely to open all his mind to him. These interviews led to the institution of weekly meetings for inquiry in Duff's house; and these meetings led to the carrying out of the design of lectures, which had been frustrated by the action of the Hindu College Directorate. "And here," says Dr. Duff, "I cannot but remark, in passing, the singular over-ruling of an all-wise Providence in suffering the *first* attempt in the preceding year, though begun under the most favourable auspices, to be wholly arrested. The mystery was now clearly revealed in the glass of revolving time. At the former period the plan was allowed to be subverted *because none of the parties were sufficiently prepared for it.* The educated natives were not prepared. The greater

part were trammelled by college regulations ; all were overawed by parents and friends ; none were seriously actuated by sufficiently influential motives stimulating them to persevere. Now, however, numbers had left the college ; some were ejected from their homes and excommunicated from the fellowship of Hinduism ; many were disciplined by persecution into a more sober and contemplative habitude of mind ; and, what above all constituted an entirely new element in their mental being, they seemed overpowered with the conviction that simply to destroy was not enough—that to entitle and enable them to destroy with effect they must have something to substitute. In Calcutta the first complete schism that had ever taken place in the very heart of the citadel of Hinduism had now occurred—a schism arising in the midst of an agitation which threatened to shake the entire fabric to its base ; and the breach was absolutely irreparable. Heretofore the schismatics were amply satisfied with hunting down error ; now, circumstances arose which overwhelmed them with a sense of the necessity of seriously endeavouring to discover *truth*. Hence, altogether, were they infinitely better prepared to hear with attention, and to examine with honest candour.”

These lectures were begun during the cold weather of 1831. They embraced a full discussion of the questions of Natural Theology and Christian evidences, and such an exhibition of the gospel as might be suitably made to inquirers, the burden of the whole being, “ Believe in

the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved." The immediate result of these lectures was the conversion and baptism of three or four of the most intelligent and most earnest of the students, men of a far superior class, and able to exert a far more potent influence over their countrymen, than any that had hitherto been baptized anywhere in India. The first was Mohesh Chandra Ghosha, and the second was Krishna Mohan Banerjya, the editor of *The Enquirer*.

But apart altogether from these conversions, it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this movement. Betwixt *nothing* on the one hand, and *something*, however small, on the other—betwixt death, and life however feeble—there is not a mere difference of degree, but of contrariety. Amidst many reflections which suggest themselves, I give expression to only one. It is as to the wisdom which Dr. Duff exhibited in the control of the whole movement. Most of the Europeans in Bengal regarded the outbreak as simply the ebullition of vain self-conceit on the part of a set of boys. And so, in some measure, it was; and as such it would have passed away resultless, had there not been one ready to struggle with unwearied patience against the much evil, and to detect and foster the little good, that were originally in it. Dr. Duff was generally regarded as a man of impulse, able to overbear opposition by force of denunciation and invective; and this estimate of him was not altogether erroneous. Yet here we have him, in his twenty-fifth year, undertaking and carrying through

a work which could be accomplished only by patience, and persistence, and gentle persuasion, and calm reasoning; while a single exhibition of hastiness or heat of temper, a single outbreak of dogmatism, a single assertion of superiority or claim of authority, would certainly have wrecked the whole effort. Surely there was very special grace vouchsafed him for a very special work.

In the work of the Institution, in the preparation of books, in lectures to the English-speaking natives, and in constant and varied intercourse with them and with the leaders of public opinion in the community, the first years of Dr. Duff's missionary life were passed; and it is not too much to say that he did much to gain for missions and for missionaries a higher place in European and native estimation than they had previously occupied. In all his work he was ably and cordially aided by his colleague Mr. Mackay, who joined him in May 1831. But while he gladly received this aid, as making it possible for more work to be done, he never for a moment imagined it as a reason why he should himself do less. All through his life, indeed, he never could learn that there is wisdom in husbanding physical or mental power. In this respect he perpetually showed the strangest inconsistency. Shortly after his arrival in India he was warned by a medical friend to avoid exposure to the sun. The expression used was to the effect that you cannot with impunity let the sun so much as shine upon your boot! Perhaps it was the terseness of the expression that impressed him. At all events, he

had all his days a painful fear of exposure. And yet every day he subjected himself to a physical and mental strain ten times worse than the evil which any moderate amount of exposure would have been likely to produce. And then he was slow to learn the limitations which his physical constitution imposed upon him. He had great muscular strength, but his vital organs were far from being strong; or perhaps his excessive brain-work deprived those organs of their necessary nutriment. I am no physiologist, but I often propounded this theory to him. To all my reasonings and declamations on this subject he listened with good-humoured attention, admitted all that I said, and—went on in the old way.

Be all this as it may, this is certain: that in 1834 he was thoroughly prostrated by acute disease, acting upon a constitution broken down by excess of work, and was compelled to leave India, with very little prospect of ever being able to return. With his will he would not have left it, or, at least, he would have tried the effect of a short voyage. But this was declared to be quite inadequate. Accordingly on a sultry day, the 19th of July, he and his wife and his son—not yet a day old—were carried on board ship. Happily his removal did not necessitate the suspension of the work, or of any essential part of it. I have already referred to the arrival of Dr. Mackay in India in 1831. At the very time of Duff's departure the Home Committee, without being aware that that departure was imminent, appointed Dr. Ewart as a missionary to Bengal. He arrived in Calcutta on

Christmas Eve of 1834, and entered upon a life of missionary work, unsurpassed—I might almost say unequalled—in respect of faithful and persistent laboriousness, or of consecration to the work of his Lord. I shall have much to say of these beloved brethren further on; and therefore I shall now say no more than this, that the great work which Dr. Duff had been privileged to begin, and which they could not have begun with the same effect, was most fitly entrusted, by the great Head of the Church, to them for its vigorous continuance.

IV.

TO Dr. Duff and to his personal friends, and to all who regarded his work with interest, it was a sore trial of faith that he was thus torn from it while as yet it was barely begun, and had rather given promise of great results for the future than had actually achieved any very great results; although it were a grievous mistake to represent even the actual results as insignificant. To him and to them the all-sovereign Lord was saying, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." It was not long thereafter that it became manifest that Dr. Duff's visit to this country, unspeakably painful and dispiriting as it was, was yet designed in wisdom and in love, by Him who holdeth the seven stars in His right hand, as still He walketh among the golden candlesticks. The work which he was enabled to do at home could not have been done by any but himself; and it was the most blessed work for the revival of the Church of Christ, and for the giving of an impulse to the missionary cause, that has been done in our time.

There were obstinate controversies to be conducted, and, although he did not like controversy for its own sake, he certainly had none of the sentimental shrinking from it which is characteristic of many excellent men. There was a slumbering church to be aroused, and the voice of his oratory was like the sound of the ringing trumpet. Self-consecration was to be substituted for self-seeking; and his whole soul was absorbed in the idea of what is involved in the consideration that Christians owe all to Him who for their sakes became poor, that they through His poverty might be made rich. Sympathy must be excited on behalf of the perishing millions, and no one was so capable as he, by graphic delineations of the horrors of heathenism, to affect the hearts and arouse the sympathies of Christian men. The sanctified ambition was to be wakened in the hearts of the young soldiers of the cross to estimate the glory of occupying the high places of the field; and he, with his youthful sympathies unblunted, and with his ardent mind all aglow with the scriptural delineations of the glories of the latter days, and himself—if it were but by the presentation of his own shattered frame—a guarantee for the sincerity with which he declared the missionary work to be the work for which it is above all others blessed to live, and in which it is most blessed to die, was of all men the fittest to stimulate this noble ambition. Altogether I am confident that I do no wrong to any other when I declare that Dr. Duff's advocacy of the cause of missions was more powerful than any advocacy

of the same cause that has ever been conducted in any church since the Reformation.

The one set-off to the advantage of the rapid communication between this country and India, by the use of steamers and the opening up of the Mediterranean route, is that it deprives us of the best of all remedies for the diseases consequent on Indian residence and overwork. The long Cape voyage, with its perfect rest and very moderate excitement, its sea-breezes and its abundant ozone—or whatever it be that is called by that name—was vastly better than all the pharmacopœia for the condition into which these causes bring most men in the course of a few years in India. Dr. Duff's was an extreme case, and the remedy was but partially efficacious. Still it was efficacious to a great extent, and he landed in Greenock on Christmas Day, a very different man indeed from what he had been when he left Scotland five years earlier, but happily a very different man also from what he was when he left Calcutta five months ago.

There were of course meetings to be held and correspondence to be maintained with the Committee, in order to arrange the methods by which the powers of the missionary, so unexpectedly brought to his own land, might best be turned to account for promoting the interests of the mission. Now here a difficulty had to be encountered. The members of the Committee were sincerely desirous that the people of Scotland should be roused to a juster apprehension of the claims of missions on their interest, their personal service, their contri-

butions, and their prayers. So far, then, they were at one with Dr. Duff, and were anxious to afford him, or to procure for him, all facilities for engaging effectually in this work. But then their ideal differed widely from his. He regarded "missions" as "the chief end of the Christian Church." They regarded them as indeed a very important part of the work assigned to the Church to do, and a very convenient outlet for such energies and such resources as might be in superfluity after other and more pressing claims were satisfied. They would not, and could not, put obstacles in his way; but I do not think it is uncharitable to suppose that they did not regret that there *were* obstacles which would necessarily prevent his succeeding to the extent of his enthusiastic and extravagant desires. There were of course some difficulties at first, to which Dr. Smith refers at some length, as to the relations which were to subsist between him and the Committee. But these were small difficulties, and easily adjusted. No doubt the ecclesiastical arrangements of those days required to be somewhat modified in order to afford a suitable field for Dr. Duff's operations. There had never been in Scotland since the Reformation any man commissioned to plead any cause over all Scotland; and the ecclesiastical arrangements did not contemplate or provide for any such commission. It was indispensable that such provision should be made; and it was soon found that there was no difficulty in making it; but the Committee were naturally and properly anxious to avoid giving offence by seeming to encroach

upon these arrangements. If there was for a moment a desire to trammel him by restrictions as to the holding of services in parishes without the special request of their ministers, at all events the only restriction that the committee and its respected convener eventually attempted to impose upon him was that for his own sake, and for the sake of the cause, he should not attempt to do more than man could do.

His public advocacy of the cause of missions began with a speech delivered in the General Assembly in 1835. It was my good fortune to hear that "magnificent oration," and never, before or since, did I form part of an audience that was so mightily stirred by a speech as the great assembly was by that speech. I say nothing of the emotion which it excited in me, who was a young student in the gallery. But venerable fathers and strong men were, not less than the enthusiastic students and the impressionable ladies in the galleries, carried away by the eloquence of it as by the rushing of a mighty wind. Several circumstances no doubt combined with its vast power and its intrinsic excellence in order to the production of the effect which was produced upon the assembly and the audience generally. Up till that time, and indeed until three years later, there was no *Missionary Record*, to make known to the ministry and the people the doings of the Church in the foreign field. It is not too much to say that of the people generally, and even of the ministers and elders who were members of the General Assembly, a very considerable number were

scarcely aware of the fact that the Church had a foreign mission at all. Certainly, at all events, many knew very little of the characters or the doings of the missionaries. If they attached any idea at all to the term *missionary*, it was probably wide as the poles asunder from the reality as embodied in Dr. Duff. Thus his eloquence took the majority of his audience by surprise. Then his appearance was well fitted to impress an auditory. His well-developed and originally powerful frame, reduced to the extremity of physical weakness, yet redeemed by the animation of intellect and spiritual earnestness from any portion of the repulsive effect which physical weakness is otherwise apt to produce, gave evidence of the intense sincerity with which he had devoted himself to the cause which he was to advocate, and produced a certain measure of impression favourable to that cause, even on those who had hitherto taken but little interest in it. This impression was deepened as he went on, and as his physical exhaustion seemed the fitting comment on the magnitude of the work to be done, and the paucity of the means provided for the doing of it.

But however these and other subsidiary aids might contribute towards the production of the marvellous impression, that is, in all but its entirety, to be ascribed to the character of the speech itself. The position of the question was such as to give the fairest field for all the special powers of the speaker. He was aware of the existence of a considerable amount of opposition, on the

part of many of his hearers, to the educational character which the mission had assumed. This justified, or rather necessitated, the introduction into the speech of a sufficiency of the argumentative or controversial element, to form a relief to the hortatory portions of it, which otherwise might have been regarded as too declamatory ; and as a controversialist—at all events in oral, as distinguished from written, controversy—Dr. Duff had few equals. Apart from this, however, and constituting the main cause of the impression produced by the speech, was the greatness of the theme, and the intensity of the speaker's apprehension of that greatness. A world revolted from its God—that God yearning with Divine compassion for its salvation—a Divine Saviour incarnate, and labouring in life and death for its redemption—the ministry of reconciliation committed to a church of saved sinners—that church all but indifferent to the responsibility of the trust committed to it, and content to leave the greater portion of the world a prey to darkness and horrid abominations and cruelties—all this constituted a theme such as Demosthenes and Cicero had never handled, a theme better fitted than any other to rouse to their most energetic action all the powers of the Christian orator. The theme was fitted to the orator, and the orator to the theme.

I have stated that I was among Dr. Duff's miscellaneous auditory on that day. It was the first great speech that I ever heard, and on that account I should have shrunk from characterizing it, were not my immature judgment

coincident with that of multitudes, who could bring the oration and the effect which it produced into comparison with the finest specimens of modern oratory. I have lived many years since then, and have listened to the breathing thoughts and burning words of many men of "resistless eloquence;" but if I lived as many more, I should never forget that speech and its noble peroration. The reading of it at this distance of time, I am quite aware, cannot be to others what it is to those to whom, as to me, it recalls the image of the speaker, with every tone of his enfeebled voice, and every glance of his tearful eye, and every motion of his exhausted frame:—

"It is cheering to think of the overmastering energy that is now put forth in the cause of church-extension in this land, as well as in reference to improved systems of education, and model-schools, and more especially the enlightenment of the long-neglected and destitute Highlands. I know the Highlands; they are dear to me. They are the cradle and the grave of my fathers; they are the nursery of my youthful imaginings; and there is not a lake, or barren heath, or granite peak, that is not dear to me. How much more dear the precious souls of those who tenant these romantic regions! Still, though a son of the Highlands, I must, in my higher capacity as a disciple of Jesus, be permitted to put the question, Has not Inspiration declared that 'the field is the world'? And would you keep your spiritual sympathies pent up within the craggy ramparts of the Grampians? Would you have them enchained within the wild and rocky shores of this distant isle? 'The field is the world'; and the more we are like God, the more we reflect His image—the more our nature is assimilated to the Divine, the more nearly will we view the world as God has done. . . . Let us awake, arise, and rescue unhappy India from its present and impending horrors. Ah! long, too long, has India been made a theme for the visions of poetry and the dreams of romance! Too long has it been enshrined in the sparkling bubbles of a vapoury sentimentalism! One's heart is indeed sickened with the eternal song of its balmy

skies and voluptuous gales, its golden dews and pageantry of blossoms, its

‘ Fields of paradise and bowers
Entwining amaranthine flowers,’

its blaze of suns and torrents of eternal light ; one’s heart is sickened with this eternal song, when above we behold nought but the spiritual gloom of a gathering tempest, relieved only by the lightning gleam of the Almighty’s indignation—around, a waste moral wilderness, where ‘ all life dies and death lives ’—and underneath, one vast catacomb of immortal souls perishing for lack of knowledge. Let us arise, and resolve that henceforward those ‘ climes of the sun ’ shall not be viewed merely as a storehouse of flowers for poetry, and figures for rhetoric, and bold strokes for oratory ; but shall become the climes of a better sun, even the ‘ Sun of righteousness,’ the nursery of ‘ plants of renown ’ that shall bloom and blossom in the regions of immortality. Let us arise and revive the genius of the olden time ; let us revive the spirit of our forefathers. Like them, let us unsheathe the sword of the Spirit, unfurl the banner of the Cross, sound the gospel-trump of Jubilee. Like them, let us enter into a ‘ Solemn League and Covenant ’ before our God, in behalf of that benighted land, that we will not rest till the voice of praise and thanksgiving arise in daily orisons from its coral strands, roll over its fertile plains, resound from its smiling valleys, and re-echo from its everlasting hills. Thus shall it be proved that the Church of Scotland, though poor, can make many rich, being herself replenished from the fulness of the Godhead—that the Church of Scotland, though powerless as regards carnal designs and worldly policies, has yet the Divine power of bringing many sons to glory, of calling a spiritual progeny from afar, numerous as the drops of dew in the morning, and resplendent with the shining of the Sun of righteousness—a noble company of ransomed multitudes that shall hail you in the realms of day, and crown you with the spoils of victory, and sit on thrones, and live and reign with you amid the splendours of an unclouded universe.

“ May God hasten the day, and put it into the heart of every one present to engage in the glorious work of realizing it ! ”

Either on the morning after the delivery of that speech, or on the morning after that, I was introduced to Dr.

Duff by a fellow-student of his and a dear friend of mine, Dr. James Lewis of Leith, afterwards of Rome, there being present, besides the families of Lewis and Duff, a fellow-student of theirs, who still survives to cherish a loving memory of them both—Dr. Anderson of Aberdeen, I was then in my eighteenth year, and social intercourse with men occupying positions of distinction was novel to me. Happily there was nothing in the frank and friendly communings of the missionary and his friends to break the spell which the orator had thrown over me. And it was so throughout the many subsequent years of his life. From that day no considerable period of time ever elapsed without our being brought together, either in the most intimate personal intercourse, or in the interchange of familiar correspondence; and I cannot call to mind a single instance in which my respect and affection for him were diminished by any inconsistency of his. In opinion we often differed, and many a time he stated his opinions with a degree of warmth which seemed to me somewhat excessive; but he was ever the loving friend, as well as the earnest Christian and the devoted missionary. I trust I may be pardoned for violating, it may be, literary propriety by this personal reference; for, after all, this book, if it has any value at all, must owe that value to the personal reminiscences which it contains.

The ecclesiastical restrictions to which I referred were modified or suspended by this General Assembly, to the extent of commissioning Dr. Duff to plead all over Scotland the cause which was so near his heart; and this

cause he pleaded, notwithstanding great physical weakness, and under the pressure of acute disease, with an energy which would have been astonishing if put forth by a man in full vigour, and with a success which far exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine. All over the country, and among all classes of people, in public and in private, by all manner of argumentation and appeal, he carried out the work which he had undertaken. If there ever be in Scotland an adequate apprehension of the importance of the missionary work, and of the claims of the missionary cause upon the sympathies and the energies of all Christians, it will be due to the exertions of Dr. Duff in those years, far more than to any other cause. The harvest receives most important modifications from hundreds of influences that affect the growing crop, but the *cause* of the harvest is the seed-sowing. Even so did Dr. Duff sow a good seed in the soil of his countrymen's hearts, and lived long enough to see the tiny blade peering above the clods. We rejoice in the summer verdure. The harvest-joy is reserved for those who shall come after us. The work of this period was greatly interrupted by physical weakness, and yet not so much as it ought to have been. Dr. Duff never could learn to regulate his work according to the measure of his physical ability. When after an attack of illness he found his strength returning, he undertook engagements which would have overtaxed it had it never departed; and so after a period of immense exertion he was again and again obliged to "lay up." It is very easy to characterize this as unwise,

but there is an element to be taken into account which not every one is qualified to estimate. What might have been an act, or a series of acts, of unwisdom on the part of a man less under the influence of zeal, might be a simple necessity on the part of one with a mind and a heart like his. Of this, I think, there needs be no doubt, that Dr. Duff accomplished his work more effectually than he would have done if he had set about it more prudently ; and that by reason of the character of the task then assigned to him. The object was to rouse men from their lethargy ; and this could be better accomplished by the sudden strokes of the alarm-bell than by the continuous sound of the dulcimer. When instruction rather than impression was the object aimed at, as in the Calcutta Institution, Dr. Duff showed no lack of plodding continuous industry ; though even there it would have been more prudent to husband his strength. It will be understood that I say this with reference to the time when I was personally conversant with his daily work in the Institution. As to the time of his earlier exertions in Calcutta, I suppose there can be no doubt that he imprudently overtaxed his strength. But then the object was to make an initial impression, to get the Institution established as a platform for subsequent continuous and noiseless work.

His exertions were not altogether confined to Scotland, although the rousing of his own church was, of course, his chief work, which occupied the greater portion of his available time, and to which he devoted far more than his properly available strength. His most notable appearances

in England were at the meeting of the Church Missionary Society in London in 1836, and at that of the Church of Scotland's Mission in 1837. The speeches delivered on these occasions sustained, in the estimate of English audiences, the reputation which his Assembly Speech of 1835 had procured for him among his own countrymen, of being one of the greatest orators of the day—in his own department the greatest.

And this may be the proper place to interject a few sentences as to the character of his oratory. Its great characteristic was its fervid earnestness. At the bar he would have made no figure in the pleading of ordinary cases; but if some great cause had come into his hands, in which his feelings had been deeply interested, and he had had the conviction that important interests depended on the issue, he would have made a speech equal to any of the greatest efforts of the greatest pleaders of other days. It would, however, have made more impression upon the jury than upon the bench; and that, not on account of any defect, conscious or unconscious, of logical precision, of accuracy of statement, or of legal fairness; but because his manifest enthusiasm would have excited the apprehensions of the judges, and led them to be mainly occupied in the detection of those flaws in his reasoning, of which they would have instinctively assumed the existence. This assumption would have been erroneous; and yet not wholly so. They would have detected no statement of the false, nor any suppression of the true; but they might have found a

concentration of the mind of the speaker on the particular portion of truth which he had in hand, which was incompatible with a right estimate of the comparative importance of other portions of truth.

It were vain to speculate as to what Dr. Duff would have been as a parliamentary speaker. Had he adopted politics as a matter of study in his early days, he would certainly have developed into a great parliamentary speaker ; but his whole style and manner of thought and speech as actually developed, were utterly different from those which constitute successful senatorial eloquence. The pulpit, where he could pour forth all his soul in commending the gospel of the God of righteousness and of love, and the church-court and the platform whence he was called to plead the cause of perishing men, were his appropriate *rostra*—appropriate because his whole life was spent in appropriating himself to them. It were vain to institute any comparison between his eloquence and that of the great forensic or senatorial speakers of our own or of earlier times. He could not have occupied their places, and just as little could they have occupied his. If a comparison were to be instituted betwixt him and others, it must be with those who occupied a similar position to his own. It were easy enough to go into such a comparison, and to show that he had not the humour of one, or the exquisite analytic faculty of another, or the irresistible demonstrative power of a third, or this or that other quality of any number of others. But he was able to rivet the attention, and con-

vince the understandings, and arouse the sympathies, and touch the hearts, of men and women of all classes, drawing tears from eyes unused to weep, and—what a sagacious friend of mine declares to be a still more difficult achievement—money from purses seldom unclasped! It is the unanimous testimony of all who heard any of his great speeches, that they were never more powerfully impressed by any other speaker.

