THE MORAL POWER OF THE SEA

THE

MORAL POWER OF THE SEA:

AN INQUIRY

INTO THE

TRUE RELATIONS OF COMMERCE

TO THE

EVANGELIZATION OF THE WORLD.

BY

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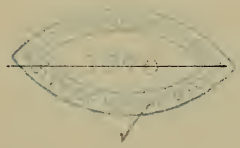

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THE

MORAL POWER OF THE SEA.

CHAPTER I.

THE SEA A POWER.

The words commerce and the sea have of late years connected themselves so closely together that the one at once suggests the other. We speak of commerce, and with the term comes up a conception of the ocean. We think of the wide water, with its ships, its harbors, its winds and its waves. It was not always so. When the mariner crept along the Mediterranean, the great sea, the emblem of all that was sublime and awful, or hastened timidly over it; when the Atlantic was all unknown, or only dreamed of in terrific fables of wanderers swallowed up and lost, the word called up far different associations. One might, after a while, think of galleys and ships, but the first thought would be of long land journeys, and the caravan, stretching over miles, with the slender line fading

at either end in the distance; hot sands, and not ocean waves; the camel, that "ship of the desert," with its uneasy swing, and not the gliding or the tossing of vessels, would be before him. Then commerce meant the land track by Baalbec, Damascus, Tadmor in the Wilderness, and Babylon, with India so far away that men only wondered at its exhaustless riches, admired its gorgeous fabrics, but never thought of seeing its golden mountains. The Ishmaelite, going down to Egypt with his merchandize, and coming slowly in the view of the shepherds watching their flocks, and passing, after his halt, on his way, was the type of commerce in those early times.

So it was through all the rise and fall of empires, for thousands of years the same, up to the time when that restless and energetic race, the Arab, began to seek other paths, and make the sea the road over which he could reach the distant lands with which he trafficked. Then the Indian Ocean came to be known, and commerce began to assume to itself the idea of the sea. But, even then, it was the ocean, not in its broad expanse, but as it touched the land.

The observant trader had learned to make the track of the monsoons, and soon turned them to his service. He noticed that one half the year the wind blew steadily from the southwest, and for the other half from the northwest. In the spring or summer months he would put out with his spices and his fruits from his peninsular home,

and be blown by the stormy wind over the Arabian sea, till he found his port in India; then he would wait till the fall or winter months were come, and again commit himself to the sea to be wafted back by the now dry and gentle winds which had turned in their circuit.

So it was that by and by commerce began to mean the ocean traffic of the world. But it was not till the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, that the ocean assumed the place it now holds. That immediately opened a new way of communication between Europe and Asia, and gave a new character to commerce. Here, too, the agency of the Arab was potent. He was the unwitting cause of the extension of ocean commerce, even as he had been its originator. The grasping folly of Arabian traders, who would brook no rival, and permit none to use their thoroughfares, compelled the nations of Europe to look for some other way to India, than by the Red Sea and over Arabia; and so they pushed out through the straits of Gibraltar, and crept carefully down the shores of Africa. The enterprise of the Arabs had given a new idea and a world-wide stretch to commerce; their shortsighted selfishness, while it snatched the great result from their own hands, enlarged and gave it to the world.

One voyager after another would venture into the unknown and dreaded Atlantic, and after having gone a little farther south than he who had been before, would come back, covering his ill-

fortune with tales of difficulty and even impossibility. After a time, one bolder, but more unfortunate in his half-success than the rest, lay battling with storms and mutiny off the cape, which made the turning-point to the land of gold and gems, and was compelled bitterly to turn back.

What Bartholomew Diaz had seen, Vasco De Gama passed, and the path opened at once and forever round the continent. The ocean was lifted from the place where it was only the object of undefined awe and terror, to a new position of attractiveness and interest in the minds of men, and became, as it is now suggestive of, *the world's trading-path.* Now, when we speak of commerce, the white sails of ships, the smoke and dash of steamers, the blue waves and the boundless stretch of sea present themselves.

The mariner's compass and the quadrant have raised the landmarks of travel from the earth, and placed them in the heavens, they have made them fixed and certain as they were never before. Now the voyager can push out from the land, and the sea is the ever-levelled way over which he may go. Here is no road to be kept in repair: once charted out, with the eternal stars and the undecaying sun to show the path, it remains the highway of the nations, and broad enough for them all. Now the commerce of the world goes upon its bosom, and without it would have almost no existence at all. In this way the sea has, in these later times, grown to be a power; whatever of influence there

is in commerce upon the world, belongs to the ocean.

There is that in its very nature which suggests its moral power. The ocean is one vast system, bearing different names indeed, yet so intimately related in all its parts that it is a unit. The frozen waters of the Arctic or Antarctic, the tepid waters of the mild Pacific, and of the storm-vexed Atlantic, belong each to the other, and make one unbounded whole; they are one in the strictest possible sense; not only do they glide insensibly into one another, but each is a part of the other, the same drops going in the lapse of months to make up the bulk of every sea. The mighty system of oceanic circulation accomplishes it. It is like the circulation of the human system: the blood disc circling this moment in the brain, shall in a little while be imparting life to the foot; that which gives color to the lip shall soon be playing in an air-cell of the lungs, or be gushing from the heart, or be giving fire to the eye, or strength to the muscle of the arm. It is a part of one great system. The blood is the ocean of the body; the ocean is the life-blood of the world. With its wonderful system of currents it is kept in perpetual movement and perpetual life. These currents flow like the veins and arteries, in every conceivable direction: they are surface currents; they are under-currents; they flow side by side; they flow above and below each other; they dip down; they rise again; they cross and wind in

mazy tracery, till the ocean is a net-work of life in unceasing flow. Thus the waters are mingled up. Each drop makes a part of a related whole. It may be lifted on the wings of the atmosphere, and borne in fleecy clouds over the land, but by and by it will come back again and join hands with its brother drops.

We may then take the sea as a symbol of the unity of the race, and of the faith which is destined to cover the earth. The words of promise, "as the waters cover the sea," have in their significance more than a simple prevalence of the gospel,—they mark the oneness of the faith and hope it inspires.

But it is not simply a unity in itself, and typifies that of the race, but it actually unites the people of the earth. It has become the bond which now holds the nations together. Above all other things it makes the people one. However men may foolishly talk of different origins of the races, and contend for diverse parentage and creation, the sea makes them one, and, flowing by every shore, tells that they cannot be kept apart.

It was not so in other centuries. Time was when the ocean was the barrier which shut the nations from each other. Men might scale mountains, and struggle over thirsty deserts, but they looked out upon the heaving sea, and felt that they were forever and hopelessly separated from all beyond. There might be brethren there, but they could not stand side by side. But now the

land has become the Separator, the ocean the Uniter: it links not only opposite continents, but the sides of the same continent, sundered by the wide stretch of intermediate soil. A thousand miles of sea are shorter and easier than a thousand miles of land.

Nor is this a matter of merely speculative interest, rather in it lies a fact of immeasurable significance. The sea binds the nations together, it brings them side by side, and their life, like its currents above and below, will mingle and gain a new intensity and power from the union. The ocean is the organizer and multiplier of all the good or ill that is done on earth. Wickedness or goodness may be bad or good enough when it is insulated and stands only in individuals; you have made it potent when you have brought those individuals together in a mass, and given them facilities of combination.

The law is alike in the moral and the physical world. The pestilence, whether propagated like an epidemic or a contagion, goes uniformly along the grand lines of travel. So it was with that awful scourge of the race in these later times, the cholera. It had its birth in the plains or jungles of India, but it advanced in its inexorable march over the earth on the track of caravans, along the base of mountains, by the banks of rivers, till it spread slowly but steadily over Europe, and then reached across the Atlantic, and found its earliest victims in the ports where the old world first

touches the new. So with the plague, it revels not in secluded hamlets, where the people see each others' homes by the smoke curling in the distance, but in the city where human habitations stand close together, and men touch each other. The quarantine is necessary to interrupt the continuity, and break up the fatal contact.

So insurrections grow, and revolutions have their birth and get their triumphs in cities, because men are near together, and the movement is propagated from heart to heart. Liberty has been born again and again, and almost always in towns and cities. Perhaps history furnishes no instance where a great revolution has begun or culminated elsewhere. Cities have achieved and protected the liberties of Europe and America. They are the centres of power, not because of the naked force of numbers alone, but because the numbers are together, and the movement, whatever its nature may be, flows easily: the chain is complete, and the electric shock leaps at once from link to link.

Very much is said, especially since these facilities of intercourse have increased, about the immense benefit which they confer, and men exult in them as an unmeasured good in themselves to the world. No mistake could be greater, no congratulations more ill-timed. Whether they be a blessing or an unmeasured curse *depends wholly upon what goes along these* new avenues of communication. In times of pestilence streets are bar-

ricaded, that communication may be cut off; the quarantine compels the vessel to anchor far from the shore, that its crew may not touch the people. So there may be states of society and conditions of men when rapid movements and open ways of intercourse could be not only not a good but an untold calamity. It is what goes by means of them that makes these facilities as good or ill; they may be a blessing, they may be a curse.

The order of the development of these means of intercourse between the people of the world is most instructive. In the first ages they were few and difficult. So they continued to be, and we can see the wisdom of God and the timely adaptedness of His providence in it. The great discoveries are not mere happenings, the periods of time when they were made point at the guiding hand of God. In the discoveries which have had a bearing on the matter before us, this most strikingly appears.

Suppose, for example, the railroad, the telegraph, or the ocean steamer had been known and in use when the armies of the Assyrian poured over the more western nations; or suppose Alexander, that "he-goat" that touched not the earth in the swiftness of his movements, could have availed himself of them; or suppose the Roman Eagles could have been borne on them, or that the Saracens or Ghengis Khan could have made them tributary, how would the woes of earth have been insupportable. It groaned and ran red with blood, and was wet with tears as it was. But happily the

mariner's compass was not known, steam still hid itself in its fleecy wrapping, electricity had its secluded home in the thunder-bolt, the sea remained a terrible unknown. So the nations were not together, and the destruction was limited. Babel became early necessary to scatter the race, and the ocean was to keep them asunder, here was an abyss over which they could not go, and only one-half the globe at a time was cursed with its scourges.

Our own continent gives tokens of vast antiquity, and we have evidence that whole races, mighty in power and high in civilization, have been swept away. Who can tell what the other continents were spared in being cut off from it by the wide stretch of the ocean? It would seem that there was enough of destructive element at work among these ancient inhabitants gradually to annihilate each other, and leave coming times to speculate on their very existence. But in the wisdom of God, and by the order of His providence, the oceans were the conservators of the earth, they hemmed in and confined the bloodshed and wars of each hemisphere. The depravity of men was insulated like leprosy in a lazaretto, though, alas, the lazaretto held whole continents within its walls. Seclusion was aimed at as totally necessary.

So it was in later times. In the fourteen centuries before the discoveries of the mariner's compass and the Cape of Good Hope, of what benefit to the world would have been any increased facil-

ities of intercourse? Northern hordes swept down fast enough upon the devoted provinces of Rome, and the desolation spread rapidly and far enough with them as they were. Sometimes the ruin was mitigated because the tramp of the hosts and the rumble of their chariot wheels could be heard in the distance, and flight could anticipate their coming. Nor was there virtue enough or goodness left in the decaying people to counterbalance the harm which more rapid means of transit would have multiplied. Rome sunk in sloth, and crime had nothing to give to the world.

Of what use would these facilities have been in the middle ages? It would have been only, if possible, the more rapid spread of darkness and not light. The civilization of feudal barons was not of such a kind that the earth need have coveted it, the lawlessness of nobles and the abject misery of the common people was pestilent enough without being spread abroad. The subtilties of the schoolmen, and the cloister-life of licentious, gluttonous monks, did not make the kind of Christianity that was worth diffusing, or that would make the world happy.

But when the ocean became to the world a medium of communication, the time was marked and eminent. It was just when those other great discoveries and inventions were made which distinguished the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the most illustrious of human history since the birth of Christ. The mariner's compass came into use in Europe

about the beginning of the fourteenth century, the art of printing* was discovered about the middle, the Cape of Good Hope near the close, (1487,) of the fifteenth, and the Reformation was in its full tide during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The consentaneity of time in these events, each of which alone made an epoch, was not by chance, but the movement of God. His infinite wisdom and divine goodness are displayed not less by his concealments than by His revelations, and not more by His givings than His withholdings. His eye marks the fulness of time, and there is neither impatience to anticipate it, nor indolence nor thoughtlessness to let it slip when it has come. When the world was in a state to avail itself, for its good, of new and enlarged means of intercommunication, then, and not before, they were given. Now the civilized world had something to hand abroad; here was an awakened civilization and a genuine Christianity to be given; here were arts and dawning sciences to be diffused, things worth imparting, and so the highway to all lands began to be opened up.

Nor is the progress of ocean-life and maritime adventure less significant. The Church was slow to understand her work, and slow to make use of what her Master had put in her hands; and so, after the first rush of discovery was over, there was

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* As in the case of printing, the Chinese seem to have had the mariner's compass perhaps eight centuries before.

little or no advance made in the making the sea available for the service of men. But just in proportion as the true life of the Gospel has been more and more developed in the Church, just in that proportion has the ocean been made tributary. This century, and especially the last twenty-five years, have been signalized by many wonderful facts, and not the least among them is the knowledge which has been gained of the ocean, and the skill by which its winds and waves have been brought under the control of man, or at least, by which he has learned to avail himself of their irresistible power.

In the year 1837 the first organized and persistent attempt was made to establish regular communication by steam between Europe and America;* but now, in a little more than twenty-five years, the smoke of the steamer is seen on every sea; it drifts over icebergs, and floats under the equatorial cloud-ring; the dash of the wheels is heard in mid-ocean, and even disturbs the peaceful lagoons of the Pacific islands; the sailor finds himself almost independent of winds, and quite above the influence of calms, and his voyages suddenly shortened from weeks to days.

Great as have been the advances made in navigation by means of steam, a scarcely less remark-

* An American steam vessel, the Savannah, made a successful voyage to Europe and back, twenty years before the Sirius or Great Western anchored in the harbor of New York.

able progress has been made in the construction of sailing vessels. Their whole build has been changed; the dumpy galleon has given place to the sharp clipper, and the vessel huge in our recollection has dwindled to a mere cock-boat beside the gigantic craft which glide over every sea.

Even more important have been the remarkable discoveries which have been made, or rather made available, in respect to the physical geography of the sea itself. A whole world of facts have been developed so that a new department in geography has almost been created. Accurate observations of ten thousands of seamen have been scientifically reduced, and, what in these days is coincident with discovery, have been made efficiently serviceable. The great currents and the prevailing winds of the ocean have been mapped out, and voyages have become no more merely blind experiments and rude guessings, but matters of almost certain calculation; and, indeed, the whole science of navigation has received such additions, that now the intelligent mariner, willing to avail himself of its helps, can make his voyage, aside from the disasters of storms, with almost the certainty of the traveller on land, and can shorten many days its time.* So the ocean

* Before the construction of Maury's "Wind and Current Charts," the average passage to California from New York was 183 days, but it has since been reduced to 135 days. The sail-

has become known, and its forces have come more and more under the control of man.

Now consider what have been the moral forces at work in the civilized world during this time. If we were to characterize morally the last fifty years, beyond all others we should call it The Era of Missions. Missions may be said to have had their second birth at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century. The Church has been awake as never before to the idea, which indeed is the fundamental law of her life, that she is aggressive, and must convert the world. From year to year the feeling more and more possesses her, that she must aim, and work steadily to bring the world to the feet of Jesus Christ. Simultaneous with this awakened determination, as we have seen, has the sea carrying the commerce of the world, become the great means of communication between the nations. It is as if the fact would force itself upon our thought, that when the world was in a state to make rapid intercommunication a good, the means of intercourse should at once be multiplied and made available. Nor should we fail to notice the striking fact, that the two nations which, above all others, have the commerce of the world in their hands, are the nations which have a Pro-

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ing directions have shortened the passages to California 30 days, to Australia 20 days, and to Rio Janeiro 10 days.—*Maury's Physical Geography of the Sea.*

testant and evangelical Christianity to impart. When there is something to give to the people of the earth, when it becomes desirable that they should mingle more together, then the ocean becomes more and more the facile means by which it is to be accomplished.

Such, in former ages, the sea was not, because the good of the race demanded its separation. The sea was a power for good, because it held the race apart. Now that it has become, in the providential arrangements of God, the uniter of the people, we may believe that it will be ultimately for their good, still a beneficent power. Whether it has already been so since the ocean has become the pathway of commerce is worth our attentive inquiry; an inquiry interesting in itself, and important, as exhibiting the true ground of hope for the future.

CHAPTER II.

COMMERCE THE DISCOVERER AND OPENER.

The Christian loves to believe that every discovery, or advance in art, or science, or literature, will be made, sooner or later, to do service for the Church of the living God. We should rightly expect that a power so great as that of ocean commerce would be used by Him for this purpose. So it will be. The evident order and design of maritime discovery, and the development of commercial intercourse between the nations, looks toward that point.

Yet we must not too hastily adopt the opinion that commerce does necessarily tend to the advancement of religion, or the good of mankind. The sea is a moral power; but, as we have already hinted, it may be equally a power for evil as for good. We fear that it has been too readily believed to be the latter. That it has, however, done much to aid the Gospel, cannot be doubted, and a proper estimate of its better influences is important to a right understanding of those of an opposite character. We propose in this chapter to suggest some of the processes by which commerce has helped the Church in her work.

