

CHAPTER XI

ALEXANDER DUFF

(1806—1878)

THE Christian Apostles of India have been drawn from a surprising variety of lands and nationalities. Syria, Egypt, Persia, Italy, France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Denmark, and England have each in turn made notable contributions to what is a truly great succession. Scotland's special contribution was not made until the nineteenth century was one-third over, yet in respect of the influence he exercised in India, the man she then sent forth as an apostle to that land ranks as one of the chiefest of them all, and along his own line of influence has no peer.

To-day, in proportion to her population and wealth, Scotland's gifts in men and money to Christian Missions give her an honourable place among Protestant lands, when these are considered from a missionary standpoint: yet her Church was comparatively late in acknowledging its missionary obligations. In 1796 the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland engaged in a debate on Foreign

Missions which has attained historic celebrity, mainly from the character of some of the speeches which were then delivered. A prominent minister, Mr. George Hamilton, declared that "to spread the knowledge of the Gospel among heathen and barbarous people, seemed to him highly preposterous, in so far as it anticipates—nay, as it seems reverses—the order of nature. Men must be polished and refined before they can be enlightened in religious truth." To hold a collection for Foreign Missions, as was proposed, he declared to be "extraordinary and romantic". To-day his views seem most extraordinary for a Christian minister ever to have expressed, and, though they found some support, one is glad to know that they were not endorsed by the vote of the Assembly. Yet the decision come to was poor enough. The Assembly approved of Foreign Missions in theory, commended the practice of prayer for the extension of Christ's Kingdom, and pledged the Church to give practical assistance, at some future and more convenient season. Nearly thirty years had to pass before the said season arrived, but in the period intervening the Scottish Church had learned a good deal. Carey's brilliant work had become known, and the operations of the young English Missionary Societies,—the Baptist Missionary Society, founded in 1792, the London Missionary Society in 1795, and the Church Missionary Society in 1799,—had grown familiar through their mis-

sionaries' Reports, and other publications. The two Scottish Societies, the Scottish Missionary Society, and the Glasgow Missionary Society, founded in 1796—the very year of the abortive debate in the Assembly,—had leavened the Church with their spirit, and a widely different atmosphere was the consequence. Missions were no longer “extraordinary” or “romantic”: they had become familiar and desirable.

Evidence of the change appeared when the next Foreign Mission debate took place in the Assembly, which was in 1824, twenty-eight years after the previous *fiasco*. The division of the Church into two great parties, the “Moderates” and the “Evangelicals,” which in 1843 was to have a momentous issue, was already marked, but there was no division on the question of the Church's missionary duty. The leader of the Moderate party, Dr. Inglis, was the chief exponent of the missionary cause, and the Assembly unanimously approved of his proposal that a collection for Foreign Missions be held throughout the Church, and that a Committee be appointed to prepare a scheme of missionary work. That was the initial step; the next five years were years of preparation and elaboration. The collections came in until over £7000 was in hand. The locality of the mission was decided—mainly as the result of an appeal from Dr. Bryce, the senior chaplain of the Church of Scotland at Calcutta: *Bengal* was to be the favoured spot. The distinc-

tive policy of the Mission was settled in accordance with the traditional character of the Scottish nation: it was to be *Educational*. Said Dr. Inglis in the report of his Committee, "It is desirable to establish one central seminary of education with branch schools in the surrounding country". Funds, locality, and the elements of the policy having been thus arranged, when in 1728 the missionary was found who was to launch the undertaking, all things were ready. This missionary was *Alexander Duff*, a young man of twenty-two years of age, who was then finishing his course as a student of Divinity at the University of St. Andrews.

I.

Duff was a Highlander, the son of a Perthshire farmer, who had given his boy as good an education and as careful a religious training as it was possible for him to receive: and Duff had profited by this parental solicitude, which he ever referred to with deep gratitude. At school at Kirkmichael and Perth, and also at the University of St. Andrews, he took the leading place among his fellows and long before his course was finished he was a marked man. To a keen intellect and cultivated mind he added unusual power of work, striking eloquence of speech, conspicuous influence over his fellow-men, and deep religious feeling. At St. Andrews he came under the influence of Dr. Chalmers, and may be reckoned as the greatest of that great man's spiritual sons.

Chalmers was his model, his ideal, and his adviser, and when the invitation came to Duff to go out to India as the first missionary of the Scottish Church since the Reformation, he delayed his answer until he consulted Chalmers as to his fitness for this novel and important work. Chalmers' reply was an enthusiastic "God speed," and on 19th September, 1829, having been previously ordained, and also married, by his revered professor, Duff with his wife sailed for India. Two utterances of his may be quoted, as revelations of the inner workings of the soul of the young missionary, on the eve of his departure. Preaching in the old church of Leuchars, the church of Alexander Henderson, he told what made him a missionary :—

"There was a time, when I had no care or concern for the heathen : that was a time when I had no care or concern for my own soul. When by the grace of God I was led to care for my own soul, then it was I began to care for the heathen abroad. In my closet, on my bended knees, I then said to God, 'O Lord, Thou knowest that silver and gold to give to this cause I have none ; what I have I give unto Thee,—I offer Thee myself. Wilt Thou accept the gift?'"

The other extract is from a letter to his father, and reveals the spirit of the crusader :—

"Pray with redoubled earnestness, that I may be strengthened, with all might in the inner man, and with all grace and all divine knowledge, that I may be enabled to approve myself a good and valiant soldier of the Cross—and not merely a common soldier, but a champion."

The prayer was abundantly answered.

The voyage was marked by more incident than was desired, for before Calcutta was reached Duff had twice suffered shipwreck. On a sandbank off Cape Colony the ship became a total wreck, and of all Duff's baggage the only article saved was a presentation copy of the Bible, which was washed ashore, having been preserved from hurt by the stoutness of its wrapping. All his carefully selected library of 800 volumes and all his precious manuscripts were lost. The Word of God alone remained, and this Duff took as a sign of what should be his main support, and the burden of his missionary message. After some delay at the Cape the shipwrecked passengers proceeded eastward in another Indiaman, only to suffer shipwreck a second time as the vessel entered the dangerous navigation of the Hooghly. The season was far advanced, for it was the end of May. The monsoon had burst, the Hooghly was in full flood, and amidst torrents of rain and a wild storm of wind the drenched and miserable travellers were hastily put ashore, thankful for the only shelter they could get, which strangely enough was the heathen temple of a neighbouring village. It was a rough welcome to India,—softened by the warm greetings received next day in Calcutta,—but the natives were impressed by the fact that so many perils had been surmounted. "Surely," they said, "this man is a favourite of the gods, who must have some notable work for him to do in India."

II.

Duff had come to India with a very free hand as to the methods he should adopt. Beyond instructions to make Education a prominent feature in his work, and to begin operations at some distance from Calcutta, everything was left to his own judgment. The Church had confidence in her missionary, and it was amply justified.

The first six weeks were devoted to a detailed study of the situation. Every mission in Calcutta and the neighbourhood was visited, and every missionary was interviewed. Intercourse was also sought with English-speaking Hindus, and a good general idea was obtained of the methods hitherto employed, the results which had been achieved,—and the results which had not been achieved, but which by other methods might be reasonably expected. By the end of the six weeks Duff had decided his plan of action. It necessitated a breach of one of the two home instructions, for he decided that his work must be in Calcutta itself, the centre of Hindu life and thought, and not at any outlying post: but this step he did not hesitate to take.

