THE STORY

OF

Joseph Owen

A DEDICATED LIFE

BY THE

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CONTENTS.

THE STORY OF A DEDICATED LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

DAYS OF EDUCATION.

Among the youth pursuing their studies at Princeton, in the year 1834, there were a few, who regularly met weekly, for religious improvement. Their association was called the Philadelphian Society, from its purpose to promote the feeling of Christian brotherhood in its members and through them among mankind. Singly, or in committees, they collected information of the moral and religious condition of their own and other countries. And among the enterprises of the time most interesting to them was that of Christian missions to the heathen.

On entering the society in those days, there were some names with which a newcomer soon became familiar, not because those who bore them were obtrusive in any way, but from the general deference paid to their characters and opinions. Such were especially Morrison, Dougherty, Freeman, Owen, Janvier, and Canfield. It is pleasant to think of them as they were then, just entering upon manhood, or approaching it, full of energy, buoyant with hope and elevated with the sentiment of a lofty purpose. The burden of their conversation, at all times, among themselves, was alleviation of the ills of human life, the salvation of souls, the glory of God, the Saviour, and the means through which they hoped to be useful to those ends. There is a nobility in the self-forgetting consecration of

pious youth. In many cases it wearies and fails in the struggle with the world. In the case of that little group, it never suffered debasement. The purpose of their youth ripened into the execution of their maturer years. At a time when foreign missionary work was still new to most of our Protestant churches, and viewed with more apprehension, and attended with more privation and danger than it is now, they all offered themselves on the altar of that sacrifice, and never afterwards shrunk from the duties thus incurred, or ever revoked their choice.

Joseph Owen, then about twenty years of age, was already marked by a maturity of purpose, which, while it made him unattractive to those who lived for pleasure, enlisted on his behalf the respect of earnest and studious men. Of stature above the medium, of staid demeanor, profoundly modest, and yet self-possessed, there was a gentle dignity in his address, which effectually defended him against offensive intrusion, and could easily become severe upon violation of its bounds, while always ready to warm into a beam of affection for a friend. He was a native of Bedford, Westchester County, New York, a son of James and Lucretia Merrit Owen, born on the 14th of June, 1814. His father, a man of highly estimable character, died while his son was yet under ten years of age. His mother, a pious member of the Presbyterian church in Bedford, endeavored to bring up her children in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. Joseph early evinced a superior capacity for acquisition of learning, and a desire to become a minister of the Gospel.

In the course of his studies with a view to that end, he was encouraged by his pastor, the Rev. Jacob Green, who also employed him, during college vacations, in Christian

effort, equally profitable to his own spiritual life, and preparatory for his contemplated work. Mr. Green was one of those who formed the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and was its recording secretary for many years. To him and his excellent lady was Mr. Owen greatly indebted for that Christian influence which entered into the formation of his character. In October, 1832, he entered the Sophomore class at Princeton. Before the session had far advanced, he was ranked among the best scholars of the class, and had taken his place with those who in the Philadelphian Society were banded together in the cause of practical religion.

Oren K. Canfield was a man of few words, whose religion was severe, and his deportment grave. He had taken leave of the world when he gave himself to Christ, and no longer admitted of tampering with any of its ways. But the sombre manner covered warm and gentle affections, which needed only the approach of Christian fellowship to elicit. He was a moderate scholar, and faithful in application, but believed that all effort after class honors, and all manifestations of himself, belonged to that spirit of the world which he sought to resist and mortify. Severe to himself, he was considerate and forgiving to others, and willing to be spent for the salvation of his fellow-men. Maturer experience might have taught him that a man limits his usefulness in thus denying himself; but his serious, single minded, devoted life was early laid down, in the front rank—the forlorn hope of missionary effort on the west coast of Africa. And I have no doubt that it was laid down as bravely, with as complete a resignation as if it had followed a victory. When I think of that quiet, self-contained, seldom speaking young man, moving about

among us, with only one great aim absorbing his being, not despising perhaps, but having no heart for our college distinctions, his careful and solemn spiritual preparation for his contemplated work, and his death in the breach, before a foothold within the fortress was won, there are none of my young companions whom I remember with a more respectful tenderness than Oren K. Canfield.

John E. Freeman had come from the workshop. Scholarship was to him only means to an end, in itself nothing—a mere retort, which might be broken and thrown away when the end it was made for was accomplished. And that end, as far as he was concerned, was preparation for the Gospel ministry among the heathen. Converted from the midst of profligate companions, whom he saw hastening on to ruin, he was filled with a sense of the atrocity of sin, its prevalence and power in the world, and of the calamitous condition of the nations where no gospel interfered with the full development of its fruits in misery. Anything was, in his estimation, valuable which went to qualify him the better to proclaim the Gospel to the heathen, that he might be the means of staying, as much as he possibly could, the overwhelming tide of sin. What did not look to that end was nothing in his eyes. Classics, Philosophy, Science, professors the most learned or the most eloquent; were nothing in themselves, only means. The great end in view swallowed up everything. From the day of his conversion until he left his native land was one unabating rush of preparation. He could not wait to complete his apprenticeship, nor proceed by the slow method of self-education, but bought up the remainder of his time, rapidly finished his preparation in the Grammar School, went immediately from College into the Theological Seminary, and

was ready to set out for the foreign field assigned him, as soon as he had completed the theological course. Everything undertaken by him was marked by the same almost impatient rapidity. What was once done, was done; if perfectly, well; if imperfectly, so much the worse, but never to be recurred to, unless it belonged to the tasks of recurring duty. His rapidity of movement, the sparkle of his eye, his quick, but clear and distinct utterance, and the animation and firmness of his countenance all spoke the man of resolute purpose and dispatch in execution. Such, not as a scholar, but in whatever was put into his hands to do, was his clear expeditious discharge of duty, until the day when he fell in the massacre at Cawnpore.

A careful culture from infancy in a refined Christian family had prepared Levi Janvier to take with facility a place among the first honor men of his class. His scholarship was not extensive but precise and true, firmly apprehended, and held at deliberate command. There was no halting in his recitations: they were clear and complete. But beyond the studies assigned to the class, in that direction, he cared not to go. Scholarship, although he excelled and took pleasure in it, was not his aim; it was preparation to preach the Gospel; and he labored to be well prepared. His opinions were as precise as his scholarship. Earnestly above all other things desiring the salvation of men, he did not conceive of that end as being attainable except by the path of sound Calvinism. The same precision was a feature of his manner and deportment. And yet there was about him always and invariably, and in him intrinsically, a sweet and gentle courtesy, the genuine outgrowth of a heart glowing with Christian love. Another such combination of warm, really tender outgoing affec-

tion, with severe, precise self-culture I have never known. It was always the same. The two features of character did not alternate in him, they were harmoniously blended. Whatever moods of mind he may have been subject to, they never ruffled the serenity of his outer life. In maturer years, it was the gentler element of his nature which preponderated. His death in India by the hands of an assassin was an event which no common passion could explain.

Joseph Owen associated freely with his fellow-students, but with those now mentioned his relations were most intimate, through both his collegiate and theological course. And the benefit which he derived from their society was perhaps well balanced by that which he conferred. Of all the group he alone took a real interest in learning, not merely for the ends to be reached by it, but also for its own sake. In that love of knowledge which wrestles with difficulties cordially, and rests not until they are mastered, he was excelled by none of his compeers, while the elevation and equableness of his Christian life was often a support to friends subject to more fluctuating moods. After receiving his first degree in College in September, 1835, he entered the Theological Seminary in Princeton. There employed in studies more completely within the range of his purposes for life, he distinguished himself by great superiority of attainment. Especially in the department of Biblical literature, and Oriental languages, he earned the highest commendations of Dr. Joseph Addison Alexander, then entering upon the prime of his own brilliant career. His theological course was extended to four years, during three of which he was also mathematical tutor in college; and in that capacity acquitted himself with his

usual industry and success. It was with a view the better to prepare for his contemplated work in an oriental mission by fortifying himself in the oriental languages under the instructions of Professors Alexander and Nordheimer that he took the additional year. With the latter he pursued the study of Arabic and Sanskrit. By the end of that time he had read with strict grammatical care the whole of the Hebrew Bible, and in Arabic the whole of the Koran, and made considerable progress in the classical language of India, besides exceeding the measure of the studies assigned to the classes in other departments.

At the close of the session of 1839, which then occurred in September, he left Princeton, and was ordained by the Presbytery of Westchester at Bedford on the second of October following. Immediately afterwards he was appointed by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions to their recently selected field in Northern India. For a few months, including the winter of 1839–40, and the succeeding Spring, he acted as an agent of the Board in some of the middle States. His friends, Morrison and Freeman, had already preceded him to India, the former, in 1838, and the latter, in 1839. And in the same year in which Morrison went to the east, Dougherty had gone to the west, and commenced his mission among the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes, to whose spiritual interests his life was, in all its best energies, devoted.

On the third of August, 1840, Mr. Owen took leave of his mother and sisters and younger brother and of all the nearest and dearest to him, to go forth in the service of his Lord to preach the Gospel to the heathen. That parting cost him inexpressible suffering; he never recurs to it in his journals or letters without a fresh outburst of emotion;

for he was a man in whom the social affections were warm and tender. But even in that crisis of trial I feel assured that the thought of drawing back,—the thought that this is a too expensive way of doing good—never for a moment occurred. Dedication to missionary work had become a part of himself. It had ceased to be a question before his mind. As such it had been closed up long ago, never more to be opened. It was the decree of God for him. He knew that it would cost self-denial. But his mind was made up for self-denial. What it would cost was no longer to be considered. He had summed up all that when he gave himself to the Lord. Nor was this separation from all he loved most dearly upon earth designed to be temporary. In his view it was final. The devotion of himself was without reserve. It was to live and die in his work. When a friend remonstrated with him, "Why incur such exposure to an unhealthy climate? You may not live long," "I do not expect to live long," was his reply, "Some must go to begin the work." His going to what he felt to be duty was not to depend upon the chances of life. Yet that entire self-dedication was not made in a stern and gloomy spirit: he did not go to his life's work like one going to execution; for asceticism was no part of his nature, which was genial and sociable; but not the less was the self-consecration irreversible.

On the second morning after that parting, Mr. Owen sailed from Boston, in the barque "Eugene," Captain Whitney, upon the long voyage round the Cape of Good Hope. He went in company with his friends of the Theological Seminary, the Rev. John C. Rankin, and William H. M'Auley, who with their wives and Miss Jane Vanderveer, a teacher, were all appointed to the missions of the Presbyterian Church in Northern India.