As to the mere *art* of oratory he was not indifferent; certainly not to the extent to which his hearers probably supposed that he was. I do not think that it was with any set purpose of forming his own style of speech; but his tastes led him to read the published speeches of the great speakers;¹ and his memory, which was singularly

¹ If I were asked to name the man who was specially Dr. Duff's model, I would say that it was Robert Hall. With great differences, there were also considerable resemblances, between the men. I know that Duff had a profound admiration of Hall, and he unconsciously caught his manner of expression, in conversation at all events, if not in his speeches or discourses. I have no doubt, for example, that it was by unconscious imitation of him that, with much more frequency than is usual, he addressed his interlocutor as *Sir!* I could give many specimens of his conversation which would remind the reader of Hall. Let one suffice. He and I happened to sit together in church, listening to a sermon constructed in such a fashion that it might have gone on to any length. The text, I think, was "God is love," and the heads were such as these: God is love—1. in Himself, 2. towards His creatures, 3. towards His people; (1) in election, (2) in redemption, etc., etc. Dr. Duff was generally the most lenient of critics, but the day was cold, the church uncomfortable, and he was very unwell and in great pain. After we came out I said that I was very glad when the preacher stopped, for really there was no reason why he should ever have stopped. "No, sir, nor why he should ever have begun, sir."

retentive of all that impressed him, treasured their noblest passages, and enabled him to make their peculiarities of diction his own. But he was not, and could not be, an imitator. He had a great advantage in speaking, that his manner produced the impression that he was speaking extemporaneously, whereas he very seldom did so. His method of preparation, I may mention, was singular, and almost unique. He had the rare faculty of mental composition—mental writing, I may call it. When he had to make a speech in Calcutta, he used to walk on the roof of his house, and not merely arrange the general plan and matter of his speech, but actually compose and correct it sentence by sentence, and then mentally read and re-read it, although no word of it had been written otherwise than mentally. In this way he so fixed it in his mind that he could reproduce it at any distance of time. In point of fact, I have heard him deliver the same speech *verbatim* at intervals of several years, although not a word of it had ever been written; and I believe that at any time he could have delivered, with scarcely a verbal deviation, every speech that he ever spoke.² To me it would appear that such a mode of composition would involve a terrible mental strain; but it may be that the possession of so singular a faculty may be accompanied with as singular a faculty

² Some time ago I spoke of this to a friend as an unexampled faculty. To my surprise he assured me that he also possesses it, with this difference, that a sermon thus composed is forgotten as soon as it is preached.

of using it. His accent was to the last very markedly Scotch, quite enough so to make it attractive to his compatriots, and not, I should think, enough to make it offensive to Southern ears. At all events, the one class and the other were soon carried away by the fervour and the solemnity of his address, so as to forget any peculiarities of manner and accent. Many stories were told of ladies taking off their rings and gentlemen their seals in order to add them to the collections. But I do not know whether they were all, or any of them, authentic. I am sure that Dr. Duff himself would have discouraged, and disapproved of, such merely impulsive liberality ; for he always regarded giving to the mission as a solemn Christian duty, to be deliberately discharged under the regulation of Christian principle, while he put no value on the mere ebullition of excited feeling.

Returning from this long digression, I have only to state that the discussions occasioned by his Assembly speech of 1835 induced him to publish a pamphlet on English Education in India, and also in the Assembly of 1837 to vindicate in an admirable speech the position which he had taken up as an advocate of education as a legitimate branch of missionary work, and of English education as specially called for in the existing state of matters in India.

The twofold evil with which the Missionary Committee of the Church of Scotland—and indeed the committees of other churches and societies—had to contend—or perhaps I should rather say the twofold manifestation of

the one evil of a lack of interest in the Mission cause—was a deficiency of money and a deficiency of men. Both were to some extent remedied by Dr. Duff's exertions. In connection with the appointment of the present writer to the Mission in Calcutta he conducted the services at the request of the Presbytery of Edinburgh. His sermon and addresses on that occasion were immediately published ;¹ and I do not think that it is merely the special interest that I had in them that makes me regard them as forming, in some respects, the best of his published works. The fact that the second edition was issued in the same year, in the third month of which the services were held, may be supposed to indicate that the public estimate of the value of the book was in accordance with mine. The little volume bears a dedication "to the Students of Divinity in the Universities of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh, with many of whom the author has enjoyed much genial converse." I am not able to say, of my own knowledge, to what extent this converse issued in the volunteering of others besides myself for Indian service ; but I have no doubt that it had more or less to do with the addition to the mission-staff of my late beloved friends, Messrs. Mac-

¹ "Missions, the chief end of the Christian Church ; also, the Qualifications, Duties, and Trials of an Indian Missionary ; being the substance of Services held on the 7th March, in St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, at the Ordination of the Rev. Thomas Smith, as one of the Church of Scotland's Missionaries to India." By the Rev. Alexander Duff, D.D., Church of Scotland's Mission, Calcutta. Second edition. Edinburgh, 1839.

donald of Calcutta, Anderson, Johnson, and Braidwood of Madras, who faithfully served their Master by the will of God and fell on sleep ; and my life-long friend Dr. Murray Mitchell of Bombay, who, after long and efficient service in India, was Dr. Duff's earnest associate in his later work, and who is now again in India, with matured experience, and undiminished, if not increased, zeal.

In the same year, 1839, he wrote and published his largest work,¹ which also attained a second edition within a few months. In the preface he gives an account of the genesis of the book, which is of sufficient interest in a biographical aspect to warrant the introduction here of the opening paragraphs.

“During the last four years, whenever health permitted, the author has been in the habit of addressing mixed audiences in England and Scotland, both from the pulpit and the platform, on the subject of Christian Missions. He has also largely enjoyed the inestimable privilege of advocating the same blessed cause before the Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland. Of the addresses delivered on different occasions, some have already been published by special request, and widely circulated. Of the greater part, no written record ever existed, beyond the reports of the public journals, and a few loose scattered headings or *notanda*—intelligible to no one but the author himself.

“When, in May last, it was judged that, in the good providence of God, the state of his health might reasonably be expected to admit of his once more braving the fervours of a tropical clime, it came to be a question how he could most profitably dispose of his time and

¹ “India, and India Missions ; including Sketches of the Gigantic System of Hinduism, both in theory and practice ; also notices of some of the principal agencies employed in conducting the process of Indian Evangelization,” etc., etc. By the Rev. Alexander Duff, D.D., Church of Scotland Mission, Calcutta. Second edition. Edinburgh, 1840.

strength during the interval of a few months which must elapse previous to his final departure ; whether, for example, he ought to resume his wonted vocation of addressing public meetings in different parts of the country, or whether he ought to commit to writing, with the view of publication, the *substance* of what he had so often endeavoured to enforce on the attention of his countrymen. The latter alternative was that which the friends of the missionary cause unanimously advised him to adopt ; and when he states the simple fact that, with the exception of a few pages, he had, in the course of four months, not only to write out the entire volume, but at one and the same time submit to the drudgery of carrying it through the press—and that too, amid numberless distracting interruptions—he trusts that its manifold imperfections will be treated with that indulgence which the circumstances of the case require at the hands of the candid reader. The circumstance, that the materials of which the volume is composed, formed originally the substance of *oral* addresses, will sufficiently account for the frequent transition from the didactic to the hortatory style of composition.”

The writing in the course of four months of a book of 708 pages 8vo, containing, on a rough calculation, about three hundred thousand words, was a terrible drain upon his imperfectly restored strength. It would have been simply an impossibility, but for the singular mental peculiarity to which I have alluded. Dr. Duff was able in a marvellous way to reproduce not only the substance, but the very words of the addresses which he had delivered. But a great portion of the book—what he calls the didactic as distinguished from the hortatory portion—had never formed any part of his addresses. Moreover, the composition of the didactic portion must have necessitated the consultation of many books. Take it for all in all, I question whether the history of literature records the accomplishment of a greater mental

feat;¹ and the intrinsic value of the matter is to be taken into the account. Granted, that as a literary production the book is not faultless, that the hortatory parts of it contain repetitions, that the other parts might with advantage be condensed; yet it is an invaluable book to all who desire to apprehend what Hinduism is, not as it is represented in the theories of orientalists—who too often set out with unfounded assumptions and end with unsubstantial conclusions—but as it is exhibited in the beliefs and in the lives of the 200 millions of its votaries. To the general accuracy of its representations no exception has been, or can be, taken.² When it is considered that it was all derived from the study and observation of four most busy years in India, and all composed and printed in four semi-invalid months at home, it is simply marvellous.

¹ Since this was written, I have found among Dr. Duff's books a MS. volume filled with extracts from books bearing upon many of the subjects treated in the work in question. These extracts are written on India paper, and must have been made during his first residence in India, and were probably made use of in the composition of the book. But these extracts bear an insignificant proportion to the matter contained in "India, and India Missions." However, they seem to show that even at that time he had contemplated the production of such a work.

² To one objection it is admittedly liable. Although the "gigantic system" of Hinduism is essentially one, yet it assumes many modifications in the several provinces of India. Dr. Duff's representations of it are marvellously accurate as it exists and is believed in Bengal. He was afterwards more fully aware that the Lernean Hydra has many heads. In this respect it resembles the great work of the late Mr. Ward, which also describes Hinduism in its Bengali type.

In the work which Dr. Duff did in Scotland during this visit, it seems impossible not to recognize the finger of God. It was a work that had to be done if Scotland was to have any share in the conduct or the blessing of missions to the heathen ; and it was a work that no one could have done so well as he did it. In his actual missionary work in India he had zealous, and—though I was one of them for well-nigh twenty years, I may say—efficient co-adjutors, without whose aid he could as little have done the work as they could have done it without his. But in this work at home he was alone, not only *facile princeps*, but the sole originator of a great idea, and the sole agent in instituting the process which is to issue in that idea's being realized.

The farewells and partings were as much a strain upon the feelings of the heart, as the composition of his book had been upon his mind. Many efforts were made to induce him to abandon India, and to accept a call to a charge at home. But in vain. Yet the leaving of home this time was very different from what it had been ten years before. Then he and Mrs. Duff were all in all to one another. Now they had to leave behind them their four children, one of whom they were never to see in this world again, nor the others till after long years. No one who has felt the wrench of such a separation will care to attempt in words a description of its painfulness.

V.

I N 1839 the "Overland route"—*lucus a non lucendo*, for all but 70 miles of it is by sea—which is destined to be so powerful a factor in the world's history, had been tentatively opened up, and Dr. Duff was one of the early passengers. The exceeding great incompleteness of the arrangements had two opposite effects. It rendered the journey very uncomfortable; and it occasioned numerous detentions, which enabled the passengers to see many objects of interest which they would not otherwise have seen. Thus, a month's detention in Egypt enabled him not only to visit the pyramids; to study the imposture of a Simon Magus of those days, who was bewitching many, and puzzling the wits of the most intelligent; to hold conferences with the Coptic bishops and clergy; but also to gratify the desire which he had long cherished of visiting Mount Sinai. This short sojourn in Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula was about the only proper holiday that he ever enjoyed; and he never wearied of describing all that he

saw, and the innumerable thoughts to which it gave rise. I remember that he had a theory of his own as to the route of the Israelites, the mountain-pass through which Pharaoh pursued them, the place where they crossed the Red Sea, and the valley in which they encamped at the foot of Mount Sinai; and this theory he was ever ready to defend with as much zeal as that with which he did battle for the antiquity and authenticity of the Ossianic poems. A letter which he wrote to his elder daughter from the top of Sinai is so characteristic of a mood which was not unusual with him, but of which I can, of course, give but few instances, that I must take the liberty of transferring a part of it from Dr. George Smith's pages to mine:—

“Top of Mount Sinai,

Sabbath Morning, 12th January, 1840.

“MY DEAREST REBECCA,—Did you ever expect to get a letter from papa dated *Mount Sinai*? a letter written on the very top of that extraordinary mountain on which Jehovah once came down, amid thunderings and lightnings, so that the thousands of Israel were affrighted, and Moses himself exceedingly quaked? And yet so it is. Here I am on a Sabbath morning, on the 12th January, about sunrise, when perhaps you and your sister and brothers are scarcely out of bed.¹ And amid all the wonders of that indescribable scene around me, I have not forgotten my dear children, or the guardian friends that surround them. Yes, this very moment I have finished reading aloud the 19th and 20th chapters of Exodus, but oh, in what

¹ I am sure he did not forget that he was some 40° east of Greenwich, and therefore that the sun would not rise in Edinburgh till three hours later, for he was just the last man to forget such a thing. But he would not distract and puzzle the child's mind with explanations which she would but imperfectly have understood.—T. S.

a different voice from that in which they were uttered upwards of 3,000 years ago ; and have just now risen from the naked granite peak on which I knelt to implore the Lord for a blessing, to pray that the law might be my schoolmaster to bring me to Christ ; and in my prayer, rest assured that you and sister, brothers and other friends, were not forgotten. No, the remembrance of you all has been sweet to me. May the Lord lead and guide you, in grace and in truth, to know and to do His holy will ! . . . But you may say, 'What, papa climb a mountain on Sabbath !' Yes, my dear, think for a moment. In Edinburgh, where there is a church, it would be wrong not to go there to worship with the rest of God's people. But here there is no church—no church within hundreds of miles, in which I could worship. Now you know that God is not confined to temples made with hands. He is a spirit, and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth. He is everywhere to be found, and may everywhere be worshipped. Our Saviour often went apart to a mountain to pray ; so this morning I retired to the summit of Sinai to hold communion with my God, and to remember in prayer those that are dear to me. . . ."

Near the beginning of 1840, Dr. Duff arrived in Bombay, and was most cordially welcomed by Drs. Wilson, Nesbit, and Murray Mitchell, as well as by Christians and missionaries of all denominations. After spending a short time here in delightful converse with all these brethren, and in intelligent survey of that portion of the great Indian mission-field, the Duffs proceeded on board a "country ship" to double the Cape of Comorin. An equally cordial welcome awaited him in Madras, on the part of Messrs. Anderson and Johnstone. A short stay here was occupied in like manner, and about the end of April, or beginning of May, he started on the last stage of his journey. Hitherto, his usual "luck" in respect of weather seemed to have forsaken him ; but the voyage

did not end without a recurrence of it. The ship had already taken on board her pilot at the Sand-heads, and must have been near the scene of the *Moira's* disaster, when she was overtaken by a cyclone, and was for many hours in great peril. The hurricane raged for twelve hours, and then, after the manner of these revolving storms, ceased as abruptly as it had begun. The ship escaped without material damage, but was driven far out to sea. In Calcutta we knew nothing of this, nor of the probable date of Dr. Duff's arrival; so far as I remember, we did not even know of his having left Madras, when to the unspeakable joy of us all, he walked into the Institution.

I cannot speak in detail of Dr. Duff's work during the succeeding years of his second Indian campaign. Indeed, I feel it to be a somewhat delicate matter to speak of it at all. But having had occasion a few years ago to sketch the work of the mission at this period, I do not know that I can do better than transfer a paragraph from a MS. now before me:—

“From this time missionaries were frequently appointed; Mr. Anderson to Madras in 1836, Mr. Macdonald to Calcutta in 1837, Mr. Murray Mitchell to Bombay and Mr. Johnstone to Madras in 1838, he who now addresses you to Calcutta in 1839, and in 1840 Mr. Braidwood to Madras, the last of the pre-disruption missionaries of the Church of Scotland. My departure to Calcutta, in 1839, was hastened, because intelligence had been received by the Committee that Mr. Mackay had been compelled by severe illness to leave for Australia, with little expectation that he should ever reach it, and with none that he should ever be able to return to Calcutta. When I reached Calcutta, in 1839, I therefore found only Mr. Ewart and

Mr. Macdonald there ; but before the end of the year Mr. Mackay returned, and early in 1840, Dr. Duff was again amongst us. And here, at the risk of incurring the charge of egotism, I must speak of my colleagues, and of the work in which we were engaged. They were all of them noble men, all of them men of superior ability, one of them, as you know, a man of genius. Each one was very different from the others, and thus each one was able very happily to supplement the others. They were all of them about the same age, the youngest being less than eighteen months younger than the oldest ; and they were from ten to a dozen years older than I. They treated me with special kindness as a younger brother of the family, and while I should have been willing to accord to them what they were well entitled to demand, that I should look up to any one of them as a father, they never claimed, and apparently never expected, any deference or submission to their greater experience. There may have been little clouds drifting from time to time across the sky, and momentarily obscuring the sunshine. But if there were, I have long forgotten them, and remember only the perfect cordiality with which we stood shoulder to shoulder, doing battle under the Captain of our salvation, cheering one another on, and sharing a common joy, as gradually a little band of beloved converts was gathered around us, and we saw that our labour of love was not in vain in the Lord. I am sure that you will not only excuse but sympathize with the pride with which I remember that I was for so long a time the loving and trusting, and I will so far violate modesty as to say, the loved and trusted, associate of these four noble men, all of whom have been removed into the upper sanctuary."

The occasion for which this paragraph was originally written led me to confine the statement to the period that intervened between Dr. Duff's return to India in 1840, and the disruption of the Scottish Church in 1843. But what I have said of my pre-disruption colleagues is equally true respecting those missionaries who subsequently joined us—Messrs. Sinclair, Gardiner, Powrie, and Beaumont ; and equally, I am safe to say, though

not of my own knowledge, respecting those who joined it after my departure from India.

Dr. Duff's name is so associated with educational operations in India, that, I am persuaded, injustice is done to his memory by the common idea that he was merely an educationist. It is quite true that he had no ambition to be an orientalist; because he had deliberately formed the judgment, in which all but a very few orientalists now share, that it is not through the Sanscrit that the mind of India is to be enlightened, and the hearts of the people are to be reached. It is also true that his study of the vernacular Bengali was interrupted by his severe illness in 1834, and that it was resumed at great disadvantage in 1840. One more truth, which might be left unstated by reason of its obviousness. His time was so much occupied with various work, and for ten months in every year he was so confined to Calcutta, that he did not do much in the way of vernacular preaching or itinerancy. But he had a fair and useful knowledge of Bengali, and could use it with good effect in his intercourse with the natives. I only once heard him preach a formal sermon in Bengali, and it struck me as too studied and elaborate. But I have constantly heard him using the language with facility and with good effect in less formal or continuous addresses.

It is too little considered that Dr. Duff was continually occupied in intercourse with natives of all classes. They came to him on all manner of errands and pretexts, and he was ever ready to press upon them the claims of the

gospel, and with unspeakable earnestness to entreat them to be reconciled unto God. Of course a considerable proportion of those who resorted to him regarded it as complimentary to be conversed with in English. But he had constant intercourse also with multitudes of pandits, and multitudes of peasants, who had no knowledge of English, and he had no difficulty in effectively addressing them. I was several times his companion on missionary itinerancies during the vacation of the Institution, in districts where no sound of English was ever heard, and there he spoke Bengali intelligibly, although certainly it was too much the Bengali of books and of pandits; so that even I, who was on no higher level, could detect the difference between it and the Bengali of our dear friend Mr. Lacroix, and of others who were living constantly among the people whose only language was Bengali. I am not aware that he ever published anything in Bengali, excepting a tract of which I have now a copy by me, and which is the substance of the only Bengali sermon that I heard him preach. But he took ever an intelligent and lively interest in the operations of the Bible Society and the Tract Society, and was probably, of all the Calcutta missionaries, the most regular attendant at the meetings of their committees.

This may be as good a place as any other to notice Dr. Duff's relations to the missionaries of other bodies. Although some of them did not altogether sympathize with his English-educational method, all could confidently reckon on his cordial sympathy with them in all

their work, and his wise counsel in all their difficulties ; and it is to be remembered that difficulties were then, in the comparative infancy of missions in Bengal, of greater magnitude and more frequent occurrence than they happily are now ; although, indeed, the missionary work is not yet, and will never be, without many and great difficulties. It was mainly with the view of enabling the Calcutta missionaries to co-operate more effectively with each other, both in the way of vindicating their cause against assaults from without, and regulating their operations with so much uniformity as their several denominational peculiarities would admit, that the Calcutta Missionary Conference was instituted, and has been maintained now for half a century. The following paragraph with reference to this Conference is taken from the late Dr. Mullens's life of his father-in-law, Mr. Lacroix. It well deserves a place among the memorabilia of Dr. Duff :—

“ In 1831 the missionaries of the various societies in the city, few in number but most friendly to each other, established a monthly meeting for prayer and consultation, which by degrees settled down into what was soon known as the CALCUTTA MISSIONARY CONFERENCE. The fact that they were strangers in a strange land, yet brethren of one faith, devoted to one object, and serving the same Master, naturally drew them to each other. Special reasons for their union were found in the advantage of bringing together their common wants and experience, of making common cause in their many difficulties, and of combining publicly for united action in great public questions. While each mission occupies its own direct sphere of labour in the cause of Christ, and every missionary finds in that sphere his own place, very numerous are the questions on which mutual consultation and combined public action are of the greatest

advantage, both for their individual improvement and the cause of Christianity at large. The members of the Conference, from the commencement of their meetings, have been accustomed to breakfast together on the first Tuesday of every month, holding a prayer-meeting before breakfast ; and subsequently at their meeting for business, discussing some question that may be thrown into prominence by the circumstances of the time. In the course of years, almost every question of importance in the management and maintenance of Indian missions has been sifted, examined, and discussed again and again ; and very numerous have been the subjects requiring prompt and decided action on the part of Christian men, in which this Conference has brought out measures of high importance which have been productive of great good. The honour of originating this most valuable union belongs specially to Dr. Duff, who has also contributed in a high degree to its efficiency and profitability. Mr. Lacroix was a member from the day of its formation ; he loved it greatly, felt complete sympathy with the principles upon which it was based, and the ends it has had in view."

It is a solemn thought to me that of the thirty brethren who were members of this Conference when I entered it in 1839 only one besides myself ¹ is now alive, and even of those whom I left as members of it in 1858, very few are members of it now.

One subsidiary advantage secured by this Conference was the cultivation and the exhibition of the spirit of catholicity among the missionaries. To this spirit Dr. Duff very materially contributed. With no sensitive shrinking from controversy, no stranger to "the stern joy which warriors feel, in foemen worthy of their steel," with the consciousness of a giant's power, and that, in his younger days, not always under the restraint which he

¹ The Rev. George Pearce, of the Baptist Mission.

gradually learned to impose upon it, he estimated the work in which all the Protestant missionaries were engaged as so immeasurably exceeding in importance their differences in ecclesiastical arrangements and missionary methods, that while he was generally chosen by instinctive consent as the champion of the common interests of the great cause against assailants from without, his voice was rarely heard in the discussions which from time to time arose respecting the mutual relations of the several churches and societies represented in the Conference. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists,¹ were not, of course, allowed to introduce their special denominational views; but equally of course, they discussed many questions from their denominational points of view. Dr. Duff no doubt discussed them from his, but never offensively; and even when occasionally his own special educational method was under discussion, he bore with marvellous patience and good nature the objections which were brought against it, while he rejoiced in the constantly lessening opposition to it.

Personally he was on terms of cordial friendship with all the missionaries, and all friends of the missionary cause, of all denominations. One of the last counsels which he gave me at our parting in March, 1839, was to cultivate the friendship, and in difficulties to seek the counsel, of Mr. W. H. Pearce, of the Baptist Mission.

¹ The Methodists had no mission in Bengal during the time of which I can speak as of my own knowledge.