The aim he set before him was to capture the *intellect* of India, which meant then, what though in a somewhat modified degree it means still, the Brahman community. Like de Nobili two centuries before, Duff saw clearly that that community was the mainstay of Hinduism, and that as yet it had

scarce been touched by missionary effort. Where others had failed he hoped to succeed, by adopting the entirely novel method of educating this community in the knowledge of the West. Such education would, he thought, inevitably destroy their belief in Hinduism, which in its theology and its tales outraged truth and morality at every turn, and accompanied and penetrated as his instruction would be with Christian teaching, the natural issue would be the acceptance of the religion of Christ. Only let the light shine, and the darkness would fly away.

But a second question had to be decided. In what language was this instruction to be given? Duff had a choice of three languages,—Bengali, Sanskrit, and English. The first was the chief medium of instruction employed at the Serampore College, but Duff discarded it. Bengali, the vernacular of the people, had indeed accumulated a much enhanced literature since Carey became its foster parent, but even so, it was a scanty literature and not yet indigenous; nor was the language sufficiently developed to be a good medium of instruction in Western science and philosophy. Duff's experience in his own Scotland stood him in good stead here:—

“As a native of the Highlands, I vividly realised the fact that the Gaelic language, though powerful for lyric and other poetry, and also for popular address, contained no works that could possibly meet the objects of a higher and comprehensive education. Hence those who sought that found it in English Colleges, and returned as teachers and preachers to distribute the treasures

of knowledge acquired through English, among the Gaelic people."

For elementary schools, such as were all the other mission schools in Calcutta, Bengali might suffice, and be the absolutely best, but not for an institution of the higher type which Duff contemplated. So the choice came to be between Sanskrit and English. Sanskrit was the language in use at the Government or Hindu College and also largely at Serampore, for the star of Orientalism was still in the ascendant. But as a medium for imparting to the Hindus all the wealth of modern Western knowledge, Duff felt that Sanskrit was not to be compared with English. So against all precedent, and also against the advice of all the missionaries—with the important exception of the aged Carey, who heartily approved,—this intrepid and far-seeing young Scot, when only twenty-four years of age, announced that he would open in Calcutta an institution for the higher education of the Hindu community, the lessons to be given in English, and to be accompanied by instruction in the Christian religion. With the other and older methods of mission work, he had no quarrel. They had their place, and he readily and warmly acknowledged it. To the missionaries labouring by direct evangelistic methods, he said :—

“While you engage in directly separating as many precious atoms from the mass, as the stubborn resistance to ordinary appliances can admit, we shall, with the blessing of God, de-

vote our time and strength to the preparing of a mine, and the setting of a train, which shall one day explode and tear up the whole from its lowest depths."

In initiating this revolutionary departure in missionary methods Duff's greatest help came not from any brother missionary, but from the famous Hindu eclectic, Raja Rammohun Roy,—a man who has been fittingly termed the "Erasmus of India". From his ancestral Hinduism Rammohun Roy had advanced to the position of a Unitarian in belief, and a Christian in moral ideals and spiritual sympathies. A frequent worshipper in St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, he soon came in contact with Duff, took to him at once, and gave him invaluable assistance in starting his work. By his aid a hall was secured; through his personal influence with his friends the first five pupils were enrolled, with whom the school opened on 12th July, 1830; and by his wise persuasive counsel the first difficulty caused by the religious instruction was overcome. The Brahman youths murmured when on the opening day Duff put a copy of the Gospel into their hands, and asked them to read. "This is the Christian Shaster," they protested, "we are not Christians: how can we read it? It may make us Christians, and our friends will drive us out of the caste!" Calmly Rammohun Roy, who was present, allayed the storm. "Christians," he said, "like Dr. Horace Wilson have studied the Hindu Shasters, and you know he has not become a Hindu. I myself have read all the Koran again

and again, and has that made me a Musulman? Nay, I have studied the whole Bible, and you know I am not a Christian. Why then do you fear to read it? Read and judge for yourselves."

The danger point being passed the lesson went on, and the greatest missionary experiment India has ever witnessed was begun. Its success was instantaneous. Within a week the applicants for admission rose to 300, and every day brought additions. It became possible and necessary to make a selection, and with an attendance of 250 eager and ardent students the "General Assembly's Institution," as it was termed, was established. Every day opened with an hour's instruction in the Bible, which ever remained the chief lesson of the day. At this hour Rammohun Roy himself was frequently present, profiting by the earnest expositions of Duff. Hard steady work occupied the rest of the six hours' day, in which Duff had only the assistance of a young Eurasian lad. The other missionaries still kept aloof, and their criticisms were doubting or hostile. "You will deluge Calcutta with rogues and villains," said one. But Duff held on his way, and after a year's hard work his first triumph came.

In a large hall in Calcutta, specially hired for the day, a public examination of the pupils was held, in the presence of many influential Hindus and Europeans. Archdeacon Corrie, Henry Martyn's friend, occupied the chair, and Duff proceeded to put his pupils through an examination in the subjects

they had studied—English Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic and such subjects—with results that amazed the audience. But the climax came when the Scripture lesson was given, and the youths showed an acquaintance with and an appreciation of the Christian religion, such as none had thought possible. Calcutta next day was full of the brilliant success. Many Christians saw visions and dreamed dreams of a coming millennium, and the Hindus began to be seriously apprehensive of whereunto this thing might grow. Yet so highly did they value the English education, that they stilled their fears, and Duff could have filled his school twice over.

The *educational* success of the new method was triumphantly proved: but what of the *spiritual* results? In the inner life and expressed sympathies of the young men such results were abundant, and ere long took a concrete form which was yet more convincing,—and first in connection with another part of Duff's labours. In conjunction with Archdeacon Dealtry and two missionaries of the London Mission, Mr. Adam and Mr. Hill, Duff planned a course of lectures to educated Hindus on "Natural and Revealed Religion". The introductory lecture was given by Mr. Hill in Duff's own house, when some twenty students were present, a number of them being from the *Hindu* College! This, when it got known next day, was too much for the orthodox Hindu community, and a perfect storm of opposition

to Duff and his mission arose, which compelled the abandonment of the lectures. But the storm had other quite unlooked-for results. It stirred the young free-thinking Hindus to plain, even bitter, speaking against the bigotry of the orthodox party, and provoked some of the more ardent amongst them to a reckless defiant act which had momentous consequences. To show their complete emancipation from, and contempt for, the bigoted customs of the orthodox, a party of these young bloods met one night in the house of Krishna Mohun Bannerjea, the editor of a Liberal paper, "The Enquirer," and a Koolin Brahman, the very highest caste. Bannerjea happened to be absent, but his self-invited visitors, procuring from the bazaar some cow's flesh, cooked and ate it! It was an act of social and eternal suicide for caste Hindus. What remained of the meat they then took and flung into the neighbouring courtyard of a holy Brahman's house, shouting in derision, "There is beef! There is beef!" Nothing could atone for such an act. The whole Hindu community was outraged by this defiling slight on one of their number, and its wrath fell heaviest on young Bannerjea, who personally was guiltless. Yet he was driven from home and family and friends: not a Christian at that time, yet not a Hindu, but a believing Theist. To him in his distress, when every Hindu door was closed against him, Duff's door opened, and an intercourse began which culminated later in the accession to the Church of

Christ of a man who, for half a century, remained one of its greatest ornaments.