CHAPTER II.

A VOYAGE ROUND THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

A month after leaving Boston the missionaries were far down on the coast of Africa, opposite Sierra Leone. And thus did Mr. Owen express himself: "We have been sailing about thirty hours nearly east, and drawing nearer and nearer to that dark and benighted peninsula. It is indeed melancholy to think of the millions, now so near us, that are sunk to the lowest depths of degradation and wretchedness." A few months earlier, his friend and fellow-member of the Philadelphian Society, the Rev. Oren K. Canfield, in company with Mr. Pinney and Jonathan P. Alward, a younger member of the same society, and student of the Theological Seminary in Princeton, had passed along that coast, on an exploring visit, to select a place for a missionary station. They had determined upon one among the Kroo people, about half way between Cape Palmas and Monrovia; and now were again at home preparing for the occupation of it. Four months later, in February, 1841, Canfield and Alward returned to begin their work with buoyant hopes in the new and vast field which lay before them,—hopes early disappointed. The malaria of that fatal coast carried off Alward almost as soon as he approached it; and in May of the next year, Canfield followed him to the grave. Their companions returned home, with exception of one colored teacher, who survived to conduct his work. But self-sacrifice for that part of Africa was not at an end. The Rev. Robert Sawyer,

also of the Philadelphian Society, arrived with his wife at Monrovia in December, 1841, and proceeded to Settra Kroo, to take up the work of those departed friends, whom he had expected to assist. He did not long survive them. In December, 1843, he also fell a victim to the climate. But ere that date the work of Christian instruction had been successfully established, schools had been put into prosperous operation, which Mrs. Sawyer continued to conduct after her husband's death, while educated colored men were introduced to teach and preach the gospel to their countrymen.

After thirty days' sailing down the coast of Africa, though never once coming in sight of it, the "Eugene" had passed beyond the extreme point of the continent into the Southern ocean. On the third of October, Mr. Owen wrote in his journal, "We are now far in the dreary South, where we seem to ourselves to be almost out of the world. We expect to cross the meridian of London to-morrow. We are south of the Cape of Good Hope, but on account of a strong current which sets in from Madagascar, it is customary on an outward voyage to India, to sail as far up as the 38th or 39th degree of south latitude, before making much easting. What is called 'Doubling the Cape' is therefore sailing thus far south, and then turning and going east about five or six thousand miles. We expect to be in cold weather about a month, and truly the prospect is not a very cheering one. We can have no fire, and with all the bundling-up convenient for us, we can hardly keep warm. October 4th. Sabbath. My thoughts have been much in Bedford to-day. O how delighted would my heart have been to join with my dear friends once more in commemorating the Saviour's dying love. I love to think

of that place where I first publicly dedicated myself to God, where I was for years fed with the sincere milk of the Word, where I have often held sweet communion with many dear Christian friends, where I received license to preach the everlasting Gospel, and where I was solemnly ordained to the work of the holy ministry."

Without any event worthy of notice, the protracted imprisonment of the missionaries terminated on the twenty-fourth of December, by their landing at Calcutta.

"The natural scenery, which we pass in going up the river, is very beautiful. The deep rich green, which covers the banks, is most delightful to the eyes, after seeing nothing but ocean and sky for nearly five months. This evening, when walking the deck, I could not wonder that India had been painted by so many as a sort of fairy land. All was calm, nothing was to be heard but the voice of natives on the shore, or from the water, and the paddling of their oars up and down the yellow Hoogly. The water was smooth as glass, and gave a perfect reflection of the western sky, after the sun had sunk beneath the horizon. Here indeed

'Every prospect pleases
And only man is vile.'

The noble array of palaces, gardens and groves, on both sides of us, as we passed, presented a picture of luxury and magnificence. There was, however, a defect in the appearance of the buildings: they were too low, not more than two stories high. There was also a sameness in the scenery, which I could not help contrasting with the beautiful variety of that on the Hudson."

On the day following their arrival in Calcutta, they met

with Gopinath Nundy, from the mission at Futtehgurh, who proved of great assistance to them in making arrangements for their journey.

In Calcutta they found true friends among the English and American residents, who extended to them every kindness they could expect. During the two weeks spent in that city Mr. Owen visited some of the public institutions of which he wrote home interesting accounts. On his first Sunday in Calcutta he worshipped at the Scottish Kirk and heard Dr. Duff preach in the morning, and Dr. Charles in the evening. Some of Dr. Duff's speeches and sermons had been much admired in America, and Mr. Owen's expectations were high. He testifies that they were not disappointed. That first Lord's Day in a heathen land made a deep impression upon his mind. "The streets of Calcutta present the same appearance on the Sabbath as on other days. The multitudes that we see during the week are also thronging the streets to-day, and are busied about their usual concerns. Their shops and bazars, or markets, are all open, some are carrying palkis, others driving carts loaded with goods, the Bhistis, or water carriers, are going about with their leathern water bags hanging from their shoulders, hawkers are going about the streets trying to sell light articles, and others are going to and fro, seeming hardly to know where. Under my window there is a constant hum of voices engaged either in business or amusement. Think of the difficulty of keeping one's heart in such circumstances. If this is admitted to be so difficult in a Christian land, where so many external advantages combine to favor one's efforts, what must it be here, where everything is unfavorable, where Satan reigns with almost unlimited control? But the name of the

Lord is a strong tower, to which the righteous may continually resort."

Some delay being occasioned by difficulty in procuring suitable boats and other necessaries for the voyage up the river, Mr. Owen took the opportunity to see many objects of interest in the great Anglo-Indian city. Among other such, he visited the premises of the Baptist mission, on what is called the Circular Road, and the Bishop's college down the river.

On the second of January he writes as follows: "No words are adequate to express the feelings raised by what I have seen to-day. I have been at the Scotch school, where six hundred heathen youth are receiving a Christian education. And such an exhibition of order, mental vigor, and thorough instruction, I have never before seen. This school is uprooting in the minds of all who are taught in it, the whole system of Hinduism. It was formed little more than ten years ago, stands near the centre of the native town, in an extensive open place, and is advantageously situated for coolness, the greatest object toward comfortable living to be attained in the selecting of building locations in this country. The school building has only one story, and is therefore spread over a large surface of ground."

"It was delightful on entering the school room of Dr. Duff, to cast the eye over five hundred Hindu children, dressed in the native costume, arranged in classes, each of which was formed into a square with a monitor standing within proposing questions and hearing the recitations. Most of their countenances were sprightly and intelligent. We were first taken to the lowest class, and went from that up. These were most of them very young children,

say from five to eight years of age, all learning the English alphabet, through the medium of Bengali, their native tongue, and taught by natives. The next two or three classes were small grades higher, consisting of those who had learned to combine the letters into syllables or short words. A little further on were classes learning Scripture truths in the way of question and answer, as 'Who made all things?' 'God.' 'What is God?' 'He is a spirit.' 'Can He see you?' 'Yes.' 'Can you see Him?' 'No.'— a new idea to a Hindu mind, and striking at the root of their enormous fabric of superstition. Still higher were those who could read, and further on were classes learning English Grammar, then Arithmetic, Geography, and some simply composed history. In an adjoining room were classes studying some more extended works on Geography and History, and learning Euclid's Elements and Astronomy."

"After this we went into another department, where some of the highest branches of mathematics, history, the physical sciences, mental and moral science, evidences of Christianity and doctrinal theology are taught."

"I can truly say that I never before saw such an admirable display of mind as was exhibited during this examination. It is not extravagant to say that it was far beyond anything that may be seen among the large majority of students in our colleges and theological seminaries. The young men showed that they had not only read on those subjects, but had thought carefully and profoundly for themselves.

"The ages of the members of this department were, I should judge, from sixteen to twenty-four, or twenty-six. They have learned to speak English with ease, and most of

them take pleasure in reading the Bible in our language. A lecture is delivered to them every Sabbath evening in the institution, which is well attended. I was present last Sabbath evening, and saw almost every eye directed towards the speaker, and whenever he referred to a text of Scripture, they had their Bibles at hand, and readily found it. None of them board in the institution, and it is entirely optional with them whether they shall attend any of the exercises of the school or not. It is remarkable that even during their great festivals, they nearly all come. The Bible is carefully taught every day, yet so great is their desire to obtain a knowledge of the English language, that they are willing to learn the Christian religion for the sake of the language, through which it is communicated. Science seems to assume a religious importance in this country. Nothing does more towards the subversion of Hinduism than the teaching of true notions connected with the physical sciences, since a large part of it is based on and mingled with false assumptions in reference to the natural world. The government schools, established in different parts of the country, teach the English language, and give the pupils access to our sciences, but carefully exclude the Christian religion from their course of instruction. The consequence of this must be that as they lose confidence in their own religion, and have no other to substitute in the place of it, they will be transformed from idolators into sceptics and infidels. Such a result every Christian heart must deprecate."

On the fifth of January, he writes: "I went this morning to a missionary prayer meeting. It is customary with the missionaries in Calcutta of all denominations, on the first Tuesday morning of every month, to meet at half-past

seven for prayer. They have breakfast at the place where they assemble, and then spend some hours together in conference, discussing questions of practical importance to them in the prosecution of their labors."

CHAPTER III.

A MISSIONARY VOYAGE ON THE GANGES, FIFTY YEARS AGO.

The enterprise, which Mr. Owen and his companions were now proceeding to join, was commenced in the year 1834, by the Rev. John C. Lowrie, under direction of the Western Foreign Missionary Society. In the Presbyterian Church of the United States, foreign missionary effort made its beginning in the action of the Synod of Pittsburgh, October, 1831. On that occasion the society now mentioned was organized, "with the hope of calling into action the slumbering energies of the Presbyterian Church in the great work of sending the Gospel of salvation to the perishing heathen." Its appeal to the church declared that, although the Society "originated in the Synod of Pittsburg, it was composed of the ministers, sessions and churches, not only of that body, but of any other Synod or Synods, Presbytery or Presbyteries, that formally unite with them." In 1837, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church appointed a Board of Foreign Missions. And to that the Western Society transferred itself with all its missions and funds.