And I have often heard him tell with great delight ¹ of his early intercourse with Carey and Marshman of Serampore. And equally cordial were his respect of the Episcopalians, and his affection for many of them. His catholicity was put to a severer test when, after the disruption of the Established Church of Scotland, the body which remained established sent out men to occupy the position and the premises which we had been compelled to quit. But ere long it fully bore the strain, and most cordial relations subsisted between him and his neighbours in Cornwallis Square.

It was soon found that the Missionary Conference required to be represented by a literary organ. Hence originated *The Calcutta Christian Observer*, a monthly magazine which for a very long time served many most important purposes, both as a medium through which the missionaries all over the land could interchange their

¹ And with some amusement, too, at Carey's peculiarities. The good old man, for example, considered it a duty, in the presence of a pædobaptist and a minister of an Established Church, to bear his testimony in favour of believers' immersion and of voluntaryism. But after one or two trials he learned, not to abate his valour, but to temper it with a larger measure of its better part. He therefore avoided all reference to the subjects. But before his guest's departure, he proposed that they should unite in prayer, and then he poured forth his heart in earnest supplication that Christians might be brought to sounder views with regard to the mode and subjects of baptism, and the right relation of the Church to the State! I should state that Dr. Duff never mentioned this but as an illustration of the transparent simplicity of the grand veteran; and I am sure that no sensible reader will regard it in any other light; otherwise I should certainly not record it.

views with respect to modes of operation, and as a record of success and failure for the instruction and incitement of the Christian people. As the Episcopalians had a magazine of their own, *The Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, all of whom were members of the Conference, declined to take any responsibility with respect to the *Observer*; but many of them freely contributed articles to its pages. Each of the other denominations nominated an editor, and there were various rules as to the settlement of differences which might arise among the editors; but I do not remember that during the twenty years of my connection with the Conference a single case ever occurred for having recourse to the rules. Dr. Duff was the first Presbyterian editor, and all his colleagues held the office in succession, for longer or shorter periods. In the *Observer* were discussed innumerable questions with respect to missionary methods, principles and details of Bible translation, the rights of native Christians in regard to inheritance, majority, marriage, custody of children in cases where the unchristian spouse refused to live with the convert, and multitudes of other matters of vital importance to the infant church. Dr. Duff was a constant contributor, and many of his papers were of great value at the time, while some were of permanent importance. Of the latter class I may specify a series of letters to the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, on the Government system of education. These were reprinted in a pamphlet, and are well worthy to be pondered by all who

take interest in most important questions which are not even now settled, and which are at this moment occupying the thoughts both of the Government and of all who are interested in Christian education. These letters have been animadverted on as unseemly in their tone, and lacking in the respect due to those in authority. They have even been characterized as dictated by a ferocious spirit. Well, they do not beat about the bush in search of honeyed phrases. They indicate a preference for calling a spade simply a spade, to searching for some more sweet-sounding synonym wherewith to describe it. But I am in a position to testify that it was in no spirit of ferocity, nor under the influence of any silly desire to measure swords with a viceregal lord, that Dr. Duff entered into the controversy. I happened to be the Presbyterian editor of the *Observer* at the time, and he strongly urged me to take up the subject. It was not without much difficulty that I prevailed upon him to undertake it himself; and when afterwards I reminded him that the time was approaching when I must have "copy," he strongly expressed regret that he had promised the articles, as he felt the greatest reluctance to treat the subject as he considered that it ought to be treated. When he was fairly warmed to his work, it may be granted without disparagement to him, that the reluctance gave place to his sense of the importance of the interests which were at stake.

Long before this, and during his first residence in India, he had conducted a controversy on a subject to

which I have always thought that he attached undue importance—the writing and printing of the vernacular languages of India in the Roman character. It is quite true that the Roman character has considerable advantages in several respects over the Bengali, the Nagari, the Persian, and I should suppose still greater advantages over those which I do not know, such as the Oriya and the Burmese. It is also true that the Roman alphabet, by the aid of a few diacritical marks, can be made to represent all the letters of the oriental alphabets. Still, I doubt whether the advantages on the one hand, or the inconveniences on the other, were such as to justify the earnestness of the “Romanizers” or the “Anti-Romanizers.” I should suppose that Dr. Duff himself must have afterwards felt this, else he would probably have revived the controversy after his return to India, which he never did. One position which he and his colleagues had to occupy in connection with the *Observer*, was that of apologists for the educational method. As a good deal of this work devolved on me, I may take this opportunity of saying that all I then wrote I should write still, were there occasion for it; but a good deal of it I should write otherwise, in respect of the manner of treating opponents, than as I wrote it forty years ago. I have no doubt that Dr. Duff would have made precisely the same statement concerning himself. Of this, however, I am sure, that Dr. Duff never forfeited the personal respect of his opponents in this or any other controversy.

Dr. Duff was also very closely associated with another periodical—*The Calcutta Review*; and although I shall afterwards have to notice events of earlier occurrence, it may be more convenient to be led by continuity of subject than to follow strict chronological order. *The Calcutta Review* was projected by a considerable number of men, who differed from one another in their views and sentiments on many matters, but who were at one in an earnest desire to promote the welfare of India. It was considered that there was a sufficiency of questions bearing upon the interests of the country and people, in the discussion of which the *Calcutta* would have an advantage over the English *Quarterlies*, whereas it would compete with them on disadvantageous terms if it undertook the discussion of general subjects. The pecuniary risk was undertaken by Mr. (afterwards Sir) J. W. Kaye, who consented also to become editor. The first number was published in May 1844, and contained an article by Dr. Duff, on “Our Earliest Protestant Mission to India.” To No. II. he contributed an article on “Female Infanticide in Central and Western India.” From the first the *Review* proved a great success; but before the time arrived for the third issue, Mr. Kaye was struck down by illness, and was obliged to leave the country, with but little prospect of ever returning. The editorship was nominally put in commission, in the hands of Dr. Duff, Mr. John C. Marshman, of Serampore, and the present writer; but with a tacit understanding on the part of Mr. Marshman and me, that Dr. Duff was to be really editor,

while we were to be simply contributors. And so it was carried out ; Dr. Duff edited the *Review* until he left Calcutta, in 1847. He was succeeded by Dr. Mackay, who brought out a few numbers, but was obliged to give up the editorship through failure of health. I succeeded him, and was editor, with a short interregnum, until illness drove me from India, in 1858, when I handed it over to Dr. George Smith, the biographer of Dr. Duff. Thus *The Calcutta Review*, although in no sense a missionary or a Free Church organ, and never on any occasion employed for the advancement of denominational interests, was for a very long time in the hands of Free Churchmen, while its contributors were of all Christian denominations, and while indeed it published several articles contributed by non-Christian natives. It were difficult to over-estimate the influence which this periodical exerted for the good of India ; and no papers in it were more influential than those of Dr. Duff. Subsidiary advantages of it were, that it brought him and his successors in the editorial chair into very close relations with all the well-wishers of India, and gave rise to several literary works of great value, which would not likely have been undertaken otherwise. I may just mention, in illustration of the latter statement, that Sir William Muir's life of Mohammed, one of the most important works of our time for the historian and the missionary, is an expansion of a series of articles contributed by the author at my very earnest request to *The Calcutta Review*. As an instance of the former advantage I may refer to

the very close friendship which subsisted between the several successive editors, and Sir Henry Lawrence, Sir Henry Durand, and Mr. Seton-Karr, who were frequent contributors to the *Review*. I am not aware whether there was any previous acquaintance between Dr. Duff and that noble Christian hero, Sir Henry Lawrence; but certainly it ripened into very warm friendship through the relations into which they were brought in connection with the *Review*.

None of these extraneous avocations interfered with the constant prosecution of direct missionary work. And that work was carried on with no small blessing from on high. The converts in steadily, though not rapidly, increasing numbers, were the epistles of the mission, known and read of all men; while the Institution was carrying on its appropriate work, and by its success securing the approbation of many who had at first doubted its legitimacy as a missionary agency. Instead of the five scholars who at first met in a most inconvenient hired house, there were, when Dr. Duff returned to India in 1840, full 600 in regular attendance, filling a range of class-rooms which were built during his absence, and which were paid for mainly with money received by him for that special purpose at home.

VI.

FOR ten years preceding 1843 events were occurring in Scotland, which, sagacious men foresaw, must issue in the disruption of the Church of Scotland. Dr. Duff and his colleagues, regarding themselves as, in a sense, the servants or representatives of the whole church, and not of one or the other section of it, had scrupulously refrained from taking any part in the discussions which divided those sections from one another. Although Dr. Duff was in this country during a considerable part of the "ten years' conflict," he had so conscientiously acted on this principle, that it was literally unknown to which party in the church he belonged. But the time came when a decision must be made, and declared, and acted out. The Church of Scotland was disrupted on the 18th of May, 1843, and the tidings of the disruption reached India in the August following. It is not my part to be either the historian of this confessedly important event, or the apologist of those who recognized the proper Church of Scotland in the disestablished section. I have only to do with the fact that

all the Foreign and all the Jewish missionaries of the church took this view, and unhesitatingly acted upon it. It was a time of trial of their faith, as it was of that of their brethren at home. Letters and newspapers from home, as well as many friends in India, and the local secular press, remonstrated with them, and could not realize the magnitude of the folly involved in their relinquishing their maintenance, and even putting a stop to their work, in favour of abstract principles, which, it was said, could have no possible application in the position which they occupied. Let it be granted, it was constantly said, that a Christian Church ought not to accept of establishment at the hands of the State, excepting on terms which should conserve its spiritual independence—the Government of India has never established or endowed you, and has no desire to interfere with your independence. This was true. But not the less was it true that the missions were the missions of the Church of Scotland, and the missionaries were absolutely necessitated to make a choice between the two bodies which claimed to be that church. They might choose wrongly—as one may choose wrongly between Romanism and Protestantism—but choose they must. And, as I have said, they did choose; and it was not without significance that their choice was unanimous, although self-interest might have seemed to dictate the opposite determination. I am safe to say that no one of them ever desired to recall the judgment which they formed, or to reverse the action which they founded upon it.

A European Free Church congregation was immediately formed in Calcutta, to which a large proportion of the previously existing congregation immediately attached themselves, and which at once became a power for good among the European and the Eurasian communities. The first service was conducted by Dr. Duff in the Masonic Hall; and Mr. Macdonald ministered to the congregation for several years, his colleagues in the Mission heartily dividing a portion of his missionary work among them, so as to set him free in some measure for the performance of a duty which they all felt to be a very important one, and one to which they were providentially called. As comparatively little was known by the great majority of European and Eurasian Christians in India concerning the contentings that had issued in the disruption, and the principles which underlay these contentings, a magazine was started under the title of *The Free Churchman*, of which Mr. Macdonald undertook the editorship, and which did good service to the cause. Dr. Duff, at the earnest solicitation of many friends, undertook to deliver a course of lectures in the Town Hall. These lectures were largely attended. They were reported in *The Free Churchman*, and were reprinted in a volume,¹ which is now before me. In some respects this is the most remarkable of Dr. Duff's works. Every

¹ "The Sole and Supreme Headship of the Lord Jesus Christ over His own Church; or, A Voice from the Ganges, relative to the Causes which led to the recent Disruption of the Established Church of Scotland, and the consequent formation of the Free Church of Scotland." By the Rev. A. Duff, D.D. Calcutta, 1844.

one knew him as the laborious missionary, and the potent advocate of the mission cause. But few, even of those who knew him best, could have believed him capable of treating a delicate ecclesiastical question as he treats it in these lectures. That he treated it so well is due in great measure to the fact that he did not highly value ecclesiastical points, nor care very much for the niceties of ecclesiastical arrangements. He was therefore thrown back upon the principles, of which he considered the claims of the Established Church in 1842, and the action of the Free Church portion of in 1843, to be the necessary consequents or corollaries. These principles he expounded with great clearness, and showed that they had been ever maintained by the Church of Scotland in all the course of her history, and that they were violated by the decisions of the civil courts, while the legislature refused to afford any redress for the past, or any protection for the future.

Meantime a claim was urged for the retention by the missionaries of the Mission buildings, especially in Calcutta. It was freely admitted that the portion of the church which remained in connection with the State having been recognized by the courts of law as *the* Church of Scotland, the same courts would adjudge to that portion the property which had belonged to the undisrupted church. But it was pleaded that the missionaries had a claim in equity to those buildings which had been erected for the purpose of carrying on their work, and especially to those which had been erected in Calcutta

almost entirely by means of funds contributed through Dr. Duff, and to a valuable collection of educational apparatus which had been purchased by Dr. Duff with a sum of money (£1,000) which had been given as a personal gift to himself. To all this it was answered that no committee, and not the General Assembly itself, had any right to alienate any property, however acquired, which had undoubtedly become the property of the church. I have no doubt that this argument was legally sound. But it was not the less painful to the missionaries to be obliged to quit the premises which were endeared to them by many associations, and all the more painful because there seemed no likelihood of their being occupied for some years to come; as in point of fact they were not.

I ought in candour to add that I believe it was painful also to the Convener and members of the Committee to insist, as they considered that their duty required them to insist, upon the withdrawal of those between whom and themselves there had always subsisted relations of most cordial amity. Forty years save one have run their course since the date of these controversies, and few remain on earth who took part in them. I have thought it necessary to advert to them as an essential part of the biography which I have undertaken to write; but I have striven to advert to them in a historical and not in a controversial spirit. I have the same conviction now that I had then of the rightness of the course adopted by the Free Church at home and her agents abroad; but

I have no desire to revive the controversies to which that course gave occasion.

Pending the negotiations referred to, and in the hope that they would ultimately be successful, or that at all events some compromise would be effected, the missionaries resolved to occupy the Institution till the close of the current session ; and so they did. The uncertainty of the position of the Mission and the missionaries was the occasion of calling forth the expression of much Christian sympathy on the part of many who did not profess to enter into the merits of the controversy—some of them candidly professing that they did not consider the disruption to have been necessary—but who could not endure the thought that the work of Dr. Duff and his co-adjutors should be stopped or hindered by lack of funds. There can be no impropriety now in referring to a subscription, accompanied by a most brotherly and sympathizing letter addressed to Dr. Duff by Dr. Dealtry, then Archdeacon of Calcutta, and afterwards Bishop of Madras. He explained that he desired to be understood as giving no judgment as to the merits of a controversy which had arisen within another branch of the Church than his own ; but that he regarded it at once as a duty and a privilege to do what he could to prevent the retardation of the great and good work which the missionaries were carrying on. I may also mention that a member of the Scotch Church, who did not “come out,” sent on New Year’s Day morning a thousand rupee (£100) note to each of the five missionaries. Although these notes were

expressly given as personal gifts to the missionaries, I need scarcely say that their recipients never for a moment thought of aught else than contributing them to the general fund of the Mission.

By the close of the session it had become manifest that the Mission premises could not be retained; and it became necessary to use every effort to procure a place where the work of the Mission might be resumed at the close of the short recess. Although this seemed almost hopeless, yet it was successfully accomplished. A large native house, containing ample accommodation for one thousand scholars, was secured on lease after much negotiation, and was speedily fitted up for its new purpose. Not a day was lost; the usual recess was not prolonged, and at its close the *personnel* of the Institution, missionaries, teachers, students, and scholars, entered afresh upon their work, with thankful hearts to Him who had disappointed all their fears and transcended all that they had ventured to hope. I do not remember any other occasion on which the soul of Dr. Duff was so manifestly stirred to its depths. The finger of God was so manifestly in it all. There was not a man in all Calcutta who would have thought it possible to get such accommodation as was necessary for the carrying on of our work, and here was accommodation provided, really better than that which we had left, and not only sufficient for all our present purposes, but affording room for further enlargement. Our feelings, and his especially, could find no expression in lower strains than those in which the seventy-years'

exiles celebrated their restoration to the blessed land which they had almost lost the hope of ever seeing again :

“ When Sion’s bondage God turned back, like men that dreamed
were we,

Then filled with laughter was our mouth, our tongue with melody.
They ’mong the heathen said, The Lord, great things for them
hath wrought ;

The Lord *hath* done great things for us ; whence joy to us is
brought.”

The work of the Mission in its various departments went on unchecked. There were many cases of conversion of a specially interesting kind. Generally the converts “walked in the fear of God and the comfort of the Holy Ghost, and were multiplied.” There were trials also. Some who did run well were hindered, and some who seemed about to enter upon the race were deterred on counting the cost. Some too, who were very dear, accomplished the race, and caused their instructors and their brethren to mingle, with thanksgiving that their warfare was accomplished, feelings of deep sorrow at the thought that they should see their faces on earth no more. To two of them I must be permitted to refer more particularly, Mahendra Lal Basak, and Khailas Chandra Mukherjya—the former perhaps the most intellectual of all the Bengalis that I ever knew, and the latter of fair abilities, but distinguished by singular amiability and transparency of character. These were both baptized in 1839, the former on the day succeeding that on which the interesting service, to which I had occasion to refer, was held in St.

Andrew's Church in Edinburgh, and the latter two days before my landing in India. On Dr. Duff's arrival in May, 1840, he at once "took to" these two with singular fondness, and took part with characteristic ardour in the training of them for that work which they seemed specially destined, by natural gifts and imparted grace, to perform as evangelists to their countrymen. And upon that work they were permitted to enter, and to continue long enough to give fair promise of a full realization of the hopes which we cherished regarding them. But it was otherwise appointed. In 1845, first Khailas and then Mahendra were removed to the upper sanctuary. It happened to be my turn to watch by Mahendra's deathbed through the last night of his earthly sojourn, and to bear to my colleagues at day-break the tidings that his career was closed. Khailes died in Mr. Macdonald's house, whither he had been removed from the country station where he had been labouring.

This year, 1845, was the most interesting and the most important in respect of conversions that the Mission had ever passed through, or indeed has passed through till this day. A wave of spiritual influence passed over the Institution, and week after week earnest inquirers were led into the way of peace. In those days every case of conversion caused intense excitement in the native community, and when cases occurred in unprecedentedly rapid succession, and when they were cases of young men belonging to or connected with the most influential families in the city, the excitement and the indignation

knew no bounds. It was a trying time for the missionaries, but yet a blessed time. The trials were as nothing in comparison with the blessing.

And it was not only among the heathen that the missionaries saw the work of the Lord prospering in their hands. A large family of Jews were providentially brought to Dr. Duff, and although some of them knew no language but Arabic, which none of the missionaries knew, and others of them Hindostani in addition, which none of the missionaries knew well, yet Dr. Duff was able, through the help of competent and willing friends, to deal efficiently with them, and he had the privilege of admitting them by baptism into the Christian Church, on their witnessing a good confession. Dr. Duff, of course, continued to take the deepest interest in them, as did also his colleagues; and upon the whole there was much reason to be thankful for the manner in which they adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour.

It was found impossible, however desirable it might be, for the converts of the Mission, who, being for the most part students in the Institution, were mostly younger members of families, to remain in their family homes. Not only the rules of *caste* prohibited their being allowed to do so, but all the arrangements of a native household being intertwined and interpenetrated by religious observances, the life of a Christian in such a household, if in any exceptional case one had been permitted to remain, would have been not only a perpetual misery, but also a perpetual temptation. A considerable number

of the converts were gradually dispersed, in various employments, over the country. But still there was a residue—and these generally the youngest and the most inexperienced of the converts—for whom it was necessary to provide temporary accommodation, and whom it was extremely desirable to keep under supervision and fatherly training. This necessity and felt want led to the construction of a range of neat and comfortable, though withal very simple and plain, houses on a piece of land adjoining what was distinctively the Mission-house, which Mission-house was occupied by Dr. Duff as the senior missionary. This arrangement led to the special supervision of these converts being assigned to him, and this supervision was very valuable to them and to him. It is not good for a Christian man to be dealing too exclusively with heathens and inquirers. It has often been noticed that the best defenders of the gospel—the Butlers, the Paleys, the Addisons—have not been generally the men who had the clearest apprehensions of what the gospel is, or the most adequate estimate of the blessings which it imparts. It is not difficult to account for this; and the practical conclusion from it is that the defence of the truth and the edification of the people of God are cognate works which, joined together by God, cannot without loss be put asunder. Therefore I say it was a good and salutary thing for Dr. Duff to have the special care of the converts assigned to him. I need not say that he did not discharge this duty in a perfunctory manner. From the time that he undertook it, his thoughts ran

much upon the devising of methods of contributing to their culture, material, intellectual, moral, and spiritual. That his interest in them was always appreciated, that he was always satisfied with them and they with him, will not be expected by any one upon whom has ever come the care of the church; least of all by one who has had the charge of a Mission-church, the members of which are comparative strangers to the habitudes of Christian life. But it were a failure to recognize and to magnify the grace of God in them, were I not emphatically to declare that, upon the whole, the intercourse of Dr. Duff with these converts was matter of great comfort and happiness to him, as it was of great benefit to them. Those who at first regarded his bearing towards them as too severe—as orientals, and especially Bengalis, generally will regard the bearing of a strong-minded European—came to be convinced that love to them and interest in them were his actuating motives, and they came to admire the qualities which they feared at first, and to be attracted by what had formerly repelled them; while he came gradually to appreciate the oriental thoughtfulness and gentleness and softness, which, as under heathenism they degenerate into effeminacy and insincerity, are capable, if sanctified by the truth and Spirit of God, of forming the basis of a fine Christian character, in which meekness and passivity shall be as conspicuous as are energy and action in the prevalent Christian character of the West. In the garden of God there are flowers of various hue, and fruits of diverse flavour. In the body

of Christ there needs a brain to think, and a heart to beat, and an eye to weep, as well as a hand to do the daily work or to wield the weapons of war; and the eye cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee, nor the head to the feet, I have no need of you. I know not what would make a nobler type of Christian than a sanctified oriental, with the distinctive qualities of Duff incorporated with his own.

The conversions in 1845-6 were so much more numerous than those in any previous year, that we fondly hoped that we had surmounted initial difficulties, and that the conversions would be multiplied in a geometrical ratio in each succeeding year. But it was not so. The native community took alarm. The most Christianly hopeful of the students were withdrawn from the Institution, and all means were employed to put obstacles in the way of their intercourse with the missionaries. In some cases this opposition happily was overdone and undone; but in many it produced the desired effect. Some who seemed not far from the kingdom of heaven went back, and naturally soothed their consciences by the bitter hatred of the gospel which usually characterizes apostates, and scarcely ever any others. Some halted between two opinions, and had to pass through a period of intense trial and self-sought tribulations, before they actually entered the kingdom of heaven; while with others the fire gradually died out, and they became indifferent and callous, their hearts hardened all the more by reason of the softening process through

which they had passed. Thus the latter three quarters of 1846 and the first half of 1847 constituted a period of depression and sadness; an ebb of the tide which had flowed so joyously before; a substitution of dreary stagnancy for the "innumerable laughter of the waves." Such were the means whereby our fond hopes were for a time disappointed. But, looking back, one cannot help feeling and fearing that they may have been but means in the hand of Him who, while infinitely gracious, will not give His glory to another. It may have been that that "geometrical progression"—a phrase which, I now remember with little satisfaction, was very often on my lips—interfered with the simplicity of our faith, and led us to imagine that our work was to be done by "might and power," rather than by the Spirit of the Lord. The comfort in such a retrospect is the thought that God, who is rich in mercy, will not suffer His gracious purposes to be frustrated by the imperfections of His servants; but has put the treasure in earthen vessels, with a full knowledge of the fragility of these vessels, that the excellency of the power may be not in them but in Himself.