In speaking of commerce, we mean, of course, all the traffic and mercantile intercourse of the nations; and in attempting to estimate its bearing upon the welfare of the world, we must be careful to separate it from other influences which may lie near it, and may be readily taken for its own. This is not always done; and thus much of good and, it may be, much of harm is imputed to the influence of commerce, which should in justice be set down to the account of far different forces. It has a distinct character and elements of power, and these are what we are at present concerned with. It must not, as it easily may be, confounded with religion. Missionaries have sailed in the ships of commerce, and have been carried to their fields of labor by the men of commerce, and the influence of the one may be easily passed to the account of the other. They must be kept distinct. We seek to know their relation, and we may see it in one very important particular, viz.:

Commerce has given fields in which Christianity may work. All the great discoveries of new lands have been the result of attempts to widen the domain of trade. When the route to India overland was closed up by the barbarous hostility of the Arabs, commerce sought to reach the desirable field by other roads, and men began to sail out into the ocean; some westward to reach, in that direction the eastern shore, as they hoped, of India; some southward, to find if possible, some channel of the sea which might lead them to its western

shores; some northward, so as to come upon it by going around the northern coast of Europe. India was the goal, and India may be said to be the occasion of the discovery of all the new lands which have become known to the world within the last three hundred years. The name WEST INDIA, which still marks the islands between North and South America, is an enduring monument of the motive which led to their discovery. Columbus sailed to the west that he might reach the lands of spices and of gold; and when the land heaved up at last to his anxious eye, he thought he saw the wished-for bourn. Such was the impression which he carried with him home. India became the name of the new land, and the better knowledge which was obtained afterward, could only partially remedy the error by adding "west" to the term. In this way Central and South America became known to the world.

With the same object in view, the Cabots directed their way to the north and west, hoping that as an opening had failed on the route which Columbus and his immediate successors had pursued, they might find one in this new direction, and thus the continent of North America was discovered. It was the pursuit of "the northwest passage"—a pursuit which has been followed up perseveringly every century since, and attained in name only lately, which has been the occasion of almost all the discoveries of new lands on this continent. India was the goal after which Bartholomew Diaz

sailed when he skirted the western shore of Africa, and at last found himself off the headlands of South Africa. Baffled with storms, and forced to return by the mutinous spirit of his crew, he called it "*Cabo de todos los Tormentos;*" but his King, John II., believing that at last the discovery of the true route to India was at hand, gave it the name of the *Cape of Good Hope.* As in the case of the West Indies, the name will point out forever the aspirations which filled the minds of men in those days. Soon after, Vasco De Gama, more successful than Diaz, passed round the Cape, and sailing toward India, made known the east, as his predecessors had the west coast of Africa.

In the same pursuit of new countries for trade, the islands of the Indian Archipelago and the groups of the Pacific, became known. They remained in their isolation and solitude until the eager eye of commerce sought them out. In this way commerce has made them known to Christianity, and told her where there were people for her work.

The restless spirit of trade has thus been employed in the service of religion. It has not been, as we shall see, an intentional service, yet it has done the great work of revealing the greatness of that "FIELD" which the divine Saviour told his disciples was for the Church's labor. We cannot readily see how, except through that far-reaching enterprise which inspires the commerce of the world, these unknown lands could have become

practically known, or how the different and widely-separated portions of the earth could have been brought together. The explorations of travellers may reveal the fact that a new country is in existence and that certain races of men have their habitation there, but the revelation is simply a matter of curious interest at the fire-side or beside the table where the traveller's tale is read. Marco Polo penetrated far into Tartary, in the thirteenth century, and gave curious and truthful accounts of not only that region, but of more distant China and Japan, and even Madagascar and the coast of Africa; but they all remained as though they were not in existence for centuries afterward. In later years, Bruce made his way to Abyssinia, but came back to be called a liar, because he told of lands and men his countrymen had never seen, while the distant places and people remained as much as before isolated from the rest of the world. The Landers traced up the Niger far towards its source; Barth, in these more recent times, reached Timbuctoo, and Livingston crossed the continent of Africa; but the facts revealed are just like the discoveries of the telescope, unless commerce follows in their track. So it has ever been. Mere exploration does not usually put the lands within reach of the Church. But commerce does. The freighted ship is the result of discovery, and it is the sickle which reaps the fruit of it. The repeated voyages which familiarize the nations with each

other, become the means by which Christianity reaches the nations.

This work of discovery is not all that commerce has done in aid of religion. It has done more than merely make known new lands, *it has opened them to the Church.* It has forced the necessity of intercourse upon those who have been most unwilling to have it, and this intercourse has opened the way for the entrance of the gospel. It is true that this has been the case only in more recent years, and it was very different in other days, yet the fact ought not to be overlooked or denied. Take as striking examples the cases of China and Japan. Here were nations which for centuries had systematically and with determination withdrawn themselves from the community of the nations, and most carefully shut out Christianity. The door of extreme exclusion was closed and double barred. The teachers of religion might in vain attempt to find an entrance. But the keen eye of commerce is fixed upon their commodities, and she must have them in trade, and will take no denial. She will not consent that her ships shall go everywhere else and pass these harbors by and not dare to enter. As the nations will not listen to the peaceful persuasion of merchants and barks, commerce calls in the aid of government, and diplomatists with armed vessels accomplish the work. Treaties are forced upon the people, and they are treaties of commerce; the walls are thrown down, the barred gates are flung

open, and men come and go at their will, while among the throng the missionaries of the cross can mingle, and bear in their priceless treasure. Never before in the history of the world was the all potent sway of commerce so manifest. No other influence could possibly have accomplished this result. Even national honor, mighty as it may be, and exacting as it is in its demands, would not have been, as indeed it was not in other days, sufficient to bring it about. Could commerce have gained her ends as well by submitting to be shut out and even insulted, the exclusion would have been borne, as it was for many years. Thus, for example, when the half dozen ships of the Dutch were permitted, under every circumstance of national humiliation, to trade near a single port in Japan, and the insults were taken in abject meekness, while the country from which they came was treated with contempt and its government ignored, it was simply an exhibition of how strong the demands of commerce are. When once an English sailor was surrendered to certain death in Canton, not because he was guilty of crime, or because his captain believed him guilty, but simply because the government store-houses were closed, and the Chinese refused to trade till he was given up, it showed that not only national honor, but the life even of a citizen, was little worth beside the interests of commerce.

Citizens might be murdered, national dignity trampled upon, the missionary of religion might

seek in vain for a place of entrance, and not a step be taken. But when once commerce becomes thoroughly dissatisfied, and resolves to have a wider field for her operations, then ships, and cannon, and armies are called into service, and the separating walls must go down. They have fallen, and the highways are opened everywhere, and religion may go in the path while commerce leads the way, with governmental power to protect them both.

It is a fact of no mean significance that, for the most part, the protection which governments have afforded to their subjects in distant lands has actually been much more freely given to the merchant and the trader than to the missionary of religion. It might make a curious field of inquiry to ask why it has been so, and upon what grounds there has been this distinction made: that it is a fact is very clear. Until a very few years the missionary of religion has been placed upon footing entirely different from that of an ordinary citizen. The trader does not lose his citizenship, but practically the missionary did; his property might be destroyed, and even his life threatened, if not taken, and his own government would not busy itself with his case. This has been too sadly true in former times, and it is a matter of rejoicing that it is so no longer. The injustice of the neglect is but too clear. It would be difficult to show that a man by becoming a missionary abrogates the claims which he has upon his country,

and may no longer claim its attention, or why the man who goes abroad to propagate religion and morality should be regarded with less favor than he who deals in indigo or silk. But the matter has of late been placing itself in its true position. Still in the past, generally, the care and protection which has been given to the lives and property of missionaries has been given incidentally and as it has come in with that of the simple merchant or trader. The shield has been thrown over commerce and has covered religion because it happened to stand closely at its side. Yet it has been so thrown, and the propagators of Christianity have reaped, though it may have been but incidentally, the benefits and care which commerce has claimed.

In considering the aid which has been afforded to religion by the commerce of the world, we must not overlook the fact which has become so patent and emphatic within the last quarter of a century, that *commerce has been the pacificator of the nations.* The facilities of intercourse which have multiplied themselves so marvellously have brought them not only together but into sympathy. It has not been a mere empty intermingling, but the mutual interchange of productions has brought out more and more clearly the mutual dependence of the people of one nation upon those of another. They have intermingled on terms necessarily of friendly intercourse and, by means of

traffic, in such a way as compelled the exercise more or less of conciliatory and kindly relations.

In former ages, when men were more widely separted, and had less to do with each other in commercial intercourse, there was little or no opportunity for this, and their contact was likely to be simply a collision. There was no common bond of fellowship and interest between them to soften the asperities of language, or to calm the elements of strife. But when the merchant has his correspondent in other lands, when the ship with its treasure is passing between the people, and with every voyage is creating some new bond, or strengthening some old one, everything which might be calculated to alienate the people is seen to be a thing which must be removed speedily as possible.

How strikingly has the history of our own country, in its relation to Great Britain, illustrated this point. Within twenty years there have been, at three times at least, occasions which made a long continual war almost unavoidable. Indeed, though these nations are connected by the most intimate possible of ties, yet for a time the cloud of war hung dark and heavy, and seemed ready to hurl down its thunderbolts. In any other age the nations would have girded themselves into a sanguinary and protracted conflict, the same causes of irritation would have made such a result wholly unavoidable.

We may, indeed, point with emphasis to the

power of prayer, called out on both sides of the Atlantic, invoking the help of God to avert the storm, and believe that the conflict was warded off because He heard the supplications; but we may see as clearly the means by which, in His divine providence, the prayer was answered. It was because commerce had linked the people together. Mere social intercourse and friendly relationship, or mere relationship of blood, would not have been enough; a common language, a common literature, nay, even a common Christianity would not have been sufficient to have prevented war. These all were in full play, and some of them were felt in a vastly stronger degree when, twice before, the nations rushed together in deadly strife. So they would again had the Atlantic been as wide as it was fifty or eighty years ago. But the stormy sea had been narrowed, and a bridge of ships was stretched across it, and the people were, in thousands, passing to and fro; almost daily they heard from one another; the misunderstanding of to-day could be corrected to-morrow. And more than this, commerce had planted her houses on either side, and the names were one; one partner in a commercial factory was on one side, another on the other; the manufacturers of the one people received their material from the other; the market and the consumer were found alike on both. The ties and the interests were too strong; the strife would be a house divided against itself, and it could not be permitted. So it was, that while the

stupidity and the obstinacy of men in high places, the folly of diplomatists, and the eagerness of armies might have brought on the conflict, there was a power back of them, and mightier than them all. It was the power of commerce. Commerce was king. The commercial interests of the people rose above every other consideration, compelled an acquiescence in their claims, and the voice must be listened to. This it was that created a calm and clear atmosphere in which troublesome questions could be reviewed, and a necessity that they should be settled. In other times national honor would have been the all-important matter; now national interest and commercial good decided the case.

This must be more and more a prevalent force in any future question of war among the people of the earth. We may well be in doubt whether the last most desolating war with Russia would ever have occurred had there been closer bonds of commercial intercourse between that power and those with whom it was warring. When the people are more and more closely united, when their daily thoughts and plans and calculations are based upon careful considerations of each other's condition, and when the interest of each is seen to depend on the healthful prosperity of the rest, causes of alienation are limited in their effect, and war, which at once cuts off all intercourse, must, except in cases where a judicial blindness hides the interest and a moral paralysis destroys the reason-

ing power of the people, be more and more impossible. All the means then, which promote intercommunication and rapidity in exchange of thought and productions, tend directly to make the world a peaceful world. The ocean steamer is the harbinger, and the sea itself the bond of peace on the earth.

It is humiliating, yet but too palpably true, that the selfishness of Commerce is all that has kept this country, during the two years of unhappy civil war, from being involved in a conflict with Great Britain. We have seen how national honor, and all the obligations of friendship and comity have been thrown aside; how all the old traditions and rules of right and humanity, which have been their boast for half a century, have been spit upon; how an abiding and rancorous hatred of our institutions has found vent in the utterances of her public men, how gladly and rejoicingly she would see our nation go down in utter and final ruin; and yet, notwithstanding all, the peace has been kept. Who would venture to suppose that it would, had there been no mighty self-interest at work? England has sent her pirate steamers, built in her shipyards, furnished with her war-material, manned with her seamen and artillerists, and nothing but the fear that her commerce would suffer in some future day, has prevented her swarming the ocean with them. Commerce is all that, to-day, (1863,) keeps the peace between these nations. There is selfishness and hatred enough in her heart

to hurl her fleets and her armies against us; nothing but the fear that her merchant ships would be idle, and her workshops be stilled, holds them back. It is sad to be compelled to confess it; we had come almost to believe that moral principle and religion had grown strong enough, and especially that her old utterances and active hostility to slavery would have made her our friend in this gigantic struggle with the slaveholders' rebellion. But we have seen these all thrown to the winds; the selfishness of commerce is more potent; hoping to be rid of a rival, she longs to destroy us, but fearing to injure herself, she withholds her hand. It is a spectacle sorrowful enough, and one that future times will blush at.

Christianity is not only a thing of peace in itself, and its triumphs are triumphs of peace, but its spread is accomplished only in times of peace. War puts at once a period to its progress. Amid all the deadly and malicious passions engendered by this dreadful business the pure principles of the gospel have no play, and find no field for their exercise. This is seen on a small scale in the petty wars of barbarous tribes. The missionary may be prosecuting his work with promise of large success and hopeful of hastening results, but the strife puts an end at once to labor and to hope. The people have no time and less inclination to attend to the matters of religion, every bad passion is roused up, and human nature, averse enough in itself to it, now turns away from it in disgust. Nor

can the missionary take up his work where it was left. It takes time and long waiting before the ground which has been lost can be retaken, before the ear of the people can be gained again, and still longer before the vicious results in their hearts and lives can be overcome. So it is on a larger field, and between nations. War at once paralyzes not only a people's commercial, but their Christian activity. It at once separates the nations. It fills them with thoughts and feelings utterly contrary to all that religion gives birth to. Nor do its evils cease with the subsidence of the strife. It leaves a long train of not only personal misery, but of degradation and crime. Perhaps, never were the morals of the people of our own country at a lower point than after the two great and most just wars in which we have been engaged with Great Britain. But not only so, it at once shuts up the fields for the spread of Christianity, and makes the efforts of even peaceful nations of no avail. We have seen how of late the war in China, and the more recent civil war in Syria, have removed the field, or closed it up from our own missionaries.

The point, however, need not be dwelt upon that Christianity requires peace for its work. It has always stood still in time of war. It is indeed true that God, in his wonderful providence, has made use of the commotions among the nations, and has often and especially of late, overruled and made the ravages of war to promote the spread of

evangelical Christianity; but it has been only his sovereign power making the adverse things to further his cause. For her true light to shine, she needs an unclouded sky. Her triumphs are found in times of peace, and not of strife.

Whatever, then, promotes the unity of the people of the world, and links them together in peaceful bonds, tends directly to help forward the benignant sway of religion. Commerce, above all other causes, does this. It seizes upon not simply the good that is in men and turns it into service, but—and here is the wonderful power in the providence of God—it makes use of the lower but more powerful motives which influence men, it appeals to self-interest and compels them to be at peace, not because they hate the wrongs of war but because they cannot afford to bear its results. It leads them to brook injuries and excuse errors not because they are forgiving, but because trade will be interrupted and business suspended. Commerce must have the highways of the sea ever open, and she will not have them barred up, she does not love to have the nations separated. So she stands side by side with religion, and has a common end and a common interest, though from very different motives, in the peace of the world.

Such is the incidental but legitimate and natural relation of commerce to religion. It discovers, it opens and holds open fields in which the Church may labor; it promotes an atmosphere of peace and social prosperity in which Christianity

loves to exert her power, and where she gains her best triumphs. We say this is the legitimate and natural influence of commerce upon religion; had it been understood from the first, and had the wickedness of men not perverted this power from its true course and design, it would have ever been the handmaid of Christianity, it would have aided its advancement and its aid would have been direct and cumulative. But such it has not been. It has been incidental, whenever it has been good. We shall be left in no uncertainty as to its true nature, when we seek to trace the direct and immediate effect of this great power on the advancement of religion. It will be seen that if commerce has helped the Church, the help has been an accident. Religion has availed herself of facilities which she has found and possessed, but which were not voluntarily given her.

CHAPTER III.

THE COLONIES OF COMMERCE.

Thus far we have been considering the incidental influence which commercial intercourse has had on the spread of Christianity in the world. It has made known new lands: it has opened and kept them open. In this way the power of commerce has been a power turned to the service of the Church, and it has been for the furtherance of the gospel in the earth. Over its influence the Christian may rejoice and see clearly the hand of the Author of Christianity.

But when we seek to trace out the direct and immediate effect of this power upon the spread of the gospel, the case appears in a wholly different aspect. Commerce has, indeed, in the past done a work of preparation. It has bridged seas, it has levelled mountains, it has discovered and explored continents, it has made avenues broad and open, so that in the coming time the gospel may run very swiftly. But all this has not been in accordance with the designs of commerce, but in spite of them.

We propose to test this assertion by considering the influence of commerce both where it transiently

touches a people, and where it has fixed itself in regular establishments. *The Colonies of Commerce and Commerce in new lands*, will exhibit our point.

The history of commercial colonies and establishments will enable us to trace the influence of commerce through long periods, and in different places. Such a view only can conduct us to safe conclusions.

It would be instructive and entertaining to consider the history of ancient commerce and its moral effect upon nations affected by it, and to discover the reason why the Jewish people were so carefully shut out from traffic with such a nation, for instance, as the Egyptians; but the limits which we have marked out for ourselves in this essay give us another starting point.

We have been, and are, considering the influence of modern commerce, especially since the time when the ocean has been its great vehicle. The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, as before, is the point from which we may take our departure, and we will naturally be led to consider the colonies of that nation which was the foremost and the first of Europeans in commerce, the Portuguese, the nation which opened the ocean round the continent of Africa, and made the sea what it is to the commerce of the world.