In 1833 the Western Foreign Missionary Society resolved to attempt something toward aiding in the evangelization of India. In October of that year the first missionaries, the Rev. Messrs. W. Reed and J. C. Lowrie with their wives, arrived at Calcutta. There they took counsel of English Christians, long resident in India, among whom were the Rev. William Pearce, of the English Baptist mis-

sion, the Rev. Dr. Duff, of the Scottish mission, and Sir Charles Trevelyan, one of the secretaries in the civil service of the East India Company, who had resided in the upper country. They were on all hands encouraged, according to their first purpose, to proceed to the extreme northwest of the provinces then under British rule. It was a country recently opened to missionary effort, but in great measure unoccupied; it lay in a relation to other heathen countries west and north of it, "which suggested the hope that the Gospel might be eventually extended from thence into the heart of central Asia," and the superior energy of its people as compared with those of the lower provinces suggested greater expectations from their instrumentality in subsequent progress.

Lodiana, a city on the river Sutlej, the most eastern tributary of the Indus, was selected as the station to be first occupied. But only one member of that company was ever to see the place. Mrs. Lowrie died in Calcutta, and Mr. Reed's failing health constrained him to abandon the attempt to proceed further. Accompanied by his wife he turned his face homeward, but died on the way. Mr. Lowrie, having arrived at Lodiana in November, 1834, was almost immediately prostrated by disease, and upon his recovery urged by his medical advisors to return home, as his constitution could not stand that climate. Still unwilling to leave the post until others should arrive to occupy it, he remained over a year doing pioneer work, which proved of value to his successors.

In December, 1835, the Rev. John Newton and the Rev. James Wilson, with their wives arrived, and took up the work which Mr. Lowrie had begun. Thus relieved he left Lodiana, and at Calcutta, in the month of March, met

a third company, consisting of William S. Rogers, James R. Campbell, James M'Ewen, Jesse M. Jamieson, and Joseph Porter, ministers, with their wives. It was his privilege to welcome them upon their landing, and to aid them in preparing for their inland journey. By this company three new stations were occupied, Allahabad, at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna; Saharunpur, about one hundred and thirty miles southeast of Lodiana, and Sabathu, one hundred and ten miles to the northeast from the same place.

The station at Allahabad was planted by M'Ewen, in 1836, and a church of thirteen members constituted next January. "Besides preaching M'Ewen gave part of his time to the charge of schools, in which he was greatly assisted by his equally devoted wife. But they were not permitted to continue long in those labors." From loss of health M'Ewen was constrained to leave India, in 1838; and as the station was of too much importance to be left unoccupied, Wilson came from Lodiana to take his place.

At Calcutta, M'Ewen met a fourth company, consisting of three ministers, John H. Morrison, Henry R. Wilson, and Joseph Caldwell, with James Craig, a teacher, and Reese Morris, a printer, with their wives. Mrs. Morrison died before leaving Calcutta. The rest proceeded to various stations already planted, Morrison to Allahabad, to assist Wilson, Caldwell and Craig to Saharunpur, and Morris to Lodiana. H. R. Wilson, on his way to Lodiana, was induced to stop at Futtehgurh on the Ganges, two hundred miles above Allahabad.

During the terrible famine which prevailed in the preceding year, (1837) a number of destitute and starving children had been collected and provided for at Futtehghur

by Dr. Madden, a pious physician in the East India Company's service. Captain Wheeler, also in the same neighborhood, had gathered a similar group of helpless outcasts, and earnestly wished to find some person to take charge of them, who might be better qualified for the task than he thought himself to be. H. R. Wilson was applied to, and took up his residence at Futtehgurh. There with his interesting charge of orphan children, and assisted by Gopinath Nundy, a native teacher, previously employed in their instruction, he entered upon important labors, which, although doomed to a fearful interruption, have been steadily prosecuted by other hands.

Five stations were now constituted, but still only feebly manned. A fifth company arrived in the spring of 1839, consisting of the Rev. Messrs. John E. Freeman, Joseph Warren, and James L. Scott, with their wives, who were all assigned to the lower stations. Freeman and Warren remained at Allahabad, and Scott joined H. R. Wilson at Futtehgurh.

It was with no little pleasure that the missionaries thus already on the ground, heard of a new company on its way to join them. According to orders received from the Board, before leaving their native land, the members of that sixth company were proceeding, Joseph Owen to Allahabad, and M'Auley and Rankin and Miss Vanderveer to Futtehgurh.

Of the five stations the most important, it was thought, were Lodiana and Allahabad, at the northwestern and southeastern extremities respectively of the field occupied. Lodiana was of importance as looking to the then unoccupied and independent Punjab; Allahabad, as a central point in Northern India, an important business depot, and

a place of great resort for Hindu and Mohammedan pilgrims. Jan 7 – apr 5, 3 mo.

In their voyage up the Ganges, the missionaries availed themselves of every opportunity to learn the character and habits of the people, as well as to mark with interest the footsteps of preceding Christian enterprise. On the morning after leaving Calcutta, being Sunday, they anchored off Serampore, a place associated in their minds with the first Baptist mission to India. A thick fog prevented them from getting ashore in time to attend church in the forenoon, and they had service on the boat; but in the evening they went ashore, and were received with kindness by the missionaries. In compliance with an urgent invitation, they returned next morning, and visited the house in which Dr. Carey had lived, and other premises of the Baptist mission, and with especial interest their printing and publishing establishment, where their whole business of bookmaking was carried on. But a sense of duty and desire to be at their own field of labor caused the visit to be brief.

The scenery through which they passed, for a great distance, Mr. Owen describes as beautiful exceedingly, as some creation of fancy might be, gardens, sumptuous residences, cultivated grounds, and temples on the margin of the river, among trees of richest verdure, and animated by multitudes of people. But a nearer sight of the inhabitants was always of a nature to dispel enchantment. One evening they fastened their budgerows by a sandy beach, and Owen, with M'Auley and Gopinath, went out on shore for a walk. At a short distance back from the river they came to a village, and while in the bazar, they heard a loud singing and drumming at a distance. "I had the curiosity," writes Mr. Owen, "to see what it was. As we came

near, Gopee could distinguish their words (they were Bengáli) and found that they were singing to the honor of one of their gods. It was a complete frolic, and looked more like what we call a rowdy, than like anything connected with religion. I was glad to turn away from the unpleasant sight."

The journey up the river was slow, only from eight to twelve miles a day: and sometimes the boats were delayed for several hours, allowing walks of considerable length into the country. On one such occasion, they stopped at the large village of Calna. While the other missionaries went to purchase provisions, Mr. Owen started out on a walk to see what was worth seeing. "The dwellings were all of native construction, built of mud, and not a single European building could be seen. On ascending the bank, I observed some Hindu temples back of the village, and determining to gratify my curiosity, went to them, although without any guide. I passed the thronged streets unmolested, every one giving way to the *Sahib*. As I came near, I found that the temples were within a high enclosure. On the outside was a large bazar crowded with people, but all gave way to me, and I passed along as though I was perfectly acquainted with them, their country and their language. I determined to see all I could, and go on until I was stopped. After going back of the high white enclosure, I came to a large pool of water in a grove, where many were bathing. A little further on was a temple perfectly round, but I could see no entrance. In a small yard near, stood a camel, and at a short distance was a car, on which were images of gods and carved horses. I now found an entrance to the large enclosure, and walked in. Here was a large and beautiful garden,

containing a great variety of flowers, and laid out and kept with much care. These flowers are raised for the purpose of being carried into the temples and offered to the gods. I had a great desire to enter one of the temples, to see what was there. As I came to the door of one, I met two men, and asked them if I might enter. Although I could not understand a word they said, I perceived they wished me not to go. One of my feet was just over the threshold of the gate, but as they seemed to remonstrate, I desisted. Gopee told me that had I gone in, I would probably have lost my life, as they think their temples profaned by the footsteps of a Sahib, and that they have a right, in such circumstances to kill him."

The missionaries were now coasting along the borders of Beerbhoom, the ancient Aryan land of heroes, a country which after having suffered from ages of reckless despotism, had latterly been more than half desolated under the combined calamities of famine and the ravages of banditti and of wild animals. Fifty years before, approach to the river's bank would have been made at the risk of life from the attacks of tigers, bears and wild elephants. Now, through the regularity and efficient protection of a wiser government, industry had prevailed over the wilderness. The jungle had again been reclaimed, the tigers exterminated, and the elephants reduced to servitude. A rich and productive country and a peaceful population presented themselves on every side. Quietly industrious and patient, the peasantry seemed to be more disposed to dwell upon the observances and hopes of their religion than upon schemes of avarice or ambition. It seemed as if only the Gospel was needed to put them in possession of the best popular elements of civilization.[1]

1. Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal.

On the twenty-eighth of January, the season for the worship of the goddess of Knowledge, the boats stopped in the evening at a large village called Jungipur, where there was an English station. Next morning, Mr. Owen in company with Mr. M'Auley walked into the village. "Almost at every corner stood a small temple. The Hindu temples, as far as I have yet seen, are quite small. At length we came to a large garden, the walks of which were paved, and on each was carved work of stone of various kinds. We entered, and saw an exhibition of considerable taste in its plan and execution. We saw the image of the goddess of Knowledge, adorned with various kinds of trinkets, fixed under a booth, with an image on each side of her, and before them were cast garlands of flowers in profusion, as offerings from the deluded people."

In the afternoon, they went into the bazar to preach, and found a large concourse of natives full of bustle, and engaged in various kinds of traffic. The duty of preaching was put upon Mr. Owen, and Modu Shodun acted as interpreter. "We took our station in the street before some of the shops, and soon had a crowd of people around us. Just as I was about commencing, a procession came up, having two images of the goddess of Knowledge, beating drums, tom-toms, and other noisy instruments, making ludicrous gestures, burning incense to the images, with two men holding umbrellas over their heads. All their actions had more the appearance of buffoonery than of religious worship. In the strength of my Master I now commenced preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ in this stronghold of Satan, and to many souls, who had undoubtedly never heard the precious gospel before. In general, good attention was given; but it is with the Lord to

bless his truth. At the close I announced to them that we had some books which would give them more information about the Saviour of whom I had been preaching. There was then a great and general rush, and the books were almost torn from our hands. We gave away a large number of tracts, and many gospels, all in Bengáli. Thus did we cast our bread upon the waters.

Just as I had done preaching, another procession came up bearing the images that we had seen in the morning, to which they were burning incense, beating drums and blowing on musical instruments, and making all the indecent gestures that accompanied the others. Soon another procession with similar images and accompaniments followed, preceded by men on horses, and followed by men on a large elephant, all painted in various ways, and making horrible grimaces. It seemed indeed, as if the wicked one had been let loose, and was exerting his power without control. In the evening they brought the image of the goddess down to the water with great ceremony, music, noise and confusion, and amid the firing of crackers and guns, threw her into the sacred stream."