But he was not the first. Before he bowed to the yoke of Christ, a friend of his had anticipated him, in Mohesh Chunder Ghose, a student of the Hindu College, but a spiritual pupil of Duff's. Then another, and another, and another came, until quite a little band of high-caste Brahmans had put on Christ, and with one exception remained faithful their whole life through. Says Dr. George Smith with perfect truth: "Rarely if ever in the history of any portion of the Church, at any time since apostolic influence ceased with John the Divine, has one man been enabled to work such a revolution in faith and life, as was effected by the first missionary of the Scottish Church in Bengal, in the three years ending July, 1833".

These were the fruits of his early years which Duff and his Church valued most. But there was a further result of his work, even more important in its ultimate consequences to India than the conversion of these high-caste Hindus to Christianity. This was the conversion of the Government of India from Orientalism to Occidentalism,—in other words, from Sanskrit to English as the ruling tongue in India. Duff's experiment had astounded the official world by showing what could be achieved with English as the medium of instruction. As a civilising educating power its superiority over Sanskrit was

now undeniable, and the hands of the "Anglicists" among the Government officials, chief of whom was Charles Trevelyan, were greatly strengthened. It only needed the arrival of Macaulay in Calcutta, at this critical juncture, to bring the Government to a definite decision. Macaulay had come out as Law Member of the Council, and gave his whole weight to the side of the Anglicists. Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, already a sympathiser, became completely convinced of the advantages that would result from the change, and in March, 1835, a memorable minute, penned by Macaulay, announced the Government's decision. It declared that the main portion of the funds at the disposal of Government, for educational purposes, was to be "henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English Literature and Science, through the medium of the English language".

No decree of greater consequence to India has ever been signed, for that, more than any other single cause, has made India what it is to-day. "Never on this earth," says Sir John Seely, "was a more momentous question discussed. . . . Macaulay's minute remains the great landmark in the history of our Empire considered as an institute of civilisation. It marks the moment when we deliberately recognised that a function had developed on us in Asia, similar to that which Rome fulfilled in Europe." Duff's estimate of the importance of the action of Government, though more moderately ex-

pressed, is similarly high. With prophetic insight he wrote at the time:—

“We do not expect sudden or instantaneous changes, but we do look forward to a great ultimate revolution. We do regard the Lord W. Bentinck’s Act as laying the foundation of a train of causes which may for a time operate so insensibly as to pass unnoticed by careless or casual observers, but not the less surely as concerns the great and momentous issue.”

It opened the door into the mind of India through which have poured in ever-swelling flood, the knowledge, the ideas, the institutions and the aspirations of the Western world: and how these have changed India and are still changing it, everybody knows. Let it not be forgotten that to Alexander Duff, in a very great measure, this notable change is due.

Four years of such epoch-making labour involved a strain on the physical strength of the worker, that had to be paid for. In 1834 Duff was prostrated by a severe attack of dysentery, and in July, as the only chance of saving his life, he was placed on board a vessel, bound for home. The work, so dear to his heart, was left in the hands of his devoted and scholarly colleague, Mr. W. S. McKay, who by this time had joined him from Scotland.

III.

Duff’s life is divided into a series of alternating periods of work in India and work in Scotland. In its importance to the Christian Church the quadrennium we have been surveying eclipses any other

period in his life : indeed it might be truly said to eclipse all the other periods together. And yet in themselves they too were important, especially that which now began in Scotland. In India he had been a Missionary Apostle : to Scotland he was an Apostle of Missions.

Most Anglo-Indians know what it is to return home on their first furlough, full of enthusiasm over India and their work there, and to be met with a courteous indifference to all things Indian. They know too the calm assumption of the supreme importance of the most parochial matters at home, as compared with movements of imperial interest abroad. To the majority this reception acts as a cold douche, and they subside into silence, thinking their own thoughts. Of this chilling nature was the welcome Duff experienced, when on Christmas Day, 1834, fairly restored in health by his five months' voyage round the Cape, he arrived in Scotland. A parliamentary election was in full swing, the first held under the Reform Act : and, as if this was not enough excitement, the "*Ten Years Conflict*" in the Scottish Church had begun. In stirring days like those, who had time to be interested in the conversion of a few Hindus in far Bengal ? Inglis would have found time, but he was dead : Chalmers did find time and so did a few others, but for the most part there was blank indifference. It was a bitter disappointment to the ardent young missionary, who knew so well the vast meaning for future ages of that work in

India, but he wasted no time in lamentations. The task that lay before him was unmistakable; it was to wake the Scottish people out of their apathy and rouse their Church to a sense of her missionary duty, and at once Duff entered upon it.

In the General Assembly of 1835 he had his first great opportunity, and the manner in which that opportunity was used forms one of the proudest memories of that venerable court. In a speech of unexcelled power Duff unfolded to the Assembly India's condition and needs, his own work and its results, the developments waiting in the future, and then in a passionate climax, in which the great soul of the man leaped forth and touched every soul that heard, he pressed upon the Church its duty of helping with all its might, this great work of Christ. Even to *read* that speech to-day, after the lapse of eighty years and with no living voice behind the impassioned words, makes one thrill with sympathy with the noble speaker and his glorious theme. One extract can alone be given here, chosen not for its eloquence, but for its convincing defence of Duff's educational methods,—which were said by some critics to be too secular :—

“Do then let me again crave the attention of this venerable court to the grand *peculiarity*, that if in India you only impart ordinary useful knowledge, you thereby demolish what by its people is regarded as sacred. A course of instruction that professes to convey *truth of any kind* thus becomes a species of *religious education* in such a land—all education being there regarded as religious or theological. Every branch of sound

general knowledge which you inculcate becomes the destroyer of some corresponding part in the Hindu system. It is this that gives to the dissemination of mere human knowledge, in the present state of India, such awful importance: it is this that exalts and magnifies it into the rank of a *primary* instrument in spreading the seeds of reformation throughout the land. I ask not, whether sound useful knowledge be universally necessary, either as the precursor or friendly ally of that which is divine. Such is neither my own impression nor belief. But seeing that the communication of useful knowledge becomes, in the circumstances described, such a tremendous engine for breaking down the accumulated superstitions and idolatries of ages, I do ask, in opposition to those who decry and denounce useful knowledge, not in the abstract but as totally inapplicable to missionary purposes—I do ask, with humble but confident boldness, as in the sight of heaven, ‘Who is it that will henceforward have the hardihood to assert that the impartation of such knowledge has nothing to do with the Christianisation of India?’”

When Duff ended, and sank down exhausted in his seat, the emotion of the Assembly was almost unparalleled in its history. One after another of the leaders of the house, ministers and elders, moderates and evangelicals, rose and testified to the impression the young missionary had made upon them. Courteous indifference gave way to living sympathy, and with the unanimous approval of the Church, Duff entered on his missionary campaign throughout Scotland. For four years he toured through the Presbyteries, inspiring them in turn with something of his own enthusiasm and devotion, forming organisations for the support of Missions, and ever and again at the larger centres delivering one of his matchless orations. And what was the result? This,—by 1838

he had made the Scottish Church a "Missionary" Church; he had inspired in the hearts of the Scottish people the missionary interest which has never since departed from them; he had raised the annual missionary contributions of the Church from £1200 to over £7000; and, best of all, he had kindled in the souls of not a few of the best of the Church's young ministers a missionary flame that burned with the brightness of his own, and that impelled them to give themselves to India. Macdonald and Smith of Calcutta, Anderson, Johnstone, and Braidwood of Madras, and Murray Mitchell of Bombay—all these noted missionaries were the fruit of Duff's work in Scotland, in those memorable years.