The discovery of the Cape of Good Hope solved the problem which had so long baffled the energy and enterprise of commercial Europe,—a way by sea to India. The Portuguese, whose

navigator had wrought it out, were not a people to suffer the new found road to be untravelled, and it was not long after De Gama had landed on those golden shores, that they were not only on a full tide of trade, but were the most favored merchants on the coast. A few years were sufficient to give them a kingdom on the new continent. The Mahomedans had for centuries engrossed the trade, but this new and Christian power came in and, with facile energy, crowded them out of the markets, usurping the place which they had so long occupied without a rival.

The new comers did not, however, rest in mere commercial or mercantile transactions, but co-ordinately with them, and as a part of them, at once proceeded to establish themselves as a power. They formed treaties with the people independently of the sovereigns of the country, and in a few years had not only the whole commerce of the Indian coast in their hands, but were a consolidated power, the native princes acknowledging the King of Portugal for their lord.

A succession of able, energetic, but bad and unscrupulous men, such as seemed destined, indeed almost without an exception, to curse every land discovered in this century, very quickly established their sway. Wherever these bold navigators, who were princes and governors as well as sailors, landed, they founded colonies, and built more firmly the gorgeous fabric, sprung up as by magic, of the nation's conquests. They

erected fortresses for the protection of their factories, formed commercial establishments, and, by the force of their arms, subjugated the richest provinces to their authority, turning their wealth into a golden stream, flowing toward the far-off land which had sent the adventurers out. In forty-four years from the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, in 1542 they had taken possession of Ceylon; they had conquered Malacca, to which merchant ships from Japan, China, the Philippines, Bengal, Persia, Arabia, and Africa resorted, and had compelled by the terror of their conquests, the most powerful princes of Farther India to seek their alliance. They had acquired possession of the Moluccas, and with it the spice commerce full of wealth; they ruled from the Arabian to the Persian Gulf; nearly all the ports and islands on the coasts of Persia and India soon fell into their power; they held the whole coast of Malabar to Cape Comorin; they had settlements on the coast of Coromandel and the Bay of Bengal; Ceylon was tributary; they had factories in China, and even the ports of Japan were opened to them.

For sixty years they had almost the monopoly of the trade in these new regions, and they held undisputed commercial control over the richest portion of the earth. Here was Commerce in a place of exaltation, and almost unlimited power.

But how was it conducted? The first voyage was made with a company of armed ships, and the

commerce began with war and bloodshed. The Pope had partitioned the world, eastern and western, which Spain and Portugal had discovered, between these two powers, and India fell to the share of Portugal. The expeditions went out not so much as traders as conquerers. The commercial intercourse with the natives at once took its character from these ideas, and from the beginning little or no regard was had to the claims of honor or justice. The appropriation of their wealth was aimed at, and the means by which it was to be reached were of small account. "The succeeding Portuguese commanders continued to act as if they believed (perhaps they did believe) that the Pope's bull gave them an undoubted right to plunder and tyrannize over all princes and nations who were not Christians." "But these free traders seldom scrupled to defraud those who traded with them, if they felt strong enough to do it with impunity, and *frequently procured their cargoes entirely by plunder.**

With such an inception and progress, it can readily be imagined what was the influence of such commerce upon the people to whom it came. Its dominion was obtained only through bold, and often revolting acts of cruelty. The Portuguese bombarded the most powerful cities on the Indian coast; they burnt the ships of their enemies in their own ports; that they might make use of in-

* Macpherson's History of European Commerce, pp. 21, 26.

ternal dissensions to extend and perpetuate their own power, they instigated the inferior princes to rebel against their sovereigns, and even ruled by the terror of their name, where these native princes were not nominally submissive. Every thing of order and well being was made to bow before the grasping spirit of gain which first prompted their expeditions. Avarice and the love of plunder soon became the only motives of their enterprise. The great power which was gained by the ability of the men who at first laid its foundation was used after awhile by those who were inferior in talent, and superior only in crime. Whatever of honor the nation had was sullied, and the name of Christian became a stench.

This abuse of power awakened the resistance of the natives. The strangers had brought them only woes innumerable, and their former divisions among themselves were laid aside that they might unitedly shake off the yoke which lay so heavily upon them. A very few years sufficed to bring the power of the Portuguese to an end, great as it had been at its culmination. The hold which the government at home had upon its servants was gradually lost. Some commanders made themselves independent; some became pirates, and extended their ravages along the coast; others joined the native princes who had regained their power, and through the length of their dominion, or what once was theirs, insubordination, commotion, pillage, robbery, and murder prevailed.

"It would be tedious and disagreeable to relate, or to read accounts of the interminable wars in which the rapacity, the bigotry, and the lascivious tyranny of the Portuguese involved themselves and all the nations of India."*

This was all that Portuguese commerce had done for India. It had a fair field and boundless success, but it was only an unmeasured curse. Whether the same commerce in other regions did a better work, the history of the Azores, of the Guinea coast, or of Brazil, may answer.

The history of French enterprises may assist us to understand the influence of commerce. Take, for example, the island of Madagascar. The Portuguese, soon after the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope, had founded colonies there, and had conducted them in the same manner as in India, and had reaped the same results. The natives, not able to bear their rapacity and cruelty, had, after awhile, risen against them and swept them off in a general massacre. The fruits of their commerce was too deathful to be endured. About the time that the Portuguese power reached its height in India, Cardinal Richelieu granted a patent to the "French East India Company," and in the year 1642, it proceeded to take possession of Madagascar and to establish factories protected by fortifications. These last seem to have been always necessary. However peaceful and benignant and

* Macpherson's History of European Commerce, p. 30.

redolent of good commerce may be, it evermore carried with it, by a sort of grim necessity, forts and powder and cannon-balls. The subsequent history very soon showed that no mistake had been made as to the usefuluess of these appliances. A colony having been formed, and the natives in great numbers having been induced to enlist in its service, their labor was, with that infatuated duplicity which has almost uniformly possessed the founders of commercial colonies, rewarded by selling them as slaves by the French governor to the Dutch governor of the Mauritus. But the trade was of no benefit to the purchaser. The same cupidity which prompted the crime, packed the poor victims so closely in the vessel, that the larger part died on the passage, and the remainder, on their arrival, fled to the woods.

The lesson was not lost upon the Malagasy, and they trusted no more their foes, but whenever a ship cast anchor in their ports, the frightened inhabitants fled away from the shore. "This was commerce!" exclaims a writer before us, and this, we add, was what it did for the gospel in Madagascar.

The after history is to the same import. The first governor—Pronis was his name—who had endeavored to promote commercial enterprise by selling the natives, was succeeded by a second—Governor Flacourt—who thought that commerce could be extended by fire and sword; and after him other governors produced the old system of outrage

and oppression; and, as we may easily believe, their work produced the same misery and alienation. In the year 1667, the Company appointed the Marquis De Mondeverque to the command of all their settlements beyond the equator. He seemed to have a better appreciation of the demands of true wisdom, or at least humanity, and he took pains to soften the justly-provoked natives, and gain their good-will. He was rewarded by finding them ready to meet his kindness with kindness and even faith and obedience. In 1670, the Marquis was succeeded by another viceroy, a Governor le Haye, who returned to the old way of the first governors and ordered all the chieftains to submit to France, or abide the issue of arms. They accepted the alternatives, chose the latter, and the French went down before their fury. Commerce had made another trial, and here was its end.

In 1792, the National Assembly of France sent M. Lescallier on a mission to ascertain the feeling of the Malagasy towards Europeans, probably with the idea of reviving their extinct colonies on the island. He reported that "Europeans have hardly ever visited the island but to ill-treat the natives, and to exact forced services from them; to excite and foment quarrels among them for the purpose of purchasing the slaves that are taken on both sides in the consequent wars; in a word, they have left no other marks of having been there, but the

effects of their cupidity." An official, but sad comment on commerce in that land.

Perhaps, could we get at the secret causes of the sanguinary cruelty of Queen Ranavalona, and her terrible persecutions of Christians on the island, we should find that it had its origin in a deadly hostility to Europeans, a hostility engendered by the remembered wrongs and outrages which their commerce had inflicted upon her people. The violence and cruelty and avarice of the merchant factors not only bore its bitter fruit at the time, but, it may be, sowed the seed whence has sprung the stake and the sword of the executioner.

In this survey, we need scarcely look at the history of Spanish enterprises of commerce. Indeed, strictly speaking, notwithstanding all the remarkable activity of that people in the sixteenth century on the ocean, their bold discoveries and explorations of new countries, they can hardly be said to have had a commerce over the sea. After the first discoveries of Columbus, the one thought of the acquisition of precious metals became not only the incentive to new discoveries, but the sole object of every enterprise sent abroad. The idea of traffic was swallowed up by an insatiate desire after gold and silver. Conquest and plunder compassed Spanish thoughts of commerce. Hence, curiously enough, we look in vain over all the Spanish settlements and colonies owing their origin to this people which ever had any marked commercial character. Settlements were made indeed, and

colonies were originated, but none of them became great marts of trade, or, if they did, their establishment was but momentary. Spanish settlers quickly blended themselves with the natives, and sunk down into merely agricultural life.

The commercial business which Spain cultivated, was to send out mail-clad men with powder and cannon-balls, to wring as much as was possible of gold and silver and gems from the conquered people, freight home rich galleons with them, and bring back in return more armed men and new cargoes of powder and cannon-balls.

Should, however, any one be inclined to seek for the moral influence of Spanish commerce, such as it was, upon the world, there are chapters dark enough and bloody enough in Mexico and Peru, and on every continent and island where the Spanish flag has been unfurled. Every voyage had its origin in cupidity, and where it did not end in disaster, had its successful issue in the groans and slavery and death of people to whom it was directed.

We might turn for information on the point before us to another of these maritime nations the Dutch, and seek for their moral and religious influence upon the people with whom they came in contact. Their commercial power was built upon the ruins of the Portuguese and Spanish dominion in the East. When Spain united, as she did, her enterprises and power with those of Portugal in those newly discovered regions, the effect was al-

most at once to bring them to an end. Spanish thirst of gold overlooked every thing which had even the semblance of healthy commerce, and bad as had been Portuguese abuses, they grew worse when they were multiplied by Spanish avarice and Spanish sloth. The shrewdness and sturdy energy of the Dutch quickly entered upon and took possession of pretty much all that their predecessors had gained and held for a hundred years.

The nucleus of Dutch East Indian commerce was the Island of Java, where treaties of commerce were made with the native princes by the first expedition sent out in 1595 by a company of merchants. The hatred of the natives to the Portuguese, from whom they had suffered so much, greatly aided the accomplishment of their enterprise, and in about seventy years the Moluccas, Japan, Malacca, Ceylon, the Celebes and the most important places on the coast of Malabar were in their hands.

But it was only to re-enact precisely the same scenes which had marked the commercial dominion of the rivals whom they had dispossessed. Fortresses and armies were, as before, the stability and the propagating power of their traffic. They traded with the natives, and made every barter a new way of entrance to political domination. Those who had at first welcomed them as deliverers from oppression, and who had given them friendly reception and many privileges, soon found that they had exchanged one yoke for another still

more grievous. It was but too apparent that avarice and extortions, under the name of commerce, was the impelling spirit of these new comers, even as they had been of those who had preceded them, and that the same desolation and destruction of peace and independence followed in their footsteps which had marked the progress of Europeans ever since their ships made their appearance on the coast.

The Dutch, like the Portuguese, were engaged in perpetual war with the natives, both on the islands and on the continent; indeed, wherever a settlement was formed, it became the centre of oppression and bloodshed.

In the Moluccas, those remote and unfrequented islands, their outrages were especially gross and oppressive, and the fruit of their commerce might be seen in its perfection of iniquity. The inhabitants had been treated, it would seem, with the utmost cruelty when under the Portuguese, but their rivals came in only to carry their oppression to more outrageous lengths. For a hundred and fifty years they held the soil as exclusively their own, and the inhabitants as little better than slaves. Indeed, on the islands of Banda the natives were massacred because they would not become slaves, and the whole island was divided among the whites, who brought in slaves from the neighboring islands to till the land. That they might bring the wretched natives more entirely under their control and absolute dependence, they

refused to permit them to enter into any manufacturing pursuits, did not allow them even the free cultivation of the land, prevented all improvements, and stood in the way of everything which might tend to better their condition, or even to supply their absolute wants.

But the grasping spirit of commerce was not content with the complete subjugation and oppression of the people. Spices are and always have been the only important product of these islands, hence their other name, the Spice Islands. That they might the more readily have the monopoly of this lucrative trade, they compelled the natives on all the islands except Banda and Amboyna, entirely to destroy the spice trees, and to enter into stipulation to root them up every year, so that they might be wholly extirpated. To make the matter certain, they erected strong fortresses on various islands, and the governor, each year, with a squadron of twenty or thirty ships, went among them to see that no trees were planted, and that the destruction was complete. Such was Dutch commerce, ruinous to the poor inhabitants, and dreadful even to the very land from which it took away the only important product spared them by a parsimonious climate.

It has not been necessary to pause and trace in words the influence which such commerce might have had upon the spread of Christianity. It was a commerce of nominally Christian nations, but its whole bearing upon the people cursed by it

was to make them loathe the very name by which their oppressors were called, and spurn in unutterable disgust the religion which they called their own. From the first waking of oceanic commerce, such were its execrable fruits wherever it came, whether it was in America or Africa, or Asia, or the islands of the sea. It came to regions sunk indeed in barbaric heathenism, but comparatively peaceful and happy. Welcomed in simple-hearted kindness, it at once blighted with its poisonous breath every shore on which it trod. Oppression, cruelty, devastation and death followed every trader; discord and war brooded round every factory; where the wretched natives were too feeble to sweep their enemies away, they groaned under an insupportable burden of woes.

If we turn to the only other great maritime power, we shall have a scarcely less melancholy recital. The history of English commerce is written in the same sombre lines. We may take India as the type. It is not necessary, perhaps, to pursue the history of its enterprise in the East in detail. It is a familiar tale and an interesting one, the growth of that most gigantic commercial corporation which the world ever saw—"The United Company of Merchants of England trading in the East Indies," for such is the modest title by which it is known in law, one which but dimly shadows the imperial sway which it wielded for nearly a hundred and fifty years.

In attempting to calculate the influence of En-

glish commerce in India, there is present an element which was not found in the cases of the other commercial nations. No one can doubt that the people of India are better governed, and socially happier under the English Government than when under the sway of their native princes. Literature, and science, and agriculture, have been given to them. But let it be carefully borne in mind too, that these results of civilization, and whatever melioration of the condition of the people may have taken place, have all come to pass within the last sixty years. This fact has a meaning. Foreign missions have sprung up almost wholly within that time. There has been going out from Great Britain and this country a mighty religious influence exerted directly upon the people of India, and from the former a moral power has shaped unconsciously, in part knowingly, the government of India. Until within a very few years, the East India Company had exercised its authority with little regard to public opinion in Great Britain. Its power was so great and its field so remote that it was difficult to obtain accurate knowledge of its movements or bring to bear upon it any influences which could be felt. Through all its former history the religious sentiment of the people at home was totally ignored and even scorned and trampled upon. But the power of pious men in the churches has made wonderful advances, and has more and more asserted its claims, and in such a manner that it

has been impossible to disregard them. The missionaries sent out from the churches at home, have not only carried with them their own moral and religious power—this, however great, has been but the least in its bearing upon the Company—but they have multiplied lines of sympathy and thought which hold the attention and awakened solicitude of the whole nation. They have brought Indian affairs to the hearths and the place where men are accustomed to give the most serious and enlightened consideration—the place of prayer. When India was a year away, and news of its affairs was scanty in amount, uncertain in its character and old when it came; when no one except those immediately concerned in the commercial interests of the Company had any special reason to be acquainted with its affairs; when the natives were regarded only as far-off barbarians who were not within reach of the Gospel, commerce could pursue its own way and work out its legitimate results. But when earnest and cultivated men of every Christian name were bound to the distant peninsula by ties of kindred and religious sympathy, everything which concerned the government of the country and the condition of the people became a matter of deepest interest; abuses easy in other times now became impossible, and the whole shape of the administration was more or less moulded by a power wholly unfelt before. We must, therefore, when we seek for the influence of English commerce upon India, endeavor to elimi-

nate those influences which do not properly belong to it. In the case of other nations no such care is needed. With them commerce stood alone untrammelled, and its workings can be estimated at once and without the possibility of mistake.

In this instance we are not left to speculate on the probable influence of a commercial establishment. From the very first commercial gain was the sole object of all the policy of the Company, and every other thing of whatever nature, moral or religious, which did not help this forward was ignored, and all which stood or seemed to stand in its way, however it might concern the physical, not to mention the spiritual well-being of the people, was energetically thrust aside. For a century at least of their sway, while the Church slumbered over the heathen world, not an effort for the moral, scarcely an effort for the social advancement of the people was made or seemingly thought of by the Company. It was linked in with idolatry up to the latest hour of its existence; it did not make an attempt, as we shall see, to abolish the suttee; it attended to its coffers; it extended its dominions, we will not say by what rapacity and injustice,* but gave no care or thought for the millions of souls under its dominion.

But as if this indifference was not enough, as soon as an opportunity offered, it took a position

* Burke accused the Company "of having sold every monarch, prince, and State in India, broken every contract, and ruined every prince and every State who had trusted them."

antagonistic to the efforts made by Christians in England and America to send the Gospel to India. Of this direct opposition we shall speak at large in the next chapter. It is enough here to say that English commerce, with all the incidental and more or less powerful influences of a protestant Christianity which it could not wholly escape, was the same in its general results as all other commerce. The East India Company was first merely a commercial enterprise, but as in each of the instances which we cited, it at once built itself up by political and military power. Here, as before, fleets of war vessels, armies, fortresses were the means by which it was propagated. The slow and healthful progress of trade was not dreamed of, but from the very beginning it was one long, steady tramp to absolute domination over the people to whom its merchants came. It crowded out and overcame its rivals only to perpetuate the same wrongs, in kind if not in degree, against the conquered people.