When the tide of success, in respect of conversions, again turned, the same commotion was renewed. Public meetings were held of Hindus of all classes and of all castes; speeches were made denouncing in terms of unmeasured abuse both the missionaries, especially the missionary educationalists, and those natives who allowed their sons to attend the Missionary Institutions; while

reports were sedulously circulated as to plots and conspiracies being formed to assassinate Dr. Duff, as the ringleader of the missionaries, or at least to intimidate and disable him by an attack of club-men. I do not believe, and never did believe, that such a design was ever seriously contemplated. The leaders of native opinion knew too well the character of the men, and especially of the man, with whom they had to do, to expect for a moment that they and he would be moved a hair's-breadth from their steadfastness by such means. But the dark threats, put in circulation in those mysterious ways which Bengalis have unaccountably at their command, served to keep alive the excitement among the native community. And this was the great object of the leaders of that community. With reference to these rumours Dr. Duff addressed a long letter, through the newspapers, to the Calcutta Babus. From it I reproduce a few sentences, and the closing paragraph :

“3. As to the rumour of threats respecting myself, I shall continue to treat it as an idle tale. Among the Calcutta babus there are those whom I respect and esteem, and to whose keeping I would at any time entrust my life, in the most perfect confidence of friendship and protection. If others, who do not know me personally, should, in ignorance of my principles and motives, entertain unkindly or hostile feelings towards me, the fact would be in no way surprising. Even if the alleged threats were real, and not the progeny of lying fiction, I should not be in the least degree moved by them. My trust is in God ; and to me that trust is a guarantee of security far more sure than a lodgment within the citadel of Fort William, with its bristling array of artillery. . . .

“The realization of a consummation so glorious, so far from being retarded, can only be hastened by the vigorous execution of such

intolerant and violent measures as rumour now so stoutly attributes to the short-sightedness of the Calcutta babus. Truly may the Christian, with reference to the projectors of such measures, take up the sublimely benevolent prayer of his cruelly persecuted and crucified Lord, in behalf of the savage murderers, and say, 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Let the Calcutta babus, whom rumour represents as assembling, on Sundays, in secret conclave to brood over dark plots and hatch schemes of violence against their unoffending fellow-citizens, remember that the actual execution of such schemes would inflict deadly injury on no one but themselves, and irretrievably damage no cause but their own; while the cause of those whom they now mistakenly regard as adversaries, when they are in reality their best earthly benefactors, would thence receive an accelerative impetus, which the united friendly patronage of all the men of rank and wealth in India could not impart. In the early ages of relentless persecution by the emissaries of Pagan Rome, it passed into a proverb that 'the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church.' And let the Calcutta babus rest assured that the vital principle involved in this proverb has lost nothing of its intrinsic efficacy or subduing power. The first drop of missionary blood that is violently shed in the peaceful cause of Indian evangelization, will prove a prolific seed in the outspreading garden of the Indo-Christian Church. And the first actual missionary martyrdom that shall be encountered in this heavenly cause, may do more, under the overruling providence of God, to precipitate the inevitable doom of Hinduism, and speed on the chariot of gospel triumph, than would the establishment of a thousand additional Christian schools, or the delivery of ten thousand additional Christian addresses, throughout the towns and villages of this mighty empire."

The sudden death of Dr. Chalmers in 1847 made all the ministers and office-bearers of the Free Church feel that his place could never be filled. While it was a general impression, that the benefits which his transcendent gifts and graces had been the means employed by God for conferring upon the Christian Church, and

especially on that particular branch of it; were not likely to be continuously supplied through any one other channel, it was felt by them all to be of unspeakable importance that the offices which he held, as Principal and as Professor of Systematic Theology in the New College in Edinburgh, should be filled by the best man that was available. After much deliberation, innumerable consultations, and much earnest prayer, there came to be an almost unanimous *consensus* in the belief that the best step that could be taken was to appoint Dr. Duff to these offices. This proposal, or rather resolution, occasioned more perturbation in Dr. Duff's mind than any other occurrence in the course of his life. Of course he could not but be gratified by such an expression of the estimate in which he was held by his brethren in the ministry, and by the universal membership of that church which he loved with all his heart. But he was vexed beyond measure by letters of "congratulation," which he received in great numbers, all of which tacitly assumed, or seemed to him to assume, that the office of a missionary to the heathen was an inferior one, and that a missionary might regard it as "promotion" to exchange that office for an honourable and influential position at home. If he had accepted the position, his first care must necessarily have been to disabuse the minds of men of this mistaken idea. While there was an all but unanimous agreement at home in favour of his acceptance of the appointment, there was an equal approach to unanimity in the opposite direction on the part of all

kinds of people in India, and multitudes of communications were addressed to him in deprecation of the idea of his removal from India. His biographer gives a list of such communications, and quotes at length one from a number of Pandits, which is certainly a great curiosity. He opens the list of the others thus: "The other Free Church missionaries and friends, Drs. Wilson, Mackay, and Ewart, Messrs. Anderson, Hislop, and Mackail, and Mr. Justice Hawkins, united in the same request." It will be noticed that my humble name is conspicuous by its absence from this list. It is absent, not because I was convinced that Dr. Duff ought to accept the appointment, but because I was not convinced that he ought not to accept it. And till this day I am not convinced that his non-acceptance of it was the better course. It were of no use to open the question afresh now. If the course actually adopted were injudicious, it is unalterable; and I am not prepared to say that it was injudicious, but only, as I have intimated, that I do not regard the judiciousness of it as indisputable. This, however, is indisputable, that Dr. Duff acted in the whole matter most conscientiously and most self-denyingly; for his young family at home, growing up as strangers to him, constituted a strong attractive force; while he was again in such a state of health that his work in India was becoming burdensome to him. But no force, attractive or repellent, could induce him to take a step which, by seeming to give countenance to the idea that men are missionaries only because they cannot "do better,"

might have lowered the already too low estimate of the missionary enterprise in the minds of many in this country and in India. If he had accepted the office, it would have been with the view of influencing the future ministry of the church, and through them its collective membership, in favour of his constant ideal of the Christian Church, as a body of which "missions are the chief end."

The Assembly of 1849, while it accepted Dr. Duff's declination of the appointment, agreed that the interests of the Mission would be advanced by his temporary return to this country, in order to resume the work which he had originated and carried on with so much success during his previous sojourn in 1835-39. This had been indeed suggested by his colleagues in India, who had remonstrated against his permanent removal.

Hitherto Dr. Duff had not seen much of mission work in India outside of Calcutta. He therefore felt that if he was to plead with effect the cause of missions at home, it was desirable, and indeed indispensable, that he should be able to bear personal testimony, from his own observation, of the condition and prospects of the work. It was accordingly determined that he should make an extensive tour over India. And so he did, visiting every mission of importance from Ceylon to the Punjab. In the course of this pilgrimage he saw more of the actual working of missions than it had, up till that time, while travelling was still tedious and expensive, fallen to the lot of any one man to see. And then he brought a mind

prepared, by extensive correspondence and much reading, to judge of the bearing and purport of what he saw. His personal intercourse with the missionaries, and with multitudes of those who took interest in missions, afforded him intense gratification, while the sight of one of whom they had heard so much was as gratifying to them. It is from Dr. George Smith's *Life* that I learn what I did not know before, that he kept a full journal of this tour; and although he did not intend it for publication, and although its immediate publication might be unadvisable, as it probably contains many statements which he would have felt that he had no right to make public, yet I trust it shall not be lost sight of, as a time will come when its publication will do no harm, while it will be of great use to all who shall be interested in the history of Indian missions. "These jottings," he says, "are not a complete record of what I have seen or thought upon. No; only a few brief notes, hastily and crudely committed to writing, to refresh my own memory, and to suggest trains of interest and reflection which I have not time to record now." These "few brief notes" of observation, made in the course of four months of "literal galloping," extend to 960 closely written pages! But "brief notes," "short statements," "a few sentences," &c., were favourite expressions with Dr. Duff in describing his own productions.

From the very interesting specimens given by Dr. Smith, two things are evident—*first*, that the journal is exceedingly valuable, as containing the first impressions

of a pre-eminently competent observer of matters relating to a great country and a great work ; but *secondly*, that these impressions would have been greatly modified had that observer prepared the record of them for any purpose other than that stated by him in the sentence which I have quoted. As an instance of what I refer to, I may note the following. At Tranquebar we find the following entry : " Copied the inscription over Ziegenbalg's tomb. Certainly he was a great missionary, considering that he was the first ; inferior to none, scarcely second to any that followed him. Less shining than Schwartz, he had probably more of spiritual unction and power, and simple-minded zeal and devotedness, and practical wisdom." I knew very well Dr. Duff's intense admiration of Ziegenbalg, of whom he often spoke, and of whose character and work he wrote in the first number of *The Calcutta Review*, as I have stated above. In that admiration I thoroughly shared. But I was certainly surprised to find disparagement cast, by comparison, upon the " spiritual unction," the " simple-minded zeal " and " devotedness " of Schwartz. But when he comes to Tanjore, Dr. Duff gives a thoroughly appreciative notice of Schwartz. Having quoted the sentence in which he seems to me to do scant justice to one whom I have ever regarded as one of the greatest of Indian missionaries, I am entitled to quote the paragraph in which he pours from a full heart a tribute of sympathetic admiration. He is describing a visit to the monument of Schwartz, erected by the Raja of Tanjore to his memory.

“Towards evening I went to see this singular monument of the triumph of Protestant influence and ascendancy at a heathen court, the most remarkable visible monument of the sort, perhaps, in the whole realm of Gentilism. Having reached it, and looked into Schwartz’s dwelling rooms, humble and unostentatious, close by, I entered with something like an undefinable awe over my spirits. . . . At the west end [of the church] is the marble monument, the product of a London genius, erected at the expense of the Maharaja of Tanjore, the . . . Sarabojee of the previous epitaph. It is simple, touching, affecting. It has been pronounced a failure, a disappointment ; I know not why. Men of the world, men of carnality, men of mere ostentation and show in the fine arts, that is, men guided and lorded over by the senses, may discern nothing very remarkable, very striking, very imposing, very overpowering there. But the Christian, the Protestant Christian, cannot help being overpowered. The spectacle is indeed extraordinary. I confess it overpowered me. The monument is fixed in the wall ; in front of it there is a railing. I approached it ; instinctively leant my elbow on it ; gazed at the monument as if I were in a trance. I had no consciousness as to what had become of my companions ; I was literally absorbed. I am not given to sentimentalism, yet I was absorbed. There was a spell-like power in that simple monument. I stood before it. I forgot time and space ; I knew not where I was, for consciousness was gone. Call it dream, or vision, or trance, or absorption, I care not. It was human nature, human feeling, human sympathy. Before me, in solid well-grained marble, in bold, but not obtrusive or glaring relief, was the couch of the dying saint. On it stretched lay the pale, bald, worn-out veteran apostolic man, whose assistance and mediation heathens, Hindu and Mohammedan, as well as Christian governing powers, eagerly coveted, in the last gasp of expiring nature. Behind him, at his head, stood the affectionate, tender, sympathizing, loving fellow-labourer, Guericke, who ever looked up to him as a father. . . .

“Who could have been represented as standing at the head of the dying father with better effect and more appropriately, than this affectionate, loving son ? And there he is, a striking likeness, it is said, in bold relief, at the head of the couch, looking wistfully at the pale collapsed features of the mighty saint, whose spirit was then departing to join the general assembly of the first-born.”

I have quoted this paragraph merely for the purpose of showing the character of the "few brief notes." The adjectives may require the explanation that they are used relatively, rather than positively. But the substantive is strictly correct. They are such notes as none but Dr. Duff could have made; but they are only notes. But while this is the purpose with which I have introduced the quotation, I may be allowed, with much deference, to say that *Duff at the tomb of Schwartz* would be a subject worthy the pencil of a competent artist.

From this southern tour Dr. Duff returned in the month of August to Calcutta, and immediately began to make preparations for quitting it for a long time. Accordingly, at the beginning of October he bade us all farewell, and set off on a tour through the North-west Provinces, up the Ganges to Agra; thence to Simla; then to Lahore, and down the Indus to its mouth; whence he proceeded to Bombay, and then turned his face westward. All along his route he received a most hearty and enthusiastic welcome both from Europeans and natives, and had much pleasing and profitable intercourse with missionaries of all denominations, all of whose names and characters and works were familiar to him, but most of whom he now saw for the first time. Others he had seen on their passage through Calcutta on their arrival, or on occasional visits to the capital. At Lahore he was the guest of his dear friend Sir Henry Lawrence, and formed the acquaintance also of Sir John—destined to become, under God, the saviour of India,

by his gigantic and successful efforts to retain it under the British rule. Everywhere he was intensely interested in all that he saw. By his intimate previous knowledge he was saved from the error of expecting too much, and in reality he saw much, both of actual accomplishment, and of what a sagacious and experienced mind like his could interpret into glorious promise. On his way down the Indus he was met by Dr. Wilson, and had the benefit of his unbounded knowledge in arranging and correcting the results of his own observation.

VII.

THE special object for which Dr. Duff was summoned to quit, for six long years, his missionary work, and to devote to it all his mind and all his strength, was after all—it will be said by some—to beg for money! Nay, it was to inculcate upon the people of Christ in this land the great Christian duty of self-consecration, the unspeakable privilege of being His, and the incumbent duty of using themselves, their time, their talents, their influence, their possessions, for His glory. It was to exhibit the paramount claims of the missionary enterprise, as a great service of Christ, upon the hearts and affections of His redeemed Church. It was to preach the gospel of the grace of God in that special aspect of it in which it was—and is—peculiarly necessary that it should be exhibited to the understandings, and enforced upon the consciences, of the people of God. Those to whom he was called to minister had apprehended clearly enough the doctrine by which the Church stands, by the relinquishment of which it would fall—the doctrine of

justification by faith alone. That branch of the Church to which he belonged had borne a specially strong testimony to one most important department of Christian truth, the doctrine of the right and the rightness of Christ's rule over His Church and over the nations. And now he was called of God specially to inculcate upon them what was required of them as under law to Christ. This was the platform from which he addressed the people of his own church and of all the churches. If this were begging, then Dr. Duff's mission at this time was a mission of beggary, of the veriest mendicancy. Even as the mission of the apostle was a mission of abject supplication, when in Christ's stead he prayed men to be reconciled unto God; so—and not else—was Dr. Duff's mission at this time a mission of mendicancy, when in Christ's stead he begged of men to accept and to estimate the privilege of being fellow-workers with Him, in taking possession of the heathen for His heritage, and the earth to its utmost borders as His realm.

As he began his former home-work in the Assembly of 1835, so he began this second in the Assembly of 1850. But whereas in the former Assembly he had only made his great speech as a stranger, addressing the Assembly at the request of the Foreign Missions Committee, he took his place in the latter as an ordinary member, and took a very considerable share in the business of the Court. It may be mentioned, for the sake of those who are not acquainted with the details of our Scotch ecclesiastical affairs, that the Free Church

Assembly meets on a certain Thursday in May. At the first meeting a Committee is appointed to arrange the order in which the "business" is to come before the Assembly. But that Committee cannot meet till Friday morning, and cannot therefore give notice of the business for Friday. Partly to avoid this inconvenience, and partly because it is a right and a proper thing in itself, the business for Friday is fixed permanently, apart from any report of the Business Committee. On that day the Assembly is occupied in the forenoon mainly in devotional exercises, and in receiving and considering the report of the Standing Committee on the State of Religion and Morals. The evening is set apart for the reception and consideration of the report of the Committee on the Conversion of the Jews. It were out of place here to enter into any discussion as to the present or predicted relations of the Jews to the Christian Church; but those who differ most widely in their interpretation of unfulfilled prophecy must agree in the belief that, by Divine appointment, the blessing of God upon the Gentile churches is very closely connected with the in-gathering of Israel, and their engrafting into their own olive-tree. Their casting away hath been the reconciliation of the world; and what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead? I presume that it was with the view of exhibiting this connection and mutual relation betwixt Jewish and Gentile missions, that it became almost a rule that if a foreign (Gentile) missionary were a member of Assembly, he should move

or second the adoption of the Jewish Mission Report. In accordance with this arrangement as to the order of business, and in accordance with this understanding as to the cause of the Jewish Mission being advocated by a foreign missionary when one was available, Dr. Duff began his work in the Assembly of 1850 with an eloquent advocacy of the Jewish Mission. On subsequent days he spoke on the Colonial and Continental Churches, and on Romanism.

But of course his greatest effort was put forth on behalf of Foreign Missions, and that special work of organizing the home Church for the more effectual support of missions, which he had been brought home to do. His speech on this occasion has been often referred to, and often quoted, as equal in power to that of which I have already spoken at length, his Assembly speech in 1835. I should scarcely be disposed to endorse this estimate; not because I value the later speech less, but because I value the earlier one more. But then I remember that I heard the earlier, and only read the later; and I am quite aware that in all oratory, and very markedly in Dr. Duff's, the hearer has a great advantage over the reader. But, however it might be comparatively, there is no doubt that this also was a noble oration, such as no man of our day but himself could have delivered. Although it has been often quoted, and is easily accessible, I cannot deny myself the gratification of enriching my pages by quoting an extract of considerable length from this great speech.

“In days of old, though unable to sing myself,¹ I was wont to listen to the poems of Ossian, and to many of those melodies which were called Jacobite songs. I may now, without any fear of being suspected of high treason or rebellion, refer to the latter; for there never was a sovereign more richly and deservedly beloved by her subjects than is she who now sits on the throne of Great Britain; and there are not among her subjects any men whose hearts beat more vigorously with the pulse of loyalty than the descendants of those chieftains and clansmen who a century ago shook the Hanoverian throne to its foundation. While listening to these airs of the olden time, some stanzas and sentiments made an indelible impression on my mind. Roving in the days of youth over the heathery heights, or climbing the craggy steeps of my native land, I was wont to admire the heroic spirit which they breathed; and they became so stamped in my memory that I have carried them with me over more than half the world. One of these seemed to me to embody the quintessence of loyalty of an earthly kind. It is the stanza in which it is said by the father or mother, ‘I hae but ae son, the braw young Donald;’ and then the gush of emotion turns his heart, as it were, inside out, and he exclaims, ‘But if I had ten, they should follow Prince Charlie.’ Are these the visions of romance, the dreams of poetry and song? Let that rush of youthful warriors, from ‘bracken, bush, and glen,’ that rallied round the standards of Glenfennan; let the gory beds and cold, cold grassy winding-sheets of bleak Culloden Moor bear testimony to the reality, the intensity of the loyalty to an earthly prince. And shall a Highland father and mother give up all their children as an homage to earthly loyalty, and shall I be told that in the Churches of Christ, in the Free Church of Scotland, fathers and mothers will begrudge their children to Him who is the King of kings and Lord of lords? Will they testify their loyalty to an earthly prince, to whom they lie under very little obligation, by giving up to him all their sons, while they refuse, when it comes to

¹ I may mention that Dr. Duff’s deficiency of musical ear was a subject of frequent banter on the part of his most intimate friends. He maintained that there was one Psalm tune—called St. George’s, I think—which he could always recognize. This assertion was always received with a smile of incredulity by Mrs. and Miss Duff, who were very musical.

the point of critical decision, even one son for the army of Immanuel, to whom they owe their life, their salvation, their all? Surely, if this state of things be continued, we may well conclude that we are in an age of little men, and that with all our loud talkings we have not risen beyond the stature of pigmies in soundness, or loyalty, or devotedness to our heavenly King. Oh, then, let this matter weigh heavily on our minds. I have been affected beyond measure during the last twelve months at finding, from one end of India to the other, monuments of British dead. In a solitary place at Ramnad, on the shore of the strait that runs between India and Ceylon, I was deeply affected to find a tombstone erected to the memory of a young officer, brought up on the braes of Athol, in a parish adjacent to my own. I thought the father and mother of this young man did not object to send out their son here in search of military renown, only to find his grave, but probably they would have refused him to the service of Christ as a humble missionary of the cross. From one end of India to the other, the soil is strewn with British slain or British dead. There is not a valley, nor dell, nor burning waste, from one end of India to the other, that is not enriched with the bones, and not a rivulet or stream that has not been dyed with the blood, of Scotia's children. And will you, fathers and mothers, send out your children in thousands in quest of this bubble fame, this bubble wealth, this bubble honour and perishable renown; and will you prohibit them from going forth in the army of the great Immanuel, to win crowns of glory and imperishable renown in the realms of everlasting day? Oh, do not refuse their services—their lives if necessary—or the blood of the souls of perishing millions may be required at your hands."

As to the work which was specially assigned to Dr. Duff, it ought to be explained that the regular contributions of the people of the Free Church to the support of the Foreign Missions were got only in the form of an annual collection, appointed by the General Assembly to be made in all the congregations. This collection was first recommended—not appointed—by the General Assembly of the then undisrupted Church of Scotland in

the year 1826. The result of the recommendation was that the collection was actually made in about a thirteenth part of the congregations;¹ and the amount was extremely small. It ought to be mentioned, however, that the year 1826-7, was a year of extreme dearth and poverty through unexampled drought; and there was a considerable improvement on the collection next year. And when in 1829 there was a missionary actually appointed, there was something like an honesty of purpose manifested to maintain him. Before the disruption, mainly through the efforts of Dr. Duff during his first home visit, the annual income of the undisrupted church had risen to an average of £5,000; and after the disruption, that of the Free Church gradually rose to about £7,000. But the expenditure had greatly increased, by the extension of the Missions, and by the transference to the Free Church of the Mission in South Africa. The Committee felt that with all their efforts they could not bring the regular income within £2,000 of the expenditure; hence the resolution to invoke Dr. Duff's powerful aid. The General Assembly, after hearing the speech from which I have quoted, very cordially approved of the action of the Committee in recalling him, and as cordially commended to the sympathy, the prayers, and the co-operation of the whole church the work in which he was to be engaged.

Dr. Duff's desire was that the annual collection for the Mission should be superseded by fifty-two weekly collections. To this it was objected that the weekly collection,

¹ In 75 out of 955.

taken at the church doors, is essential to the very being of the church ; since from it must be defrayed all local charges of the maintenance of gospel ordinances, lighting, heating, cleaning, and ordinary repairs of the church, precentor's salary, and the minister's supplement in all cases where more is given to the minister than the "equal dividend" from the Sustentation Fund. Moreover there are some half-dozen of other objects—all highly important—for which annual or, in some cases, biennial collections are made by order of the General Assembly. This idea then was abandoned ; indeed it was never publicly proposed. Then it was asked whether twelve monthly collections might not take the place of the one annual. Here again the objection was taken that the Sustentation Fund is collected monthly, and that two monthly collections would unduly distract and divide the interest of our people. In this also, Dr. Duff was constrained to acquiesce, although I suspect the proverb was verified in his case respecting the persistency in his own opinion of the man convinced against his will. He therefore fell back upon what he found to be the best attainable, although he never considered it to be all that was desirable, the method of quarterly collections, and these taken up by visitors to the houses of the contributors, as is done with respect to the contributions to the Sustentation Fund. These collectors were to be organized in connection with "Foreign Missions Associations," one of which Dr. Duff proposed to form in every congregation. I may mention in passing, that the

plan has been a great success. The Assembly has never ordered, but has frequently recommended, the adoption of the associational method, and in point of fact the number of congregations adhering to the collectional mode has diminished every year. As I had occasion, at a subsequent time, to pay special attention to this matter, I may state that, generally speaking, the result of substituting the four collections for the one is to multiply the produce by three, while in some cases the amount contributed each quarter by the one method is equal to that collected each year by the other ; while I have never heard an allegation that any other funds suffered in the smallest degree by the increase of the contributions to this. To a rich man it is as easy to sign a cheque for £400 as to sign four for £100 each ; but for a working man, it is far more convenient to pay a pound quarterly than four pounds in a single annual payment. I quite admit that weekly or monthly contributions would have been too frequent ; but I doubt whether the limit of desirable frequency has been reached. This is not the medium through which it is competent for me to address the Free Church General Assembly ; but I may state here that I believe it would be well if that court would convert their frequent recommendations to form associations into an injunction, and would instruct the associations to collect the contributions in every alternate month, instead of once in three months. As four collections have been found on an average to yield three times as much as one, so I have no doubt that six would yield at least five times

as much as one; while I have no fear of our people either impoverishing themselves or diverting their contributions from other objects, and giving disproportionately to this. I should not have ventured to introduce this matter here, did I regard it as a matter in which the Free Church alone is interested. Indeed I regard it as one of the most important lessons of Dr. Duff's life to all the churches.