How the missionaries spent the Sabbath will appear from the following description. "We all assembled in our budgerow in the morning at ten, and had prayer and a short discourse, and afterward reading of the Scriptures in Bengalee and prayer in Hindustanee, by Gopeenath. In the afternoon, Gopee assembled the men on the bank, and read the Scriptures and talked to them. In the meantime M'Auley and myself went with Modu to a village a short distance from us, to preach and distribute books. We passed through a field where men were busy ploughing. When we arrived at the village, one of the first objects

that met our eyes was a large tree worshipped by the natives, under which was an image of the wife of Siva, one of their gods. We passed on a little further, and came to a shade where were some men winding yarn. Here we stationed ourselves, and Modu commenced reading a Bengáli tract to three or four men. Others, as they passed by, stopped to listen, and in a short time, our assembly amounted to upwards of twenty. I then commenced preaching through my interpreter, telling them of the nature of God, the fallen condition of man, and what has been done for our redemption. After I had been proceeding for some time, a man who had been listening with a contemptuous air and sneering countenance, seeing another of some influence on horseback, at a distance, went and brought him. He rode to us on his horse, and began railing and ridiculing, and succeeded in disturbing us for a short time. Modu began to answer his objections, but I knew that in present circumstances, that would be of no use, and directed him to return to interpreting for me. We proceeded while the man continued his scoffing. At length, finding that he was not noticed, he sat and patiently listened to us. After I had done, I went and gave him a copy of the gospel of Mark, and some tracts, which he readily received. He asked, in a jeering way, if we thought these books were going to make them Christians.

After leaving this village, we went a short distance to another, which was Mohammedan. Here we saw three or four men putting straw and other things around their cottages, and one of them, an old man, left his work to talk with us. A seat having been brought, I began conversation with him, and asked him if he had ever heard of Jesus. He replied that many years ago, a man came

through their village, and told them something about him. I asked him if he believed that all men were sinners. He said he knew he himself was. I then explained to him, as well as I could through Modu, how he could be saved from the dreadful consequences of sin, and talked to him a long time, while he listened with much attention. We then gave him, and others around him, some books, and took leave. In the evening we all met again in our budgerow, for Bible class."

So far, they had been sailing on the Hoogley, one of the outlets of the Ganges. Next day they entered the main river, and found a majestic sheet of water spread before them, pouring in a current broad, deep and strong, all the collected tribute which the south side of the Himalaya pays to the ocean. On the evening of the succeeding day, they came in sight of the Rajmahal hills, the first hills they had seen since coming to India. Central Bengal is an unbroken plain, the deposit of the great river, which still irrigates it with that net work of veins, by which its waters find their way to the sea. Although occasionally making an excursion on the shore, when their boats were delayed, and some hope of doing good, or of obtaining useful information occurred, most of their time was spent in study, with a view to preparation for their proper work. All were busy, studying Hindi and Hindustani with Gopinath as their teacher. They were favored in many respects by having him with them. He knew how to manage the boatmen infinitely better than they. And his advice and services as an interpreter were continually useful. Thus occupied, and with their religious exercises among themselves, they moved on slowly through the desert country of Rajmahal. On Sunday, as usual, they fastened their

boats to the shore and had both English and Bengáli services for themselves and their servants. Nothing could be done on shore; for no habitations of men were near.

Just as the morning services closed, it was announced by one of the servants that a nabob was coming to see them. They immediately prepared to receive him, "and Gopee went and brought him in. Instead of seeing a large man with a splendid retinue, as we expected, a boy of sixteen or seventeen entered, with one servant following him. He was unable to speak a word of English. We could talk with him only through an interpreter. His name was Prince Yasseen. His father and family are confined at Calcutta as prisoners by the English. He showed us a written permission, which he had received, to be absent from Calcutta three months, for his health, and as it was in our language, he wished us to tell him what was in it. We told him he was going beyond the distance specified, and advised him to return, but told him he need not travel any more until to-morrow. He immediately left us, and went to his budgerow, and while I was waiting to have the necessary arrangements made for going to see him, to introduce the subject of Christianity to him, found that he had gone. Poor creature! I suppose he thought we were Englishmen, and was afraid we would inform the government of his having gone so far."

It was in passing through that dreary part of the country, where there was nothing to be seen but a sandy desert and the Rajmahal hills in the distance, that the missionaries made their first acquaintance with the Hindu Mela, or fair. "Hundreds of people were collected on the banks of the Ganges from distant quarters, and here having pitched their tents, were exposing for sale native

articles of great variety. The clouds of dust that could be seen at a great distance, directed us to the spot where they were, and when we arrived we found ourselves beneath a perpetual shower of sand, and it would not have been difficult to imagine Bedlam and Babel united, confusion doubly confounded. The tents were formed by fastening bamboo poles in the ground and throwing cloth over them, and spreading a piece of cloth on the ground for a carpet, on which the articles for sale were laid. Everything to be seen was well covered with sand. I was soon satisfied and glad to return to my peaceful room in the boat."

At Monghir they were met by letters from Allahabad and from America, by the overland mail, filling their hearts with joy. But the tedious voyage became irksome to persons longing to be at the scene of their appointed labors.

"Feb. 26. Heavy winds with clouds of sand greatly impeding our progress. These we are now to expect every day. The hot winds will soon come, and we are yet a long distance from Allahabad. We all begin to be much concerned. The boats move very slowly; and it is quite uncertain when we shall reach our journey's end."

Having crossed the sandy waste, and entered upon the productive lands of central Bengál; on the fifth of March Mr. Owen writes: "We have for a few days past been travelling through a beautiful country. To-day we passed Patna, a large city, highly celebrated, but as the sun was shining warm, a fine breeze was wafting us on, and we were desirous of making all possible speed while the wind so favored us, we did not stop. I begin to stammer Hindustani a little, and generally succeed in making myself understood to our servants and the boatmen."

"March 7. Dinapore. This is the spot, where the devoted Henry Martyn spent a considerable part of his missionary life. Here he translated the New Testament into the Hindustani language. Last evening and this evening, I walked with feelings of peculiar interest over the place almost made sacred by his having dwelt here. No wonder his righteous soul was vexed from day to day. For not only are the natives deplorably corrupt, but some of the Europeans are not much better. My feelings were harrowed at the disgraceful conduct of three or four Englishmen at the Ghaut this evening. No wonder Martyn exclaimed 'Why do the heathen rage, and the English people imagine a vain thing.' Some of the greatest obstacles to the spread of the Gospel arise from the conduct of those whom the natives regard as Christians."

Walking on the bank of the river Mr. Owen was overtaken by a European indigo planter, who seemed desirous of forming his acquaintance. "He asked me if I was passing up the river. I replied in the affirmative, and that I stopped to spend the Sabbath. 'Let me see,' said he, 'it is Sunday, is n't it? Do you always stop so on Sundays?' 'We do, sir,' said I. 'But suppose you have a good wind, would you not go on?' 'No, sir.' 'Ought you not to take advantage of the blessing God gives us?' 'Certainly, and the Sabbath is one of his blessings, and we take advantage of it.' He then turned the conversation to some other subject, and when I was about to leave, he insisted that I should come and spend the day with him. I told him that I had company with me at the boat. He said they must all come too, and that he needed spiritual advice as well as others; for he had not been inside of a church in a long time. I tried to decline, but he insisted, and added that

he would send a palankeen for Mrs. M'Auley, and accompanied me to the boat to get an answer, and having received one in the affirmative, he in a few minutes had a palankeen sent to us, together with a dish of strawberries, flowers, etc. The wind blew very hard soon after we went, and the sand flew in such quantities as almost to suffocate. We were however sheltered, and spent the day more pleasantly, in several respects, than we could have done in the budgerow.

The gentleman had his family assembled, and invited us to conduct worship. It was an opportunity of doing good for which we felt truly thankful. He would not allow us to leave before evening, and perhaps it would have been imprudent for us to do so. We therefore had opportunity for religious conversation, which I pray may be followed by the divine blessing, When we left, he and his family accompanied us to the boat. He afterwards sent us several things to contribute to our comfort."

At Benares, Mr. Owen left the boats and his companions, for the purpose of visiting the British missionaries stationed in that city. The day was profitably and pleasantly spent in hearing of their methods of instruction, inspecting their schools, and in social intercourse.

Early next morning, a carriage and horses were ready to carry him on his way to overtake the boats; and his drive of seventeen miles was peculiarly pleasant. "The mild coolness of the air, the brilliancy of the sky, and the stillness of everything around invited to meditation. Few living objects were seen but some camels and cows accompanied by their drivers. Daylight seemed to come very soon and break the delightful chain of reflections, in which

I had been engaged. I reached Chunar a little after sunrise, and found the boats all safely anchored there."

At last, on the fifth of April, just eight months from the day of their leaving Boston, the missionaries came in sight of Allahabad, and of the British colors flying over its fort. Next morning they started early, but had not proceeded far when they were met by Mr. Warren, who came down in a small boat to meet them. At the ghaut, or landing, Mr. Owen found his old friend and classmate, John E. Freeman, waiting to welcome him, and received a warm American grasp of the hand. Mr. Morrison had left Allahabad on the first of January, on his way to Saharunpur, whence, after a short residence, he proceeded to Simla.

"How pleasant it was to find an asylum from the heat and fatigue of these last three months, to get on American premises, and to meet with American faces. What a relief from the cramping, smothering, suffocating, scorching and baking, which we have been obliged to endure in the budgerow. I think my poor sinful heart does feel grateful for the goodness of my heavenly Father, in bringing me through this long journey in so much mercy and safety. Arrangements have been made for me to live with brother Freeman, and I am now sitting in the room that has been assigned to me. The doors are open, and I have a lovely prospect by moonlight up and down the river."

CHAPTER IV.

ALLAHABAD. ITS RELIGIOUS CHARACTER.—THE MISSION STATION.—PRELIMINARY WORK OF THE MISSIONARY.