Looking over the whole history, we may ask, with British Christianity speaking from the hearts and in the utterances of men whose opinions and wishes could not be put aside, and with all the permeating power of present missionary communities dotting the peninsula with their stations, what has English commerce done for India? The revolt, so awful in its atrocities, and so threatening in its lightning progress, and which is not even to-day known to be wholly suppressed, gives back

an emphatic answer. After a century and a half of possession, gradually extended and consolidated, the result upon a very large portion of the people over whom its authority has been exercised, has been to inflame them with an implacable hatred of the European name and religion, and with an intense desire to exterminate the whole race.

We may be pointed to the civilization, the arts and the sciences given to India by commerce, but still it will appear that, however these may be there Christianity has not been helped, and it may be a question whether, throwing aside all religious influences which have gone out, it would not be easier to evangelize India, had commerce never set her foot on that peninsula. That God, in his infinite wisdom, will turn this power into his service we doubt not; that He has already, we believe; but it has been contrary to and in spite of the design and the legitimate results of commercial enterprise.

How much, even at this late day with all the vast force of public sentiment and the incalculable power of the press bearing upon it, this commercial government has at heart the progress of Christianity may be seen from an almost startling statement made by the Rev. Baptist Noel, of London, in his recent work on India. He asserts, and no doubt authentically, that there were, at his writing, in the Madras Presidency, 8,292 idols and temples, receiving from the Government an annual payment of $450,000. In the Bombay Pre-

sidency there are 26,589 idols and temples under state patronage, receiving grants to the amount of $150,000, to which must be added the allowance for temple-lands—giving a total for the Bombay Presidency of $450,000. In the whole of the Company's territories there is annually expended in the support of idolatry by the servants of the Company the large sum of $850,000." Such is the tribute which commerce, through this great Company, up to the last year of its existence, paid to heathenism.

The utter disregard of the moral welfare of the people, and the entire prostration of every other interest before that of commerce, may be seen from the way in which the horrid rites of the suttee were regarded by the Company. It was not until the year 1829, under Lord Bentick, governor-general, one hundred and twenty-one years after the establishment of the East India Company on its late footing (in 1708) that this shocking self-immolation was abolished. Until that time the Government had not only permitted it—provided the act was voluntary,—but so regarded it by law, that the sacrifice was performed under the eyes and according to the directions of its own officers. Notice was to be given to the magistrate, "who was required to see that the suttee was public, and that all the requisitions of the law were fulfilled."*

To complete this rapid glance at the colonies which commerce has planted and where of course

* Enc. Amer. Art. "Suttee."

its continued effects might be felt and marked, we should perhaps refer to the colonies in our own land. These were not commercial colonies, and there is something strikingly peculiar in the great fact that they were not. Such settlements were indeed attempted, but there is scarcely an exception to the statement, that every one which had its origin in merely a commercial design, was a failure.*

The well-laid plans of the accomplished and energetic Raleigh are striking instances. Though carefully projected, and wisely carried forward, in each case resulted only in disaster. It would seem that the providence of God had a special care over the settlement of this land, destined, as it was, to be the home of a Christian people, and protected it so that it should not be cursed by the crimes and persistent evils which evermore accompany merely commercial enterprises. The colonies started for purposes of gain, went down in famine and disease; those which oppressed Christians founded amid tears of regret and exile and because they sought a home where unmolested they might worship God, those stood. We may look the world over, and mark it—*Commerce plants no Christian colonies.*

Nor need we wonder at it. Commerce has

* "Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful." *Hutchinson's History*, quoted by Palfrey. *History of New England*, p. 181. See also, id. p 308.

brought the nations nothing of good, because it had nothing to bring. It is of the earth earthy. Look at the principles of trade, not what they should be, not even what they are theoretically, but what they are in fact. Confessedly gain is the grand moving principle and it finds its issue, under the bad power of selfish hearts, in deliberate advantages taken of the ignorance and weakness of others. The history of commerce in new countries, has been uniformly a barter of little for much; it has been carried on, for the most part, by men who were led by no higher motive than personal advantage. Commerce has her own ends to gain: she has sought them and has found what she sought. She has carried to the nations what she intended to carry. We may not accuse her of falsehood or treachery: she has been true to herself; she has had a power, and she has used it for herself, and not for religion.

CHAPTER IV.

COMMERCE AND MISSIONS.

In tracing the history of commerce, we are not left to mere inference as to the probable result of an actual contact of it with efforts to evangelize the world. Christian Protestant missions have been planted in lands where commerce was exerting its natural and unfettered influences. We propose to inquire what has been the feeling and the action of commercial enterprises toward missionary labors and missionary men.

It will not be easy, or indeed practicable, to find a number of illustrations. We may, as we shall see in another place, find examples too easy and frequent of the acts of individuals, but we would rather, for our generalization, take some organized commercial power existing long enough to have and to exhibit a settled policy. Only such a one would be a competent illustration.

Such organizations we readily found when viewing the subject in the light of the history of commercial colonies; and were we now treating of the spread of merely nominal Christianity, they could be had in abundance. But when we speak of Christianity, we mean Protestant evangelical

Christianity, and especially not the base perversion of it which the Papal Church affords. It would not be difficult to show that this is a sort of religion which may be eminently assisted by commerce. When brandy and priests go hand in hand, and bayonets force the one equally with the other upon a heathen people, the three great powers, government, religion and commerce may be said to work together for the spread of Christianity; but it is not a beautiful exhibition, nor one over which a Christian man will rejoice.

We have, however, one example at least, which has in it every incident necessary for an accurate illustration of the point before us, in the English East India Company. We need no other. If commerce anywhere or under any circumstances would of itself favor Christian missions, it would be in India, under the Company's rule; if not there then nowhere. Here was a commercial company of vast powers and almost unlimited control over the people it governed. It was free to pursue any line of policy that might seem most in accordance with its true spirit and design; indeed, no example could be wished more perfectly to meet the case as an illustrative argument.

The Church of God, after a deep slumber of many centuries over the great commission of her Lord, at last awoke to the call which a heathen world was making upon her sympathies and her efforts. In the providence of God the continent of India, now for many years under the control of

the British people, became the scene of these new labors for the spread of the gospel of the living God.

Those apostolic men, Cary and Thomas, arrived and commenced their labors toward the close of the year 1793, and were the first, systematically, to attempt the establishment of a mission in India. For a few years they persevered in their work with amazing energy and great success, seeming not to attract the notice of the Indian government. The project of evangelizing a heathen continent was so gigantic and seemed so chimerical to even Christians in England, that it is not surprising that at first they should meet with no interference from the authorities, who must have looked upon the whole thing as a mere dreaming of religious zealots. But when, after a time, their efforts, through translations, the printing press, and the preaching of the gospel, began to tell upon the people, when converts were baptized and churches gathered, and when the haughty Brahmins began to be alarmed and complain, the case was altered. Here was an element clearly working upon the people, and was, in its direct tendency, a disturbing element; and if those who stood at the head of the people were alienated, as they would doubtless be, the commercial prosperity, if not the political power, of the Company, must necessarily receive a check. Infidel, and of course prejudiced Europeans, at once set themselves to propagate the most false and slanderous reports concerning

the movements of the missionaries, and for several years subsequent to 1806 they were exposed to the greatest trials and hinderances from the Indian Government.

Nor was the opposition confined to India, but the same reports were sent home to Great Britain, with falsehoods of fact and inference magnified by distance and malignity, and soon kindled an intense hatred to missionary operations on the ground that their success could only be attended with great danger to their Eastern possessions.

In the providence of God there was a man in England strong enough to breast the storm and roll back the tide. Andrew Fuller at once, with characteristic zeal and power, issued his "Apology for Christian Missions in India," and its arguments were so convincing, and its appeals so urgent, that the Government at the India House, dismissed the complaints lodged against the missionaries, and refused to interfere with the propagation of Christianity in India. The triumph of the friends of missions was complete, and no general or systematic opposition to English efforts was again attempted.

How great a force, however, of public sentiment and moral power was necessary to secure even nominal toleration to missionaries, and have permission to pursue, under careful and annoying restrictions, their work, may be seen in the fact that a clause in the renewed charter of 1813, granted them, was secured only by the strenuous ex-

ertions of Wilberforce, Thornton, Fuller, and others, backed by nine hundred petitions, and the names of half a million of British Christians.

The Act of the British Parliament just referred to, went into operation in 1813, and, while it conceded in words all that the friends of missions had asked, declaring that it was the duty of Great Britain to promote Christianity in India, and that persons having that object in view should be allowed to reside there, yet it made the missionary subject to the local Government acting in conformity to the principles which the natives had previously asserted, and liable to be sent away at any time for any violation of them or of the laws then in force in India. It made it necessary for those who wished to avail themselves of the privileges of laboring in that country, to obtain the permission of the Directors in London, or of the Board of Control. Such limitations bore heavily upon missionary operations, and indeed, the first application of missionaries for leave to go to India under this new charter, was refused by the Directors, while those who were already there, were expressly excluded from the benefits of whatever favorable provisions might seem to be in the charter. Still, the force of public opinion was such that, as intimated above, no general opposition was again seriously persisted in.

Opposition to the labors of British Christians was overcome, but not so that directed against the labors of men sent out from America. On the 17th

of June, 1812, Messrs. Newell and Judson, with their wives, arrived at Calcutta, having been sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The storm impending over the heads of English missionaries, and which had threatened to sweep them and their work away, burst in all its fury upon these ministers of the gospel from a foreign nation. They were almost at once ordered to return home in the same vessel which brought them; and so strenuous was the order, that they were told that the vessel could not be permitted to depart without them. Earnest remonstrances of Christian friends in Calcutta and Serampore, who had welcomed them with great affection, were made with the Government, and their solicitations so far prevailed that they were unofficially informed that perhaps the stringent order would not be enforced if they would promise soon to leave the country. Permission was afterward granted them to leave by any conveyance.

It were a long and a piteous tale to relate the wanderings and the sufferings of these devoted men and their fragile but heroic wives, "of whom the world was not worthy." They heard that they would be received on the Isle of France, and that possibly they might find an opening for missionary labor on the neighboring island of Madagascar. The only vessel sailing thither was so crowded that it could take but two passengers more, and Mr. Newell, with his wife, to whom the quiet of a

home was becoming every day more important, were compelled to leave Messrs. Judson and Nott, and embark, after they had been in India scarcely more than a month and a half. The voyage was a tempestuous one; and for more than a month they were driven up and down in the Bay of Bengal, until the vessel was forced to put into Coringa in distress, with the poor invalid wife prostrated with a fever. Again they set sail; the homeless wife became a mother, and after five days committed the body of her little one to the deep. The land at length was reached, and the husband carried to the shore his wife, sinking under the steady approach of consumption, and borne down by accumulated hardships, disappointments and sorrows. She died there a few days after their arrival.

It would seem that the gentle spirit, and the fading life of Harriet Newell would have overborne the stern commands of selfish interest, as we may readily believe and as there is reason to suspect, it moved the heart of the authorities; but the behests of commerce were too mighty, and must be obeyed. One might pause at this spectacle,—a gigantic company, a government, with a continent and 50,000,000 of men under its control, persecuting relentlessly to the death a Christian missionary and his dying wife. But commerce was above humanity.

Commerce occasioned American missions in Burmah, but it might well wish the record of it lost. Judson and his wife with very great diffi-

culty, and only through the secret help of a friend, whom they never could discover, escaped being sent to England. They do, however, escape to the Isle of France, but only to find that orders have preceded them, "To keep an eye on the American missionaries." They cannot go to Madagascar; Burmah seems closed against them; at last they sail for Madras. But there they find that the friends who had come out from America after them were subject to the same persecution of the Government, and they dare not land. They inquire for some vessel to sail soon to almost any heathen land over which the East India Company have no control, and one is found to go at once to Rangoon, in Burmah. On this they embark, as on an ark, after weary tossings on the flood of waters, hoping that it would bring them to a home. It did, and they found a resting place in a heathen land, beyond the reach of a government whose name was Christian. The early history of that mission will forever stand a melancholy monument of what commerce demanded in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

It is not necessary to dwell on the case of Hall and Nott, though we cannot forbear giving the following extract from their address to the Governor, at the time when they were ordered to return to America: "We entreat you by the blood of Jesus, which he shed to redeem them. By all the principles of our holy religion by which you hope to be saved, we entreat you not to hinder us

from preaching the same religion to these perishing idolaters. By all the solemnities of the judgment day, when your Excellency must meet your subjects before God's tribunal, we entreat you not to hinder us from preaching to them the gospel which is able to prepare them as well as you for that awful day." The words and the occasion together may rightly cause a thoughtful man to stand a moment. A marked and instructive incident this,—religion pleading with commerce, begging her with many tears not to turn her out of the land. We may think of it, but pass on.

While these determined efforts were made to exclude the American missionaries, as strenuous exertions were put forth by friends in the United States and in England to obtain entire toleration for them from the Company. The result was, the provisions in the amended charter, to which reference has already been made. But so little help did these give the American missionaries, that when the correspondence forwarded by the authorities at Calcutta and Bombay, giving an account of all their transactions with the missionaries was laid before the Board of Directors, a resolution was under consideration, "censuring all their civil and ecclesiastical servants who had abetted the missionaries, and requiring the removal of the American missionaries from the Company's possessions in India,"* and was actu-

* Tracy's His. Amer. Board, p. 49.

ally about to pass, when the venerable Charles Grant opposed it by a laboriously prepared document. His argument defending the missionaries, and proving that the Government in India had mistaken the extent of its powers, and had transcended the laws, not only of Great Britain, but the law of nations, was successful, and dispatches were sent to Bombay authorizing the Governor to permit them to remain.

This was the first opening of continental India to Christian missions, and it was obtained not as a gift, but a spoil wrung from the unwilling hand of commerce by a public and Christian sentiment too mighty for it to resist. The battle had been fought and the victory was won; but won only by prayers and tears, and amid sufferings and death. As we look back upon the history, we may admire the unshrinking heroism, the unwavering perseverence, the holy energy, and seraphic devotion of the missionaries, while we mark how commerce, left to herself, feels toward the work of God and the souls of men.

It may be said that this opposition of the English East India Company was peculiar to itself and the circumstances of the case, and cannot be taken as a true exponent of the relations of commerce to the spread of the Gospel in the world. We might reply, that all the prevalent reasons which led to the persecution of the missionaries, and their attempted expulsion from the country, were wholly commercial reasons. They were not

personal at all. Indeed, the edicts were carried out at an immense sacrifice, as we have every reason to believe, of personal feeling by those who considered themselves compelled to execute them.

It was thought that the progress of Christianity would probably endanger the prosperity of the Company, by exciting the opposition of the heathen, with whom its business was conducted. It was considered, as it was in fact, to be solely a mercantile and commercial concern, and as such, its interests were to be guarded, and all other interests were subservient. Here was the true, and, confessedly, the only reason for the persistent efforts made to expel the missionaries, and bring their work to an end. That these efforts were not successful was not because they were willingly abandoned, but because they were resisted and overcome.

Had Christians in England been less influential, less able, or less determined; or had the missionaries been less devoted, less courageous, or more easily discouraged, India to-day would be without a station or a missionary. It was not because commerce wanted them, but because she could not keep them out.

That time has demonstrated the mistake and the folly of the utter neglect of Christianity by the East India Company, there is, we suppose, at this day no question; but it was an error which was never corrected: it lived with the Company up to

the time when, by the late act of Parliament, its political powers ceased. That the mistake will not occur again, we hope; but history shows that it was a part of the very idea of commerce, first to ignore religion, and afterwards, if it stood in the way, to trample upon it. Missions have lived and grown in spite of commerce.

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE IN NEW LANDS.

We pass from the consideration of commerce as it exerts its influence through colonies and establishments, and propose to look at its effects as it touches more transiently new lands.

It would seem that the visits and the intercourse of an enlightened with a barbarous people, must be productive of good; certainly that the degraded habits and superstitions of savage life must give way to the better knowledge and practices of civilization. Such is the fact. The enlightenment of civilized nations, the new arts which they make known, the new implements of agriculture or manufacture which they bring, and the enlarged conceptions which they necessarily induce, must, after a time, bring about a change. Commerce mingles up the nations; their thoughts and feelings must mix, and as in chemistry, the stronger element will be prevalent. The grosser forms of heathenish darkness will be affected by the better light which is brought from civilized lands.

The Sandwich Islands are perhaps the most striking example of this with which we are acquainted. It is well known that when the mis-

sionaries sent out from this country arrived at those islands, they found a people no longer heathen, but who had, a little while before, cast away and destroyed idols and abandoned idol-worship.

It is said that Vancouver, who visited the islands in 1794, when engaged in that perpetual but fruitless work, the discovery of a northwest passage, gave the King Kamehameha much excellent advice, and before leaving said to him: "There is a God above in heaven, and if you desire to worship him, when I return to England I will entreat his majesty to appoint for you a clergyman; and when he comes you must renounce your tattoo system, which is false. There are no earthly deities." The king died without carrying out the recommendations of the circumnavigator; but he is said to have on his death-bed advised his chiefs to throw off the tattoo system and the old idolatry. The foreign residents whom commerce brought, had ridiculed the absurdities of both, and by their influence had loosened their hold. This, together with the dying request of the king, and the general license which occurred at the ceremonies attending his funeral obsequies, helped the matter forward, so that upon the coronation of the new king, he set an example of a deliberate and flagrant violation of the tattoo, which was quickly followed by almost the whole people. With the tattoo system fell the old idolatry; and very soon, and before the arrival of the missionaries at the islands, the natives had demolished the temples of

the false gods, treated the idols with contempt, throwing them into the fire and the sea. The people were no longer idolaters. Here was a signal instance of the power which commerce may exert; for we may, with some latitude, speak of the voyage of discovery of Vancouver, a captain in the British navy, and the chance residence of a few stragglers from civilized countries, as the result of commercial enterprise. Perhaps history presents no instance so remarkable as this, but we may take it as an extreme example of the effect of free inter-communication between civilized and barbarous people.