The work thus committed to him, I need not say, Dr. Duff did with his might. The fragments of detail given in his biography are enough to indicate something simply tremendous in the way of exertion. I think I am safe in saying that never in the history of man was there such an "output" of physical and mental energy as was put forth by him. A mere list of the places which he visited, of the meetings, attended in multitudes of instances by many thousands, of the sermons which he preached and the conferences which he attended, of the letters which he wrote, very many of them declining compliance with requests, which he could not help regarding as unreasonable, to conduct all kinds of services and to plead for all kinds of causes—requests which, however unreasonable, he must yet not answer abruptly, so as to give offence, but with long conciliatory explanations—a mere list of all these engagements would be enough to impress any one with the conviction that he was going through an amount of work under which no human body and no human mind could long subsist. But only one who knew how large a draft each one of these engagements

made on the strength of a man with a nervous temperament like his, could properly estimate the terrible severity of the strain. Others might serve the Lord with that which cost them nothing; but he neither would nor could. Before every address, during it, and long after it, there was a degree of effort of which men of a cooler temperament or less nervous organization have no conception. Having heard innumerable reports of the magnitude of the work which he did, and knowing well the amount of strain that every portion of that work entailed, I have been filled with amazement at the thought that he was enabled to stand out so long, and did not altogether collapse. Surely the God whom he served helped him in a way, which, if we may not call *supernatural* or miraculous, was at all events *preternatural* and marvellous. Mediatly he was sustained by a remarkable measure of success. In most places to which he went there was but little interest in the mission cause. In many there was an honest enough prejudice against his scheme—generally through fear that it would act injuriously upon the Sustentation Fund, or the other objects of confessed importance. But in almost every case an impression was produced which was irresistible. I do not mean to say that some portion of the enthusiasm which was excited was not the merely natural result of eloquence. That portion was, of course, temporary and evanescent, exhausting itself in a present gift, and in the resolution to do great things in the future—destined to be never fulfilled. But it is unquestionable that a vast amount of

permanent good was effected, that the general standard of Christian consecration and Christian giving was greatly elevated; and that not among the people of the Free Church alone, but among the people of all the churches; and not in Scotland alone, but also in England and Ireland and the continent of Europe. Of America I shall have to speak separately.

In the year 1851 Dr. Duff attained the highest distinction to which a Presbyterian minister can aspire, that of the Moderatorship of the General Assembly of his church. That he ever consciously aspired to it on personal grounds I am not aware; but if he did, I do not blame him in the smallest degree for so doing. He was not, in the ordinary sense of the word, an ambitious man, but he was strongly desirous of sympathy, and of the approbation of those whom he loved and respected, and of the influence which sympathy and approbation give. Therefore, while I do not know that he ever contemplated the possession of the honour till it was actually offered to him, and while I am sure that he took no steps, personally or by the intervention of others, to procure the offer, I am equally sure that, even on personal grounds, it was a great gratification to him. The honour was all the greater because he was, I should suppose, the youngest man that had ever occupied the chair in the Assembly of any one of the great branches of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. And then the honour has been almost always bestowed on those who, with other meritorious qualities and achievements, have taken a more or less

prominent part in distinctively ecclesiastical affairs, which Dr. Duff's residence abroad had of course made it impossible for him to do. But while he properly estimated the honour as a very high and a very gratifying personal compliment, it was specially satisfactory to him because he considered that it was conferred upon him as distinctively representing the great cause of missions, and so that it was an indication that that cause was estimated, in some degree, in proportion to its importance.

As the nation is proverbially happy whose annals are a blank, so the Presbyterian Church Court is happy in inverse proportion to the work which its moderator has to perform in the way of *moderating*. Excepting in rarely occurring cases the Free Church Assembly moderates itself. Yet the duties of the moderator are highly important. There is for example the awfully solemn responsibility of conducting the daily devotional exercises of such an assembly. Then there are the opening and closing addresses, by means of which the moderator may give a tone to the whole proceedings of the Assembly, and to the sentiments and views and resolutions of the members on their return to their pastoral work. And there are addresses to the deputies of other churches, who are received by the Assembly, and to whom the moderator is expected to address a few weighty words of kindly sympathy and encouragement. The Assembly over which Dr. Duff presided was not one in which any question of special interest or importance came up for discussion ; but it was characterized by special earnestness

and solemnity of spirit, which was largely attributed to the influence of the moderator. We shall see further on that he was again Moderator of the General Assembly, the only man who hitherto has obtained that distinction in the Free Church.

In view of the expiry of the H. E. I. Co's. Charter in 1854, Committees of the Lords and Commons were appointed in the preceding year, which conducted most extensive inquiries regarding all branches of Indian Administration. At the special request of Lord Granville, who was chairman of the Lords' Committee, Dr. Duff consented to be examined, as an impartial observer, unconnected with the Government, and unbiassed by professional prejudices and legal technicalities, regarding the judicial system, and gave a general but discriminating testimony to the integrity and impartiality of the civil servants of the Company, while he did not fail to advert to defects in the system, which often rendered unavailing their best-intentioned efforts. But of course his chief examination related to educational and missionary matters. There can be but one estimate, among those capable by knowledge of forming an intelligent estimate, of the great value of his evidence on these subjects. Many of the reforms for which he pleaded were emphasized by Sir Charles Wood (now Lord Halifax) in introducing into the House of Commons the bill for the new Charter, and were substantially embodied in the Charter itself. Almost immediately after the Charter came into operation, Sir Charles set himself to work to embody in a despatch a

detailed statement of principles respecting education, and the action of the Government regarding it. It was well-known at the time that in the composition of this important document Sir Charles availed himself, to a very great extent, of the aid of Dr. Duff, and it is no secret now that he and Mr. John Marshman were virtually the authors of it. It was put into official form by Mr. Baring, who was then secretary to Sir Charles Wood, and who afterwards, as Lord Northbrook, became Governor-General and Viceroy. This despatch—constantly referred to as the Educational Despatch of 1854—contained the germs of great improvements in the relation of the Government to the education of the people of India; and had it been carried out in the same spirit in which it was framed, great good would certainly have resulted. But its application was obstructed by officials who were attached to the old system; and although it would be untrue to say that it has ever become a dead letter, yet I do not think that any one will say that it has ever been vigorously carried out, even under Lord Northbrook's own Viceroyalty. At this moment an important commission in India has the whole subject under consideration, and it is greatly to be desired—and happily there is good reason to hope—that the result of their inquiries may be the giving a more active vitality to the principles set forth in that despatch than has heretofore been accorded to them.

Early in 1854 Dr. Duff started to pay a short visit to America, on the urgent invitation of Christian men in the

United States, and of churches as well as individuals in Canada. His usual "luck" did not forsake him on the voyage. He describes the weather as having been terrific, and such as no ship could have outstood save that in which he was, "perhaps the strongest built and most powerful in machinery on the line." In a letter written to Mrs. Duff from the steamer within the bar at the mouth of the Hudson, he says: "And what a memorable anniversary is this night to you and to me—the night of our shipwreck on Dassen Island! And how strange the coincidence as to time! On the morning of the 14th February, 1830, we landed on Dassen Island as forlorn fugitives from the awful wreck. On the 14th February, 1840, we landed at Bombay, after our severe tossing in the Arabian Seas! And, if spared till to-morrow morning, I shall land on the 14th February, 1854, on the shores of the New World, the refuge land of the Pilgrim Fathers.¹ That 14th of February seems to be a day of peculiar eventuality in my life."

His reception in America was something stupendous. All ranks and all classes, all denominations of Christians, men of all professions, ladies interested in all good works—

¹ And now I have to add that on the 12th of February, 1878, he landed on the further shores of the Jordan, and entered into the haven of rest. One curious in such co-incidences might easily, without any manipulation of these dates, show that the *wreck* of the *Lady Holland*, the *sighting* of Bombay, and the *anchoring* in the Hudson, all took place on the 13th of February, and that according to astronomical reckoning, it was on the 13th that he died. In point of fact the *landing* at New York did not take place till the 15th, the ship having gone aground on a shoal in a dense fog.

all seem to have devoted themselves to the one object of heaping kindness on, and receiving instruction and counsel from, one whom all regarded as simply the one man of all in the world who was worthiest of kindness, and whom God had specially sent to counsel and instruct them. In any positive sense it could not be said of Duff that the prophet had no honour in his own country and his own house; but in the vehemence of its cordiality America's little finger was thicker than Scotland's loins. In public and in private—which latter term however must be understood as meaning a magnificent drawing-room filled with two or three hundred ladies and gentlemen—every day and all day, every night and well into every morning, he was occupied in receiving kindness and deprecating its excess, advocating every good cause, and striving to divert admiration of the servant into the channel of praise and consecration to the all-glorious and all-gracious Master whom he served. Let me quote his summing up of the apparent result of his first visit to Philadelphia; where, I may say in passing, while he was the guest of the whole city, he was the inmate of a man whose name even then was associated with every good work, and whose path has since been as the shining light, waxing brighter and brighter: I need scarcely name Mr. G. H. Stuart.

“ Though I have spoken nothing but what has long been familiar to my own mind, I have evidently been led to speak much that was new to most people here. Last evening this one came up to me and thanked me for the announcement and exposition of one principle, and another for that of another, and so on in dozens. It looked as

if a flood of new principles had been poured in upon a dry or empty reservoir. Several openly declared that if I should do nothing more in the New World than what had been done already in this place, it was more than worth my while to have crossed the Atlantic in order to achieve it. An impulse, they said, has been given to the cause of vital religion and personal piety, as well as the cause of home and foreign missions, such as has never been imparted before—an impulse which, through the press and the correspondence of individuals, will vibrate through the whole Union. Well! well! to the Lord be all the praise and the glory! Amen. That this can be no mere empty talk seems evident from the way in which the entire press here, alike secular and religious, has treated of these meetings and their results. I do desire, therefore, to thank God and take courage. Oh, for more grace, more living spirituality, more faith, more wisdom, more entire self-forgetting, self-consuming consecration to His cause and glory!

“Men of weight and note in this community are already pressing upon me the duty of not returning to Scotland for a twelvemonth—vehemently insisting upon my having a call from God here, from the effects already manifested. Others seriously insist upon it that I ought to remain here altogether. Of course, to all this my reply is very simple and peremptory; though such urgencies show the feeling awakened. Oh that the Lord may strengthen me more and more; fit me, prepare me for all that He would have me to be and to do.”

It takes one's breath away to read the “brief notes”—in this case they are really such—of his journeyings and his labours, his railway smashes, his freezings up in Lake steamers, his public breakfasts with speeches of three hours' duration, his public addresses and his private receptions and conferences—*private* in the sense previously explained—his incessant labours which every day were protracted until “bed after midnight, lying down like a rotten log of wood, as nerveless and sapless,” and then after a well-nigh sleepless night, “up to breakfast (at 8

a.m.) with some chief personages in the town; a gathering there again, with endless talk." This was the life he led in the United States and in Canada, from the 15th of February to the 13th of May (the 13th again). And so far as appears, he never actually broke down but once, when at Montreal he was obliged to remain in bed all through a Sabbath day, instead of preaching, as he had promised, for his friend and mine, Mr. Donald Fraser, whom the reader knows as Dr. Donald Fraser of Marylebone. On his visit to Washington he preached before Congress, and in New York closed his sojourn in the great Republic of the West. I should like to introduce one incident of his Canadian experience, referring to a remarkable man, who was often the subject of conversation in Calcutta, from the circumstance that he was a native of Alyth in Scotland, the birth-place also of our most beloved colleague, Mr. Ewart. The scene is in Toronto: "In the afternoon I preached in Kroom's church—a very large one, and very awfully crowded, passages, pulpit-stairs, and all. But, as often before, the Lord out of my weakness perfected His own grace and strength, and impressions were seemingly produced that day which will shoot their results into the ages of eternity. At the top of the pulpit-stairs, close to my right hand, among other notables, was Mackenzie, one of the chief leaders of the rebellion of 1838, for whose head our Queen then offered a thousand pounds. He is a very talented man, but a notorious scoffer at religion. On coming home Dr. Burns expressed his apprehension and

belief that Mackenzie was there only to get materials for a scoffing article in a paper of which he is editor. How strange ! next morning Mackenzie wrote a long letter to Dr. Burns, eulogistic in the highest degree. In my first prayer I had alluded to the motives that may have brought many there, referring to the case of Zaccheus. Mackenzie, in his letter, said that Zaccheus-like (he is himself a little man), he had indeed gone to church that day, and finding no seat in a pew, and no sycamore tree to climb, he mounted to the top of the pulpit stairs, and there was arrested in a way he never was before by Divine truth ; and then he entered into a long and admiring dissertation on the speaker and his subject. Oh that the Lord may render that one of His own arrows sharp in the heart of this once arch-foe of His own cause."

The final parting from the great American continent and the great American people was most solemn, and impressive, and saddening. Almost without a figure it may be said that the city of New York, representative of the millions of America, congregated in the Broadway Tabernacle to receive his parting benediction. When he had uttered it with intense emotion and profound solemnity, he descended from the pulpit and made his way through ranks of silent or weeping thousands to the wharf. There, according to the testimony of an honoured and well-known man who was present, "the scene defied description. The wharf and the noble *Pacific* were crowded with clergymen and Christians assembled to

bid him farewell. Many could only take him by the hand, weep, and pass on. Never did man leave our shores so encircled with Christian sympathy and affection." Many a time in after years, in Calcutta and in Edinburgh, when Dr. Duff would be led in conversation to speak of America, I noticed that he never alluded to these scenes but his eyes would fill with tears, and his voice would assume that tone which his most intimate friends knew to betoken the deepest emotion, as he would say, "Ah well, sir, may God bless America!" It may seem to some extravagant to say so; and yet I hesitate not to say, that Dr. Duff's visit to America was of national import and significance. Our people in India were coming near the time when we were to need the sympathies and the prayers of all our brethren. And when we, by the good hand of our God upon us—and who shall tell to how great an extent in answer to these prayers?—were delivered from the fearful pit and the miry clay, ere long the Americans were brought into circumstances in which they equally needed ours; and it may be that the sympathy on both sides was the more intense, and the prayers on both sides the more "fervent," and therefore the more "effectual," by reason of the association of India in *their* minds with him whom they had learned to love so well, and by the thought in *ours* of their generous readiness to do honour to one whom we loved to see honoured.

The work which had been assigned to Dr. Duff to do in Scotland was far advanced, but it was not completed;

and he returned from America with the intention of resuming and finishing it. He arrived in Edinburgh during the sitting of the General Assembly, and got a cordial reception there, as he told of the state of matters in America, and the impulse which he had been enabled to give to the missionary zeal of the Christian people there. "But now," says his biographer, "the physical and mental penalty had to be paid." There was severe inflammation in some of the cerebral membranes, and for weeks and months it was doubtful whether it might not reach the substance of the brain itself. Happily this was averted. His intellect remained unaffected; but there was an utter prostration of physical strength, and an excessive nervousness, which was perpetuated and increased by sleeplessness. When tidings of all this reached India by each successive mail, the greatest anxiety was felt regarding him, and most earnest prayers were presented at the throne of grace on his behalf: I have no doubt that it was the same in this country and in America. The latter portion of the summer he spent at Malvern, with great but slow benefit to his health. It was here that he formed the acquaintance of Lord Haddo, who ere long succeeded his father as Earl of Aberdeen. This acquaintance soon ripened into a most cordial friendship between him and the future earl and countess, from which followed happy results, to which I shall have occasion to refer in a subsequent portion of my narrative. When winter approached, it was considered desirable that he should spend it in Southern Europe. He accordingly

proceeded to the South of France and Italy. Despite several relapses, he made steady progress towards convalescence; mainly, I believe, because his ignorance of the language condemned him to silence; while researches into the history of these lands, and intelligent observation of the social, political, and religious condition of the people, gave healthful exercise to his mind and body. And now he was able to carry into effect a long cherished purpose of visiting the Holy Land. How thoroughly he enjoyed this, and how greatly he profited by it, I need not tell. All through the remainder of his life the impressions made upon him were never effaced; and he never wearied of telling of the scenes which he witnessed in that mysterious land, which is so strangely associated with God's past dealings and still undeveloped purposes with respect to His Church and people. As with all intelligent and pious travellers, the predominant feeling was one of sadness. Yet the sadness was mingled with enlivening hopes, founded on the sure word of prophecy. I may here say that, although not altogether a believer in the premillennial advent and personal reign of our Lord on earth, he was not altogether an unbeliever in these doctrines. I was in the habit of speaking against these doctrines in terms which I would not use now; and he constantly—for it was a very frequent subject of conversation between us—expressed his dissent from my condemnation of the views of the premillennarians, while he ever acknowledged his inability to agree with them. "Ah, well, sir," he would say, according to his usual

formula, "we must be content to wait; and if you and your friend, H. B., should live to see the evolution of the great events which are undoubtedly to come, each of you will be astonished to find to what an extent the other was right, while you will both be astonished to find how far you both were wrong." And this, I think, describes the position which he occupied to the last in relation to this subject. He gradually came to the belief that prophecy is to be interpreted more literally than he had at first supposed; but gradually also he apprehended more vividly the truth contained in the apostolic declaration, that "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him. But God hath revealed them to us by His Spirit."

In the month of August, 1855, he returned to this country in restored health and in good spirits; although in neither respect was he ever again to be the man that he had been. After a brief stay in Edinburgh, and the delivery of a farewell speech, which may take its place as a permanent manual for the guidance of the home Church in evangelistic operations—even as the charge appended to his "Missions the chief end of the Christian Church," may be regarded as a manual for the missionary in actual work—he left Edinburgh on the 13th of October (the 13th again) and proceeded direct to India. Parting at Aden, Mrs. Duff went right through to Calcutta, while Dr. Duff proceeded to Bombay, and thence through Central India, reaching Calcutta in February, 1856.

VIII.

I WAS not in Calcutta to welcome my friend. It had been arranged that as soon as he should return I should leave for a year's furlough, after sixteen years of work. Now the months of December and January were the annual recess in the Institution. As soon, therefore, as Dr. Duff reached Bombay, he wrote to me to the effect that I might safely calculate on his being in Calcutta for the re-opening of the Institution at the beginning of February, and therefore that I should leave "for home" in the beginning of December. Acting upon this advice, I was absent from India from December, 1855, till January, 1857. But I can well realize the feelings with which he entered afresh on his work, and the feelings with which he was welcomed by his colleagues, by the Christian people of India, by the converts, and by the natives generally. He could not but contrast the circumstances in which he entered upon this third campaign with those in which he had been placed on his entrance on the first and second, in 1830 and 1840

respectively. On the first occasion he had a great work before him, without experience to direct him, and with an immense amount of opposition to encounter. On the second occasion he had some experience, and a materially diminished opposition. Now he had to contemplate the work, by the blessing of God, greatly extended, and giving guarantee for its permanence by the amount of success which had attended it, and was still attending it. Interested as he was mainly in the success of the work, it must have been with unspeakable joy that he contemplated the success vouchsafed to it during his absence. With all his humility—and that was great and genuine—and while he always gave his colleagues full credit for all their good qualities and powers, he could scarcely be ignorant of what was patent and palpable to all men, that all of us were in many respects inferior to himself; and he might well have misgivings as to the continuance of the work when he should be removed from it, and when it should fall into the hands of men of a more ordinary type than himself. But here it had been for seven years in the hands of just such men, and it had prospered in their hands. It was thus demonstrated that the system had life in itself; that it did not need to be galvanized into a momentary life by the power of genius, but could live and work under the influence of such zeal and faithfulness as may be expected of all Christian men, and of such powers as may be expected to belong to the average of Christian ministers. I am quite sure that he would have resisted and

overcome any temptation to envy that might have been in other circumstances at the success of others. But in the actual case there was not even such temptation to be resisted ; for the success of his colleagues was due, under God, to their faithfully and zealously working out the system of which he was the human, heaven-directed originator. Their success, therefore, was his ; not merely in the high sense in which the success of the work of God is the joy of all God's people, but in the other sense also—that the system and the men together constituted one great instrumentality, and that the credit of so much as was due to the system was fairly his. When a good instrument is well played, it may not be possible to apportion with arithmetical accuracy the pleasure of the hearer to instrument and player respectively, but all must acknowledge that the inventor and maker of the instrument has no small share in the production of the effect.

The year 1856 was spent in the usual hard work, with a gratifying amount of success-giving blessing. This I found going on when I returned to Calcutta, as I have stated, in January, 1857. But it was to be rudely and sadly interrupted. It was, as all the world knows, on the 19th of March of that year that the military mutiny broke out, which soon developed itself into a widespread revolt and a bloody civil war. It is no part of my design to chronicle the doings and the feelings of men in that terrible time. As each morning's newspaper contained accounts of fresh murders and massacres, and when

almost every reader learned the fate of some one whom he more or less intimately knew—as in those days almost all Europeans in India were more or less known to one another—many feelings were excited, the prevailing one in all cases being deep sadness; while around that nucleus clustered others which were various, according to the various characters of those who experienced them. Had the expected incursion of the troops into Calcutta actually taken place, the likelihood is that Dr. Duff and his family, and one of the Mission families of the Established Church of Scotland, would have been the first victims; for their houses, in Cornwallis Square, were the first European houses on the road leading into Calcutta from Barrackpore and from Dum-Dum, the two principal cantonments of native troops in the district. It would be absurd to say that Dr. Duff was not anxious; his whole nature would have been belied had he not been so. But he was not afraid. He wrote to Dr. Tweedie, of Edinburgh, long and interesting letters on the terrible events that were occurring from day to day. These were published in an Edinburgh newspaper, and were afterwards collected into a volume. No more vivid narrative of the mutiny was written; but, as a history, it had the great disadvantage of being written from week to week; and in not a few cases the information given in one letter had to be modified, or even contradicted, in a subsequent one.