IV.

The spring of 1840 found him once more in India. Going out by the newly opened Red Sea route and visiting Egypt and Sinai on the way, he reached Bombay in February. Then journeying round India in a coasting vessel, he touched for five days at Madras, where his heart was gladdened by a sight of the work Anderson was doing, on the lines already laid down at Calcutta. John Anderson combined the qualities of an earnest evangelist with those of an able teacher, and Duff bore hearty testimony to his work:—

"Nowhere," he wrote, "have I met with young men of the same age and standing who evinced a more intelligent grasp, a more feeling comprehension of the divine truths which they

had learned from God's holy oracles. In some cases there is every reason to believe that vital and saving impressions have begun to be made. And even should all be renounced in a day, what has been done will not, cannot be, lost. Talk and dream who will of not being able, directly and formally, and in the home sense, to preach the Gospel in our Indian Mission Seminaries, I do most solemnly aver for myself that never, never, when addressing an audience of fellow-Christians in my native land, had I a more sensible consciousness of reaching the understanding and the heart, than I had when pouring out my soul on the theme of man's lost and ruined state by sin, and of man's redemption through a crucified but Divine Redeemer, in presence of the assembled youth of the General Assembly's Institution, Madras."

Calcutta was reached in the end of March and they began Duff's second and longest period of Indian work. It was a changed Calcutta to which he returned, and Duff was deeply struck with the extent of the change. The English Renaissance, of which he had himself been the chief originator, had now been in full flow for several years, and on all sides he was faced with evidences of the extent to which English ideas and institutions were being assimilated and adopted by young India. But the sight which gave him the greatest joy was the newly erected General Assembly's Institution, in Cornwallis Square, with its 700 pupils, its staff of teachers, and at the head four ardent European colleagues. With a glad heart Duff thanked God for what had been wrought, and with characteristic ardour flung himself into a fresh campaign.

The staff of five missionaries made possible many

great developments, of which the chief can here be merely named. A distribution of the work of teaching enabled each to specialise, and of this the students derived the benefit. Physical and Natural Science, Literature, Mathematics, and Philosophy were taught to a standard abreast of that of the Scottish Universities of the day. A department was instituted for the Training of Teachers, which for years supplied many of the best of the staffs of Government schools and schools of other Missions. A Sabbath Bible Class was opened for Bengali clerks, and once a week Duff lectured to adult Hindus on the masterpieces of English Literature. A Girls' School was established, and seed sown which developed later into the regular Zenana Teaching and Female Schools of modern days. But underlying and penetrating all these activities was the one master-motive of winning the allegiance of young India to Jesus Christ.

For a time after Duff's return no converts came forward to cheer him, but he and his colleagues worked on and waited. "God is a Sovereign Lord," was his comment later on this period, "and at that time so far as I could judge, the grace of God's spirit operated effectually only on one soul, to whom it brought home with power the whole truth of Gospel salvation, through Jesus Christ."

But, as has often happened, the one was followed by more, and soon it came to pass that every now and then the Hindu community was startled and

the Christian workers were encouraged by the baptism of some Brahman youth. Says Dr. Smith of this period :—

“Whether we look at the spiritual or the intellectual character of the young men: whether we consider what they sacrificed for Christ; or what He enabled them to become in His work, we may assert that no Christian Mission can show such a roll of converts from the subtlest system of a mighty faith and an ancient civilisation, as Dr. Duff’s college, in the first thirteen years of its history.”

Those thirteen years marked a grave crisis in the history not only of Duff but also in that of the Scottish Church: for they bring us to the year 1843,—the year of the great tragedy in Scottish Church life, when forth from the National Church there went one-third of her ministers, elders, and people, including amongst them many of the noblest and most spiritual of her sons. Not all the noblest nor all the more spiritual, for the Church that owned and honoured a Norman Macleod and a Robertson of Ellon, not to mention others like them, can never be justly termed unspiritual. But it is undoubtedly true that the Free Church numbered among her ministers a large majority of those who had been most keenly interested in the missionary enterprise, and among her people an equally large majority of those who had contributed most liberally to the missionary cause.

Out to India went the tidings of the great Disruption, and with a unanimity which the Church of

Scotland deplored, and over which the Free Church as naturally rejoiced, the missionaries notified their adhesion to the Free Church, and severed their connection with the Church of Scotland. To that Church it was a staggering blow, for it rendered necessary the rebuilding of her Indian Missions from the very foundation, and that at a time when she was reeling under the shock of the loss of so many of her sons at home. But in due time the rebuilding work was done, though it was long before it attained the development it had reached prior to '43. But here we must confine our attention to the manner in which the crisis affected Duff and his colleagues.

Their decision was a conscientious act on their part, which called for a faith in the future even stronger than that which was required by their Free Church brethren in Scotland. The home financial strain was bound to be very great. Was it at all likely that for some time at least, the additional strain of supporting a Foreign Mission staff could be met? But in faith that it would be met, and sacrificing part of their own salaries to make the home task somewhat lighter, Duff and the other missionaries took the step they felt to be right. The General Assembly's Institution, being the property of the Church of Scotland, had to be surrendered, and for a short time the missionaries had difficulty in securing a local habitation. But only for a very short time, for the signal self-sacrifice

they had shown touched the heart of European Calcutta to a marvellous degree. The larger half of the Scottish congregation of St. Andrew's Church, influenced greatly by the eloquence of Duff who delivered a stirring course of lectures on the question of the hour, joined the Free Church, and formed a congregation of their own ministered to by one of the missionaries. By the wealthier members of this congregation financial help to the mission was freely given, and not by them alone, for wealthy laymen of other denominations also had their imaginations touched, and their contributions flowed in. In the first year, by friends in India and in Scotland, no less than £3400 was subscribed, so the strain of poverty was not seriously felt. A building was rented to which in March, 1844, the whole of the thousand students migrated, and the work went on as before. Two years later the Church of Scotland, though sadly crippled through want of men, was able to send to Calcutta one who worthily represented her, in Dr. Ogilvie. Dr. Ogilvie was a gentle, scholarly and earnest missionary, under whom the old Institution soon filled with 700 students; and it is pleasing to read that, at a time when the two Churches at home were often hardly on speaking terms with each other, in Calcutta the relations between the missionaries were quite fraternal, most friendly intercourse being maintained between Dr. Duff and Dr. Ogilvie, until the latter's death in 1871. Thus for Calcutta as also for Madras

and Bombay, the ultimate result of the great schism was good, for in time it practically doubled the Scottish missionary agencies at work.

To the development of the Free Church Institution Duff gave himself heart and soul, and Brahman converts to Christianity continued to be gained. No Presbyterian native congregation, however, yet existed, so for Christian fellowship, and especially for Christian work, these converts were passed on to other missions that had been longer in the field, and in this way Duff's College came to supply the place of a Training Institute, whence educated native Christian workers went forth to enrich all the Churches. But in time a Presbyterian Native Church came into being, which naturally absorbed its share, and in the growth of this Church Duff took a lively interest. His chief interest, however, lay in the wider field of educated Hindu life, and every agency that tended to develop that life on lines of righteousness found in him an active and willing helper. By contributing articles to the *Calcutta Review*—which magazine he helped to found,—by delivering lectures of an educative and uplifting type, and by sympathetic support of such Government measures as tended to the amelioration of the lot of the people and their emancipation from error, he strove to advance the highest welfare of India. In this busy life ten years slipped away, when again, in 1847, Duff was summoned to Scotland.