At first glance this may seem to be a matter of no measured importance, and it might be set to the account as an unalloyed good of commerce itself. Yet a little consideration, perhaps, will make us pause before making such an estimate. To remove an old superstition from the mind may not in itself be a thing of good at all. Whether it be so or not, will depend entirely upon what you have given to supply its place. If you have rooted out a bad only to make room for a worse error, you have done evil only. A false religion is better than a rank and pestilent infidelity. We must ask, then, what has commerce to give in the room of the forms of error and superstition which she undermines and destroys? Her history gives the answer—she has nothing. She may pluck down, she may persuade the people to trample their idols in the dust, but she gives nothing in their place.

The point of time in a people's history when they have forsaken old forms of religion, is one of utmost interest and peril. The unclean spirit has gone out of the man: it is a momentous question whether an angel presence shall now come in, or whether the demon shall return with seven other spirits more wicked than himself. Commerce may exorcise the unclean spirit, but it leaves the house swept and garnished, only, it may be, to welcome a more dreadful possession.

Missionaries in foreign lands recognize this fact, and no such pathetic appeals come back for help, and no such strenuous exertions are made as when under some influence, a people are found breaking away from their old religions. They know that then is the crisis moment, and upon what the people have given them then and there, will depend the good or the ill of their religious revolution. In the case before us of the Sandwich Islands, by the wonderful providence of God the American missionaries arrived at the crisis moment. A battle between rival factions, which decided the abolishment of idolatry, had just been fought, and the people were without a religion, and were ready to receive whatever might be brought them.

Had not these missionaries arrived precisely at that time, we know too well what would have been the condition of this impressible people. There were influences about them already at work which would have made their revolution only a curse. Most of the foreigners then at the islands were

sailors of the lowest caste; some had been put ashore probably as too vicious to be endured on shipboard; some were deserters, and the great body, far removed from the restraint of civilized life, and shut out from the observation of the world, were living in open and unblushing vice, more degraded, if possible, than the heathen around them. What their influence would have been is easy to see. The opportune arrival of the missionaries seems to have been ordered in accordance with the fact, that not a moment was to be lost. Had they not come then, the result which we have traced remotely to commerce, would have been only endlessly disastrous.

This is the most favorable view which we can take of the workings of commerce upon a heathen people. It has a tendency to show them the falsehood and folly of idolatry, and to destroy it, but whether this shall be well or ill for them depends upon a power without, and distinct from commerce. When we consider some other of its results we shall find no mitigation of the evils which it brings.

Commerce has always introduced the vices and diseases of civilization, and superadding them to the vices and diseases native among the people, has intensified their destructive power. Diseases unknown to savage life follow in the track of the trader so that the medical or scientific man might, were there no other evidence of his having visited the shore, be certain of his presence. Indeed, it

would seem as if noxious insect or vermin life gave in some places the same evidence.

It has become almost an axiom in the history of colonial settlements, that the aboriginal inhabitants must fade away before the immigrant. Whenever one of the modern maritime nations has been able to throw into a new country a number of persons large enough to bear any considerable, we might say, any appreciable proportion to the native population, the process of decadence immediately sets in and goes forward with scarcely a pause until, if time enough be given, the race becomes extinct. Where natives are so numerous that the new comers are lost like rain-drops in the ocean, the effect is not so marked, and may, indeed, be scarcely seen, as for example, in India or China. Here the teeming populousness of the country in its vastness receives and absorbs the new influence, and though it may have its usual and legitimate effect, it is so comminuted and diffused that it cannot be traced.

A fairer and a striking illustration may be found in the history of the Pacific Islands. They became known to the civilized world during the later half of the last century. The only intercourse which they had with it was commercial, for it was more than fifty years before the Church made any attempt to reach them with the Gospel. During this time they were left to the unmixed influences of commerce, and here, if anywhere the true workings of this power may be seen, for

they can be noted in their separation from all other forces.

They are seen; but what a picture they present! At their discovery, to the excited apprehensions of the voyagers, they were paradises set in the quiet ocean; and subsequent and better information but confirmed the impression. Perhaps nowhere on earth were there to be found more perfection of physical well-being.* We speak, of course, of the greater groups, such as the Society, Marquesas and Sandwich Islands. The climate was wonderfully healthful; the air pure and invigorating, fed with new life every hour from the all-surrounding ocean; the sun shone mildly, making an endless spring-time without its lassitude and a perpetual summer without its oppression; the earth brought forth spontaneously all that was necessary for human subsistence; no ravenous beast roamed in the forests; no poisonous snake or venomous insect infested the ground; there was nothing in earth or air to mar the health or prevent man from enjoying animal life to its full, except what might be found in the depravity of his nature.

That existed, indeed, in some of its most terrible forms of infanticide, murder, and cannibalism, but yet destructive as these influences were, they did not prevent the health and the increase of the races. Physically they were a very noble

* See Stewart's "Visit to the South Seas."

people, degraded beyond expression, and lost morally, but yet a physically happy and prosperous people.

But discovery made them known, and soon commerce reached them. They were far-away islands, ocean-sundered from the rest of the world, and the men of commerce could do what they would without fear or shame. They sowed their seed, and it was quick to spring up in the rank and luxuriant soil.

Almost the first ships that visited them left behind the most loathsome diseases of civilized life, diseases which were previously wholly unknown, and any fresh arrival, with but rare exceptions, brought new fuel to feed the flames which speedily spread among the people. The vessels, while they remained in the harbors, were floating houses of pollution, to which the natives were allured; on them scenes like the midnight revels of the cities of the plain were enacted, and from them the debased and polluted victims went back to speed disease and death for generations to those who had not themselves come in contact with the foreigners.* The ships often left on the islands

* The natives on one of the islands which the Vincennes, a U. S. sloop of war, visited in 1829, were intensely surprised at the order which the commander, Capt. Finch, gave at nightfall, that all the females should leave the ship. They seemed unable to understand it, and when compelled by gentle force to leave, they dropped themselves into the sea, with many expressions of surprise, and the chief said laughingly, as they took leave

wretches reeking with licentiousness, profanity, and drunkenness, to spread and perpetuate the bad work, and when they did not, the very air remained tainted with the moral pollution and their diseases to be propagated with ever accelerated rapidity.

As far as we can learn, the intercourse was in general without one redeeming quality, it brought crime and utter ruin, and not a single benefit. Commerce found them debased indeed, but left them lower sunk in pollution and shame, or rather clung to them, dragging them ever downwards into deeper depths. It found them a vigorous, healthy and increasing race, it made them with awful celerity nations of drunkards, a people stricken almost to a man, with the most loathsome forms of disease, a race dying out like sheep smitten with the rot.

Such were they when the Church sent her missionaries to them. But, alas! she sent them too late. The stream of death was flowing in too vast a volume and with momentum too great for even the influences which she brought. She might, and under the mighty power of God's spirit she did convert the souls of the people, but she could not keep their bodies from sinking into the grave; she could only retard the forces which

enter their canoes, "This is a strange ship." "And I doubt not," adds Mr. Stewart, from whom we quote, "it is the first in which they have ever known any restrictions to be placed on the greatest licentiousness."—*Visit to the South Seas*, Vol. 1, p. 230.

were hurrying the race with frightful rapidity to extinction. At this late day, after forty years of most marked and wonderful success in these Pacific Islands, although the people have become civilized, and as a people religious, yet the decay still goes on, more slowly, scarcely less surely, both in the Sandwich Islands and the Society Islands, and doubtless in all the groups which had early intercourse with foreigners.

There is, we are aware, a class of writers, who have endeavored to insinuate, if not assert, that the decay which is going on so rapidly in these islands, and the numerous and enormous evils which are so prevalent, are the result of those efforts which the religious world has been making for their evangelization. Such men as the author of "Typee" and "Omoo," however, are not original. Their accusations are stale, as the animus of them is evident. What this is we shall have occasion to speak of in another place. They tell us that the missionaries found the people peaceful, healthful, happy, since they have come among them, the poor natives have sunk rapidly in disease and death; the inference being, if the assertion is not made, that the melancholy fact was caused by the coming which they deprecate.

Just a little knowledge and honesty would enable one to see how directly contrary to truth are all such statements. So far from the presence of missionaries accelerating, least of all causing the decadence of the people, it alone saved them from

speedy extermination. Had missionaries not come when they did, a few years would have seen those islands almost without an inhabitant. They alone retarded, though they have not been able to arrest the fatal progress of the people to final extinction. It was commerce, not religion, that brought the death. * It was commerce, under the lead of men hating religion, wandering over the ocean in pursuit of gain or guilty pleasure, which threw a blight over the fair scenes they so much delight to depict. The more glowing the pictures which they paint of sensuous and sensual delight, of joyous and paradisaical bliss, the more frightful do they make the destructive elements which discovery and traffic have brought to the unhappy islands.

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* If argument and facts were not lost upon these writers, such language as the following, written long ago as 1831, would have silenced them: "Let those who are disposed to treat the missionary scheme as an ambitious project or fanatical conceit, find a name for that *unorganized* but unremitted action upon heathen countries on the part of brutal seamen and unprincipled commanders, which is daily spreading pestilence, both physical and moral, among thousands upon thousands. The opponents of this plan are in the habit of assuming that the question at issue is between converting them and letting them alone. THEY WILL NOT BE LET ALONE. We are to choose between two opposite and inconsistent measures, two conflicting modes of operation on the heathen. If one fails the other triumphs. While the one is suspended the other is at work. Admit that the idea of preaching to the savages is pregnant with absurdity . . . . . is not this as tolerable as that all the vices of the refuse of society should be transported hither? Is the tyranny even of austere ascetics worse than the tyranny of profligates, the tyranny of drunkenness, the tyranny of lust?"—*American Quarterly Review, Sept.*, 1831.

These facts are now so clearly seen, and so deeply felt, that missionaries are impatient to reach the remote and unfrequented islands before commerce has had an opportunity to come there. They know too well the inevitable result of the contact of natives with the ships of commerce. They do not welcome, they fear the facilities of intercommunication which it makes, and dread the influence which it brings when it comes alone. We may quote the pathetic words of one of those devoted and secluded missionaries of the American Board on one of the Micronesian islands, Mr. Stuges: "We are grieved to hear that Spanish Catholics are on the island of Yap, and it is most likely they are also on the Pilus. This stirs up anew our longings to get into some of those western islands. Jap or Yap is a fine island, and densely peopled; the natives are mild, industrious, and anxious to learn. There are some spots, and precious they are in our eyes, *where commerce has not been*—dear islets, where the touch of the "beach comber" has not left its contagion. To these spots we wish to go. Will not our friends at home furnish us the means of *pre-occupying* virgin soil? Surely, if they knew how important it is to make haste, they would have a vessel here for us at once!" *

A few months later, Dr. Peirson, writing from the same mission about a little group of islands,

* Missionary Herald, February, 1858.

called Musgrave or Marshall's islands, and urging the importance of a mission to them, uses the following as an argument for prompt action on the part of the American Board of Missions: "As there are no whites on these islands, it is very desirable that a missionary should be established before they get a foothold. The people are very quick to learn our ways; very observing, and have great tact at imitation." * Writing of another island, Pitt's Island, he says that on their visit they found "the people, men, women and children, sadly given up to drunkenness. All this evil has come upon them from whites, who taught them to manufacture the grog. Captain Handy says it was commenced in 1849. *Until within a year or two the natives did not drink it*, but made it to sell to whites who visited the island. They are now destroying themselves. They say sixteen have hung themselves within five months." † Here it would seem that commerce had brought a market, taught them to supply it, and afterward to make themselves victims of rum and suicide. A terrible comment the passage is, in a few words, upon the often-boasted benefits of increased facilities of intercommunication.

In a general letter from this mission, they say: "It is not possible for us to explore among these islands without opening floodgates for the evils of a licentious commerce. No sooner is it known

* Missionary Herald, March, 1858. † Id. p. 88.

that missionaries are planning to take possession of an island, than wicked men rush in and oppose us in our work. You will readily see the importance of taking possession of every spot as soon as possible, before the people are corrupted. So important does this seem to us on the ground, that we have consented to divide our forces, leaving a brother to labor alone on an island, and breaking up another promising station that we might have men for manning new fields."* Mr. Snow, writing from Strong's Island, one of the Micronesian group, says: "I have just finished taking the census of the island again, and find there are now 830 inhabitants — 518 males, and 312 females, making a population of males to females of about 5 to 3. When I took the census about two and half years ago, the population was a few over 1100. This shows that our people are diminishing at a rapid rate. But the war has had some hand in the diminution the past year. When the books are opened there will be a scene represented from these islands of the Pacific where ships have been accustomed to touch, at which so-called civilization will hang her head and call upon the rocks and mountains to fall upon her and hide her shame from the gaze of the assembled universe." †

These quotations might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but they are enough. We have pre-

* Id. June, 1858. † Id. April, 1859.

ferred to make them from recent documents, for if these things are true now after all the Christian influence which has been exerted upon the sailor, and the wide-spread influences of the Church over missionary fields, the same must have been true in an intense degree in other days. It is simply an emphatic testimony that the effect of commerce is still what it ever has been, that it does worse than nothing for the people to whom it comes.

So destructive is this influence that a thoughtful man feels a tinge of sadness at times when he hears of the new fields which commerce is exploring and entering. There have been a multitude of congratulations exchanged of late upon the fact that China and Japan have been thrown open to commerce. It is a question whether it is a thing of joy or grief. The opening may be a blighting curse; and it will be if the Church has not the zeal and the self-denial to enter the new fields. When we read, as we have, of drunken sailors, on almost the first visit of our war ships, wandering along the beautiful walks of a Japanese village, and, in their maudlin folly or mischief, polluting the fountains, and being put under arrest by the authorities, and almost creating a collision between themselves and the natives, we pause, and are greatly doubtful whether we should rejoice or weep over Japan open to commerce. Looking over the past, knowing the history of commerce and its useful work, the tears are easier than the smiles. At least we cannot blame, perhaps we

shall admire, the far-reaching wisdom which built the walls and double-barred the gates to keep the foreigners away. *

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* These words were written four years ago. The last advices from Japan, giving the melancholy recital of impending hostilities between the Japanese and the English Government, give a deeper emphasis to them. Well may the correspondent of a daily journal close his letter with—"Let us hope for peace to thrice unhappy Japan, who, in an evil hour, not of her own seeking, opened her long-closed doors to such troublesome guests."—*New York Tribune, August* 28, 1863.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MEN OF COMMERCE.

We have hitherto been considering commerce as one great system of influence upon the world, and have been endeavoring to trace its bearing upon the moral and social well-being, and especially its relation to the spread of Christianity. We have endeavored to separate it far as possible from contingent forces, and mark its legitimate results as a system. This system is world-wide, and takes in a thousand minor elements to compose it. The producer who grows the material from the soil, the manufacturer who fashions the raw material into fabrics, the merchant who seeks a market, the consumer who furnishes it,—all are parts necessary to make up the vast whole which we call commerce. It is concerned with human wants, with human caprices, with human superstitions, with the grain which feeds, with the jewels which deck the forms of men, as well as the sandal-wood which burns before their idols; it clothes them with its goods, it gives them medicines for their diseases. It is the mighty medium through which the widely-sundered parts of the earth touch each other.

We have considered the system as an inanimate thing, aside from the character of those who are engaged in it. We mean that class of men whose business has been to carry on the work of commerce. Strictly speaking, the term "men of commerce," would embrace all those who are engaged in commercial pursuits, whether on land or sea: the merchant in his counting-house, directing the lading of his ships, and ordering their voyages, is more truly a man of commerce, than the master who navigates them to their ports. Yet we may speak correctly when we call the sailor the man of commerce, for commerce gives him his business, and makes him what he is; and although, in extreme strictness, we cannot mingle up his character and influence with that of commerce, and speak of the one in the same terms with that of the other, still so closely is the mariner connected with the movements and the effects of commerce, that whenever we attempt to follow the one, the other immediately comes into view.

We propose, in the present chapter, to consider the character of sailors, and their influence. In doing so, it will not be necessary to go over a very wide field, or far back into history. Up to within a comparatively few years, this large class of men occupied but little of the attention of the world. The nature of their business cut them in a great measure off from the knowledge and the sympathies of other men. Their stay on land was brief, and their absence protracted; their habits were

such that, even when on shore, they mingled little with others; so that in fact little was known of them, and less was cared for them. Indeed, inquiries into their condition and character, and interest in their behalf, has been awakened since the time when Christian missions have sprung vigorously up; and the fact that their influence was felt in new and distant parts of the earth, and was found powerfully affecting the progress of Christianity, has been no inconsiderable inducement to keep it alive. The solicitude which the Church feels now for the sailor, is the returning power of a solicitude roused up far away in other lands—an anxiety not more for him than for the cause upon which his character and influence bears so strongly; and, curiously enough, the strongest appeals which are made for the sailor, are now drawn from the bearing which his presence has upon distant and heathen nations.