The mission work in Calcutta was not suspended for a day or an hour; but it was carried on at unspeakable

disadvantage. Faith could see then, what has since been realized, that the events of that terrible time would be overruled to the furtherance of the cause of Christ; but faith could not know how this was to be accomplished. Christians and heathens alike were brought involuntarily into the attitude of expectancy—the expectancy of faith in the one case; that of abject fear, alternating with delusive hope, in the other. Perhaps our Institution work was less injuriously affected than any other department. It was among the young, who were not in the counsels of the rebels; who, moreover, knew and trusted us; who were not our enemies, and who could not without much difficulty have been persuaded that we were not their friends. Still it was a sad time, and there is no one who went through it who will not pray that he may never see the like again. I may mention—and I do it with intense satisfaction—that although there were hundreds who had been trained in the Institution occupying positions all over the provinces where the rebellion prevailed, I never heard that one of them was even suspected of participation in, or sympathy with it; while one and another of the earlier converts of the mission, who were in the employment of other missionary bodies in the North-west Provinces, either died the death of martyrdom, or were subjected to horrible tortures which resulted in death after a short interval.

The year 1858 was far advanced before matters resumed their wonted aspect, and probably it was still longer before mission work could be carried on with

much hope of success. But in June, 1858, a sudden and severe attack of illness compelled me to leave India, with no prospect of ever being able to return to it. I mention this here only by way of intimating to the reader that here occurs another breach of the continuity of my personal association with Dr. Duff.

It was about this time—1857—that Dr. Duff began an interesting experiment in female education. The condition of the female members of the Hindu and Mohammedan communities had all along been felt to be the greatest of all obstacles to the evangelizing of the land. Utterly inaccessible to *preaching*, shut out absolutely from *education*, completely under the influence of the bigoted priesthood, and transmitting that influence through all the families of the land—the question had been put with terrible earnestness by all Indian missionaries: What *can* be done for the women of India? It was felt that little could be done effectually for them until there should be a great and wide-spread renovation of the sentiments of the males, and that the great obstacle to such a renovation was just the condition of the females. Where, then, was the beginning to be made, when the effect could not be attained without a precedent cause, and the cause could not be brought into operation in absence of the desired effect? Manifestly it was a case in which the greatest of all the virtues was patience. Attempts had been made in two directions; and “Who hath despised the day of small things?” The one was the establishment of small bazaar schools, gener-

ally superintended by the wives of missionaries, who in this way did a most laudable work, of which the great day of the revelation of secrets will probably make known results till then unknown. But the difficulties were immense. In almost every case the pupils were induced to attend school only by the promise of a small present. The very poorest, therefore, ever attended; their attendance was extremely irregular, and at the age of nine or ten they were married to husbands who were themselves uneducated, while the more intelligent natives were forced to be content with uneducated wives.

The other direction in which efforts had been put forth was the establishment of orphanages, female boarding-schools, &c. There are always multitudes of helpless orphans in India. Parents go on a pilgrimage, leaving their child in the custody of a neighbour, with a small sum of money for its support during their absence. But many of the pilgrims die on the way; the money is exhausted; the guardian hands over the child to the police, who are very glad to transfer it to the missionary.¹

¹ Or the pilgrims take their child with them, and it survives when they die. The wife (now the widow) of one of the most energetic ministers of the Free Church was found by a Baptist missionary near the temple of Jagannath, in Orissa, sucking the breast of her dead mother. The little one was taken home by the missionary, and cared for and educated by him and his wife as if she had been their own daughter. In due time she became the wife of the Rev. Bahari Lal Singh, and was a most efficient helpmate to him while he lived, and is still, I believe, doing good service to the mission of the English Presbyterian Church, to which her husband had been transferred.

Or there is a visitation of famine ; and mothers bring their children to be fed and saved from impending death. The children eat of the impure food, and so the poor parents are threatened with expulsion from caste unless they put away the children ; and so they give them to the missionary. Or the parents come at once to offer a child for sale. When the missionary recoils from the purchase, the answer is ready—"If you will not, another will ; a *girl* can always find a purchaser !" In these, and many other ways, a great number of female orphanages have been instituted all over the country, and have been instrumental in doing a great and very blessed work. A Christian community has been formed in connection with every mission, and many precious souls have been snatched from death, and made partakers of eternal life. But unhappily these orphans were separated, as by an adamant wall, from their countrywomen, and had as little influence as a leavening power as if they had lived in a different country or in a different planet.

Three or four years earlier than the time of which I am now writing, it had been my privilege to introduce into a considerable number of families of the higher classes a system of domestic instruction, which, under the designation of the Zanana school system, has since been carried on to a far greater extent than I ever anticipated. But Dr. Duff was able to do much better, by inducing a pretty large number of men of these classes to send their daughters to *school*. It was only he that, by his great influence over these classes of natives, could have

effected this ; and although the beginning was small, and although now, after a quarter of a century, the extension has not been great, yet a beginning was made which is unquestionably destined to contribute largely to the solution of the great question of India's regeneration.

On a subject of such importance I need make no apology for introducing a pretty long extract from one of Dr. Duff's letters, addressed to Dr. McQueen, and published in the *Free Church Record*. Its date is 5th September, 1857. I give only the paragraphs which relate to the first beginning :—

“ Since my return last year I have not ceased to impress the importance of the object on the minds of hundreds with whom I have come in contact. Many are the admissions which have been made, and many the promises. But I have long since learned to estimate these at their proper value, and that is low enough. At length, in May last, a Brahman in Nimitola Street, where our new Institution is—whose father had been wealthy, but, through folly and extravagance, fell into reduced circumstances—agreed to give me a room or two in the old family house, which he still retained, for a female school ; promising, at the same time, to use his influence with his immediate neighbours in securing the attendance of their girls. The house, a portion of which is occupied by the Brahman and his family, is in a somewhat dilapidated state, so I had to repair the rooms allotted to me, and get them put into decent order. I deemed it expedient to run some risk in this way for the sake of the advantage of commencing the experiment in the house of a friendly Brahman—a Kulin Brahman, too, *i.e.*, a Brahman of the very highest order—as I knew that this would go a certain way in softening or mitigating the force of native prejudice.

“ Having been so often disappointed in former experiments of a similar kind, I resolved to set about the work as quietly and noiselessly as possible, mentioning the matter to none of my European friends, and asking help from none, until I should see the likelihood of success or otherwise.

“The rooms being at last ready, the Brahman, true to his word, induced one or two of his Brahman neighbours to send their girls for instruction. Another Kulin Brahman also promised to send a few from his neighbourhood. The first day three appeared; the next day, five; in a day or two more, nine or ten, partly young Brahmanis and partly Khayastas, the next in respectability and social position, in this part of India, to the Brahmans. This commencement having been made during our hot-season vacation of three weeks in the Institution, I was able to attend daily, and give my best attention to the working of the incipient experiment. The ages of the girls varied from five or six up to nine; and quicker, more intelligent, more engaging creatures, could scarcely be met with. They showed an eager desire to learn, and their progress was remarkably rapid. The letters of the Bengali alphabet they soon mastered, and it was not long before most of them could write them neatly on the slate. When they had thus mastered the letters and had begun to combine them into syllables and short words, I one day brought for their use a large map of India, with all the names of places marked in the Bengali characters. By making them draw a plan of the schoolroom, &c., on their slates, they soon caught up the idea of the design of a map. When Calcutta was pointed out to them, with the course of the Ganges, and the chief cities upon it, such as Patna, Benares, Allahabad, &c., of all of which they had heard—especially Benares, or Kashi, as they call it—their surprise and delight were unbounded. It seemed as if a new sun had burst before them or a new world. As their eyes wandered from the Himalayas on the north, to Ceylon—their own famous Lanka—on the south, and they noted the position of Calcutta with relation to these, an impression of the magnitude of their country sprang up in their minds. ‘How large it is!’ was the spontaneous exclamation.

“After trying to give them some notions of the vast elevation of the Himalayas—the snowy summits of some of which are believed to be the residences of their gods—and after stating that I had stood upon them, they looked at me with wonder. But when I proceeded to state that I had visited and traversed a considerable portion of Ceylon (Lanka, celebrated in the great epic, the Ramayana), the look of wonder was at once changed into one of downright *incredulity*. I conjectured the cause. In the popular belief, Lanka is supposed to be still inhabited by a race of giant monsters, who are sure to

devour any ordinary mortal who is unhappy enough to visit their domains ; in other words, that no one landed on the shores of Lanka can return thence alive. Hence the look of incredulity which followed my statement. After a while, however, I succeeded in satisfying them that what I stated was a veritable fact, on which they all said that when they went home they would tell their mothers that they had seen a *sahib* who had come alive from Lanka, and who saw no *Rakshas* or giant monsters there. Afterwards I told them that I had twice visited Benares—their Kashi, or holy city—and had seen the sacred wells, temples, and ghats there. On this two or three of them stretched out their little arms and firmly grasped my hand, saying, I must excuse them, but they could not help laying hold of the hand of one who had actually been in the holy city of Kashi. This little unexpected incident affected me very much, as it tended to show at how early a period superstition had begun to lay its venomous grasp on their tender natures. It afforded, however, an excellent opportunity for telling them about the Great God—the *one* Great God—the Creator of heaven and earth. And the readiness with which they responded to the idea of *one* Great God, though already habituated to the idea of many *debtas* or deities, made one almost weep to think that such aptitude for imbibing the truth should, in the case of infant female millions, be perverted into a mere receptacle for falsities and lies.”

From the prominence given in this extract to the fact that the first scholars in this school were Brahmanis and Khayastis, it might possibly be supposed that it was a “caste-school ;” and it is desirable to anticipate such a misconception. It was a most providential circumstance that the school was opened under Brahmanic auspices, and that some Brahmanis were the first to enter it. If girls of the lower caste had come first, none of the higher would have followed. But none were excluded, nor was any distinction made between the scholars on the ground of caste. In this respect the female school

was a reproduction of the principle on which the Institution has been conducted throughout. No violent means are taken to break down caste distinctions; they are simply ignored,² as if the teachers were absolutely ignorant of their existence.

The paramount influence which Dr. Duff had acquired over natives and Europeans caused a considerable portion of his time and thought, during the last years of his residence in India, to be given to social and governmental—not political—questions. It was a time of unsettlement, the time of a new start in India's career. The confidence reposed in Dr. Duff by Europeans and natives, by rulers and ruled, caused his judgment to be sought by the one class and the other; and no man contributed more than he did to the settlement of questions relating to the land-laws, taxation, education, and many other subjects—questions which had been unraised for a century, but which all at once became the subject of men's thoughts from one end to the other of the vast land. With politics he had at no time of his life intermeddled, and probably his political creed might have been summed up in the one article,

“That which is best administered is best.”

² I remember a small but significant instance of the way in which this tacit ignoring of caste communicated itself to the students themselves. One day in a class I had occasion to ask for a bit of string in order to describe a circle on the black board. Immediately a Brahman youth took his *paita* from his neck, and handed it to me without a particle of reluctance on the one hand or of bravado on the other. Only those who are familiar with caste usages can apprehend the immense significance of this apparently small incident.

But in all social questions he was deeply interested. Well versed in the so-called science of Political Economy, he was able to correct the cold dogmas of its votaries by the infusion of ideas distinctively Christian, as to the ends and objects for which men and communities exist, and the principles of righteousness by which they should be regulated. Consequently his mind was not secularized by its direction towards these questions; but rather they were Christianized by his treatment of them.

Comparing his work with that of his friend and mine, Dr. Wilson of Bombay, I should say that while they both extended over a very large range, and embraced widely different subjects, that of Dr. Duff was much more concentrated and intense than that of Dr. Wilson. The motto of Dr. Wilson might have been—*Something, and not a little, of everything*; that of Dr. Duff—*Much, very much, of some things, and not a little of many others*. Dr. Duff had not the boundless versatility of Dr. Wilson; but whenever a worthy object was presented to him—and such objects did continually present themselves—he gave to it as much time and thought as he could possibly spare from his special work; whereas Dr. Wilson had no speciality. All was his work that came within his reach, or rather that his almost boundless reach could embrace. One can hardly wish that Dr. Wilson's mental constitution had been other than it was. But perhaps I may be pardoned for saying that one would not care for having many Wilsons, whereas the more Duffs, the better for the Church and the world. Both were men of genius,

and of genius sanctified and consecrated to the noblest use ; but in the one case, much more than in the other, it was dissociated from that erratic element which not unfrequently accompanies it.

Thus matters went on until 1863, when Dr. Duff's residence in India was brought to a somewhat abrupt termination. The convenership or presidency (readers outside of Scotland will better understand the latter term) of the Free Church Assembly's Committee for Foreign Missions, after having been long and most worthily held by Dr. W. K. Tweedie, had been held after his death by two or three excellent men in succession, each of whom had accepted the important office only with a view to a temporary tenure of it, until the providence of God should open the way to a suitable permanent appointment. Gradually the conviction gained ground that the extent of the missions, and the importance and magnitude of the duties devolving on the Convener, demanded that that office should no longer be held by a man vested in addition with the responsibilities of a pastoral charge. The double responsibility had been nobly sustained by Dr. Tweedie, who had a rare capacity for work, and a happy union of zeal and method in the doing of that work. But to find an equally qualified successor was a problem difficult of solution. There was also a pretty general feeling that, *cæteris paribus*, a man acquainted with the practical details of the work, one, in short, who had himself been a foreign missionary, would have advantages in dis-

charging the duties of the office. These considerations gradually concentrated into the idea that Dr. Duff should be requested to abandon his work in India, and to undertake the convenership of the Committee at home. Coincidentally with the shaping of this idea into a resolution came an attack of illness upon Dr. Duff himself, which would have made his departure from India a necessity, even if there had not been so "effectual a door" opened for him elsewhere. A voyage to China did little more than give him strength enough to bear the strain of the parting scenes in Calcutta. And so, honoured of all, and receiving testimonies of respect and admiration such as had never been heaped upon any other man, he bade a final farewell to India on the 20th of December, 1863. The feelings of his overstrained heart on this occasion I lack delicacy of hand to touch as they ought to be touched, if touched at all.

IX.

THE one possible disqualification, which had occurred to my mind, of Dr. Duff for the important office which was now destined for him, was the intensity of his Indian feelings. It was feared that India had so engrossed his soul that he might perhaps be disposed to under-estimate the importance of the other great continent in which the missions of the Free Church were carried on. This misgiving was not altogether unreasonable, and Dr. Duff himself felt that the defect must be, so far as possible, remedied, and that before his entrance upon his new office. Of course it was impossible that he should ever have the experience of African, that he had had of Indian, missionary life. But he could, even in the course of a hurried visit, survey the field, and become acquainted with the peculiarities of method necessary in circumstances so different from those of which he had so much personal experience. At all events it was no small advantage that he should form personal acquaintance with the men with whom he was now to be associated in the work of the Evangelization of Africa, and should learn from their own lips, in frank

and brotherly conference, what were their special difficulties, and what the special aids which the Committee and its future convener could afford them. Instead, therefore, of proceeding by the Red Sea and Mediterranean route to this country, he proceeded in a sailing vessel to the Cape of Good Hope, and thence, suffering and enfeebled as he still was, undertook a long and toilsome tour of inspection of the missions in the Cape Colony, and in the southern portion of Caffraria. This inspection, hurried as it necessarily was, might not have been of great value to another ; but he had a singular faculty of taking in at a glance the far-reaching bearings of an extensive subject, and in after years one might have supposed that he was as well acquainted with the mission work in Africa as he was with that in India. And he not only got, but gave. His long experience as a missionary in other and widely different circumstances, his comprehensive views, and his power of perceiving the fitness of the one grand gospel to grapple with whatever difficulties might lie in the way of its progress, enabled him to impart matter of thought to his brethren in South Africa, and to impart it in a spirit well fitted to commend it to their generous consideration. After a journey of about 1000 miles by land, and some 300 or 400 by sea, and after inspecting the missions of all denominations represented in Southern Africa, he returned to Cape Town, and after a short stay there he turned his face homeward, and this time, escaping his usual "luck" in weather, he reached England in July, 1864.

Here I must pause to bespeak the indulgence of the reader for the re-introduction of the personal—though not, I hope, the offensively egotistic—element into my narrative. Immediately after my return to this country, in 1858, I had become minister of a Home Mission charge in Edinburgh, and was labouring, with but little success, in a district almost exclusively inhabited by Irish Romanists. My house was, of course, one of the first that Dr. Duff entered in Edinburgh. It was a time never to be forgotten by either of us. Up till the time when we parted in Calcutta, in 1858, I had not particularly noticed the changes which time and frequent illness must even then have made on his physical frame. I had indeed often stood by his bedside when he was suffering under attacks of the common fever of Bengal, and had been saddened by the prostration which was the result. But his singular elasticity of constitution had ever triumphed, and I had learned to expect that in the course of two or three days I should see him taking the Institution stairs by three steps at a time, and should almost shrink under the vice-like grasp of his bony hand. But now when, after an interval of five years, we stood in silence face to face, and I gazed upon his enfeebled frame and his face worn with pain and sleeplessness, and so strangely altered by the long white beard which he now wore,¹ it was impossible to withstand the rush of

¹ It is only the belief that all must have experienced how light and ludicrous memories often recur in our most solemn moments, that emboldens me to mention a very small matter in this connection, which any one who has not had this experience will probably con-

memories which recalled the morning when he had first grasped my hand in Leith in 1835, and those hours which we had spent in joyous, yet solemn conferences in Edinburgh in 1839. The intervening years I did not think much of, nor, I think, did he. Such was the renewal of our personal intercourse, not again to be suspended for any considerable period, until it was brought to a close, so far as earth was its theatre, by his removal from among us. He became a member and an office-bearer in my congregation, and ere long I became his assistant in the convenership of the Missions Committee,

sider too trifling to be introduced here. On one occasion, some twenty years before this, he told me one day in the Institution that there was a matter on which he thought it his duty faithfully to admonish me. With his usual anxiety to avoid giving offence, he entered into a long disquisition as to what such close friendship as ours involved in the way of responsibility, and how Christianity required faithful fortitude on the part of such friends, and how gladly he would take such an admonition from me, if I should see occasion for it. I interrupted him two or three times with the impatient question, "What is it? Do come to the point." At last it came out that he had the evening before heard some criticism on the length of my whiskers, as not altogether consistent with the worldly unconformity becoming a missionary! With a feeling of great relief, and with a hearty laugh, I assured him that if all my faults could be corrected with a pair of scissors, he should soon have to rejoice in my perfection. When I appeared next morning with the defect removed, he looked on me with one of his sweetest smiles, but made no remark; nor was the subject ever mentioned again until the occasion to which I am now referring. Strangely the remembrance came into both our minds, and each knew that the other was thinking of it. He then entered upon an earnest apology for his beard, anxious to impress upon me that it was by medical prescription that he wore it, that he very much disliked it at first, but that he had gradually become accustomed to it, &c.

and as our houses were not far apart, we met almost every day when he was in Edinburgh, and had occasion almost as constantly to write to each other when he was absent.

Dr. Duff entered upon the duties of his new office with characteristic ardour. He regarded it as appertaining to that office not only to superintend the operations of the Mission, and by long and frequent letters—for which he ever apologized as “brief notes”—to cheer and sustain the missionaries who were bearing the burden and heat of the day, but also to arouse and regulate the missionary spirit in the church at home, and to impart life and energy to all those organizations of which the tendency ever is to degenerate into formal routine. In the Committee he met once a month with ministers and elders from all parts of the country, and he strove ever to secure that they should return to their several congregations baptized with a fresh affusion of the missionary spirit. In point of fact many of them did acknowledge that the meetings of Committee were times of refreshment and revival to them. In matters of administration, I am free to confess, he did not always succeed so well. Himself possessed of singular administrative abilities, grasping a subject at once in its extent, however large, and in its details, however minute, he had not always the faculty of carrying others heartily along with him; while, having made up his mind as to what was right, or what was best to be done, he could not always realize in a moment that others might honestly have other views, or might think

that the views they had in common with him could be best carried out in other ways. Thus it happened that occasionally he showed a momentary irritation, but it soon passed away, and he never for any length of time thought the worse of those who differed from him. In the Committee he greatly prized the aid of those of us who had been missionaries ourselves, or who by residence in the mission fields were conversant with the details of the work. Of the former class were Dr. Murray Mitchell, whose high gifts and graces he held in high esteem; Messrs. Braidwood and Campbell, who had done excellent work in Madras; Mr. Gardiner, who had been our most beloved colleague in Calcutta. Of the latter class were Cols. Davidson and Young—the latter now his worthy successor in the convenership—two Messrs. Simson of the Bengal Civil Service, Drs. McQueen, Graham, Pringle, Fleming, and George Smith—all “old Indians,” and Dr. Minto, an “old Africander.” Then there were occasional visitants from the mission field, as Drs. Mackay and Wilson, and Messrs. Fyfe, Miller, from India, Dr. Stuart, Messrs. Govan and Ross from Africa, and other honoured brethren with whom the convener delighted to take counsel, while they held him in most affectionate honour and esteem.

Outside the Committee, as a most eminent citizen of Edinburgh, as the most widely known minister of the Free Church of Scotland, as the recognized representative in chief of the great cause of missions, his society was sought by visitors from all lands, and much of his time

and strength was given to friendly and genial association with them, whencesoever they might come, or by whomsoever they might be introduced. Multitudes came to him even without introductions, and all who so came, unless he discovered that they were led to seek an interview with him by merely the idle curiosity of "lion-hunting," were sure to find a cordial reception, even when he was overwhelmed with work and suffering sorely from pain and sickness. It was to him a matter of intense gratification that among his visitors were missionaries of many churches and from many lands, and that he was able to cultivate still further many of the friendships of which the seed had been sown during his eventful visit to America. Among the latter I remember especially Mr. Stuart of Philadelphia, whose name stands near the top of the list of Christian philanthropists.

A few months after his return home, Dr. Duff sustained a stroke, in God's providence, in which I need not say that he humbly and reverently acquiesced, but from some of the effects of which he never recovered. In February, 1865, Mrs. Duff was taken from him. His grief was not demonstrative, and only those who knew him best had any idea of its depth, or of the extent to which it contributed to the direction and modification of his thoughts and feelings throughout the subsequent years of his life. I may not speak of the devoted efforts of the only member of his family who was then in this country to make up the irreparable loss. She did all that was possible, but the loss was irreparable still. Both

in social intercourse, and even in the discharge of public duty, indications were often given of the habitual direction of his thoughts, and of the impression which had been made upon his feelings. Notwithstanding his frequent illnesses, his main thought hitherto had been how as a Christian to live, what and how to work, but henceforth the current of his thought was deathward, how to live indeed, and how and what to do, but *so* to live the life of the righteous that his latter end might be like His, so to fight the good fight and run the good race of faith that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry which he had received of the Lord Jesus. From this time, too, his physical sufferings went on increasing. Very often he told me that I was the only man living who knew that there was no moment of his life, by day or night, in which he was free from the suffering of acute pain, which sometimes increased to such intensity that it seemed too great for endurance—"Ah well, sir," he would add, "it will not be for long." This might be as we were going together to the office of the Missions, or to some meeting of the Committee, and five minutes after he would sit down to his desk and spend hours in most elaborate correspondence, or would expound some matter that required the attention of the Committee, with all the vigour and clearness that characterized him in his most buoyant days. Then he would ask me to get a cab to take him home, and I would gaze silently on him as he reclined with every faculty exhausted save the faculty of suffering. Many a time for weeks together he

declared and believed that he never slept; and certainly sleeplessness was one of the most distressing of his symptoms. It was only strong faith that sustained him under such a load of suffering; or rather it was He, the object of his faith, who, while He would purify this piece of fine gold from all alloy, yet was touched with a fellow-feeling of His servant's infirmities, and sustained him by a strong sense of His love, even when His afflicting hand lay heaviest upon him. With all his suffering he never neglected any work, or forewent the discharge of any duty; and if his duties had been even greater than they were, he would still have been sustained in the discharge of them; but the result would probably have been a still earlier release.