The junction of the Ganges and the Jumna has from ancient times been regarded as one of the holiest places in India. Prayaga, a Hindu city of great extent and beauty, the capital of an independent kingdom, once stood on the peninsula between those two rivers. But time and neglect, and worse than all, the devastations of war, have left nothing of it but ruins. Upon a part of its site, and over the remains of its structures of brick, arose a later city of mud, to which the Mohammedan emperor Akbar gave the name of Allahabad, the city of God. Under British rule, it is the capital of a district and province of the same name. It is fifty-three miles up the river from Benares, and five hundred and fifty directly from Calcutta, or by the river, eight hundred, situated in 25° 27′ N. Lat., 81° 50′ E. Long., at the centre of the great plain of India. From the lower course of the Brahmaputra to the Indus, is about fifteen hundred miles; and from the foothills of the Himalaya to the high table land of Central India in one direction and the sea in another, is a breadth of from three hundred to five hundred miles. On that vast plain, Allahabad stands about six hundred and fifty miles from the eastern extremity, and about one hundred and seventy from the foot of the northward mountains.

The district of Allahabad is very fertile, but not much more than one third of its area is under culture. Its

population in 1840, amounted to over seven hundred and seventy-four thousand, in thirty-nine thousand and eighty-three villages. Of that population six hundred and fifty-one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven were Hindus and one hundred and twenty-two thousand five hundred and twelve Mohammedans.

Of the city the population was sixty-five thousand and forty-six, divided between twenty one thousand and thirty-one Mohammedans and forty-four thousand and fifteen Hindus.

An extensive and strong fortification stood on the tongue of land between the Ganges and the Jumna, completely commanding the navigation of both rivers. The city now contains a permanent judicial establishment, whence periodical circuits are made through the province.

The ground on which the city stands is considered by the Brahmans one of the holiest places in India—the most holy of all river confluences. Multitudes of pilgrims annually visit it in the hope of earning merit thereby. As many as two hundred thousand have been known to arrive there, from religious motives, in one year; to bathe in the sacred waters at that sacred spot being recommended to them by their sacerdotal guides as of eminent religious merit.

For all these reasons Allahabad was early in the history of Presbyterian missions in India, selected as one of the most important stations. The Rev. Mr. M'Ewen, who commenced there in 1836, was constrained by ill health to abandon it two years afterwards. But his place was immediately supplied by the Rev. James Wilson, sustained by the arrival of Mr. Morrison, within a few weeks, and next year, by Messrs. Freeman and Warren. At the

time of Mr. Owen's arrival, three missionary ministers were there, Mr. Morrison having been removed to another station.

The methods by which they prosecuted their work were preaching in their own chapel for native Christians, and in the bazars, and melas, which at stated seasons met by the river in their neighborhood, teaching the native children, and distributing books and tracts, and by endeavoring to live and keep everything about them in such a way as to recommend their Gospel message. And at proper seasons in the year missionary tours were made with the purpose of preaching and distributing books, and conversing with the people in the adjoining country.

Next morning Mr. Owen commenced his studies with the Moonshee, that is, his Hindustáni teacher, whom he describes as a large black man dressed in white, with a white turban on his dead, and long black hair hanging over his shoulders. "He took his seat by my side to hear me read, and to assist me in giving utterance to some of the roughest sounds ever heard from a human throat. With him I am to spend several hours each day, for a long time before I can do much good to the dying souls around me." When Mr. Owen showed him a copy of the Koran, which he had brought with him from America, as a Mohammedan, he was greatly pleased, and remarked that it was beautifully written, not conceiving that it had ever been desecrated by print. An arrangement was made between them to read a portion in it daily. Mr. Owen had read the whole of it, with his American pronunciation, before leaving home.

That evening the missionaries of the station held, together with their newly arrived friends, a meeting for

prayer and thanksgiving to God for his care of the latter during their long and tedious journey. On the following Sabbath they joined the native Christians in celebrating the Lord's Supper. "Before the distribution of the bread and wine, Brother Wilson, who was preaching, turned and addressed a few words to us, who had recently escaped the perils of the deep, and of the long journey up the Ganges, reminding us of how fit an occasion it was for thanksgiving, and renewed dedication of ourselves to the service of our Saviour, and what a privilege it was to unite with those dear people, who not long ago were degraded idolaters. I felt that it was indeed good to be here. Delightful the thought that however different Christians may be with regard to country, complexion or manners, we are all one in Christ. Could American Christians see what I saw today, how could any of them withhold their efforts for the conversion of the heathen. How delightful will it be to meet in heaven souls brought there through our instrumentality. This evening I preached in the English Presbyterian church."

Allahabad, being an important post of the East India Company's government, contained a considerable number of British residents. For their benefit there were English services on the Sabbath; and persons of Presbyterian persuasion worshipped with the American missionaries. Accordingly there was work to be done in the English language: and the missionary was not necessarily silent until he had learned Hindustáni.

He early became a useful member of the mission by teaching in the school a class of boys already acquainted with English. The morning with his Moonshee, the afternoon with his class, and assisting in the frequent religious

services in English belonging to the station and among the British residents, fully occupied his time. He also took such part as he could in occasional services among the Hindu people.

But the fervor of the climate had also to be borne. It was the first of June, when Mr. Owen wrote as follows: "We have been scorching for two months, the ground is dry and baked hard, and scarcely a blade of grass is to be seen anywhere, the air is hot, and feels, every evening when we go out, as if the atmosphere had been burning all day, like an immense oven; and when morning's dawn comes, after the shades of a whole night have been resting upon the earth, scarcely any freshness seems to have been gained."

"When I attempt to preach here, I scarcely feel like the same person I was in America. All of my vigor appears to be gone, and I can hardly make any exertion. One can have no idea of the weakening and prostrating tendency of this climate without experience."

"July 14. This morning I had a call from a young Brahman, who seemed quite interested in the study of geography, and was desirous of seeing a map, and especially one of Hindustan. I gave him a tract in Hindi entitled 'Nicodemus, or the Inquirer,' written by Mr. Wilson of this mission. I had seen him some weeks ago, and had given him a copy of the Psalms in Sanskrit, with which he, this morning, expressed himself very well pleased. I read to him the first few verses of Genesis. He is acquainted with the Sanskrit language, and a great reader of Hindu books. I endeavored, with as much of the Hindustani language as I could command, to direct him to Jesus as the only Saviour."

"July 20. This morning we found that the Jumna had risen several feet during the night, and was rolling past our house with great velocity. The air is now very damp, and the weather unhealthy. Much sickness prevails. Many of the natives are dying of cholera."

"Sept. 2. An interesting young man from Cabul has recently come, and we have engaged him to remain with us. He is very desirous of learning the English language, which I am to teach him, while he teaches me Persian. He speaks the Persian as his mother tongue. I now spend three or four hours a day with him. His mind is in a very interesting state in regard to religion. He unhesitatingly avows his disbelief in Mohammedanism, the religion in which he was trained, and declares his belief in Christianity, and often takes occasion to speak his views and feelings."

"Sept. 30. Last evening we met in the church, for the purpose of constituting the Presbytery of Allahabad. 1841 Brother Wilson being the oldest member of the mission, according to the direction of the General Assembly, preached the sermon from I Tim 4: 14, and after the services constituted the Presbytery with prayer, and presided until a moderator was chosen." He was himself chosen moderator and Mr. Owen stated clerk.

"Oct. 3. Sabbath. Administered the sacrament of the Lord's Supper this evening, and felt much assistance and freedom. Thanks to my Heavenly Father for His rich mercies. O may I ever maintain a close walk with Him, and live under the constant light of His countenance."

"Oct. 12. Last evening we met with the chaplain and some of the pious civilians and their ladies, for prayer and conversation on missionary subjects. This is designed to

be a regular meeting, on the second Monday evening of every month. The chaplain is a very pious man, and disposed to be quite friendly with us. The civilians with whom me met are also our warm friends, and show us much kindness."

"Oct. 15. The rains have long since ceased; the ground has become dry; the crops have nearly ripened, and the cold season is fast approaching. The poor natives are now very busy, day and night, in watching their grain, protecting it from the depredations of cattle and birds. Only gardens and spots of ground designed to be kept with special care, are enclosed. The enclosures consist generally of mud walls, sometimes of brick. As the grain is sown very thick, and grows very high, it is necessary that those watching it should have an elevated position, to enable them to survey it thoroughly in every direction. To effect this, a few poles are fixed in the ground, which are made to support a rudely constructed platform, on which they remain stationed, protected by a slight covering overhead from the sun by day, and the dampness by night, and making free use of their slings, or bows and arrows. When I ride out early in the morning, a hundred shrill voices may be heard driving away the immense flocks of parrots, which are exceedingly destructive to the grain.

This is usually considered the most unhealthy season of the year. Fevers are very prevalent. I have had a slight attack, and have been feverish most of the time for two or three weeks. Life is awfully uncertain in this climate. Some have recently been very suddenly cut down. Peculiarly applicable here is the admonition, Be ye always ready."

Soon after penning these words he was himself laid

upon a bed of sickness, to which he was confined several weeks. About the middle of November, and before he had entirely recovered, he set out with Mr. Wilson on a missionary tour, through parts of the Doäb and Bundlecund districts. He returned to Allahabad soon after the beginning of January greatly improved in health, and equipped with valuable experience for another part of evangelical labor.

From the Report of the Allahabad Mission made for the year closing Oct. 1, 1841, we learn of the work in which the missionaries were there engaged. Mr. Warren superintended the press, and conducted its complicated correspondence, while studying the native languages, preaching in Hindustani to a small congregation in a room of the printing office, and occasionally in English. Mr. Freeman managed the business of bookbinding, conducted the orphan school for boys, a Hindustani Bible class and Sunday school, with occasional preaching in English, study of the native languages, superintendency of buildings, &c. Mr. Wilson, at that time the best versed in the language, was employed in revising and translating portions of the Old Testament in Hindustani, correcting proofs for the press, preaching to the native church, preaching in the bazars, superintending bazar schools, and in occasional English preaching. Mr. Owen's time was given chiefly to diligent study of the native languages, to teaching in the school, preaching in English, and going to the bazar with a native assistant. His knowledge of Hindi and Hindustani he was building up with great care upon a broad and deep foundation in the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian: a knowledge which subsequently did him valuable service in argument with learned Brahmans and Mohammedans.

The missionaries conducted two English services every Sabbath, one in the morning and one in the evening, the former being generally attended thinly, and the latter very well, averaging about thirty persons. Monthly concert of prayer was regularly observed, conducted alternately by Mr. M'Intosh of the Baptist mission, and the Rev. J. Wilson. They had built a neat and commodious chapel on one side of the public square, in the centre of the native city, where Mr. Wilson attended and preached once a week and sometimes oftener, and there also Mr. M'Intosh and Mr. Owen with native assistants ministered each once a week.