For the most part, the men who have manned the ships of commerce, have been drawn from classes of society where Christian influence has been little prevalent; and if here and there a child of pious parents became a sailor, it has been usually the wayward, restless boy, who could not brook the restraints of home, and who took to the sea to escape them. He is, by the very nature of his employment, separated from the thousand means which restrain men on land, and the thousand influences which tend to elevate and convert them. He is thrown among associates with whom

he must mingle on the most intimate terms of fellowship, and who are often vicious and degraded. He cannot insulate himself from them: they are the family in whose bosom he must dwell, and whose companionship he must accept. There is nothing on ship-board to cultivate whatever may be good within. The men who command him are frequently hardened, if not brutalized, (where they are not, is an exception to a general fact,) and the discipline of the ship has little in it to ennoble the man. The ship furnishes him no closet, except it may be the silence of his own heart as he lies in his berth, or the rocking main-top to which the pious sailor has often climbed to find one.

When on shore, the influences into which he usually and naturally falls, are simply worse than those which surround him in his ship. The port is most generally a strange one, and he comes among those who have no interest in him, except it may be to obtain as much as it is possible of his hard-earned wages. He is plied with all those allurements of intemperance and vice which proverbially cluster round the precincts where the sailor finds his boarding-house. What these influences are, may be seen in any port. The writer is familiar with them, under perhaps the most favorable circumstances. Let one walk through the streets which lie near the wharves of a large port, and see the character of the houses and of the persons there, and he will not wonder at the prevalent character of seamen. The low groggery

which usually makes a part of the boarding-house, the seat by the door occupied too often by women who stare you shamelessly in the face, tell you to what a home the sailor comes when his voyage ends in a Christian city. What it is when that voyage ends in some foreign and heathen port, we can imagine, and the pictures which are sent back of beastly vice and deepest degradation, leave us no room to mistake.

This is true, after more than thirty years of Christian labor among seamen. We shall have occasion to speak, in another place, of the results of these labors. We merely hint them now to give a deeper coloring to the fact of the low moral condition of the sailor before they were made. When he was left an easy prey to all these disastrous influences, without one which was favorable, we cannot wonder that wherever he went his presence was pestilential, and that those who were laboring in heathen countries should have looked upon it as a thing to be dreaded, a mighty hinderance to their work.

The concurrent testimony of missionaries in every quarter of the globe looks toward one point in this matter; but perhaps some of the most striking examples of their influence may be met with in the history of the Pacific Islands, to which we have referred in another connection. These were remote enough and separated from the rest of the world sufficiently to free those who visited them from the control of public sentiment and

the restraint which surround men like an atmosphere in Christian lands, and to allow them to act out their cherished plans and the natural impulses of their hearts and lives. They did so, and the result was shocking to our common humanity. These islands became the shores upon which the stream of their depravity, pent up on their long voyages, was let out, and the sailor seemed to feel that here he might revel in shame without fear or bounds. The visit of every ship, with but rare exceptions, was the signal for the pouring out of a flood of licentiousness, like the irruption of the island volcanoes. The poor degraded heathen were allured to the ships, and these became the scene of unbounded and unblushing debauchery.

When the missionaries came and their influence began to be felt upon the people, a barrier was at once thrown up against these crimes, and they were brought almost to an end. Under their teaching the evils and the iniquity of such practices was made apparent, and the native rulers were easily persuaded to enact laws which should prevent them in future. In the case of the Sandwich Islands, which we may take as an example of others, this work was done in one of these, at that time, long intervals between the arrival of trading or whaling vessels. When the ships returned, and expected, as they had been accustomed, to find the same wide and open field for their crimes, they were perplexed and surprised to discover that some great change had come over the people; instead of the

usual canoes filled with fallen and shameless women, they met with only men who had come for purposes of trade, and not a female visited their decks. It was not long before the cause of the change became known to them — they could trace it at once to the ministers of religion who had been teaching religion to the islanders.

The discovery was the signal for the perpetration in some instances of a series of outrages which will forever disgrace the history of commerce in these islands.

On one occasion the crew of a whaleship, with the connivance of its captain, surrounded the house of Mr. Richards, one of the missionaries, and threatened to take his life and his family's and destroy his property, unless he would promise to exert his influence to have the law, which the chiefs had enacted forbidding females to visit the ships for immoral purposes, repealed; and the mission family was saved from their fury only by the intervention of an armed force of two hundred men sent by the chiefs to protect them. On another occasion a mob of sailors went to the house of Mr. Richards with the determination to kill him. At this time as before the conduct of the natives and these nominally Christian foreigners, stood out in glaring contrast. The house of the missionary was guarded by the natives, though they could not prevent the marauders from pillaging the tents of the people and destroying their property. They did not however obtain their

principal purpose. The Governor of the island was absent, and the place was in charge of a female chief. Unable to protect the people, she directed the women to flee with her to the mountains, and they did. "All the females from a town of 4,000 native inhabitants," exclaims the narrator, "fleeing from the violence and lust of sailors from Christian lands!" *

These were extreme cases, but they mark the nature of that opposition which is readily awakened whenever missionary enterprise has been powerful enough distinctly to be connected with the restraints which are laid upon vice by the advancing morality of the people. That the same outbursts of violence have not occurred elsewhere in as marked a manner, may be safely imputed to the fact that elsewhere the moral power of the missionary has not been felt or recognized rather than any better disposition on the part of licentious crews.

As we have seen in a former chapter, the influx of commerce is a thing greatly dreaded by missionaries in new lands, not only from its utter negation of good, but from the bad influence which the sailors almost invariably carry with them. In the mind of a heathen people there is of course no such discrimination made which marks the difference between the true believer in Christ and one who comes from a Christian

* Encyclopædia of Missions.—Newcomb.

land. They have been accustomed to judge of a man's religion by his nationality, and decide upon the one at once by the other. The sailor from any one of the commercial nations, comes from a country which bears the name of Christian, and he calls himself and is known by it in distinction from all other religions. The missionary of religion comes under precisely the same name and from the same land, and stands, in the mind of the people, on the same platform. He comes usually after the sailor, and must by the necessity of the case have placed to his account whatever characteristics the sailor has succeeded in attaching to the name of the Christian. The grand maxim of our Lord is as natural as it is true: "By their fruits shall ye know them," and all men, whether enlightened or barbarous, at once determine the character of a religion from the life of its professors. Especially is this true in regard to Christianity. The teacher of this religion comes to a pagan people and aims at nothing less than a total supplanting of the religion which he finds by that which he brings. His work is to persuade the people to exchange, cast aside their own for his religion. It is at once put in comparison, and some of his strongest appeals are drawn from the beneficent and elevating tendencies of Christianity. Just at this point the influence of the sailor, which has been antecedent to his own, comes in with fatal force. The preacher tells of the power of the religion of Jesus to lift

and refine the man; of its efficacy to change the heart and make the life holy; of its influence to restrain the passions of men and nerve them to purity and benevolence toward men and devotion to God; and with the picture comes up before the mind of the hearer those who long before the coming of this missionary he was accustomed to see and recognize as Christians from Christian lands. If he shall think of them as a race, look at their history and endeavor to mark what has been the character and result of their whole intercourse, he finds it to be one long drawn scene of extortion, of robbery, and often of unbounded cruelty and blood; he finds the people to whom the commerce which these men have brought has been oppressed and ruined, and lands which otherwise were fair and comparatively happy, have been cursed with a seemingly incurable blight; he finds that in every instance and in every land the commercial nations have been invariably Christian nations, and the men of commerce have been, of course by their nationality, Christian men; he hears the teacher of this religion proclaiming the canon of its founder, "By their fruits shall ye know them," and how can he escape the inevitable influence that these facts so plainly force upon him? What must that religion be which bears uniformly such fruits? Or if he be a man incapable of learning the facts of the history and unable to make large generalizations, there is before him the life of the individual illustrators

of Christianity in the form of the sailor who has been visiting, it may be, his country for generations. But what an illustration! He sees him even at the best one who makes gain the main object of his pursuit, and for the most part one ready for any form of vice. As a class he sees them addicted to drunkenness, and willing to go to any length in debauchery; he sees them not only falling readily into the vices native to the soil, but bringing with him new and unusual forms of sin; he sees him often running to greater lengths of crime than those to which he has been accustomed, and descending to deeper depths of degradation and wallowing in more filthy pollution than even the heathen whom he visits, and it is not wonderful that he turns away in disgust from a religion with whose profession and with whose name all this is associated. It has not been the experience of one missionary or of a few, but of, perhaps, every one who has ever labored where commerce has been before him, to hear the taunting answer to his teaching:—"Behold your fellow Christians! if such be the fruits of your religion, we want it not."

In every such case the teacher of religion finds that he must contend not simply with the ignorance and prejudices of heathenism, but with its intelligence and its sense of right. There is a preliminary work of defence to be done before he can make an advance upon the enemy. Instead of at once entering upon his appropriate work of

aggression, of urging the doctrines of the cross upon the people, he finds himself compelled at the outset to clear his own character, and put himself right before them. He is in the place of suspicion, and to him clings all the bad prestige of the wickedness of his countrymen and his co-religionists. This is not the work of a day. It may be that commerce has for many years been at work, and by all its dealings and through all the life of its men been educating the people to connect rapacity and extortion, licentiousness and crime with the name of Christian; and the impression of a century will not fade out at a word. It is hard to get the true idea of Christianity as a spiritual religion before the mind of a heathen, and perhaps still harder to impress him with the utter difference between the name and the thing itself. Indeed, it is only by the spectacle of a life in contrast with all their former experience, that the result is reached at all. Words are ineffectual here, teaching is of no avail, the facts stand out in ever vivid impressiveness, and their voice claims and engrosses the attention. The lives of men who have borne the name, and who have exhibited their own character and life, tell to them what the thing itself is. It requires often years of holy living, of disinterestedness and benevolence, to convince a heathen people that what the teacher of the Gospel asserts is true, and that all who come from Christian lands are not Christian men; and during them he himself is upon trial.

The opposing power which the wicked life of the hundreds of thousands of sailors who have for years been visiting the places where missionary efforts are being made, is simply incalculable. It has been a perpetual, steady influence tending to paralyze by its secret power, when it does not destroy by its open violence, the labors of self-denying ministers of religion for the spread of the Gospel.

The day perhaps is past when commerce shall be entirely divorced from Christianity, and when it shall dare directly, as a system, to oppose its propagation; it is probably past when it shall feel at liberty to pursue its own ends without care for the moral condition of the people to whom it comes. The days of old Spanish rapacity and endless butchery, of Portuguese and Dutch extortion and cruelty, of English selfishness and misrule are over; probably they will never return; commerce has learned too well ever to forget that it must not, and it cannot, pursue to success even its own ends except by the aid of Christianity; but still there yet remains the mighty opponent of the Gospel in the lives of wicked men, the servants of commerce. What has affected commerce as a great system has not yet reached this element of evil. Here emphatically we may talk of the moral power of the sea, of the men of the sea. That moral power is yet to be moulded and made efficient for the Gospel. The men of commerce, the sailors of commerce, must first be converted

to God before commerce can ever become an efficient ally of religion.

The Church has been late in awaking to this fact, and has suffered many years to pass in utter neglect of this great power. The first efforts in behalf of seamen began in London in the year 1814, and in New York in 1816; up to that day, as a class, they seem never to have caught even the casual attention of Christians. In the providence of God efforts were made to reach and benefit them in these two ports distant from one another, without any concert of action. In London the awakened anxiety of a sailor himself was the origin of all those meetings, often extraordinary in their character, and from the circumstances in which they are held, deeply interesting—the Bethel Meetings. A stranger, he had entered a place of worship, and was observed during the service to sit weeping bitterly as if stricken with the arrows of God's word. He was followed by a pious man, who discovered him to be a sailor belonging to a vessel then lying in the Thames. It was found on further inquiry that there was a little band of praying seamen who were accustomed to meet together on their vessels for the purpose of devotion. Christian men from the shore became interested in the fact, and joined in the circle of prayer, and soon the prayer-meetings on shipboard were known as "Bethel Meetings," and the blue flag with its star and dove became the signal of their being held—a flag which perhaps of all

others appeals most touchingly to a Christian in a strange land.

In New York attention was directed to the sailor first in 1816, by the efforts of a city missionary, Rev. Ward Stafford, who, while laboring among the destitute population in the eastern portion of New York, had his sympathies enlisted in behalf of the thousands of sailors visiting that port, and who were almost wholly out of the reach of the ordinary means of religious influence. He procured a school-room and commenced preaching to them, and the station subsequently grew into a church, "The Mariner's Church," which has ever since been a point of peculiar interest, and from which influences for good have gone out all over the earth. The erection of this church was soon followed by efforts to establish similar ones in all the large ports of the country; in Philadelphia * in 1819, by Rev. Mr. Eastburn; in Boston by Rev. Dr. Jenks, in 1818; and, in a short time, it led to the systematic endeavor to plant them in the ports of foreign countries to which seamen resort.

These efforts, though begun at a late day, yet have been followed by marked results for good, not simply on the moral and religious, but the physical condition of the sailor. He is no longer the neglected and forgotten being that he once was; he is followed by the prayers and sympathies of thousands of Christian hearts. Homes

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* See Appendix.

prepared for his use, are opened to receive him when he comes on shore; the chapel is waiting for his attendance, and a minister set apart for his service, meets him, and now,—what once would have been an anomaly too good almost for belief—a godly sailor is found on almost every ship which sails from our ports, and the meeting for prayer and praise has become too common to attract our notice.

Especially has this been true since the close of the year 1858 and beginning of 1859. The wonderful revival of God's work which will mark the middle of this century, and which has spread its effects over the earth, was peculiar in its power over seamen. Perhaps in no case has the power of prayer, which this great awakening seemed designed to illustrate, been more clearly evident. It touched the sailor on land, and led hundreds there to ask the way of salvation; it came upon him in mid-ocean, and in far-off lands evoked the same inquiries. The simultaneousness and the pervading power of the divine influences in this great work of God were, perhaps, nowhere more manifest than on the sea. While the people of God in this land were rejoicing in the glorious manifestations of the Spirit's presence, and lifting up their supplications for those far away on the ocean, a spirit of prayer was, in many an instance, awakened on shipboard, and while the sailor knew nothing of the means which the people of God were employing on his behalf, and ignorant of any unusual

movement in the Church, he was led anxiously to seek the salvation of his soul; the ship became a Bethel, the house of God, and the gate of Heaven, and the voyage, began in thoughtlessness, perhaps in profanity, ended with songs of devout praise; the forecastle, just now the scene of folly, and echoing with low jests, became vocal with humble prayer to God, and the sailor came to his port thinking that his has been a peculiar case, but met others who had a like experience, and he found that what met him far away on the lonely ocean, was only the same mighty power of God's spirit at work in its majesty on land and sea, covering the globe with its life-giving beneficence.

As a class of men, there is, we may safely assert, no other whose moral character bears more directly upon the work of God in the world. We say, as a class; others on the land may have their circle of influence bounded by the restrictions of home and neighborhood; these have for their home the earth-encircling ocean, and their influence, like its waters, meets and mingles around the globe, touching every continent and island with its restless motion. No other men have an opportunity such as they, to give a universal testimony for God. A converted sailor is a priceless boon to the Church.

We have given instances, and dwelt upon the disastrous influence which they have exerted in heathen lands, but it is pleasant to know that while this has been too uniformly the fact, yet there

have been all along, cases of an opposite character; and while, for the most part, the missionary has had cause only to mourn over the coming of the sailor, he has sometimes found it strengthen his hand and help him forward in his work. And when such instances have occurred, the influence has been so benign and powerful that we can well imagine what it shall be when it becomes common. When a pious captain, with a godly crew, comes into the harbor of some far-off missionary station, not to open anew flood-gates of iniquity, not to bring drunkenness and debauchery in their train, but to give emphasis to the teaching of the men of God, and unite their voices with his in prayer and praise to their common Master, it brings to the gospel a double power, a new weight to the instructions which have been given, it adds the life-giving force of a holy example. It tells that Christianity is the same all over the earth; the same elevating, sanctifying, good-imparting thing.

When the day comes when pious sailors shall man the ships of commerce, there will be going out a propagating power of good which, it may be, the world as yet has never seen. We need not dwell upon the peculiar characteristics of the sailor, so often insisted on, his boldness, his generosity, his earnestness; these have, we think, been made too much of; so much indeed, as sometimes to obscure the fact that, as a class, they are degraded and brutalized. We need not dwell on these to arrive at the value of their influence on the

gospel in the world. We have simply to consider that here are hundreds of thousands* of energetic men visiting every portion of the earth, and, by the peculiarities of their business, certain to exert a marked influence wherever they go; † speaking the various languages of the people to whom they come, and representing the Christian nations which have sent them forth; and what we have seen to be an evil in the past, will appear an immeasurable blessing when it becomes a good in the future.

We may imagine what the power of their influence would be in missionary fields if the arrival of each ship, instead of bringing a club of drunken and licentious men, ready for any scene of riot or iniquity, should give to the Christian laborers a band of praying men who should swell the little circle of those who call upon God, and whose voices should be heard in exhortation or prayer among the people, and whose godly example should illustrate the doctrines which had all along been taught. The instances where this has been realized in fact, have been, it is true, very few; yet they have occurred, and their benign and

* The census of the sea is almost impossible. It is estimated that there is at least half a million of men engaged in the marine of Great Britain and the United States alone.

† The leisure which the sailor has when in port; the opportunities which are afforded him for social intercourse; his pay partly, at least, in his hand, all give his visit an especial significance.

beneficent effect have been such as to make the Christian long and pray that they might be multiplied.