Amidst all his plans for the increase of the missionary spirit in the church, he had long desired the institution of a special professorship in the several Theological Schools of our country, which should so imbue the aspirants to the ministry with that spirit, that a much greater proportion of them than hitherto should seek to be employed in the work of missions, while those who remained at home should elevate the standard of Christian interest and liberality and prayerfulness for this object throughout the church. A number of friends, in answer to private solicitations on his part, put at his disposal a sum of £10,000 for the endowment of such a professorship in connexion with the Free Church. The proposal was accepted by the General Assembly, and it fell to the Assembly of 1867 to appoint a professor. Many urged

upon Dr. Duff himself the acceptance of the office, which all agreed that he was of all men the fittest to hold. But he resolutely refused to permit himself to be nominated. When, however, the time of the appointment drew near, it appeared evident that there would be a pretty keen contest on behalf of two of Dr. Duff's chief friends, Dr. Murray Mitchell and the present writer. I believe the voting would have turned mainly on the ground of personal friendship or acquaintance, each voting for the candidate whom he knew best, while a large number who knew neither, and a large number who were equally the friends of both, shrank from the necessity of making a choice between us. Each of the candidates would most loyally and cheerfully have acquiesced in the appointment of the other, and the appointment of either would not for an hour have interfered with the continuity of their life-long friendship; but it was quite possible that some of their respective supporters—for whom of course they could not be responsible—might have felt aggrieved; and it was deemed extremely desirable that the first appointment to such an office should carry with it the unanimous consent of the whole church. In these circumstances a fresh appeal was made to Dr. Duff, and he reluctantly consented to accept the office, and his election was made by enthusiastic acclamation.

It was originally understood that this appointment involved Dr. Duff's resignation of the convenership of the Committee. But the Committee remonstrated against this, and came before the Assembly with a memorial in

which they proposed that Dr. Duff should be continued in the convenership. It was accordingly resolved that he should retain the office, but that assistance should be afforded him in the conducting of the work. Such assistance Dr. Mitchell and I were appointed to render him, under the designation of vice-conveners. It was understood that, as I was resident in Edinburgh and Dr. Mitchell was not, the main part of the work should fall upon me. Some time after, Dr. Mitchell, at the earnest request of Dr. Duff, resigned his important charge at Broughty Ferry, and proceeded to India, to fill a gap which had, in the providence of God, occurred at Calcutta, and which could not well be filled but by a man of standing in the church and of mature Indian experience; and so I was for some years the sole vice-convener. When Dr. Mitchell returned home, after rendering invaluable service to the Mission in Bengal for four years, he was appointed secretary to the Mission, on the understanding that he was to give his whole time to the duties of that office, whereas I had, of course, been able to give only fragments of time to it. I have thought it well to give this account of a transaction of which no account has been published hitherto. I end it as I began it, with an apology for the introduction of so much relating to myself.

The Free Church has three Theological Colleges—at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, respectively. The “Evangelistic Theology” chair, which was founded by Dr. Duff, and which he occupied for eleven years, is part

of the Edinburgh Institution, but the professor is required to conduct classes also in the other colleges. Every student in all the colleges is required to attend the class during two sessions. Thus for these years all the students of the church came fully under his influence, and many of those who are now occupying ministerial charges have spoken to me of lasting benefit received by them both from his official relations and his private intercourse with them. His inaugural lecture on entering upon his professorship gives an account of his ideal of what the chair should be, and of what it might be expected, by the blessing of God, to be the means of effecting—an ideal well fitted to fill his successor with dismay.

I can only mention a few of the events of his convenership. It was coincident with a time when there was a strong feeling that the missions of the Free Church ought to be materially extended. No doubt this feeling was greatly fostered, and indeed was mainly excited, by his influence. And during his convenership the Committee were enabled in a very considerable degree to effect this extension. In the course of his visit to South Africa in 1864 he came into contact with Mr. Allison, whose work as a Wesleyan missionary at Edendale, by the way, is celebrated in Lady Barker's interesting book on South Africa. Mr. Allison had seen cause, in consequence of a change in his doctrinal views, to leave the Wesleyan communion; and he and his society had parted on terms of mutual respect. He had begun operations at Mpolweni in Natal, with very gratifying results. At the time of Dr. Duff's

visit he was very naturally anxious as to the future of his work, and desirous that it should be incorporated with the mission of some church or society holding Calvinistic views. One of Dr. Duff's first works, after assuming the convenership, was to arrange for the transference of this mission to the Free Church. The transference was effected, and the Mpolweni Mission has been carried on since with gratifying success. Mr. Allison having died, the mission is now under the charge of Mr. Scott, who had special qualifications for conducting it efficiently, being himself the son of a South African missionary, and possessing a knowledge of the country, the people, their language, and their ways, which none can have but one who has been brought up among them.

An interesting history, such as, alas ! finds a place in fiction more frequently than in real life, is associated with the foundation of another branch of the Free Church Mission, also in Natal, or on the confines of that province. I mentioned before that when, in 1854, Dr. Duff went to Malvern to recover from the effects of his American campaign, he formed an acquaintance, which ripened into a most cordial friendship, with Lord and Lady Haddo, who ere long became Earl and Countess of Aberdeen. Lord Aberdeen died in March, 1864, and one of the first visits which Dr. Duff paid in Scotland on his return home was to the widowed Countess and her noble family, towards all the members of which he was attracted by qualities which he could well appreciate—qualities of "true nobility." In that same year the

second son went to Cambridge, already an earnest Christian, to enter upon an academical career of great distinction, and to exhibit an example of all youthful manliness, which endeared him in no ordinary degree to all with whom he came into contact. Meditating much on his future life and its responsibilities, he had formed the resolution to consecrate himself and his possessions to the Redeemer to whom he owed all. His purpose was to acquire a tract of land in South Africa, and convert it into a mission settlement, and to live among the people as a Christian leader and a self-denying evangelist, descending to their level, the better to elevate them to the standard of a Christian community. How far his plan might have succeeded can never be known, but surely he did well that it was in his heart, and not as a passing fancy, but as a settled purpose. But his earthly career of noblest promise was cut short by the accidental discharge of a rifle. His mother, brothers and sisters, deeply and long sorrowing, yet not as those who have no hope, but rather as those who have a firm assurance that the object of their love and their grief has gained unspeakably by that which has been so sad a loss to them, conceived the thought that they could not erect a more appropriate monument to his cherished memory than by founding and maintaining a mission among those Africans to whose well-being he had designed to devote himself and his all. They were not members of the Free Church; but the Established Church of Scotland, to which they belonged, had no mission in South Africa, and in no

mission had they such an interest as in that to which their beloved friend belonged; and so the "Gordon Mission" was founded; a Free Church Mission in every respect, excepting that in its administration the Aberdeen family co-operate with the Foreign Missions Committee, and excepting also that in addition to an endowment which will defray in perpetuity the maintenance of a European and a native missionary, they have erected buildings at an expense which the Committee would not have regarded themselves as entitled to incur, if it had been to be defrayed from the funds of the mission. A simple statement of a transaction like this is better than any panegyric comment upon it.

A third extension of the mission was equally interesting, though on a different account.

In 1861 suggestions were made by Dr. Livingstone that the Free Church should enter upon the work of evangelizing that continent, to the bringing of which into the community of nations he had so nobly devoted his life. At about the same time Mr. James Stewart, then a probationer of the Free Church, had his soul fired with the noble ambition of not building on other men's foundations, but carrying the gospel to the regions beyond those to which it had already penetrated. The Foreign Missions Committee did not see their way to undertaking a mission, which, if it were to be anything, must be extensive, and consequently expensive. But individual members of the Committee, especially the Convener, Dr. Tweedie, and also men outside the Committee, were

earnest about the matter, and resolved not to let it drop without at all events ascertaining what were the possibilities of the case. After many consultations it was agreed that Mr. Stewart should join Dr. Livingstone in a great exploratory tour which he was about to undertake, and should bring back a full report as to the condition of the country and the people, the possibilities of evangelistic operations, and the likelihood of the suppression of the horrible slave-trade by the introduction of legitimate commerce. When Mr. Stewart returned with a report upon the whole favourable, the subject of undertaking a mission, and of forming a commercial society in close connection with it, but independent of it, was much discussed. But it did not seem that anything could be done immediately. Mr. Stewart therefore accepted a proposal to become assistant to the aged minister of a large and important congregation in Glasgow. But with the view of yet becoming a missionary among a barbarous people, he took advantage of his residence in Glasgow to go through a course of medical study at the university. When he had thus become Dr. Stewart, the project of a Lake Nyassa Mission was revived, but was again abandoned. Dr. Stewart therefore accepted an appointment as a missionary to South Africa, and there is no name better known in the mission world than that of Dr. Stewart of Lovedale. But he had not abandoned the hope of yet labouring among those whose degraded condition had first stirred his youthful sympathies. In 1874 he came on a short visit home. The news of Livingstone's death

on the 1st of May, 1873, and the arrival of his remains in April, 1874, had stirred to the depths those feelings which his wondrous deeds and sufferings had excited in thousands of hearts. The hot iron was struck by Dr. Duff and Dr. Stewart in the Assembly of 1874, and the Free Church Mission of Livingstonia on Lake Nyassa was resolved upon. The preliminary arrangements for so novel an undertaking were long and difficult, but willing and efficient help came from many quarters, from Glasgow merchants and Edinburgh men of business, from naval officers who had been employed under the British flag for the suppression of the slave-trade, and from the Rev. Horace Waller, one of the few survivors of the Universities Mission. These men vied with one another in contributing their experience in their several departments, that the work which was to be done might be well done. The Lords of the Admiralty transferred Mr. E. N. Young—who had done good service in the cruisers on the coast, and who had led the search expedition for Livingstone when a false report of his death had come—from the service of Her Majesty to that of the Free Church; or, at all events, they gave him leave of absence, with the promise that on his return he should have as good an appointment as that which he relinquished. There was also a gratifying co-operation of various churches in the prosecution of this most interesting experiment. The Established Church of Scotland sent a pioneer missionary to co-operate with ours until they should be in a position to take up effectively their

own work at Blantyre. The United Presbyterian Church generously lent us Dr. Lawes, a medical missionary—the value of which gift each succeeding year of his service as head of the mission has led us more highly to appreciate. Then Mr. Cotterill, son of Bishop Cotterill of Edinburgh, went out along with this first missionary party in the interests of commerce and civilization, and was associated in most friendly relations with the mission, although entirely independent of it.

There were other important additions to the missions of the Free Church during Dr. Duff's convenership; but these were not so directly of his accomplishment. There was a change of the relation which had subsisted for a considerable number of years betwixt the church and a non-denominational society, which was vigorously prosecuting educational work on Mount Lebanon. The effect of the change was to bring that work more directly under the superintendence of the Free Church and its Committee. In the interests of this mission, Dr. Duff and his friend, the late Dr. Lumsden of Aberdeen, made a journey to Lebanon in 1870, in order to examine personally the working and prospects of the mission, and to put on a satisfactory footing its relation to the American Presbyterian Missions in Syria. Although it might be supposed that a man's love of foreign travel has become less intense before he has reached his sixty-fourth year, the two travellers greatly enjoyed their trip, and they rendered good service by means of it. It was impossible for Dr. Duff to traverse Bible lands, and to gaze on Bible scenes,

without having his heart solemnized, and his mind expanded, and his zeal stirred up to still greater fervency. During all his remaining years he had peculiar satisfaction in recurring to the incidents of this trip; and few things affected him more than the premature death of his travelling companion, Dr. Lumsden, which occurred in 1875.

Still another mission was added to those of the Free Church. The Reformed Presbyterian Church was happily incorporated with the Free Church in 1876, and like Achsah, the daughter of Othniel, endowed her spouse with a south land and with water-springs. That church had been for many years carrying on, with wondrous success, a mission in the New Hebrides; and it was not one of the least blessings that resulted from the happy union betwixt our brethren and us, that our missions became theirs, and theirs became ours.¹

It will be manifest that, with all the help that Dr. Mitchell and I were able to afford him, the work which fell to be discharged by Dr. Duff as Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, was very extensive and laborious. But he had great capacity for work. With all his glowing fancy he combined a singular power of grasping those details which form the main element in matters of business; and genius was not in his case associated with those habits of irregularity and fitfulness,

¹ I have seldom experienced more delightful, and yet awful emotion, than when I heard one of the missionaries tell, on his return for a season from Erromanga, that he had sat at the Communion table alongside of some who had witnessed the slaughter of John Williams; and with the son of the actual perpetrator of the murder.

which some regard as inseparable from it. He was a most regular correspondent, and seldom failed to apprehend the bearings of a matter which was clearly stated to him; or to ascertain its bearings by pointed and pertinent questioning. If his judgment was sometimes warped by his over-estimating the good that was in those whom he loved, I do not think that he ever did injustice to those by whom he was not so attracted. He was always willing to give them credit for meritorious work, or for good intentions; or for aught else of good that was claimed for them.

It has been stated that in 1867 Dr. Duff was appointed Professor of "Evangelistic Theology" in the Edinburgh College of the Free Church, with the requirement that he should lecture also in the colleges of Glasgow and Aberdeen. I need not say that this imposed upon him much labour. Full as his mind was of knowledge, it was not of course so methodized as to be immediately available for the prelections of an academic chair; and during the subsequent years of his life he was sedulously occupied in preparation for the effective discharge of his professorial duties. Fortunately our Scottish session, both in our universities and in our denominational theological colleges, is short, and both professors and students are able to rest after the exhausting work of the session, and to make preparations for that of the next. Dr. Duff's usual practice was to make a trip of less or greater length to the Continent, varied in 1870, as has been said, by his visit to Syria. This occupied the time from the close of

the session to the meeting of the General Assembly in May. After the close of its meetings he would generally retire to some quiet country retreat ; sometimes imposing upon me the obligation not to give his address to any one, but to send on his letters. Two or three times he requested me to open all his letters—excepting, of course, those of members of his own family, which were addressed in a particular way—and to forward only those which seemed to demand his personal attention. Such a protection from the enormous number of applications which were made to him for all manner of objects had become absolutely indispensable. The opening of his letters on these occasions made me cognizant of what no one but myself knows hitherto ; but what there is no reason for concealing now—the extent of his charity. Letter after letter came into my hands, containing thankful acknowledgments of donations received by widows and others, and invoking on his head the blessing of those who were ready to perish. As I knew the amount of his income, and knew that in his personal and domestic expenditure he was ever careful to “provide things honest,” it was to me an insoluble problem, how he was able, not only to contribute liberally towards the evangelistic operations of his own and other churches ; but also to do so much in the way of private alms-giving, regarding which, but for the circumstance to which I have referred, his left hand would never have known what his right hand gave. The secret of it was his adoption of the method of systematic or proportional giving. His income was

fixed and regular, and on receipt of it he set apart a certain percentage, over which he thenceforth regarded himself as having no control, save in respect of its judicious apportionment. Letters of this kind which came into my hands I forwarded without a word of comment; nor did he, either in writing or in subsequent conversation, ever allude to their contents. But another thing which struck me forcibly respecting this matter was this. I scarcely ever got any letter *asking* help, while I got many containing acknowledgments of help bestowed. From this I drew the inference that that help had been proffered spontaneously and without solicitation; and this cast light upon many questions, which from time to time he would put to me, as to what I might know or suppose concerning the circumstances in which the wives and families of ministers and others were left. I do not know the private benefactions of others, as I had occasion, to a certain extent, to know his; but I am very sure that he gave more in the way of secret charity than is given by many whose incomes are ten times as great as his was.

To every Presbyterian minister the meeting of the General Assembly, or supreme court of his church, is invested with special interest. But as almost every successive Assembly was connected with some particular event of importance in Dr. Duff's history, I shall now refer to some of these events.

By the Assembly of 1864 he was appointed to the Convenership of the Foreign Missions Committee, and by that of 1867 to the Professorship of Evangelistic

Theology. His convenership brought him into direct relations with the Assembly, as it was his duty to present the report of the Committee, and this he accompanied with a long and eloquent speech, in which prosaic details alternated with passages of fervid oratory; but these need not be further adverted to. It is known to all who take an interest in Scottish ecclesiastical affairs that the last years of Dr. Duff's life were years of great commotion in that section of the church to which he belonged. The question of union between that section and several others, of which the United Presbyterian Church was the largest, was keenly debated from 1863 to 1873. As I belonged to the party who opposed this union, I may be allowed to say that our opposition was grounded on no want of respect for the United Presbyterian Church, its ministers or its members. We were as willing as our brethren to acknowledge the service which they had rendered to the cause of God in our country, and as desirous to live with them in brotherly recognition, and in co-operation in every good work. But we conscientiously believed that the views which the great body of them had adopted regarding the right relation between Church and State were erroneous, and we could not see that the two churches could be incorporated without the virtual relinquishment by the one or the other of what we regarded as important principles. We were told, indeed, that no such relinquishment would be required; but that all "questions" respecting this subject should be left "open." Rightly or wrongly

—for I am at present the narrator, and not either the advocate or the judge—we deemed that the consenting even to this would be a virtual abandonment of the position which the Free Church had been called to occupy as a prominent representative of important truth. Our opponents consisted partly of those who had a very manifest leaning towards “voluntary” views, and of those who, while not accepting these views, did not consider them sufficiently important to form a bar to union. We were confessedly in a minority in the General Assembly. As the Assembly of 1873 approached, there were dark forebodings as to the course of action that was to be adopted by the one party and the other. It was a possible, and perhaps not an improbable, thing that the majority should resolve to effect the union, in which case it was equally possible and equally probable that the minority would claim to be the Free Church, as holding inviolate the principles which the Free Church had bound herself to hold. It was a time of extreme sadness and alarm. It was felt to be a question of great delicacy, and yet a question of much importance, who should preside as moderator over an Assembly in which a matter of life or death was to be decided. I presume, though I do not know, that the leading men of the majority offered the honourable, but in this case awfully responsible, office to trusted men among their supporters. I know that they offered it to one and another eminent men among their opponents, and that they would not accept it. By whom it was first suggested I do not

know ; but it was agreed that the choice of a man to be proposed in the ordinary way should for that year be abandoned, and that the Assembly should be recommended to fall back upon the senior of the former moderators. That was Dr. Duff ; and so, by what many might call an accident, but what I believe was a providence, Dr. Duff was unanimously appointed moderator of that most momentarily critical Assembly. But while it was apart from any view of the special fitness of Dr. Duff for the office, and apart from any desire of conferring upon him the unexampled[†] honour of a second moderatorship, all recognized in him the very fittest man to occupy a position so difficult and so honourable ; and many who had been desponding as to the fate of their beloved church took new courage when they saw the finger of God thus interpose for the supersession of the initial difficulty. It was not merely that Dr. Duff, while belonging to the "Unionist" party, had not taken a very prominent part in the discussions, and so was not offensive to the "anti-Unionists ;" but it was that men of all parties had such confidence in his honesty and his earnestness, his loyalty to the church, and his close walk with God, that they could not believe otherwise than that there was compassion in the heart of God for his way-worn church, when He gave him to preside over

[†] Several men who had been moderators of the Assembly of the Established Church before the Disruption have been moderators of the Free Assembly ; but Dr. Duff was the only man that has been twice moderator of the latter.

the deliberations of her Assembly, on which so much depended. It is not my part here to give any account of that memorable assembly. Enough to say, that the hopes which had been revived by the appointment of Dr. Duff to the moderator's chair were not disappointed. His addresses at the opening and close of the Assembly were published in a volume, under the title of "The World-wide Crisis," and are highly characteristic of him. While this volume does not, perhaps, contain any passages of such mingled beauty and power as do some of his earlier publications, I do not know that any one of these gives so good an idea of the largeness and comprehensiveness of his mind, the extent of his observation, and the laborious cultivation of his synthetic powers. So much as to the Assembly of 1873, with which his name will be honourably and gratefully associated as long as there are any who love the Free Church of Scotland.

It is with great reluctance that I allude at all to the matter with which Dr. Duff had to do in the Assembly of 1874 ; but I may not pass it over in silence. I have already dwelt upon the movement which was made on the death of Dr. Chalmers in 1847, to appoint Dr. Duff as his successor in the chair of Systematic Theology, and in the principalship of the New College, Edinburgh. This appointment would have been made with the unanimous and enthusiastic assent of the whole church, had not Dr. Duff himself strongly stated his conviction that he ought to remain in India as long as God should

give him strength to labour there. This being so, there was no question on the part of the electors that Dr. Cunningham, one of the professors in the college, should be appointed principal, retaining his own chair, while Dr. Candlish should succeed Dr. Chalmers in his professorial chair. In point of fact, Dr. Candlish's congregation, which was by far the most important and influential in the church, remonstrated with such effect, and Dr. Candlish so felt the pain of separation from them, that he resigned the appointment. But with that I have nothing to do here. On the 14th of December, 1861, to the inexpressible grief of the church, Principal Cunningham died. Dr. Rainy was by the following Assembly appointed his successor in the professorial chair, and Dr. Candlish in the principalship, without relinquishing the pastorate of St. George's. In 1867, as has been already stated, Dr. Duff was appointed to the chair in the New College, for whose existence the church was indebted to him. In 1873 the principalship again became vacant by the universally lamented death of Dr. Candlish. It fell to the Assembly of 1874 to appoint his successor. It surely was not an unreasonable expectation on the part of Dr. Duff's friends that now that he was a professor in the college he should be appointed to that principalship to which he had been virtually appointed while he was still in India. There was no question as to Dr. Rainy's fitness for the office, or as to the value of the services which he had already rendered to the church, or of those which he might be

expected to render in the future. But many—and certainly not, as has been asserted, the members of the “anti-Union” partly merely—asked why Dr. Duff should not now be appointed to the office to which he had been virtually appointed before; and Dr. Duff himself considered that his non-appointment would be a virtual expression of a sentiment on the part of the church that his chair was a less important element in the collegiate organization than the other chairs. This was the feeling which led him to allow himself to be proposed for the principalship, and this was the feeling which caused him to be disappointed when it became manifest that he was to be passed over. It has been represented as extremely creditable both to Dr. Duff and to Dr. Rainy that the contest did not interfere with their personal friendship, or with their hearty co-operation in all their official relations. I confess that I cannot regard this as matter of very special commendation to either of them; I should have been astonished beyond measure had it been otherwise.

During the sitting of the Assembly of 1876, Dr. Duff sustained a severe accident, falling from a considerable height from the ledge of a book-case in his study, and striking his head against the writing-desk. A message was sent to me at the Assembly, and I hastened to his house to make inquiries. When I was assured by Dr. Heron Watson that the wound was severe, but not dangerous, I returned to the Assembly, and never did I witness more manifest joy than when, at the request of the moderator,

I made a statement to that effect to the Assembly. It was like the sudden dissipation of a thick dark cloud, and the breaking forth of bright sunshine. And the same feelings prevailed all over the country when the tidings arrived of the accident, and of the probability of his recovery from its effects.