Besides their regular stated work, they all went out, as circumstances directed, to the landings on the river, and other places of concourse to converse with whomsoever they found accessible.

Seven bazar schools were kept up; two at the expense of the mission, in which the attendance had averaged, in the course of the year, twenty, in one, and twenty-five in the other. Two were supported by Mr. Montgomery, the English magistrate, averaging from sixteen to twenty. And three were supported by Mr. Fraser, an English resident, in which the average attendance was from twelve to sixteen. Mr. Fraser and some other friends of the mission had built a house for one of the schools, which served also the purpose of a chapel, in a small bazar.

The children, while assembled in those schools, were chiefly engaged in reading the Gospels and tracts and other elementary books, which the missionaries had prepared. But as they were all taught by Hindus and Mussulmans, the teachers embraced every oportunity to substitute their own books, when they could without detection. And the

parents would often take the children away as soon as they were able to earn a few *pice*, by any other means. Such schools had not met expectation of them, but were continued in hope. Because it was found that children who attended did carry away with them, and circulate in their measure some acquaintance with Christianity, which taking its part in leavening society might facilitate future labors. Latterly some of those children had begun to come with their teachers to the Hindustani worship on the Sabbath.

Also to two natives, Patras and Simeon, the missionaries express their obligations for valuable assistance.

A plan was about the same time proposed for the erection of an English school, in which European science should be connected with religious instruction. The missionaries express themselves as not very sanguine about its immediate success, yet with confidence in its ultimate benefits; and add, "The more we see of India, of the work to be done, and of the materials with which it has to be done, the more strongly are our hopes directed to good English schools — schools in which a thorough English education, along with a good education in the vernacular, will be given, as the nurseries in which the only native ministry that deserves the the name must be reared. It will be, at best, a dwarfish ministry—a mere secondary auxiliary force that will, for many generations to come, be gathered from among those who have merely a native education, and a little Christian training." Mention is made of the great results of the plan adopted by the East India Company in educating young natives in thorough European military tactics, and the question suggested: May not "the same amount of wisdom and skill vigorously

employed in drilling the native agency, which is to labor in the moral renovation of India, in due time produce equal results?"

About the same time to which the above refers, that is the summer of 1841, the First Presbyterian Church of Albany, N. Y., procured and presented to the Board of Foreign Missions a philosophical apparatus for the High School at Allahabad.

The young man from Afghanistan, mentioned by Mr. Owen, was Dost Mohammed, son of an Ameer in the service of a brother of the reigning King at Cabul, Shah Sujah. While studying English with Mr. Owen and teaching him Persian, he often turned the conversation to the subject of Christianity, and in a short time declared his purpose to embrace its faith. He wrote to his father to inform him of the change in his convictions. Several letters were exchanged between them in the course of which the father expressed his displeasure, and finally broke off the correspondence. The young man seemed to be greatly distressed, but adhered to his profession of faith, and entered into missionary work as an assistant. He would often go with Mr. Owen or Mr. Wilson to the bazar, and take up the argument with Mohammedans, appealing to their own experience, and using his practical knowledge of their religion with great effect.

From the mission press at Allahabad there had issued already upwards of 73,000 copies of various works, amounting to 3,346,880 pages. And the books of Genesis, Exodus, Psalms, Proverbs, Matthew and John, in Hindustani, had been revised, and in part translated, and four original tracts, two in Hindustani and two in Hindi, had been prepared by Mr. Wilson.

In that year, which was the first in the history of the fully organized mission, the missionaries counted to Allahabad were five married ministers with their wives, and the Rev. Joseph Owen. But one of the five, at the date of the report, was still on his way from America, and one, on account of feeble health had, from the month of January, been absent in the hill country, at Sabathu.

At Lodiana, the original station, only three ministers and a printer, with their wives, and a native catechist, had done the work of the mission, one who was counted in the report had not then arrived. To Sabathu there belonged only one minister and his wife; to Saharunpur, one married minister, and one teacher, with their wives, and one unmarried minister and one catechist. This station had its ecclesiastical connection with the Ref. Presbyterian church.

In the Furruckabad mission, only Futtehgurh was yet occupied, and there four ministers with their wives were employed, together with one teacher, one native catechist, and one native assistant.

The nature of the work done was, with exception of printing, the same at all the Stations, consisting of preaching at regular appointed places, conversation with the people, distributing books, teaching in the native and English languages, reading of the Scriptures and worship with the pupils, who chose to attend, conducting boarding schools for orphans, translating the Scriptures and religious books and tracts, and in itinerating for preaching, conversation and distributing books, generally over the country.

Lodiana and Allahabad were the printing stations. At the former nearly 60,000 copies of books had been issued, making 2,240,000 pages, in the Hindustani and Punjabi languages.

All these stations excepting Saharunpur, were organized into one body as the Synod of Northern India, consisting of the three Presbyteries of Lodiana, Furruckabad and Allahabad.

In March, 1842, Mr. and Mrs. Levi Janvier on their way from Calcutta to Allahabad, were met by Mr. Owen at Benares. They were accompanied by the Rev. J. Ray and his wife. For a time, four of the former members of the Philadelphian Society at Princeton were fellow-presbyters of the Allahabad mission. Mr. Morrison meanwhile was residing at Simla and pursuing work as his health would admit; and as Janvier's final destination was Lodiana, his residence at Allahabad was brief.

CHAPTER V.

POPULATION, LANGUAGES AND RELIGIOUS CHANGES IN UPPER INDIA, AND THE RELATIONS OF THE PRESBYTERIAN MISSION THERETO.

That part of the great valley of Upper India lying westward from Allahabad, which Manu calls the "Middle Land," is the purest settlement of the Aryan race east of the Punjab. It was there that the Brahmanical religion developed most consistently in all its rites, laws and caste distinctions. One of the best authorities on the subject asserts that it is the only province of India to the social condition of which the laws of Manu accurately apply. Elsewhere a large part of the population consists of non-Aryan aboriginal tribes, or is of mixed descent, and practices a great diversity of religious rites. Aryan purity of blood and Brahmanical sacerdotalism, with its peculiar system of religion, maintained their proudest integrity in the "Middle Land." Caste, which in some other quarters is the distinction between victor and vanquished, was there the fruit of a peaceful development of privilege among a homogeneous people, and an object of attachment to the lowest as to the highest. For to have place in even an humble caste was unspeakably better than to have no caste. And Hindu religion was so far superior to the miserable superstitions of the aboriginal tribes that it was also an honorable distinction. Allahabad also stands within the country where, in the sixth century B. C., Buddhism arose, and established its first dominion, and from which it was long subsequently expelled by reviving Brahmanism.

In the course of the twelfth century of the Christian era that Hindu integrity was invaded by the Mohammedans, who planting the seat of their rule in the Punjab, ultimately extended their authority over the whole land. The Hindus, though subdued to foreign allegiance, retained their religious and social practices, and the more tenaciously that those practices now became the badge of an endangered ethnic integrity. As their Brahmanical system had formerly been the color of their superiority to the aborigines whom they had subdued or expelled, so now it organized their resistance to a foreign faith, maintained their ethnic identity and secured for them a united, and thereby a respectable position amid the multitude of their invaders. The superiority of Mohammedanism, as a religion, to Hinduism is obvious, and yet it never made much progress in converting the Hindu people. Of all the religions of India that which grew up on the "Middle Land" has proved most tenacious of its hold upon the Hindu mind. Buddhism, in its early prime, contended successfully with Brahmanism, but was ultimately overcome. The tide of Mohammedanism poured in, subdued the people, and possessed the land, but Brahmanism remained unshaken. The Polytheism of the conquered was still holding its place side by side with the Unitarianism of the conquerors, when the European merchants arrived. By them it was treated with a cautious, almost timid respect. And now, in the settlement of the American missions, Christianity has undertaken what Buddhism and Mohammedanism have successively failed in. It may fairly be considered an arduous undertaking. Divine grace is no doubt equal to the difficulty. But Divine grace did not overcome the polytheism of the Roman empire in less than three hun-

dred years. And that polytheism was then a far less compacted system than Brahmanism was fifty years ago.

Since the establishment of the British government in that country, the Mohammedan and Hindu populations live side by side in the enjoyment of equal religious freedom; the latter resting upon the basis of national prejudice and affections, the former upon the pride of earlier lordship.

The American Presbyterian missions are planted among Hindus of the purest Aryan descent, and on the headquarters of the once powerful Mongul empire, and where Mohammedans still form a large part of the population. Consequently two languages were to be acquired, and two entirely different religions encountered by the missionaries; Mohammedanism being the worship of one God, in one person, without any sensible form; and Hinduism the idolatry of legions of gods under various forms; the worship of the one being simple prayer and praise, that of the latter, ceremonial in the extreme. The two languages are the Hindi and the Urdu, or Hindustani. The former, a modern descendant of the Sanskrit which clings closely to its ancestor in the substance of its words, with characteristic changes in form, is the favorite literary language of the Hindus. Hindustani is spoken in addition to their local dialect by almost all natives in the northern and central provinces. It appears to have been formed out of the Braja Bhaka, a Sanskrit language spoken on the banks of the Jumna, and the Prakrit belonging to the extensive empire of which Kanouj was the capital, and after the Mohammedan invasion, intermingled with elements of Arabic and Persian. By the invaders it was called Urdu-Zaban, the camp language, and cultivated to its greatest

purity at the chief seats of Mohammedan power in Delhi and Agra; but also latterly at Lucknow.

By the beginning of the second year of his residence in Allahabad, Mr. Owen had so far mastered this most commonly spoken tongue as to use it with ease in conversation and preaching. Early in August, 1842, he was again prostrated by fever. When recovering, partly from desire to engage as soon as possible in such work as he was able to do, and partly with a view to strengthen his health, he undertook, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Freeman, a missionary tour in a boat up the Ganges.