It is this which gives a significance and value to all efforts on behalf of seamen beyond their own individual conversion. The mighty army of those who go down to the sea in ships, whose lives are in perpetual peril, who are exposed to temptations perhaps beyond the lot of ordinary men, claims of itself, the warm sympathy, and demands the efficient labor of the Church of God; but their vast influence, so prevalent and so diffused, touching the work of God at its tenderest point, where impressions are at once easily made, and almost ineffaceable, give them an additional importance which cannot be overrated. In this view the "*Sailor's Home*," which has become an institution in the great ports of the world, the result of the labors of various societies for the benefit of seamen, becomes a praying station for the scattered soldiers of the Church; the seamen's chaplain stationed in the various ports of foreign lands, becomes a recruiting officer to enlist them for the war. The Church cannot afford to neglect this work of caring for the sailor, and she must not do it inefficiently. She must surround him with influences adapted to his case when at home; she must provide the Bible and religious books and influence for him on ship-board; she must follow him over the deep by her perpetual intercessions; she must go before him, and be ready to meet him when he

arrives in foreign lands, and when he steps on shore must take him by the hand and at once lead him within the hallowed circle where her power is felt. By these means, and under the promised power of God's spirit, he will be led to Christ and kept in the way; and when commerce carries him to heathen shores, he shall bring an atmosphere of good about him. Happy will that day be when the missionary on lonely Pacific islands can look out over the sea and hail the white sails of the ship with joy unmingled with a misgiving; when he shall know that they waft to him only friends and brothers. We believe that the day is not far distant. God is on the deep. His blessed spirit broods over the waters as once He brooded over chaos, and dead souls are quickened into life. The Church may well look forward to the day when every ship shall be a Duff or a Morning Star, and every crew a band that preaches Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER VII.

COMMERCE FOR THE CHURCH.

As we look over the past of commerce, and ask what it has done for the world, the prospect is dark, and the answer sad. It has been a power great and extended, it has discovered lands, it has opened and made them accessible to the Church of God; but when we look for what it has done to elevate, refine, ennoble the race, when we would see what it has done for the moral good of the world, we must turn sadly away; the light is only darkness, shaded only here and there with deeper gloom, but all darkness. After centuries of power and opportunity, it has failed to meet one of the great designs of God for the moral good of the world. It has abused its privileges, turned them into harm, ever widening and destructive. Instead of helping forward the spread of Christianity, it has evermore stood in its way; sometimes hindering it by its chilling indifference and fatal example, sometimes by its active, malignant opposition.

But we must believe, we know, that this shall not always be so. This power, like every other power of earth, shall, by and by, be turned into

the service of the Church, made subservient to her interests, and shall help forward her final triumph. Prophecy indicates it in such a passage as, "Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ship of Tarshish first to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them unto the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel" (Isa. lx. 9); where the ships of commerce are represented as engaged in bringing the sons of the Church, with their treasures, to heighten her glorious beauty. The whole course of Divine providence, in recent years, points directly to the rapid fulfilment of these promises. We propose in the present chapter to glance at these indications of God's providence, and attempt to trace the lesson which they furnish.

The history of commerce has taught this, if nothing more,—it cannot do the world the good it needs. The world is slow to learn, and the Church herself almost as slow to realize, that *Christianity is the only moral power which has any efficiency at all to make the world morally better.* The idea that commerce, and civilization, and art, and education, and literature are enough to elevate and sanctify the earth has so possessed the thoughts of men, and infected their language, that it is difficult to think or speak of their influences in any other way. A few years since, this land was filled with huge rejoicings over the successful laying of a submarine cable from continent to continent, and sermons were preached,

and Christian congratulations were interchanged because that here was a new and wonderful facility for intercommunication formed, and, of course, it must help forward the gospel, and extend its power in the world. We fear that there was a vast amount of thoughtless and empty joy, and men were glad over—they knew not what. Soberer thoughts at least should have mingled in. Whether the cable, then seemingly successful, were to be a good to the world, would depend wholly on what should go over the cable, on how much of moral and religious power was at either end. If the Church of God were alive enough to use it for his glory; if she had burning zeal enough to make it the medium of the communication of her life; if she could make that life vibrate with the subtle fluid which traversed it, it would be well. But if spiritual death, or sleep, were on either shore, what would it avail for the world, though it should lie in its shelly bed never so safely; though the lightning leaped over it never so swiftly? No, nothing shall ever do the Church's work. She may, she must, take possession of all other powers; she must make them tributary to her; she must use them for her service, but never can she leave her work to be done by them. This is her high calling—the renovation of the world; and both the voice of God's Word, and all the events of history, tell it to her.

Perhaps no more significant lesson has been taught the world of late by its history than this—

that commerce is a power which belongs to the Church, and which she must take into her possession. It is as if events were so shaped as to force the fact upon her attention, as if she and the world had been equally unwilling to recognize it. In former times, the idea that commerce depended at all upon Christianity for its prosperity, was not dreamed of; Christians might dimly believe it, but the world has only just now began to perceive it to be a fact.

As we have seen, commerce all along has felt itself and its interests wholly aside and independent of religion, and has acted toward it as if it lay wholly beyond the circle of its care or regard. It was a matter which could be ignored.

And more than this, commerce has felt that these interests were not only separate, but opposing; that the prevalence of religion was not compatible with the extension of commercial power, and that the one rose so transcendently above the other in importance that Christianity must at once yield its claims, and consent to be shut out from whatever land the supposed good of commerce seemed to require. The ground was taken without dispute or thought of doubt, that all belonged to commerce; that her interests were first and paramount, and were as separate and independent of religion as they were important. If, in her wisdom and benevolence and goodness of heart, commerce could give some aid and encouragement to Christianity, she might do it, and the

Church ought to be thankful for the favor; and when it was denied ought not to murmur. It was a favor to be grateful for, but not claimed. The suggestion, that commerce was dependent upon religion, and could not do without her aid, would have been laughed at as an absurdity too wild for answer.

But how wonderfully is all this reversed! Never before has the Church stood on such a vantage ground as to-day. We might allude to the conviction which seems forcing itself upon minds unlikely to feel it, that something more is needed for society than mere education and refinement; that schools, and a free literature, that books and teaching are not enough for the wants of the world. The multiplying evidences of lawlessness and crime, of dishonesty and vice, notwithstanding all the advances in educational appliances; the new and refined forms which knavery assumes; the turning of the most beautiful of arts, and the prostitution of the discoveries of science to the service of counterfeiting and stealing,* compel men to consider whether, after all, something more and better than these is not needed for the world. The sweep of the times bear even the most unwilling to the conviction, that religion, with its high morality, and its power

* When photography is made to copy bank notes, and the electrotype to prepare base coin, and chloroform to help the burglar, we may pause and rejoice with some questioning at the discoveries of science, if religion does not equally advance.

over the hearts and lives of men, must come in and mould them to her life, or else even the very advances of the times must be only iniquity advancing in subtlety and refinement. But in no field has this fact been so clearly exhibited as in the matter immediately before us.

Without calling attention to minor points, such as the openings which missionary labor presents to commercial transactions, and the various influences for good which these labors throw around them, we may take the history of India as the signal example of the entire and absolute connection and dependence of commerce upon Christianity. The English East India Company has occupied a place such as no other has in the history of the world, and may be taken as the most extended and perfect illustration of the working of commerce in its best forms, such as has nowhere else appeared. It has had time enough to perfect its works, and remedy its errors as they appeared. Two centuries of experience taught it. It has had unlimited power to carry out all its carefully matured plans. It has had boundless resources at its command. It has had in its services the intellects of some of the ablest minds of one of the ablest nations. It has, at times, had for its servants the noble, and the wise and good; we may, therefore, look upon its work, as a whole, as the highest result of commerce. If commerce were independent of religion ever, or in any place, here it would be found. We have

already seen what was the determination and desire of this Company through all its history in regard to Christianity,—a simple but entire severance of all connection between them. This was continued without interruption to the time when, so clearly evident was it that this Company was unequal to the high trust which it had of governing India, that the common sentiment of all men demanded that it should cease to exist.

But what was the result of this determination? It is written in disaster and blood, and speaks in tones of horror such as the world has never heard. There are now and then lessons taught to the world of such a character and with such emphasis that they never need to be repeated; they are learned once for all, and such a lesson has been given in the history of the British East India Company. To understand it is not necessary here to detail the terrible incidents of that great Revolt of 1857–9, which has already made the name of Sepoy, once the bulwark of Indian supremacy, a synonym of demoniac cruelty. It will make at once a very prominent and very bloody page in the history of this century. Nor is this the place to enter into any discussion of the causes of this revolt. Different theorists, looking at the facts from various stand-points, and equally qualified to give a correct judgment, assign very different ones. At this early day, so near to the events themselves, it is perhaps impossible to arrive at a true statement of the case. We must probably wait till

the secret history of the whole affair shall be, if it ever is, developed.

But whatever diversity of opinion there may be in regard to the moving causes, there are certain facts which are clear enough and of such a nature to furnish us teaching for all coming time. Here was a country wonderfully rich in resources and population, consolidated, to a greater or less extent, under a strong government, proving itself, indeed, strong enough by its own arm to keep down an uprising empire till help could arrive, exercising its sway over a docile people for at least a century and partially for two centuries,— a country advancing slowly but certainly in all the elements of civilization, and yet, at a certain moment, a sudden outbreak occurs in a northern province, and at once with telegraphic speed half the peninsula is in arms and pauses at nothing in the determination to rid itself of its hated rulers. It spares neither age nor sex nor character, but sweeps in one common butchery all that bear the name of European. A spark seems to have caused the explosion, but the train and the magazine were there before.

The government was exclusively commercial in its design, and had pursued its great ends with what wisdom and care it possessed. Leaving out of the question the one thing, Christianity, which is, of course, the thing at issue in this discussion, the government of the East India Company was confessedly an eminently wise one. It had of late

cared much for the social and moral well being of the people; had as carefully as possible avoided irritating measures; had yielded to prejudices and granted favors. Indeed, the difficulty which those who hate and desired to destroy the Company found in fastening the blame of this great insurrection upon it, and the varied nature of the reasons which they assign for it, sufficiently attest the fact of the desire which it had to promote the good of the people under its sway. In this regard, indeed, the English East India Company stands immeasurably above and beyond comparison with any other great commercial corporation that ever existed. Who would think for a moment of comparing its government with that of either Portuguese or Dutch over the same regions! They were only vast systems of cruel oppression and rapacity with scarcely one redeeming quality; this while its extension has been marked with wrong and fraud and cruelty, yet in its administration has been as a whole we might almost say benignant,—at least it has tended of late to the social elevation and happiness of the people, and been marked by much that should claim the admiration and approval of the world.

Yet in the face of all this it is still true that there was that in its government which had not only not gained the affections of the people, but, in at least one half of its dominions, had fixed a sullen determination on the first opportunity and at all hazards utterly to destroy it.

There was some fatal omission. That omission we believe to have been the Christianity which, through all its protracted season of power, had been slighted or frowned upon. Brahminical prejudices and Mahommedan intolerance had been cared for and guarded well, but Christianity had been left to care for itself when it was not hindered and punished. If it was in the way, as it usually was, it was not welcome; at the best it was simply tolerated. The Company persecuted sometimes its own officers, civil and military, because they were Christian men. It would do without Christianity: it did and was nearly undone.

As if to point out so emphatically that the whole world should see without the possibility of mistake where the error had been, the provinces and the only provinces which remained unshaken during the insurrection, were those in which missionary labors had been most successful and abundant, and where Christianity had the most wide-spread power. These were, indeed, all that saved India to England. Had the presidencies to the south and east joined in the revolt, its salvation would have been impossible. However men may explain the fact, there it stands—that those parts of India were most faithful where the gospel of Jesus Christ had the most power, and that the very classes most under the influence of the Company and most courted and caressed by it were the first to throw off their allegiance. As a Commercial Corporation it did all it could for them, and designedly and

deliberately withheld Christianity; and the end was disaster and ruin, only prevented by Christian soldiers and the faithfulness of Christian men.

The common consent of mankind seems to have determined, with a uniformity which is wonderful as it is universal, that here, just here was the fatal error of the government of India; so that without one solitary dissenting voice in England, a total reversal of the whole policy in regard to religion has been demanded; and so clear has been the case that not an objection has been raised against it. The world sees that even for its own safety commerce cannot do without Christianity; it cannot with impunity be a Godless thing; it must connect itself with higher interests than mere commercial advantage, or else court its own destruction. That it had not in India been able to disconnect itself wholly from these higher Christian influences was indeed its salvation. In spite of all the official hinderances perpetually thrown in the way of religious movements and the exertions of God-fearing men, there was a leaven of Christianity found in the Indian Government; not indeed because it desired it, quite the contrary, but because converted men in the providence of God were among its officers, and as individuals employed their influence as Christians. It was impossible for this not to be the case. The government had its home and origin in a Christian nation where the power of religion was felt, and

this power could not but find its way after a time into the conduct of the administration.

There were two bands of noble Christian missionaries here and there over the great peninsula, who were giving their lives to the work of spreading the religion of the cross among the people. Their example and the power of their simple presence was exerting a perpetual and powerful, though it may have been hidden and denied, effect on all the movements of the Company. However much officially it might endeavor, as it did, to discourage Christian aggressive labor, and even frown upon and indeed persecute those in its own employ who attempted to make or become converts, yet the power of prayer could not be hindered, and the actual conversion of souls could not be prevented; and so there were found in the army holy men of God, soldiers of the cross as well as of the government; in its civil employ devoted men, who cared for souls as well as merchandize and profits. This saved India, and this alone. That commerce has any hold there, that she has not lost all, she may give thanks to Christianity, which in her folly and wickedness she once tried to drive out, and which she always feared, and of which she would gladly have been rid.

As if the lesson was intended by God to be so plain that all men should at once and forever understand it, the one man to whom above all others England owes her present possession of

India, stands before the world and will go down to posterity pre-eminently as a man of God; his holiness outshines his generalship; his heroic energy is eclipsed by his supreme devotion to Christ. The name of Havelock will give point and condensation to the great instruction of this insurrection, so that men will not forget that the success of commerce and its safety rest at last upon the help that the religion of the Bible gives it.

The truth conveyed by this great example will, we think, be lasting and world-wide. The day of great commercial corporations with political powers has nearly passed away; this, one of the few that yet remain in existence, has just gone, the rest will soon follow, and commerce will settle back into its true and normal position and will confine itself to its own work. Its history has shown that it is not a governmental power. The two great functions of trade and government cannot be united in one corporation. This arises from the very nature of the things themselves. The spirit of commerce is the spirit of gain, of self-aggrandizement, not necessarily selfish or subversive of the interests of others, but the contrary; in its true intent building up the prosperity of all the parties concerned in it; but still self-interest is the principle which moves it. It is just this which should, above all others, be kept out of view in a government. A power which is wielded for itself and to build up its own interest, has the prime elements of despotism in it. It is for this

reason that however wisely its affairs may be administered, yet, when commerce governs, there must always, as in this case, be an element of discord and weakness present. Henceforward, probably, commerce will more and more detach itself from the function of government and pursue its legitimate business; and just here, it seems, is the point where it shall come in as an assisting power to the Church.

The day is too far advanced now for religion to look for help from the civil arm. No lesson is more clearly conveyed by history, however difficult it may be for men to see it, than this;—Christianity neither wishes nor can receive any aid from government. It does not ask that kind of power to help its extension. It has always been damaged whenever it has received it. We believe that the attention of the Church needs to be kept to this, especially in Great Britain. There is danger now of a reaction which may be more disastrous, if possible, than the evils which were lately deplored. The Indian Government has been brought to an end, and the great error of its administration has been pointed out and seems, however there may be conflicting opinions on other points, to be accepted as a fact that its influence was not used to aid the progress of Christianity, and that henceforward the moral and religious well being of the people must be cared for as it never has been in the past.

The danger now is that too much will be ex-

pected and demanded of the government which has assumed the management of the affairs of India; that since Christianity was ignored and opposed in the past, that now in the future it shall be built up and extended by the arm of government. This cannot be, and must not be. No impression could be more disastrous upon the native mind than that the powers which rule them are not less religious than civil; that the authority of the land designs to force its Christian belief upon them. It would be the death-blow of religious progress. There is an instinct in every man's breast that tells him that the affairs of his soul are his own, and lie quite outside the jurisdiction of any power less than God, and which revolts at the beginning of an invasion of this sacred domain. So it would be in India. Every thinking man, and India is full of such, would array himself with double determination against a religion backed by such power.

There is, by whatever means it may have been caused, a deep and deadly animosity to the government which prevails over them. It will require years of care and benignant exercise of authority to wear out this hostility. That it will be done we do not doubt, but in the meanwhile this element of hatred must not be attached to it. The government must appear to the people strong, indeed, but benevolent and impartial in its strength, the friend and protector of every man in his best rights and interests. Christianity must ask no aid

from its power, nor even seem to rest upon it for support.

On the other hand, just as clearly must it appear that the government is a Christian government, founded by a Christian state, and administered on Christian principles. It is not, and it must not seem to be a government of no religion, a godless government. Here has been the mistake. The East India Company seem never to have understood that there is a golden mean between a religious government and a government which propagates religion; that it was possible to exhibit a state controlled by Christian ideas, and yet a state which does not use its power to force them upon the people. Had it entered into these thoughts, the terrible events of 1857 would never have occurred. The lesson, however, has been learned at an awful cost, but it will probably not need repetition, and is of untold value. Henceforward God will be honored as He has not been honored in the past.