V.

The cause of the summons was the death of the great Free Church leader, Dr. Chalmers. To his wide public duties, Chalmers had added those of professor and principal of the New College, in Edinburgh, and to the bereaved Church it seemed that for this important office, in which capacity for teaching and inspiring the young ministers of the Church was so essential, Chalmers' great pupil, Duff of Calcutta, was pre-eminently marked out as his successor. So the invitation went out, to be met with a grateful but decided refusal. Duff was doing a great work in India, and could not come down to do a much smaller work in Edinburgh. But when there went a second call to come home for a time, and work for the Missions, the response was different, and in 1850 Duff found himself in Scotland once again.

There the old work awaited him, first to inspire the Church with new zeal, and then organise that zeal for practical results,—and it was done with the old success. Again was the Assembly—the Free Church Assembly now, be it remembered—thrilled by his eloquence and moved to action by his appeal, and the hold he gained on the Church may be gathered from the fact that for the next Assembly he was chosen as Moderator. Who indeed could fail to be moved by such a glowing appeal for Christian loyalty as this, spoken by a Highlander to brother-Scots?—

“In days of yore I was wont to listen to the Poems of Ossian, and to many of those melodies that were called Jacobite Songs. . . . While listening to these airs of the olden times, some stanzas and sentiments made an indelible impression on my mind. Roving in the days of my youth over the heathery heights, or climbing the craggy steeps of my native land, or lying down to enjoy the roaring waterfalls, I was wont to admire the heroic spirit which they breathed: and they became so stamped on 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 gallant young Donald’;

and then the gush of emotion turned his heart as it were inside out, and he exclaimed:—

‘But, oh, had I ten, they would follow Prince Charlie’.

Are these the visions of romance—the dreams of poetry and of song? Oh, let that rush of youthful warriors from bracken bush and glen, that rallied round the standards of Glenfinnan,—let the gory beds and the cold grassy winding sheet of bleak Culloden Muir 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 a 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?”

Little wonder that so impassioned an appeal, in which Scottish sentiment was skilfully turned to the highest uses, carried everything before it. Duff was commissioned to rouse and organise the Church, so as to make her a worthy home base for the great work in the foreign field. It took three years of work. Every part of the country was visited and roused, old organisations were strengthened and

new were created, and at last he could report that in every single congregation of the Church a missionary association had been formed, whose work it was to pray for the Foreign Missions of the Church, to diffuse information regarding their work, and to arrange for a collection every quarter for their support. It was a triumph not unworthy of being placed beside his Indian successes; and greatly serviceable to the missionary cause.

But there was still other work to be done for India, while he was at home. In 1853 the Charter of the East India Company was to come up for revisal and renewal by the British Parliament, and in the preceding year, the whole subject was carefully gone into by a special Committee of the House of Lords. Among the numerous witnesses examined no one was weightier and more valued than the famous missionary, and for India's sake he strove to secure many desirable changes. Educational developments on the part of Government, a fair distribution of educational grants, and the opening of the Civil Service to the youth of Britain, were the main points to which Duff gave attention, and his influence was apparent in the form in which each point finally appeared in the Charter. Greatest of all the advances made was that embodied in the famous Educational Despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854, which forms the basis on which rests the whole of the present-day educational system of the Govern-

ment of India. Its lines, and to a considerable degree its language, reflect the influence of Duff. To it the Universities of India owe their being, and to it also is due the introduction of the grant-in-aid system as a primary feature in the educational policy of the Government. All schools and colleges teaching in accordance with certain prescribed standards, were made eligible for substantial grants from Government, irrespective of the religious teaching that might be given by the management. By this system Duff and those who were working with him sought to secure the large development throughout India of schools and colleges under missionary guidance, where the religious element to which they attached prime importance would be sure of rightful prominence in the education given. Had Duff had his way, the Bible would have been taught in every Government school and college and for this he strongly contended. With Lord Lawrence he believed that to give such optional—not compulsory—Bible teaching, was the duty of a Christian State, and strongly emphasised the inadequacy, even the danger, of education unaccompanied by religious instruction. This was with him a cardinal principle from the very beginning, and on his first furlough he had enunciated it in his speech to the Assembly in a passage which subsequent developments in India have frequently caused to be recalled :—

“If in that land you do give the people knowledge without religion, rest assured that it is the greatest blunder, politically speaking, that ever was committed. Having free unrestricted access to the whole range of our English literature and science, they will despise and reject their own absurd systems of learning. Once driven out of their own systems, they will inevitably become infidels in religion. And shaken out of their own religious observances, without moral principle to balance their thoughts or guide their movements, they will as certainly become discontented, restless agitators,—ambitious of power and official distinction, and possessed of the most disloyal sentiments towards that Government which, in their eye, has usurped all the authority that rightfully belonged to themselves. This is not theory, it is a statement of fact. I myself can testify in this place, as I have already done on the spot, that expressions and opinions of a most rebellious nature have been known to drop from some of the very protégés of that Government which, for its own sake, is so infatuated as to insist on giving knowledge apart from religion.”

This was Duff's conviction to the very end, and is now universally shared. The same unanimity does not obtain with regard to the practical proposal of introducing Bible teaching in Government schools. Apart from the impossibility of ensuring that the teachers in such schools would always be men really qualified to impart Christian instruction, there are grave considerations which in a land such as India seem to make the proposal—even were it admitted to be justifiable—both impracticable and inadvisable. Suffice it here to say that the proposal was ruled out; and that through a large extension of mission institutions, made possible by grants-in-aid, the effect of the non-religious education in the

schools of the Government was sought to be neutralised.

In the course of his cross-examination by the House of Lords Committee, Dr. Duff found it necessary and desirable to give clear statements on various points of missionary policy and expectations, which are still of value. Questioned by the Duke of Argyll as to the conversions resulting in his mission, Duff replied :—

“Numerically considered the converts from these higher educational missionary processes make no great figure: they ought however to be estimated not by their quantity but by their quality. Young persons come at a very early age in a stage of heathenism, and go through a long preparatory course of training. In the progress of their Christian studies the consciences of some are pricked with convictions of sin: they find in the Gospel the true salvation, and they openly embrace the Christian faith. It is but a small proportion of them however that do so: but then from their cultured and well-stored minds, they are of a higher order of converts. Some of them become teachers and some preachers of the Gospel: and to train and qualify such is one of the great ulterior ends of the institution I was privileged to found, as well as of other similar institutions in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and elsewhere.”

And again, when asked by the Bishop of Oxford as to the prospects of a Christian India, he gave the following striking forecast :—

“Many persons mistake the way in which the conversion of India will be brought about. I believe it will take place at last wholesale, just as our own ancestors were converted. The country will have Christian instruction infused into it in every way, by direct missionary education, and indirectly through

books of various kinds, through the public papers, through conversation with Europeans, and in all the conceivable ways in which knowledge is imparted. Then, at last, when society is completely saturated with Christian knowledge, and public opinion has taken a decided turn that way, they will come over by thousands."

But the India which he loved so much and served so well, was ever calling him, and in October, 1854, after a brief visit to America, he sailed once more for the East.

VI.