"At Karra, thirty-six miles from Allahabad in a direct line, but much more by the river, we had the boat drawn up into a little cove, and stopped for the night. While making this movement, we passed under a very high bank, a vast heap of ruins, so cut away by the Ganges, that bricks and other remnants of ancient buildings were exposed to view, forty or fifty feet below the surface. Karra is but a heap of ruins as far as the eye can reach from this bank. When the great city, whose remains we see here, was flourishing, I do not know that anybody can tell. Certainly the date must extend back many centuries. A small town now stands in the midst of the desolation." As is the missionary practice, wherever the opportunity offered, he went into the bazar to preach. A large number were assembled, and aided by Simeon, a native assistant, he continued to proclaim to them the gospel, as long as his strength would allow. Next morning he rose early and walked into the great burying ground, for which Karra is celebrated. "It is truly an immense city of the dead. It appears to be about a mile wide, and from two to three miles long. Its whole appearance gives evidence

that it is the work of an age long gone by. When the generations, whose dust lies here, were on the stage of life, it is difficult to say. One thing is certain, that they were all Mohammedans. For the Hindus never bury their dead, while the Mohammedans do so always. The structure of the tombs is also in Mohammedan style. The common grave is designated by an elevation of mason work, constructed of brick and mortar, either round or flat on the top. Where a family is interred, a platform of brick and mortar is placed over the whole; and from this, *tumuli* are elevated for the individuals respectively whose remains lie beneath. The higher classes have buildings of different sizes, according to their wealth and rank, erected over them. Those over the nobles and princes are set up with great expense and splendor. Tombs of all these varieties are to be seen in this vast cemetery; but those of the rich as well as of the poor are crumbling to ruins. The piles are falling down, the bricks are scattered about, and many of the sepulchres have been almost undermined, and washed away by the floods formed during the rains. The whole is a dismal sight. Here was once a large, wealthy and splendid city; but all that now remains of it is this scene of gloomy desolation. Probably very few, if any, of the names of those whose ashes lie here, are now known."

As the missionaries were unable to proceed on their way, because of the strong opposing wind and rapid stream, Mr. Owen returned in the evening to preach in the bazar.

"A man stood near, and attempted to interrupt me by asking questions. He evidently cared very little about what he said, his design being to defeat my purpose. But as some of the questions were important in themselves, and

helped me to state some points, more explicitly than I otherwise might have done, I answered them in my discourse to the people. Other questions, which were trivial, I did not notice. When I had done, some attempted to hoot at me, but others treated me with politeness, and followed me to the boat, for books. How much love, forbearance and faith a missionary needs for his work."

Of the willingness of the people to receive books he remarks that a principal motive is "very likely curiosity, and that desire which is so prominent a feature of the Hindu character, to take eagerly anything of value which costs them nothing. But He, whose word is contained in these little volumes, is able to bless it abundantly to the destruction of Satan's Kingdom, and the building up of his own. May He in mercy do so, to the salvation of these precious souls, and the glory of his great name."

On another occasion, when Mr. Owen was preaching in a village, a Brahman attempted to interrupt him by disputation, and to confound him by repeating a string of words from the shasters, which Mr. Owen was confident he did not understand. "I told him that it was very unprofitable and foolish to stand there reciting words, which neither he nor those around him knew the meaning of; and opening the Gospel of John, at the third chapter, said "Here is something from the true shasters, the Word of God which is designed for all, not for Brahmans only, and which all may understand.' As I read, I asked the people whether it was not plain and intelligible: and all assented that it was. I took occasion to remark how like the Pharisees of old the Brahmans are, and that these are as ignorant of the nature of the new birth as Nicodemus was. I read and explained as far as the 16th verse, and all listened very

attentively. The Brahman said not a word in reply, and after I had done walked quietly away."

During the greater part of the month of September, Mr. Owen was laid up with fever and ague, contracted in ascending the river. In that condition he stopped at Cawnpore, where he found a kind host in the Rev. Mr. Perkins, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to whose medical skill he owed his recovery.[1]

On the twenty-fifth of September, a delightful Sabbath morning, he is again seated in his little room in the boat writing. "We are far away from any church, spending the Sabbath on the shore of the Ganges, about thirty miles below Futtehgurh. The day without is beautiful, but a little too hot to be comfortable, even to us who are in the shade of the thatched roof of the boat. The sun is shining brightly, the westerly wind is moving briskly, birds of great variety are singing, the country is covered with a rich deep verdure, the early crops are hastening to maturity, and all nature speaks the praises of a beneficent God. But, alas! 'man is vile.' The poor boatmen, who are with us, are in gross darkness, and all whom we meet, either on the river or on land, are in the same deplorable condition. They like very well, at least those in our employ, the bodily rest which the Sabbath affords them; and, I am thankful to say, are attentive to the instructions they receive from us."

About the beginning of October, he arrived at Futtehgurh, where he met with, and enjoyed the hospitality of friends, in whose company he had made the voyage to India. Mr. Rankin was his host, Mr. and Mrs. Janvier were there, Mr. Scott he had also known in America, and

1) For. Miss. Chron., vol. XI. p. 240.

the other American members of that mission were Mr. and Mrs. H. R. Wilson. Among them he had a variety of occupations, but chiefly preaching in Urdu and Hindi; in the former, to the Orphan schools, and others who composed the native congregation, and in the latter, to the inhabitants of a village not far distant.

Mr. and Mrs. Janvier having been appointed to the station at Lodiana, he went with them on a preaching tour, as far as Delhi. The missionary method of travelling by land was primitive and independent, not of choice, but of necessity. All things they needed had to be carried with them. Travelling was safe only during the cool of the morning and evening. They had small tents to sleep in at night, and meanwhile they sent on their large tents ten or twelve miles forward, to be ready for their arrival before the heat of the day.

"Oct. 16. Sabbath. A busy, pleasant day. Preached this morning in a village to some twenty people, most of whom gave good attention." "The word of God has appeared to me very precious in this desert. Though we are far away from the great congregations of God's people, we are not alone nor lonely, and are very far from being unhappy. We feel that it is good to be here, where we have opportunities of making known to the poor heathen that Gospel which we have found to be so precious."

In the afternoon they assembled their servants for divine service. "Soon after, a crowd from the village assembled around our tents, to whom we preached until we thought that prudence required us to stop. Not more than two or three attempted to disturb us by asking useless questions. May the seed that we have sown to-day spring up and bear fruit to the glory of God.

Daily am I made to feel that the conversion of these heathen is to be accomplished not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of Jehovah.

It is hard work to preach in the midst of a multitude whose thoughts and hearts seem to be intent on any other subject than on that which is nearest to the speaker's heart."

1842 At the city of Aligurh, the missionary tents were pitched, on the 22nd of October, near the parade ground of the British military station.

"We were delighted with the beauty of the place. The roads are in fine condition, made of *Kankar*, or a kind of limestone, perfectly level and hard. One in particular we admired, and thought it the most beautiful we had seen in India. It extends about two miles from the station, and is shaded on both sides with trees. The scenery around is very pleasant, and we judged, from all that we could observe, that the place must be healthy. The city is large, the bazar very extensive, and filled with a busy throng. I wonder that no missionary has been stationed here. It appears to me highly desirable that our Board should send two missionaries here as soon as possible."

Next day they preached to a native audience of a different character from what they had found in the villages.

"The people are far more intelligent, and the Urdu language is here used. We felt the difference this morning very sensibly."

"Two missionaries well acquainted with the native dialect, would here find a large field for preaching, and might also have a school under their superintendence. I am more and more impressed with the importance of making education a prominent branch of missionary labor. Not

that I think education should be substituted for preaching; for this is the means of God's own appointment, by which He will save them that believe; but education should be conducted with the special view of rendering preaching in this country more efficient, that is, of raising up a native ministry. We foreigners, from the nature of the case, can seldom, if ever, become able to speak the language like the natives; and besides, if we could, enough preachers for the whole of India can never be supplied from America and Europe. The great body of preachers through whose more direct instrumentality this country will be converted, must be from among the natives themselves. They know their own languages better than we can ever learn them, are familiar with the character of their countrymen, know their modes of thought, and the style of address best adapted to gain their attention, and instruct and convince them, are acquainted with their customs, and can also endure this withering climate better than we. While therefore we ought to endeavor, for the present, to preach and translate and write their languages as well as we can, and to be unceasing in these labors, we ought also to be unceasing in efforts to train up, as soon as possible, a learned and pious native ministry, who may translate the Word of God so as to be understood by all, and who may be able to address all the people, in the cities and villages, in the ways best adapted to enlighten and convince. If there were a dozen such men in a city like this, what wonders they might accomplish through divine assistance. How happy will the day be when in all the villages through which we have recently been travelling, there shall be stationed village pastors."

On leaving Delhi, Mr. Owen in company with Mr. Scott, spent Sabbath, the 6th of November, in a neighboring vil-

lage, where they preached morning and evening. Proceeding thence upon their way, preaching in the towns and villages, and distributing books and tracts, they came on the fifth day afterwards to Muttra. There they stopped at the Bungalow of Mr. Ross, a patrol officer, who entertained them kindly. In his company they visited Bindrabau, about five miles from Muttra, on the Jumna, where the Hindus believe that Krishna became incarnate. Marks of a pair of feet were pointed out to them where the god alighted.

"At one peculiarly sacred place, we stopped, expressing a desire to look into it. The men around said it could not be opened then, as the god was asleep. I asked them when he would awake. They replied, "At evening." And what will he do then? Will he arise and walk out? No. Does he never come out? No. How do you know when he is awake? We know. How do you know? We have evidence. What evidence? Your god always stays there, never stirs, never comes out. And how can you tell whether he is awake or asleep? No definite answer was given; and I then repeated Psalm 115: 4–8, and pointed to the true God whom we worship. After speaking of his perfections, I directed their attention to the true incarnation." "You say, that Krishna became incarnate here. Now let me tell you who did become incarnate. The Son of the Great God became incarnate at a village to the westward called Bethlehem. And why did he become incarnate? This question I answered. Bro. Scott then preached. After this we gave away a few books. But the people seemed to be mad on their idols. We distributed several books through the city, as we passed, and all seemed glad to receive them."

"Nov. 12. Visited Muttra this morning, and spent several hours in taking a general survey of it. Its ghats and temples are numerous and costly. It is emphatically a city wholly given to idolatry.

It was anciently a very wealthy city. Mahmood, the first great Mohammedan invader of India, entered it in the eleventh century and found its temples most splendid, filled with gigantic idols of pure gold, having eyes of rubies. In one was set a sapphire of extraordinary magnitude. Having reduced those rich objects to their constituent elements of gold and jewels, he loaded with them a long train of camels, and carried them to Ghizni."

From Muttra the missionaries went to Agra, where they were entertained by the Rev. C. G. Offander, a German missionary in connection with the English Church Missionary Society. While at Agra, they visited the celebrated Taj, erected by Shah Jehan, in honor of his favorite wife.