In point of fact the recovery was slow, and I do not think that it was ever complete. From this time he never seemed to me to be physically what he had been till then. He went through his work indeed, and a stranger might have wondered at the alacrity with which he performed it. But those who knew him best could not fail to perceive that a much smaller amount of work produced a much greater amount of fatigue than before, while the sleeplessness, which had been so great an affliction to him for several years, was from this time increased. Happily, while his outward man was perishing, the inward was being renewed from day to day. His intellect was as clear and vigorous as ever. His interest in all matters in which he had ever taken interest was undiminished, while his aspirations after complete sanctification were ever more and more intense. The state of matters in his own beloved church was occasion to him of unspeakable distress. The conclusions which Professor Robertson Smith considered himself entitled to draw from critical researches, and the right which he claimed to propound these conclusions *within* the Free Church, were terribly startling to those who were indeed familiar with the conclusions as propounded by rationalistic critics

in Germany and Holland, but who had fondly hoped that they would never find advocates in our island. Dr. Duff read and studied all the voluminous writings on both sides of the controversy. But all his intellectual and spiritual nature protested against views whose legitimate and necessary consequence he held to be the denial of the authority of the Bible as a Divine revelation, the refusal to admit any inspiration worthy of the name as pertaining to it. To multitudes as well as to him, but perhaps to few so much as to him, it was matter of unspeakable sorrow, and of contrite humiliation before God, who must have had wise and righteous reasons for permitting such a visitation to befall the church which they so warmly loved.

One of the last matters, outside his own denomination, in which he took a special interest, was the formation of the "Pan-Presbyterian Council." He was a member of the Committee for making arrangements with a view to its first meeting, and went to London to take part in the proceedings of the Committee. But when the Council actually met in Edinburgh in July, 1877, his medical adviser and kind friend peremptorily forbade his attending its meetings, or taking any part in its procedure. In order to show his interest in it, he prepared a new edition of his "Missions the chief end of the Christian Church," and presented every member of the Council with a copy of it. He also addressed a communication to the Council, the reading of which by Dr. Blaikie, one of the secretaries, produced a deep and solemn impression on the minds

and hearts of the members. This he wrote under the conviction that it would be his last contribution to the advocacy of the cause of which he had been so long the most prominent representative. As such it is invested with a very special interest for those who loved him, and for those who appreciate the importance and the grandeur of the cause. I wish my allotted space would admit of my reproducing it in its entirety; but I must confine myself to quoting that portion of it which relates to missions generally, omitting a proposal respecting a mission to be undertaken jointly by the churches represented in the Council:—

“MY DEAR DR. BLAIKIE,—You know how intensely interested I felt, at the very outset, in the projected General Presbyterian Council, and with what unfeigned delight I looked forward to its actual proceedings. While more or less alive to the importance, intrinsic or relative, of all the subjects to be discussed, there are some which I could not but regard as presenting pre-eminent claims on the attention of the assembled delegates. One of these is the subject of Missions, home and foreign, or the world’s evangelization.

“Some time ago the Acting Committee were good enough to ask me to prepare an introductory paper on this momentous theme. This I readily and joyfully, in dependence on Divine aid, agreed to undertake. But soon afterwards, or about four months ago, before anything was done, it pleased the Lord to subject me to severe bodily ailment, which proved the commencement of a series of successive afflictive dispensations, from the distressing effects of which I am now only slowly emerging. The result, as you already are aware, has been that I have not only been physically incapacitated for attending the meetings of the Council in person, but, from excessive bodily weakness, with the accompanying mental depression, equally incapacitated for preparing any paper on a theme of such transcendent magnitude and glory, that I would deem worthy of being read before so august an assembly. This, I need scarcely say, has been to me a matter of inexpressible regret and sorrow ;

but, as it results from the overruling of an all-wise, all-gracious Providence, what can I do, except in humble, loyal submission to the great Overruler, give utterance to the prayer, 'Thy will be done!' 'Even so, Father, for so it seemeth good in thy sight'?

In my present disabled state, therefore, all I can presume to add, by way of explanation, is, that had I been privileged to attend the meeting for the discussion of the Missionary enterprise in all its varied bearings, or to prepare a suitable introductory paper for it, I meant to occupy the highest possible Scripture ground with regard to the supreme, the paramount, obligation of the Christian Church to devote the might and main of her energies and active services to it. This, though in strict accordance with the requirements of God's eternal purpose in connection with the progress and consummation of the economy of redemption, and the peremptory command and parting commission of the Church's Divine Head, has never, except during the prief period of the apostolic age, never been adequately done or even attempted, and very often neither done nor attempted at all, to the Church's own irreparable loss, and the ineffable woe of a lost and ruined world.

"Early in my missionary career these were among the thoughts which powerfully seized and kept firm possession of my soul. Nearly forty years ago I ventured to give expression to some of them in a discourse which was published under the title, 'Missions the chief end of the Christian Church.' Since then, without any reference to the remark of a still living sage, that 'the only oratorical figure which is worth anything for purposes of persuasion is the great figure of repetition,' but prompted solely by natural instinct, I have not ceased to repeat what I hold to be this great Bible truth, in endlessly varied forms; though, alas, hitherto I have little to report with respect to its success in persuasion. But thus much I may be permitted to say, that, having perfect faith in its biblical foundation and ultimate potency, my intention was, if privileged to be present next week—though starting from a totally different point of view, and pursuing a totally different line of thought and illustration from those adopted in the discourse of forty years ago—to endeavour, on strictly scriptural grounds, to evolve, vindicate, and establish the same transcendent truth—*viz.*, that Missions, in the large and comprehensive sense of the world's evangelization, are, by appointment and decree of the glorious triune Jehovah, the chief end of the Christian Church.

“Such being at least my own intense conviction—a conviction which has been growing in clearness and strength for the last forty years—I may be excused for expressing, as from the borders of the celestial world, my unalterable persuasion that, until the paramount obligation involved in this grand Bible doctrine is more thrillingly felt, more vividly realized, more energetically responded to, not merely by solitary members but by the Church at large in her corporate capacity, we shall only be playing at Missions, practically deceiving ourselves, virtually contemning the ordinance of our adorable Head and King, and wasting on interminable, intestine, demoralizing warfare, those faculties, powers, and resources, which ought to be devoted with concentrated energy to the spiritual conquest of the nations, and the installation of the Divine Redeemer on the throne of a ransomed universe. . . .

In a graceful and earnest speech, it was moved by Dr. Marshall Lang of Glasgow, “That . . . this letter be remitted to the Business Committee, with instructions to report upon it, and especially to prepare and send a message, a word of veneration, love, attachment, and sympathy, to their beloved and honoured father in that illness which it had pleased Providence to send upon him.” At a subsequent session it was resolved that the following message be sent to Dr. Duff:—

“The Council having received Dr. Duff’s letter, return their earnest thanks for the interest which prompted its composition in a time of severe sickness, and for the suggestions which it contains, especially in so far as they bear on the co-operation of Presbyterian Churches in Foreign Mission work.

“The Council beg to assure Dr. Duff that his proposal as to a joint-mission of all the Presbyterian Churches represented in the Alliance has received the most respectful attention of the members; and whether or not it may be possible, at present, to give effect to it, they are sure that the terms in which it is presented, as well as the spirit which inspires it, will appeal most powerfully to Presbyterian

Churches, and will give a great impulse in the direction of true Christian unity.

“The Council desire to express their veneration and love to Dr. Duff, the first missionary to the heathen from the Reformed Church of Scotland ;[†] and they bless the Lord of the Church for his long and honoured services in connection with the spread of the glorious gospel of the grace of God.

“It has been a subject of deep regret to the delegates from all churches and countries that, in consequence of weak health, Dr. Duff has been prevented from attending the meetings of the Council. They ask Dr. Duff to accept, with their affectionate regards, the assurance of their earnest prayer that it may please God to spare him yet a little longer for the cause of Christ on the earth ; and that in the retirement of the sick-room he may abide in the peace which passeth all understanding, and be supported by the sense of his blessed Master’s presence.”

After the fall of which I made mention some pages back, one illness came upon him after another, or rather, I suppose, the same illness continually recurred in ever varying forms. Now it took the form of a tumour behind his ear, which was removed by a painful operation ; now that of an attack of jaundice ; now that of an attack, which threatened to be fatal, of what seemed to bear a strong resemblance to Asiatic cholera ; and again by a recurrence of jaundice. With great difficulty he got through the work of the college session 1876-7. The illness to which he refers as having occurred four months before the date of his letter in July, 1877, was the tumour behind his ear, the operation for the excision of which though most skilfully and successfully performed, weakened him very much ; and ere long the jaundice super-

[†] His predecessors having been sent by *Societies*.—T. S.

vened. Whenever he was able to be out of bed, I and a few other friends saw him frequently ; and although at the beginning of each short interview, to which we were restricted, he was feeble in body and depressed in spirits, yet he soon revived, and entered with almost his youthful ardour into the discussion of all subjects of interest connected with the Mission and missions, the Church and the churches, the world, its history and prospects. The old days, when he and Mackay and Ewart and Macdonald and I were toiling together in Calcutta, were ever an enlivening theme ; and often was I struck with the vividness with which he recalled scenes which I had forgotten, and the minuteness of his recollection, not only of the converts who were always on his heart, but of multitudes of natives, the hopes which he had cherished regarding them, and various incidents in the Institution in which they had borne a part. Among all his mental powers, his memory was one of the most remarkable.

When the college session of 1877-8 was drawing near, it was mercifully ordered for him that there could be no doubt or uncertainty as to the utter impossibility of his undertaking any portion of his work ; for had there been the faintest appearance of a possibility of it, the sense of duty impelling him to do what he could, conflicting with the feeling that he could not do all, would have been inexpressibly painful to him, and the conflict would have greatly enhanced his suffering. I offered to read his lectures for him, but he said that this could not be, as from his recollections of St. Andrews, he had endeavoured

to avoid the stiffness of continuously read lectures, and that consequently some of his were only written in outline, while all of them required the interjection of explanations and enlargements, which no one but himself could give. There was nothing therefore that could be done, but that he should intimate to the College Committee his inability to perform the work of his chair, and should leave in their hands to make the best arrangement possible in the circumstances. The committee requested Dr. Murray Mitchell, Dr. Hood Wilson, and me, to divide the work between us, and to do the best we could to occupy jointly the place of our friend. This arrangement was entirely satisfactory to Dr. Duff, and enabled him to leave Edinburgh with a somewhat easier mind before the session began. The place of sojourn selected for him was Sidmouth, in Devonshire, and thither he proceeded by easy stages. On the day before his departure he and I parted, with a long hand-grasp, and with no words but these, which were simultaneously uttered by both, "The Lord be with you." I had so often seen him in a state of extreme prostration from which he had always rallied, that I did not regard it as absolutely certain that this should be our last meeting on earth; nor, I think, did he.

For full three months he "waited," ready for the summons were it to come, but not knowing whether it were to come then or no. What a proof it is of the surprising power of his mind, that that terribly overwrought brain remained unclouded and vigorous to the last! Guarded by the tenderness of loving and beloved

ones from the intrusion of distracting cares, consciously safe in the keeping of the loving Lord, whose he was and whom he had so faithfully served, reflecting on all the way by which that Lord had led him, and with a hope full of immortality, the veteran warrior, with the armour unbuckled which he had worn so soldierly, and, like a tired child, smiled as soft sleep stole over him. It was on the 12th of February, 1878, that his earthly life came to an end, and he received the summons into the presence of his Lord, who hath with wonderful and altogether Divine graciousness proclaimed his rule of recompense. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame, and am set down with my Father in His throne."

The body having been removed to Edinburgh, the funeral took place on the 18th. The Scottish people are not, in general, so much given as the people of many other nations to pomp or ceremonial, whether on joyous or sorrowful occasions. The rarer these public demonstrations are, the more strikingly do they indicate the depth of the emotions which call them forth. In our day there have been in the Scottish metropolis several public funerals, and on none of the other occasions was there a more manifest demonstration of the universality and depth of the mourning. The procession on this occasion rather skirted the city than passed through it, and therefore the crowd of mere spectators might be less; but alike among personal friends, among the representatives of a vast number of public bodies who took part in the procession,

and among the multitudes of solemnized spectators who lined the suburban streets through which it passed, there was but one feeling—that a prince and a great one had fallen in Israel. The grief which had its centre in Edinburgh, where it thus found expression in the tearful eyes of hundreds, and in the solemn and awed demeanour of thousands, extended far and wide over the British Isles, the continent of Europe, and the colonies of our empire; while it was concentrated into Western and Eastern foci in America and in India respectively. The daily and weekly press in all these lands contained innumerable tributes to his memory, and bore emphatic testimony to his character and his work. Innumerable pulpits, too, of all the Christian denominations, gave expression to the thankfulness of the Church for the great gift which God had permitted her to enjoy so long, and her humble submission to the all-wise and all-gracious Providence which had now reclaimed and withdrawn the gift.

The honourable and onerous duty of preaching the special “funeral sermons” was laid upon me and Dr. Lindsay Alexander, between whom and Dr. Duff an acquaintance, begun in St. Andrews in their student days, had developed into uninterrupted friendship, resting on the firm basis of mutual appreciation. The concluding paragraphs of Dr. Alexander’s sermon are worthy of the occasion. After sketching Dr. Duff’s career as a student, detailing his work in India, and vindicating that work in respect of the specialty of its method, he thus concludes:—

“Nor was it only by his labours among the heathen, and in the foreign field, that he served the cause of missions. In his writings, by the spirit-stirring addresses which he delivered when on a visit to his native land in 1834 and in 1850, by his speeches and appeals on other occasions both in this country and in America ; and, since his final return home, by the discharge of his functions as Professor of Evangelistic Theology in the Free Church Colleges, and as Convener of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church, he did noble service, by diffusing information, awakening interest, enkindling zeal, and directing activity in regard to Foreign Missions. In him this cause found a tower of strength and a centre of influence, not only within the religious body with which he was more immediately connected, but throughout the evangelical churches of the world.

“When Dr. Duff left India finally to return to this country, men of all classes, natives as well as residents, united to give expression to the esteem in which he was held. On all hands he was assured of the high sense entertained of the value and importance of the services he had rendered, and much regret was expressed that he was compelled to relinquish the sphere in which he had so long and so honourably laboured. At home he was received with welcome by the community at large, and with affectionate admiration by Christian brethren of all denominations. From his own church he received the rare distinction of being a second time elected to fill the moderator’s chair, which he had occupied before, in 1851, during one of his visits to this country—an honour to which only his illustrious master, Dr. Chalmers, had in modern times been raised. Encompassed by general esteem, surrounded by the amenities of household love, solaced and cheered by the society of attached and admiring friends, and, so long as strength permitted, actively engaged in Christian service, he stedfastly held on his way, though not without the discipline of sorrow and bodily infirmity and suffering, until at length the Master he had so faithfully served released him from his labours, and called him to his rest and his reward.

“When one so esteemed and honoured is taken away, they that remain behind cannot but mourn, for their loss is great. But for him it behoves us rather to rejoice. The apostle, whilst willing to live and to labour for Christ on earth, had nevertheless a ‘desire to depart and to be with Christ,’ which he felt to be ‘far better.’ He knew that for him ‘to be dead would be gain ;’ and so it is for all to whom,

like him, 'to live is Christ.' Absent from the body, they are present with the Lord. They see Him as He is. They are made perfect in His likeness. They are partakers of His joy. For them there is 'no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain: for the former things are passed away.' The crown of glory, the spotless robe, the shining mansion, the song of triumph, the high society of the good and holy of all ages, the smile of God, the joy of the Holy Ghost, the companionship of the Redeemer, close and constant—all these are theirs. Shall we grudge them their honour and their bliss, because their removal has contracted the sphere of our earthly enjoyment, or withdrawn from us counsel and help to which we trusted? Far be this from us! Why should not the faithful labourer rest, when his long day's work is done? Why should not the Master have His desire that they whom the Father hath given Him should be with Him where He is, that they may behold His glory? Rather let us rejoice when they who, as good soldiers of Christ, have endured hardships for His sake, and have done service in His cause, have at length gotten the victory, and having been faithful unto death, have received the crown of life. And be it ours to follow them, even as they followed Christ; and let us render honour to their memory by imitating their example, and doing our endeavour to advance that cause which was dearer to them than life."

When Dr. Duff was in Edinburgh and was able to be in church, I generally walked home with him at the close of the forenoon service. On one such occasion, speaking of the weather, I happened to say that I had that morning seen the first snowdrop of the year in my little garden-plot, and asked him to go and see it, adding that I never waxed poetical but once a year, and that on the occurrence of this phenomenon. With his singular memory, he did not forget this light saying, but from year to year would ask whether my periodical afflatus had yet visited me. The winter of 1877-8 was bleak and backward in this region, and it was not until the

24th of February that, on returning from preaching the funeral sermon, I saw that most beautiful and most poetry-inspiring object of all the works of God. Had the afflatus then visited me, as I had lightly said, I might have told in glowing strains how my friend's work, in India and at home, fair and beauteous in itself, was specially precious as a presage of a revived church and an evangelized world: or I might have told how sedulously he had kept his garments unspotted from the world: or I might have thought of him as one of them "who came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore are they before the throne of God, and serve Him day and night in His temple: and He that sitteth on the throne shall dwell among them. They shall hunger no more, neither thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. For the Lamb which is in the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall lead them unto living fountains of waters: and God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes."

X.

WITH a few words in vindication of the method of missionary operation which is usually associated with the name of Dr. Duff, my "labour of love" comes to a close.

I would first of all say that education has, in all the mediæval and in all modern missions, been regarded as a legitimate and necessary missionary agency. It is not right to demand a precedent for it in apostolical example: for it is to be borne in mind that the great majority of those to whom the apostles and their associates conveyed their blessed message, stood on at least as high an intellectual and cultural level as did the apostles themselves. But the mediæval missionaries made education a very special department of their work, and a very rich blessing rested on it. It was very largely due to this that the noble Irish and Scottish missionaries, who went out "in numbers like swarms of bees" from Bangor and Iona, became at once the civilizers and the evangelizers of Europe. Substantially the same course is followed with-

out question by all modern missions among barbarous races. Education is an essential and a necessary part of the mission work amongst all such people. It is not against *education*, therefore, that exception is or can be taken as a department of mission work.

If it be admitted, as it must be, that elementary education is proper and necessary as a missionary agency amongst uncivilized and uneducated races, I do not see why a less elementary education should be forthwith condemned as illegitimate among a civilized and comparatively cultured people like the Hindus or the Japanese. It becomes a question, not of principle—for the principle is the same that is admitted by all in the case of the barbarians—but of expediency.

Now I say at once that I can conceive of no case in which it would be right to employ education as the sole missionary agency among any heathen people. It occupies a place which all other methods leave unoccupied, and renders other methods more efficacious by supplementing them. As a supplement to these methods it is invaluable; as a substitute for them it would be unjustifiable. Although in this matter there ought to be a judicious application of the principle of the division of labour; yet I do not think it desirable that any missionary should be, in continuance, exclusively an educationist. Nothing will so effectually preserve the educationist from the danger of degenerating into the pedantic schoolmaster, as occasional and frequent preaching. Nothing is a better safeguard to the preacher against the

temptation incident to one who has to deal always with those upon whom the most elementary truths of the gospel have to be continually inculcated, than daily contact with intelligent and cultivated minds. At all events, if each individual *missionary* cannot be engaged partly in one and partly in the other department, I would insist upon it that every *mission* ought to maintain both departments. If rightly arranged, they would work admirably into one another's hands.

I am quite willing to admit that the educational method with which the name of Dr. Duff is associated is only applicable in certain circumstances; and I have no hesitation in saying that, in my judgment, it has been attempted, in some cases, in circumstances to which it was not applicable. I would say further that the *English* element in Indian education is justifiable only in consequence of the special relation in which the people of India stand towards the British Government and people, and that I regard it as a great mistake to introduce English into an educational system for a people when such relations do not exist.

With all these admissions and reservations, I maintain that the educational institutions which owe their existence, directly or indirectly, to Dr. Duff, have been and are destined to be, most important evangelistic factors, and that their author is entitled to the credit of being one of the greatest of India's evangelizers. For *first*, they have brought the gospel to bear upon a class of the community who must of necessity have paramount influence

in shaping the destinies of their country. It is to be remembered that in any case, or in whatever way, this class of young men would be educated. The question, and the only question, was, whether they were to be educated under the auspices of Payne, Shelley, and Huxley, or of the Lord Jesus Christ. And this is the question which is equally a present question now. The abandonment of our higher class missionary Institutions would be simply a handing over of the mind of India to atheism and scepticism. It can be only a question of idle speculation whether it would be a gain or a loss to put an arrest at once on unchristian and on Christian education. The unchristian cannot be arrested; I trust that the Christian shall not.

Secondly, the higher missionary education has done more than any other missionary method, or of all put together, to elevate the tone of feeling and sentiment with reference to Christianity. There is not an itinerant preacher all over the country who has not borne willing testimony to the improved reception which he has met with in the districts in which the present or former pupils of our Institutions reside. I am quite aware that this elevation of national sentiment may be a snare to the educational missionary. If he seek it as the end he will not produce it. It must be a secondary effect of that teaching whose primary end is the conversion of those who are taught. If this elevation is being produced to any important extent through education, it will necessarily be accompanied by numerous conversions. I have

therefore no sympathy—and Dr. Duff had none—with those who would apologize for the paucity of conversions on the ground that public opinion is being gradually changed, and preparation is being made for a great national up-heaving, which shall issue in a national acceptance of the gospel. I do not undervalue such a preparation; but I do not believe that it is really being effected by teaching of which conversion is not the aim, and, in some considerable measure, the result.

Thirdly, it is the higher education in our Institutions that has made female education possible. No other missionary method has ever succeeded in solving, or contributing to the solution of, the great problem before which all missionaries have stood aghast, feeling that it must be solved if they were to have any great measure of success, and that it could not be solved until that success were attained.

Fourthly, the higher education in our Institutions has been the means of making possible a higher order of rural missions under exclusively native management than could otherwise have been possible. I may be partial in my judgment, or my knowledge may be defective; but I think I am safe in saying that the mission at Jalna under my friend Narayan Sheshadri, and that at Mahanad in Bengal under my friend and pupil Jagadiswar Bhattacharjya, are among the most important rural missions in India.

But it must not be forgotten that, if it is to produce good effects, the Institutional teaching must be not only

evangelical, but evangelistic. I can quite well conceive a system of Christian education, including a daily Bible lesson and a lesson on Christian evidences, and free references to Christianity in the course of teaching science or literature or history, which yet would have no claim to be ranked among missionary methods. Of such a system, let who will be the apologist, I shall ever be its uncompromising opponent. But give us men of good intelligence and strong evangelistic zeal, who will work our Institutions as means towards the conversion of the students, and will estimate their success by the extent to which this end is attained; and the church will be brought more and more to the conviction that our Institutions are bearing a part in the fulfilment of the command, "GO YE INTO ALL THE WORLD, AND PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE," and are not without a blessed share in the accompanying promise—"LO I AM WITH YOU ALWAY, EVEN UNTO THE END OF THE WORLD."