Duff's third and final term of Indian service extended over eight years, and though some of these were very stormy years—for they witnessed the Mutiny—yet for the mission they were years of numerical growth and of steady development in power and usefulness. The Mutiny and its suppression, as well as its lessons for the future, aroused the deepest interest in Duff. He would not have been a Highlander had he not felt a glow of pride in the splendid heroism of the Highland regiments, and the accounts which he regularly transmitted home of the progress of events were eagerly waited for by all Scotland. In Calcutta, when all was excitement and apprehension, he acted as a steadying influence. "Though the Mission House," he wrote, "is absolutely unprotected, in the very heart of the city, far away from the European quarters, I never dreamt of leaving it. . . ."

Our Mission work in all its branches, alike in Calcutta and the country stations, continues to go on without any interruption." And when the day of triumph came, his was one of the leading voices to plead for moderation, and the taking of a *Christian* revenge.

"Amid our personal sorrows and horror at the barbarities of the misguided sepoy and their allies we as Christians have much need to watch our own spirits, lest the longing for retribution swallow up the feelings of mercy. Already we begin to perceive here a recoil and reaction against the natives generally. But, as Christians, ought we not to lay it to heart, that the men who have been guilty of such outrages against humanity have been so, just because they never came under the regenerating, softening, mellowing influences of the Gospel of grace and salvation? And their diabolical conduct, instead of being an argument against further labour and liberality in attempting to evangelise this land, ought to furnish one of the most powerful arguments in favour of enhanced labour and liberality."

Especially did he rejoice over the steadfastness of the Native Christians in the hour of trial. With rare exceptions they proved true unto death, with a fidelity equalling that of the martyrs of old.

But the Mutiny passed, and with it there passed also the rule of the East India Company, which was succeeded by the rule of the British Crown. It was a transition that brought to the front many new questions of public interest, and in deciding on these Duff's experience and abilities were placed freely at the Government's service. Notably was this the case in framing the constitution of the new

Universities, and in securing fair administration of the educational funds. The Vice-Chancellor's office in Calcutta University was to have been his, —and surely no man ever held that post with equal right, for had not Duff made possible the very existence of the University?—but ere he could accept the offer his Indian days abruptly ended. In 1863 there came a return of the old malady that had laid him low thirty years previously, and the doctors' verdict was "Home—*and for good*".

Never probably has a missionary left India amid such a wealth of public honours, as those which now were showered on the veteran's head by all classes and races. India from North to South acknowledged her benefactor. University Scholarships were founded bearing his honoured name, portraits of him were painted, a marble bust showing his lineaments was placed in the hall of his college: and, as a personal offering, the Scottish merchants of India, Singapore, and China presented him with £13,000. Of this princely gift Duff would consent to accept only the interest, and on this he lived for the remainder of his days, the capital being invested as an endowment for invalided missionaries. Addresses there were without end, and the tributes paid by the foremost men of Calcutta, such as Sir Henry Maine and Bishop Cotton, told how great and universal was the esteem in which Duff was held in India. The depth of the regard in which India was held by Duff found its best expression in one of his

parting speeches, spoken to educated non-Christians. It may stand as Duff's farewell to India :—

“Whether under the ordination of the High and Holy One, who inhabiteth eternity, my days be few or many : whether my old age be one of decrepitude or of privileged usefulness, my best and latest thoughts will be still of India. Wherever I wander, wherever I roam : wherever I labour, wherever I rest, my heart will be still in India. So long as I am in this tabernacle of clay I shall never cease, if permitted by a gracious Providence, to labour for the good of India : my latest breath will be spent in imploring blessings on India and its people. And when at last this frail body is consigned to the silent tomb, while I myself think that the only befitting epitaph for my tombstone would be—‘Here lies Alexander Duff, by nature and practice a sinful guilty creature, but saved by grace, through faith in the blood and righteousness of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ’ :—were it, by others thought desirable that any addition should be made to this sentence, I would reckon it my highest earthly honour, should I be deemed worthy of appropriating the grandly generous words, already suggested by the exuberant kindness of one of my oldest native friends, in some such form as follows : ‘By profession a missionary : by his life and labours, the true and constant friend of India.’”

For India Duff's life ends here : but for Scotland it lasted through other fourteen fruitful years. The rôle of Apostle of Missions, already twice assumed on his former visits home, was now again taken up and maintained while life lasted. To educate his countrymen in missionary knowledge, and to inspire and maintain their enthusiasm for the missionary cause, was henceforth the one ruling passion of his life. As Professor of Evangelistic Theology (a chair in the New College, Edinburgh, especially founded

for him by Sir William Mackinnon), he was brought into touch with all the young ministers of his Church, the effect of which was seen in the number of distinguished missionaries whom that Church sent forth into the world: while as Convener of the Foreign Mission Committee he came into close relationship with the membership of his Church throughout Scotland, and of that the result was witnessed in a steady increase in the Church's missionary offerings.

These congenial duties, by which he still helped India though far from her shores, made the long evening of his life a very active one. Yet he found time too for pleasing and profitable relaxation. As each summer came round he carried out a tour in some part of the Continent of Europe, thus late in life making up for the forced abstinence from this great delight of modern life, which long residence in India inevitably imposes. Restored in vigour by his tours, he returned to each winter's work with ever fresh energy and remained to the end of his days a great spiritual force for Scotland. Yes, for Scotland—and not merely for his own Church. India had done for him what it does for all sensible men, who there open their eyes and see things as they are. It had made it impossible for him to be sectarian in his Christianity. And when he returned to Scotland to find the sectarian spirit sadly dominant in the Churches, he would none of it. By word and by life he testified against it, urging the duty of

Union, as a means for strengthening the Church of Christ in Scotland, both for her work at Home and her work in the Foreign Field.

“What is the design of the present negotiations,” he asked in 1870 when the question was seriously mooted. “Is it not to bring into closer corporate alliance the three largest of the non-established Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, between whom there seem to exist no real differences on grand vital essential doctrinal points, and by so doing to repair at least some of the widest breaches in our once happily united Scottish Zion : and that, too, not as an end in itself, however blessed, but as a means to a more glorious end—even that of the more effective evangelisation of the sunken masses at home, and of the hundreds of millions of heathen abroad? . . . But the work of reconstruction and reconsolidation will not be completed until, in some practicable way by which any ‘wood, hay or stubble’ in our respective edifices, or any ‘untempered mortar’ in these walls being wisely disposed of, the present established and non-established Churches may be all re-united on a common platform, in one Reformed National Church,—national at least in the sense of embracing within its fold the great bulk of our Scottish population.”

As he spoke so he lived. An apostle of Union no less than an apostle of Missions, he gained and held the love and the admiration of every branch of the Scottish Church, and when on the 12th day of February, 1878, the grand old man passed to his reward, the whole of Scotland mourned his departure. In him his country lost one of her greatest sons, and the Scottish Church one of the noblest of her immortals. Round his grave in the Grange Cemetery at Edinburgh, the leaders of the contending Churches met. Brothers in their grief and in their veneration

for the dead they forgot their divisions, and revealed the persistence of that inner unity of religion and of race, for whose visible manifestation the man they mourned had lived and worked, and prayed. When the day comes for the final closing of the breach in Scottish Christianity which was made in '43, it will not be forgotten that one of the forces that helped to close it was Alexander Duff.

VII.