The past, indeed, of India, has been an insult to the majesty of God; a nation who owned Him as their God, and had been built up under His fostering care for a thousand years, held for a century a hundred millions of men under their power, and yet deliberately and systematically ignored the existence of God, gave more honor and pay to ten thousand idol temples a thousand fold than to one of His,* and by word and act told

* See statement of Rev. Baptist Noel, page 65.

the millions that Jehovah was nothing to it. The crime was heaven-daring, and it is not wonderful that, jealous of His honor and loving the souls of these myriads, He should have sent His stroke upon it. We may believe that the wicked mistake has been seen, and will be corrected, and that in the future the English government of India will exhibit in all its legislation and acts, the fact that it emanates from a people whose state rests on the Bible, and to whom the God of the Bible is the supreme object of reverence and service. This is what the common sense of heathen men themselves must see to be consistent, and it will commend itself to their acquiescence. And when they see that still it does not attempt to force men to the belief of the Christian religion or to the practice of its observances, but leaves them free to follow the demand of their own consciences, and protects them in every right, it will have a hold upon their regard such as was forever impossible under its former policy. This much the Church may and must claim; if she be wise, she will ask no more.

As intimated above, the extinction of the civil and political functions of the East India Company, and its reduction to a merely trading corporation, leaves commerce to pursue its legitimate work and exercise its naked influence; and thus whatever of Christian influence it may have in the future will be exerted along its track, as it never could

have been put forth when it was closely united and a part of the machinery of government.

That such a Christian influence will be exerted we cannot doubt. These occurrences have placed Christianity in a position of acknowledged influence such as it never had before. Men see what is due to its fostering care, and how impossible it is to do without its aid. As the true principles of commerce are more and more fully understood, the more clearly evident will the intelligence and the uprightness of Christian principles seem necessary for its progress.

We have dwelt thus at length on the history of the East India Company, because it gives the most extensive and best possible illustration of the principles which we think involved in the relations of commerce to the spread of religion in the world.

When traders scouted religion and slandered its ministers in the South Sea islands, and with lies, and deceit, and cruelty, and licentiousness cursed the people to whom they came, they insanely thought that they were pursuing their own interests; but when ship after ship was taken and burnt, and crew after crew was cut off and eaten by the treacherous and revengeful savages, the fatal error was understood, and henceforth they knew how to welcome and appreciate the benign and civilizing influences which flowed in with the extension of Christian missions. And this is but a type of what is becoming more clearly evident every day; the lands where Bible religion has its

best sway are the lands for commerce to pursue her vocation, and as it gains influence and extends its power over the people, they give a wider and a better field for her work. Christianity, in converting the inhabitants of the Sandwich and the South Sea islands, gave an ocean world to commerce.

The former relation of commerce to Christianity, in the advancing providence of God, has well nigh been reversed in these latter times. Once, and till of late, it was commerce which gave new lands to the Church, *now it is the Church which is opening and giving new fields to commerce.* For years past, the most efficient and successful discoverers and explorers have been missionaries of religion. The best contributions that have been made to the geography of the world, for the last quarter of a century, have been made by them. We need scarcely mention as an example the name of Livingstone, whose tireless energy, kindled by love to Christ and to souls, carried him, the first civilized man, across the continent of Africa and ranked him the first of African explorers.

The labors of this noble man give a most striking and beautiful example and illustration of the way in which the great powers we are considering are related to each other. He stands before the world as a missionary of the Christian religion, and his great design is to reach with it, in the most efficient and speedy way, the benighted inhabitants of those regions, and bring them under its influence. He has, as we think no other missionary

had before him, seized upon the idea that commerce is the most efficient means within his reach to aid in this design. He does not mistake or fall into the vulgar error that commerce with its attendant elevating and civilizing influences will do the work he has in view; that it will enlighten and prepare the way for the gospel; he does not put it in the place of the gospel, nor rest upon it at all as the power which will regenerate the people. He has gone before, and he goes now, preaching the gospel, and looks to it as that which alone can give life to men; but at the same time he has steadily in view, in every journey, the entrance and the progress of a legitimate commerce. This he believes will, above everything else, aid the great design he has at heart.

He finds a commerce there, if commerce it can be called, in its lowest and basest forms, the source of misery and crime; he seeks to supplant it by a nobler and a better,—to exchange the sale of human beings, of rum and trinkets, for that of the necessaries and comforts of life, to stimulate the mind and energize the character by bringing them into contact with Christian men; to lift them up by the combined power of the gospel and a Christian commerce.

Livingstone is, at the present writing, prosecuting his explorations under a government commission, and by its assistance. We know of no other instance which so perfectly illustrates the true relation and the legitimate working of these great

forces, government, commerce, and Christianity, each pursuing its own work in its own way, neither stepping out of its true province, and yet all working hand-in-hand with perfect harmony. It is only another of the many instances in which it demonstrated that they may labor together, and each promote the other and the common interest; and it adds another proof to the fact so manifestly taught of late, that the true and lasting success of commercial enterprise is connected with the progress of the gospel in the world.

This will appear more and more fully every year, and commerce will be led by motives of self-interest to gain the assistance of Christianity, and be anxious to lend whatever aid it has to give to help forward its work. In this way it is that commerce, considered as one great system, is brought into an intimate and dependent relation and is made tributary to Christianity. It may not be, and is not fully seen, it is not acknowledged, but every year makes it more evident, and by-and-by it will be practically acknowledged everywhere. Even now commerce has ceased to assume those airs of superiority and patronage to Christianity which were so usual a quarter of a century ago. Individuals may hate the purity and restraint of the gospel, and may endeavor to hinder as they do slander its working; but the system of commerce acknowledges practically each year more fully its obligations.

To see the progress of the times in this matter,

and the advances which the Church has made, we have only to think of the repetition of the scenes which marked the first contact of Christian missions in foreign lands with commercial enterprises and institutions. The lofty tone would seem now simple insolence, and the outrages be only impossible. The Church has passed out from the low position which she once occupied, and the movements of the age have lifted her to a place of influence so marked that the relation has changed between them, and the dependence is reversed. The time has gone by when the servants of Christ can be ordered to depart in the ship that brought them, or be driven from place to place till the grave welcomes them to its home, or when they abide at the will or caprice of commercial authorities. Such a review is encouraging to the Christian, and while clearly the work has been but begun, and the power of commerce cannot be said to be given to the Church at all as yet, still it affords promise of good in the future; the advance is so manifest and so great in so short a time, that we may readily believe that by and by it will be a power freely imparted and largely used.

Nor does a consideration of the work of God of late in the Church point to less hopeful results. Christianity will take possession of commerce just as it does of any other power of the world; not by allying itself to it or mixing itself up as an equal with it, but by impregnating it with its principles and imparting to it the power of its life.

It will take hold on the fountains of commerce and cleanse them. In this aspect the recent work of God in this country has, we think, a deep significance. It seems to have had a marked relation to commerce, as though God intended to bring the influences of His Holy Spirit to bear upon this world-wide power.

The Great Awakening, as it has been appropriately called, of 1858, had its issue out of the commercial reverses and disasters of the previous year. These were of a marked and peculiar character, and the commercial history of the time is perhaps without a parallel. In the midst of business buoyancy and prosperity, without a single sign betokening a change, a small cloud rose in the horizon, and in an instant it overspread the whole heavens. The failure of a single banking establishment created a panic which went with electric speed over the land, and soon as ocean steamers could communicate it, over the whole world. There was not a spot on earth which had any connection with commerce which did not feel the shock. Everything at once went down before it. The business world, a moment since full of life and activity, was now prostrate. A blow so mighty and of such wide-spread power had never been felt before.

But whence came it? With the first awakening consciousness men began to inquire the origin of all this desolation. But this was as mysterious as the blow had been destructive. Like lightning from an unclouded sky the thunderbolt had fallen

before a sound was heard, and whence it came no man could tell. To this day there is as wide a diversity of opinion as at the first. No sufficient cause has yet been assigned. In other commercial disasters the causes might be pointed out: insane speculations, followed by great fires sinking millions of dollars out of the world in a night, might be given in answer, but these would not do now; here was the strange anomaly,—the commercial world trembling in alarm and in ruin with its coffers full of gold.

The only reason which can be furnished, we believe, is that which the devout Christian who recognizes the hand of God in the affairs of men, is in the habit of giving—it came from God, and for a special purpose. The events of the subsequent months give the interpretation. It is as if the great God would place His hand so signally upon the business world that all men should be compelled to recognize His being and His power. The means accomplished the end. Never has there been an acknowledgment of God so spontaneous and so universal. Before, men might have believed that God ruled over the lives of men, and was the great Arbiter of health and disease,—that He governed the nations and appointed their rise and fall; now, they saw that He was as supreme in the world of commerce, that a touch of His hand could turn, without a visible cause and in a moment, smiling prosperity into blackest ruin.

God in Commerce, is the interpretation of the history of those years.

The revival which succeeded was as significant and to the same point. It was peculiar in its distinction from all previous revivals in the field over which it swept, and the classes which it affected. Other revivals have prevailed for the most part in inland towns and rural districts, and have reached largely the inhabitants peculiar to them. This began in commercial centres, and, if one place can be selected as a starting point, where the work was so instantaneous and universal, in the largest seaport on the continent; and its most wonderful triumphs have been in great commercial cities. It was a revival of religion among business men, and in this it differs from all that preceded it. It brought out a spirit of prayer and effort among this class of persons, among whom as a class it has never before been exhibited. The business men's prayer-meetings, held in the busiest parts of the cities, and at a midday hour, from which radiate perpetual streams of personal labor, are a type of the work. It went into the counting-room, and sent its influence through all the channels of commercial life. No one will indeed pretend to say that it has had much more than a barely appreciable influence upon the habits and rules of the business world. The transactions of trade are doubtless but little governed by Christian principles, and there is much yet to be learned, and still more to be practiced by Christian men;

yet this work of grace has had a mighty power which will be silently, and therefore, perhaps, secretly, moulding them. We may hopefully take this revival of religion as the beginning of an influence which is destined to pervade the commercial world. We may believe that thus God will purify the sources of commerce and so bring it as a power completely and directly in subserviency to his cause.

Such will one day be the case. The world belongs to the Church, and God will give it to her. Commerce is a vast power in the earth, and He will give it to her to hold and use for Him. It has hitherto been a power which stood above and aloof from the Church, when it has not been arrayed in active hostility against her; but the providence of God and the advances of time have gradually forced its dependence upon Christianity to its notice, and the spirit of God has by His touch made it to feel the power of God. There is then much that is hopeful. We may justly look forward to the time when it shall lay all its resources at the feet of Christ. The great problem is: How shall commerce be taken possession of by the Church of God, how be made best to help forward the evangelization of the world? It is a problem not solved yet. Possibly it has in it a reconstruction of the whole theory of modern Christian missions.

When we see what God hath wrought, and how vast are the advances which the Church has

already made toward the great possession of the power of the sea; when we see the changes which a few years have made, and the indications of providence in the spiritual world, surely there is enough to awaken prayer that the time may speedily come when the abundance of the sea shall be given to Christ. But while she prays there is a necessity laid upon her to stir up her own life to a higher and a holier activity. If we have been in any measure successful in this little book, we have shown that in this thing alone lies any hope for the world from the power of the sea. If it is pervaded by the moral power of the Church it shall be well; if it be not, then it is a thing to be dreaded and deplored, and the thoughtful Christian will only tremble and be filled with anxiety at every new advance which is made in bringing the earth together.

But God has shown by the history of the past what he can do, and in it has given promise of what he is willing to do. He has shown of late by the wonderful movements of his Holy Spirit what he is ready to do. It is for the Church now to be awake and earnest, to be by his grace abreast of his providence. Let it be her aim to have life enough to impart to the world, vitality enough to send through the opening channels of communication. Let her not be too anxious to have them opened.

There is such a thing as forcing providence, or

rather wilfully aiming at a fixed result and resolutely accomplishing it, and then calling it the providence of God. Individuals do it every day. Men without faith* in God are evermore doing it. Yet it can never be done without disaster. The man urges events, and surrounds himself with circumstances for which he is unprepared, and responsibilities which he is unable to meet. Yet he cannot control the events in their inexorable progress; they have in themselves a power which makes new combinations and shapes new events and destinies; they tramp onward, brush past, or trample him under their feet while they rush forward to results which he dreads. So, too, may there be this running before the providence of God and this pushing events out of their place in the movements of nations. It may readily be a matter of doubt whether in those great events of the year 1858, the opening of China and Japan to the commerce of the world, this very thing has not been done. The commercial world has been rejoicing, and the religious world has been joining in the gladness that the walls of centuries had fallen down; they have overlooked the possible injustice of the transactions which have brought the result, have scarcely questioned whether or

* The "out of place" (ἀτόποι) men doing things, out of place because without faith in the often slow movements of God. 2 Thes. iii. 2.

not any nation has not a right inherent in itself to exclude those whom it knows or supposes will bring only evil and not good to the people; they have forgotten the right and the justice, and rejoiced only in the success of a darling scheme; the question recurs to a thoughtful man, has there been no wrong committed? or if no wrong, have we waited for the logic of events? have we waited for the movements of Divine providence? Are we not before the time?

A few years will tell in tones not to be mistaken or misunderstood. Possibly the Church may take up a lamentation over what she sings to-day. Whether or not she shall depends on what she herself is willing to do. One thing she may know without a shadow of a doubt:—If she does not enter the open field at once; if she goes not hand in hand with commerce, these years shall be years memorable only for sorrow in China and Japan. The history of centuries, of every century, of every nation, tells one story,—*Commerce in itself brings no good to the nations, it but multiplies and intensifies the evils which exist.*

There is to us something inexpressibly solemn in these openings of the world by commerce. We know the teachings of the past, and we know that to be opened is not to be blessed. We pray, the Church prays, that the walls of seclusion may be taken down, and that the nations may be brought together; she prays, and the answers are given,

and we ask tremblingly, are they not answers which the awe-struck psalmist in his praise to God as the hearer of prayer recognized, "By terrible things in righteousness wilt thou answer us, O God of our salvation; who art the confidence of all the ends of the earth, and of them that are far off upon the sea."* The Church has prayed, but is she ready to go in and possess the land? May it not be, what if it should be, that she has been asking like the Israelites, the great Lord to open the way into the promised possession, and God has in answer to her prayers brought her to the borders of the land, and now she stands idly there halting and refusing to enter in, and will stand halting and refusing till she is told to turn back to the wilderness again, and wait till another generation better and more faithful than she shall arise? One thing is certain, the doors for weal or woe have been forced open, commerce with keen eye, and grasping hand, and cold and selfish heart is stepping in; vice and crime and disease will follow after, then woe, thrice woe if the Church linger behind. If her life be so low, if she be so sunk in earthliness and forgetfulness of God that her power is gone, she had better never have prayed. She has come before her Lord like the two disciples who prayed and knew not what they asked. If she listen well she shall hear the

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* Ps. lxv. 5.

voice of the Master saying, "Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of, and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" the baptism of self-denial and of suffering? Happy, happy the Church if she be able to answer back, "We are able." She will learn what the gift is as the time advances; the self-denial and the suffering will come, but the conquest and the possession shall be hers, and she shall sit on the thrones of the earth.

APPENDIX.

PHILADELPHIA BIBLE ROOMS,
OFFICE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.

To the Christian Public, and the Friends of Seamen:

IN presenting the operations of the Pennsylvania Seamen's Friend Society, the attention of the reader is directed to an important and extensive work in which this Society is now engaged, not because of the different character of its Christian benevolence, but from its strong claims and vast extent.

In the course of events, the providence of God has cast upon this Society (during the prosecution of this unhappy civil war) the work of furnishing our seamen with religious reading. Our attention has been called to the necessity of supplying Government vessels with good books, as the only means of grace which many of their crews could enjoy. After entering upon this duty, the number of vessels in the Government employ increased so rapidly, as to place a vast number of seamen of different grades, with much idle time upon their hands, employed as they are often for months in blockading the same port.

By a liberal benevolence we have been enabled to supply eighty-seven vessels with suitable religious libraries, placed in neat book-cases; and have thus far supplied every Government war vessel and transport which has left this port since July, 1861.

Thus led, step by step, we inquired after the merchant ves-

sels, and ascertained that, since the death of the lamented seaman's friend, Rev. Mr. Ripley, no particular attention had been given to these vessels, except by the distribution of a few tracts and Bibles. And we have now also undertaken the work of supplying every merchant vessel leaving this port with a collection of selected religious books. The object commends itself. The good already done, and to be done, is incalculable. The operation is simple and economical. No expense attends this work after the first cost of the books and case, except in placing them on board of the vessel, and exchanging them for other books, when read through by the crew.

The Pennsylvania Seamen's Friend Society has now, for more than nineteen years, been actively engaged in promoting the temporal and spiritual interests of the sons of the ocean.

In the year 1846 the Society was enabled, through the liberality of the friends of the cause, to purchase an eligible property in South Front Street, to be fitted up as a Sailor's Home. The original cost of the Home was $10,000. An additional sum of $3,657·44 had been expended in necessary repairs and alterations, making a total sum of $13,657·44, which have been paid by the subscriptions raised for that purpose. The house is substantial and commodious, and the improvements which have been made render it a desirable retreat for those who toil upon the deep. It will accommodate about one hundred. The rooms are comfortably furnished, and a good library is provided for the use of boarders. It is conducted entirely on Christian principles, a family altar being erected there, and a public religious service held weekly. Since its establishment more than 14,000 mariners have shared its privileges. The influences exerted there have led many to sobriety, and an experimental acquaintance with the truth as it is in Jesus. Eternity alone will fully reveal the moral and religious results.

The smiles of a gracious Divine Providence upon past efforts encourage hope for future success; and when we present the objects of our exertions—men to whom we owe so much for

our wealth, our luxuries, our country's defence, and the spread of the gospel of peace throughout the world—every friend of humanity, of his country, and his God will cry out, "Go on with your noble work, for we bring you ample means."

Very sincerely, S. BONHOMME,
Acting Corresponding Secretary.

The Sailor's Home, No. 422 South Front Street, is still successfully sustained by this Society, offering a good and safe boarding-house for the sailor on shore.

Office at the Bible Rooms, N.W. corner of Seventh and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, where donations may be sent.

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