The passage of eighty years, since Duff's great experiment in missionary method began, makes it possible to appraise with some accuracy the real value of his services to Indian Christianity and to the Indian people. That the method he introduced has been subsequently adopted by practically every Mission in India as an important section of its operations, and that to-day the leading Missions are combining their forces in order to make their educational work in its higher developments yet more efficient,—these are facts eloquent of the judgment of the years. It is a judgment of emphatic approval of the daring departure which was made in 1830 by the young Scottish missionary.

Yet there is probably no other branch of missionary operations which has been so frequently criticised by loyal friends of Missions as has this which owed its origin to Alexander Duff, and lingering doubts still find recurring expression as to the real wisdom

and foresight which were shown by the famous pioneer, when he launched on India his revolutionary missionary method. But the doubts are not well founded. Usually they originate from exclusive consideration of two admitted facts,—the small number of direct accessions to the Christian Church which missionary colleges to-day record, and the large reinforcements which these colleges send to the Higher Hinduism of the present time. Both facts are true, but they do not impugn the soundness of the methods of Duff. What they indicate is the extent to which the emergence of new conditions, since Duff's time, has in certain directions limited such successes as were achieved in the early days. The regularising of University education in India, and the great extension of Government schools and colleges throughout the country, accompanied as this has been by the acceptance of Government grants-in-aid by Mission schools and colleges, are developments which to a considerable extent have limited the control by missionaries over their own institutions. These institutions are now part of the educational system of India, and the high standards of education laid down by the Government and the Universities of India for all schools and colleges have to be maintained by the institutions under Mission control. With a limited staff of missionary teachers—limited because of restricted finances—it is seldom found possible to do this, and yet give the same large place to direct religious

teaching as was easily secured in the days when the missionary had full control of the college timetable. Lal Behari Day, one of Duff's converts and assistants, who has left an interesting volume, *Recollections of Alexander Duff*, emphasises this change with knowledge, if also with some exaggeration :—

“As missionaries prepare their students for the degrees of the University, they adopt the curriculum of studies prescribed by that learned body : they have therefore at the present less time for the Christian and theological training of their pupils than before : while the students themselves naturally pay little or no attention to those studies which do not *pay* in the University examination. The state of things was different however in the pre-university days of which I am speaking. The students were in those days thoroughly grounded in a course of Natural Theology, a course of Evidences of Christianity, a course of Systematic Theology, a short course of Ecclesiastical History, besides a course of lectures on almost the whole of Holy Scriptures, from the Book of Genesis to the Book of Revelation.”¹

To some extent this is the voice of a *laudator temporis acti*, yet the reminder he gives of the large place devoted to religious instruction, in the early days of Duff's activity, is valuable as a help to a fair judgment on the results achieved under the very different conditions of to-day. So pronounced a place for religious instruction is simply impossible under the modern system ; and it is therefore not surprising that those visible successes which were the glory of the “thirties” of last century are not

¹ Lal Behari Day, *Recoll. of Alex. Duff*, p. 138.

repeated to-day in the same impressive manner. Had Duff been living now, we may be sure that, recognising the limitations which new circumstances have imposed, he would, without any surrender of the educational method, have so developed it as to secure by fresh avenues the personal touch and the direct appeal which are needed to win the allegiance of souls to Christ. And this is precisely what educational missionaries in India are setting themselves to do.

Still less is the wisdom of Duff impugned by the other present-day fact which leads some to question it,—the accessions to Higher Hinduism received from the missionary colleges. In Duff's earlier years, there was no Higher Hinduism as we know it, to-day. A great gulf yawned between Hinduism and Christianity. The only haven for earnest young Hindus who felt in their souls a longing for a higher and a purer life was the Christian Church; and that, at a fearful sacrifice, was sought and gained by not a few. But now to Hindu eyes the gulf between the two faiths has become less apparent; through the emergence of a higher life and thought in Hinduism itself,—due largely to the spiritual movement which Duff initiated; and in the Arya Samaj, the Brahma Samaj, or other like Associations, many find a base on which they are satisfied to rest. Before Duff died he fully realised this direction in which Hindu student-life was flowing, and he was not dismayed. The upward trend of the movement was

cordially welcomed as marking a distinct spiritual advance, and he looked forward confidently to the time when the development should culminate in the open acknowledgment by Young India of Christ as Lord. In this attitude and in this expectation he is followed by the great mass of competent opinion to-day.

When one passes from these negative criticisms of educational missions,—which taken at their best amount to a declaration that Duff's educational methods, after eighty years' trial, need to be readjusted to meet the changing needs, and to overcome the changing difficulties, of the passing decades,—and considers the positive service which educational missions have rendered to India, the difficulty is to express adequately the wide-reaching influence they have exerted and the results which they have achieved. One carefully weighed testimony may be quoted,—that given by Bishop Gore at the World Missionary Conference in 1910, when presenting the Report of the very representative Commission on Christian Education. That Report is frankly critical on various details of Indian educational missions, and richly suggestive as to the best lines of future development, but at the same time is enthusiastic in its appreciation of the immense benefits they have conferred upon India and Indian Christianity. Said Bishop Gore in his opening tribute:—

“ If you look to the diffusion which has taken place of Christian ideas and ideals, far beyond the region of any specific Church membership or Christian belief, and if you ask who are in the main responsible for this, I answer unhesitatingly, in the main *Christian Educators*. Again if you ask what has most powerfully impressed even the hostile imagination within the charmed circle of Indian Society, I say the elevation of the out-castes ; and if you ask what is it that has been the instrument of that elevation, I say once again *Christian Education*. If you ask once more, who has sustained the ideal of Education as a training of character and a training of the whole personality, through a day when the individualist movement was largely reducing the idea of education to the idea of imparting information to be simply received and retained by the memory and comprehended by the intellect, I answer once again the *Christian Educator*. If finally you go to any Statesman, any one occupied with the problems in the East, and find him overwhelmed by the vast gulf which exists between East and West, and the inability to bridge it, and find him depressed with the failure of education, and ask where you have to look for that bond of sympathy, I venture to say that he is almost sure to point to the Missionaries, and to say that if there have been men occupied in creating, and, at least in large part, successful in creating a bond of spiritual sympathy between East and West, between the European and the Oriental, they have been once more the *Christian Educators*. From all these points of view I cannot introduce this Commission without bearing witness to the profound impression which has been made in our minds as a Commission, of the incomparable value of the labours of *Christian Educators*.”¹

Dr. Duff and his successors need no more convincing testimony than this. Two years later it was endorsed by the National Conference of Indian Missionaries held at Calcutta in December, 1912, under the Presidency of Dr. John Mott:—

¹ *Reports of World Miss. Conf.*, vol. iii., p. 405.

“It is the deliberate conviction of this Conference,” they resolved, “that the need for Missionary Schools and Colleges as a Christian Agency was never greater than now.” And further: “There has been a notable advance in the standards of higher education, and a consequent increase in the cost of such education. This imperatively demands that authorities both at home and on the field should bend every energy to maintain higher standards both of Educational and Religious efficiency in these Missionary Institutions.”

Whatever modifications in detail the experience of eighty years suggests on the missionary method of Duff, clearly they do not affect the singular excellence of that method as a powerful agency in gripping the heart and intellect of India. “The largest fact in recent Indian history,” says J. N. Farquhar very truly, “is the intellectual and moral upheaval which has produced the modern educated Hindu.” And, we may add, the man who brought that fact into being was Alexander Duff. There is scarcely a development which touches the higher spiritual and intellectual side of Modern India which does not owe intensely to him. To Duff is due the wider scope of Christian Missions of to-day, which count truth in every sphere an ally to be welcomed. To him is due the deeper aim of Missions of to-day, when they seek to win the mind as well as the heart of India for Christ. To him every Government school and college, aye and every Hindu institution as well, where the English tongue is the means of imparting Western knowledge, is largely indebted for very existence: for in him was found the bold

pioneer whose daring experiment first showed the way to progress, and then by its success compelled all others to follow. And when one thinks how much of the advance, which marks the India of the present, is due to this free appropriation of the intellectual and spiritual treasures of the West, it is only bare truth to say that in Alexander Duff we have the man who, of all men, is best entitled to be termed a *Maker of Modern India*. Yet his own self-chosen epitaph, if much humbler, is also much nobler: "Alexander Duff, by profession a Missionary, by his life and labours, the true and constant Friend of India".

With Duff the long line of pioneer Apostles of India culminates and closes. The Missionary Apostolate indeed goes on, with largely augmented forces, and characterised by rapidly growing effectiveness, and an endless variety of methods carefully planned to suit the varying times and places where

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the workers are engaged. But it is a new era in Indian Missions, and its record tells of the march of a great apostolic army rather than of the achievements of individual champions of the faith. Before Carey arrived in India the average number of Protestant missionaries at work in the country at any one time had never exceeded ten; by the time Duff left India the number had grown to about 550; to-day the foreign missionaries, ordained and unordained, men and women, who are witnessing and working for Christ in India number 4614.¹ The little one has become a thousand, the small one a strong city.

In this great army there have been, and there are to-day, men and women not a few who in earnest devotedness of life and ability of service are worthy to rank with Xavier, with De Britto, with Ziegenbalg, or with Duff; but their individual mark and personal renown are necessarily on quite another level. It is in Missions as in all other lines of human progress and achievement,—the heroes who did the pioneering work occupy a place in the mind of succeeding generations to which no later worker can possibly attain. Therefore it is that the line of those who have a primary claim to rank as the *Apostles of India*, which begins with St. Thomas, closes with Alexander Duff. If any names are

¹ Figures recorded by the World Missionary Conference, 1910. The number of Roman Catholic Missionaries in India—Priests, Lay Brothers and Sisters—is about 4000.

subsequently to be added to the noble roll, they will be the names not of foreigners but of gifted and devoted sons of India, who with apostolic power and compelling earnestness will rally their fellow-countrymen in tens of thousands to the standard of the Cross. For such Apostles India waits believingly; the names of such will gladly be added, by the approving voice of Christendom, to the apostolic roll.

It is indeed a noble roll, a "glorious company" of Apostles! In the preceding pages the work and services of each have been recorded, and the attempt made to estimate their distinctive values to the common cause they served; but on surveying the whole long line from St. Thomas to Duff, from the first century to the nineteenth, it is the unity of spirit rather than the diversity of operation that most impresses one. The diversities are great and inevitable: with Apostles drawn from centuries far apart, from nationalities alien in sympathies and ideals, and from Churches differing in their ways, and even in their beliefs, it could not be otherwise. Gathered on one platform to-day the Apostles would not easily commingle,—Pantaenus and Xavier, de Nobili and Schwartz, de Britto and Carey, St. Thomas and Alexander Duff,—but seen from the quite separate view-point of modern times their deeper unity outshines all else. They were all one in Christ Jesus, one in their reverence for him as Lord, and one in their heart's desire to do their

Lord's will. Mistaken as to that will in some points doubtless were they all, some grievously so, but the loyalty of the soul to Christ was there : for him they lived, and when need arose for him they died. So it is that to all the long line, save perhaps to one, we bow in reverent acknowledgment, recognising in them men who sought to be true to the Heavenly King, and gladly sacrificed all for the highest that they knew. The exception is Menezes, for he served the Church rather than the Church's Lord, yet he too was faithful to *his* highest ; and his influence in giving outward shape to Christianity in India has been so lasting, that he may not be omitted from the roll. One remembers that a far greater roll of Apostles contained one name much less worthy. But with this exception the line of India's Apostles is one which, making due allowance for the defective knowledge and human imperfections which mark even the most saintly, challenges and retains the admiration and the reverence of the Christian world.

The tardiness of victory in a campaign led by such champions will always be, at first sight, a cause of perplexed wonder, yet when the methods they adopted are considered and the conditions under which the fight was waged are realised, there is little ground for surprise. It is the simple truth to say that *constructive* missionary work in India, of a durable nature, is little more than a hundred years old. Splendid ventures of faith there were throughout

the earlier centuries, marked as in the case of Francis Xavier by a heroism and devotion that will never be surpassed, but there was no appreciation of the conditions under which these ventures, if they were to win lasting success, had to be carried out. In India of all lands, such appreciation is an imperative necessity for Christian progress, yet for long centuries the champions of Christianity who journeyed to India lacked this absolutely. Their fighting was magnificent but it was not effective war. First to realise the compelling nature of the Indian environment was de Nobili, but he failed to meet the needs on righteous lines. Ziegenbalg had equally clear discernment and wiser strategy, but on his work and that of Schwartz there fell the fatal blight of Caste, and the rich promise which marked their operations for a time was not fulfilled. Only with the arrival of Carey and Duff did there come to Christian missionaries, along with the knowledge of India's needs, the clear discernment of the lines by which these needs might be so supplied as to lay the foundations of a living and abiding Christianity in the heart and mind of the Indian people. In the providence of God the extension of British Rule in India coincided with this new stage in the evolution of Christian Missions, and thereby was secured for Christian effort the "fair field and no favour," which is all that missionaries desire.

It is by the progress which has been made under these conditions that the success, actual and potential,

of Christian Missions in India is to be estimated—and only so. When this is done, the verdict is never doubtful. The record of the hundred years is one of advance along every line where Christian missionaries have worked and witnessed, and along many other lines where the leaven has wrought in secret and in silence but with pervading power. Numbers alone give only a very partial indication of the Christian advance, yet they are impressive; and the existence in India to-day of a Christian community of 3,876,203 souls,¹ is a fact that speaks for itself. It represents an increase of over 100 per cent. within the last thirty years, during which period the whole population of India has increased about 25 per cent. But more significant than any numerical advances is the growth of the Christian spirit, ideals and life among the Indian people. "You may not think that India is being converted to Christianity," said not long ago a leading Bombay Judge, Sir Narayan Chandavarka, "but it is certain that the whole of Hindu thought and life is being permeated by the principles of Christianity." How true this is, they best know who know India best. The Apostles of India have not lived in vain. Many of the things they desired to see, but did not see,

¹ Roman Catholic Church (including Romo-Syrians), 1,904,006; Reformed Churches, 1,657,035; Syrian Church, 315,162. (Census figures of 1911.) Within the decade 1901-1911, Roman Catholic Christians increased by 25 per cent, Non-Roman Christians by 45 per cent.

are being beheld by their successors to-day. The supreme end for which they worked and agonised and prayed,—often in thick darkness and in much bewilderment of soul, yet never doubting that come it would—that end, the glad acknowledgment of Christ by India, is not yet full come, but the day is hastening on. In that day should the *Apostles of India*, now at rest with Him whom they delighted to serve, be permitted a vision of the scenes of their earthly pilgrimage, they shall see of the travail of their soul and shall be satisfied.