"As we came near the Taj, the first object to take our attention was the lofty gate-way. Around this are large Arabic inscriptions, formed by laying black stone into white marble. But we could not stop to look long at these. Our eyes had caught something beyond far more attractive. There was a lovely garden divided by a broad avenue, ornamented with courses of water and *jets d' eau*, and bordered by Cypress trees, and at the end of which, opposite to where we were, stood the exquisitely beautiful Taj. No description can adequately represent this most charming view. The brightest picture that the imagination ever conceived of the abodes of fairies might seem to be here realized. The marble, of which the Taj is built, had very much the appearance of mother of pearl, at that distance. The octagonal body of the building itself, the dome, the minarets, and the carved net-work of the win-

dows, all seemed to be of this material. It stands on a square, elevated ten or twelve feet above the level of the ground. The steps by which this is ascended are concealed. The pavement is of white marble, and on each corner of the square stands a minaret of the same material.

On approaching the door of the Taj, a variety of Mosaic work meets the eye, principally imitations of plants, and flowers, but rather stiff, and not so delicate and rich as that in Delhi. On entering, the eye is almost bewildered by a splendid display of the finest net work, carved from pure white marble, inclosing two sarcophagi. These, together with the inclosure, are very richly ornamented with Mosaics. On one sarcophagus is the name of Shah Jehan, and on the other that of Mumtaz Mahal, his favorite Queen. She was also called Taj Bibi, *i. e.*, Lady Taj. Directly beneath these, in a lower story, are two others exactly corresponding in appearance and finish, and under those is the place of sepulture. Over the room where we stood was the dome.

From the platform of the Taj we looked off directly into the Jumna. The garden of many acres appeared from one of the minarets like a forest. We afterwards walked around it. It is by far the most beautiful of the many beautiful gardens I have seen in India.

From this we went to the fort, which also stands on the Jumna. It is built of red granite. Within this the great Akbar once held his court. It is now almost entirely deserted; but time and changes of governments seem to have had little effect upon its solid walls. The ground entrance remains as it was, being a succession of inclined planes, so constructed, the stones with which they are paved being cut into grooves, that horses, and even carriages may pass up and down. The marble palace is

pleasantly situated on the banks of the Jumna. Although it is rich and splendid, it draws little admiration from one who has just seen the Taj. Still it is in a high degree interesting on account of the recollections attached to it, having been the residence of some of the most celebrated conquerors of the east." "Here was the court of Akbar, the greatest of the Mongol emperors, indeed one of the greatest of eastern kings. But silence reigns throughout those apartments now. The glory and power, once so far famed, have long since come to an end."

"We visited the Government College, in which English, Arabic and Persian are taught; the vernacular also, but no religion, except the Hindu and Mohammedan."

"Nov. 15. Visited Secundra to-day. Here is Akbar's tomb, a great curiosity, but difficult to describe. It stands in a large garden, larger than the one in which is the Taj, but not so beautiful. The gateway was once large and elegant, but is now going to ruins."

"We breakfasted with Mr. Hoerle, one of Mr. Offander's associates. He lives in the entrance to a tomb of one of Akbar's queens. The girls' school is in the mausoleum itself. The boys' school is in the mausoleum of another of his queens, who is supposed to have been a Christian, a Portuguese, as there is no inscription in the usual Mohammedan style on the sarcophagus. Probably it was through her influence that the Jesuit missionaries were called to Akbar's court, and kept there so long. These schools, under Mr. Hoerle's care, are quite interesting. In the boys' school are 161, and in the girls' 116. They earn a large amount towards their support by various kinds of manual labor."

"Near Mr. Offander's are some curious stones which have recently been excavated. From these it appears that,

about two hundred years ago, there was in Agra a colony of Englishmen and Dutchmen, of whom we have no historical account. The stones are in the Mohammedan style, and of a cheap order. One of the inscriptions is this, 'Here lies the body of John Drake Haine, Anno Domini 1637. E. R. fecit. A. Domini 1647.' Of the rest, some in English, and some in Dutch, the earliest date was 1627, and the latest, 1679."

On their return journey the missionary party preached in many large villages, in some of them several times, and in general the people listened attentively. At Kanouj they spent four days. Much interest was awakened by their appearance. People came in great numbers around their tents daily, and instruction was given by one or other of them almost constantly.

One day they took a few hours to survey the ruins of the old city. In days of Buddhist superiority, Kanouj was a great Buddhist city. In the decline of that religion, it passed over to the rival faith and became the centre of 'Orthodox Brahmanism, and supplied Brahmanical teachers to Bengal, whose descendants are still known as Kulin Brahmans.'[1] Mahmoud of Ghizni carried from it spoils of immense value. The fort was about two miles long, but is now a heap of brick and earth. We saw only a small piece of the ancient wall remaining. Everything of ancient Hindu structure seems to have been brought entirely to ruin, and almost to non-existence. One or two ancient temples are in part remaining, having been changed by the Mohammedans into masjids.

In January, 1843, Mr. Owen was again in Allahabad, engaged in the ordinary duties of the station.

1) Wheeler, Hist. of India.

CHAPTER VI.

EDUCATION OF THE HEATHEN.

It is a gigantic system of spiritual bondage under which the Hindu people are enslaved. And in the heart of it reigns the belief in cruel and vindictive gods, who have to be propitiated by continual service, whereby every individual is dependent on the priesthood who alone can satisfy them. The doctrine of salvation offered freely to faith by the sovereign love of God is diametrically opposed to all their habits of thinking, and all that teaching which from infancy has grown into the texture of their minds. Although they may understand the words in which it is presented, yet the meanings they receive are necessarily not the christian but the heathen, those associated with all their own previous use of the words. Their whole power of thinking is so abused, perverted and preoccupied that they cannot understand aright the terms in which the gospel is offered.

There is needed a Christian education for them which shall substitute Christian ideas for heathen, and accompany and follow up the proclamation of the Gospel with exposition and application of all its details, and that not once in a village, but persistently, until the language itself becomes imbued with a Christian meaning. Government schools existed only at far distant points, and reached comparatively few. For the most part, the Christian teacher had to begin with his pupils at the beginning. In some respects he was at a disadvantage as compared with the

government schools. At the latter, good attainments were conspicuous, and put their possessor directly in the way of promotion to office. Missionary schools held out no such inducements, and did not profess to be neutral on the subject of religion. And yet, because good attainments made at the mission schools, although not so directly under the eye of government, were accepted as preparation for office, some parents were, for the sake of that advantage, willing to risk the danger from the side of religion.

Another class for whom instruction had to be provided, consisted of destitute children and orphans collected by Christian charity.

Such was a part of the work which the Presbyterian missionaries in Northern India felt to be incumbent upon them from the first. Schools for children were commenced at all their stations; and some of them had begun to think of raising up a native ministry. Into this work of education, Mr. Owen entered with all his heart.

The schools were of different kinds. First, those taught in the bazars, open to all who chose to attend, and occupied chiefly in teaching to read the vernacular tongue; secondly, free schools on the mission premises, and thirdly, orphan schools for both boys and girls. In these latter, more extended instruction was attempted, including all the ordinary elementary departments, in Hindustani, Hindi, and English. By way of preparing for a higher and a clerical course of study, a High School was instituted at Lodiana, and put, for a time, in charge of Mr. Porter, and afterwards, in 1842, of Mr. Janvier.[1] The mission at Allahabad, in like manner, "having had in contemplation, for a length of time, to establish a High School, in which a more ex-

1) For. Miss. Chron. XII. 105.

tended course of study might be imparted to the orphan boys under its care, and in which Biblical instruction should hold the most prominent place, resolved to open the school on the first of January, 1843, in the house used as a mission chapel; but in consequence of the mela being held at that time, it did not go into operation until the beginning of February.

Notices were circulated through the city inviting the natives to send their children to this school, where they would be instructed in the native languages, and also receive an English education free of expense. Mr. Owen was appointed to superintend the native department, and assist in the English, when needed, and Mr. Wray to superintend the English. Two assistants were also employed.

Its schools soon became an interesting feature of the Mission, divided into the four separate departments of the boys' bazar schools, the girls' bazar schools, the orphan girls' school, and the Mission High School. From the reported list of studies pursued in the last named, it appears that the chief view was had to preparation of those who might be otherwise qualified for the ministry of the Gospel among their countrymen.

"April 26, 1843. Sindh is now an integral part of British territory. A great battle was fought by the British army, under command of Sir Charles Napier, against the Belouchees on the 17th of February, and a decisive victory gained, and another on the 24th of March, within six miles of Hyderabad. The result will probably be the opening of the Indus, and the introduction of civilization and Christianity into Sindh."

A college had been established at Allahabad and for some years supported by the British East India Govern-

ment, for the education of native youth in the English language, and learning. On the first of October, 1846, that institution was transferred to the care and control of the American missionaries, with the use of the building, furniture and as much of the library as they might require.[1]

As the Bible and the Christian religion had been hitherto excluded from the course of studies, it became a point of much solicitude with the missionaries and their friends what course would be taken by the students on finding that the college was now to be conducted on Christian principles. On the first day after the change, a discussion took place concerning Christianity, and the members of the first class, and some of the second withdrew. The rest continued in attendance, and new names were soon added. The Bible and Christian books were introduced, as they had been in the High School; heathen holidays were discountenanced, and a radical change accomplished in the religious character of the institution. In merging itself into the College, the School communicated its own religious character. The new institution, as the Mission College, was put under charge of Mr. Owen, with Mr. Wray, and to some extent others as assistants.[2]

At Furruckabad a similar transfer was made with a valuable library of 700 volumes. In 1847 the number of children and youth under instruction of the three Presbyterian Missions in Northern India amounted to about one thousand.[3]

Mr. Owen, in a report[4] of the progress of the College at Allahabad for its first six months, after mentioning how great was the opposition in the city against it, under its

1) For. Miss. Chron. XV. 325.
2) F. M. Chron. XV. 79.
3) Ibid. XV. 195.
4) Ibid, 257.

new management, and that he and his colleagues had to proceed with caution and yet with decision, goes on to say that their firm resolve was that it should be a Christian institution, "that the Bible must be taught, and liberty given us to explain its doctrines, otherwise we would have nothing to do with it. Some good friends advised us to bring it in the first day. But we thought it our duty to adapt our proceedings to the peculiar circumstances. Here was a seminary in which opposition to the Bible had long been virtually fostered. Our position was far more difficult than if the pupils had been brought to us rude from the city. Had the Bible been brought at once and placed in their hands, the whole number would probably have left. Yet the Bible was introduced the very first day, and though not read by the city lads, it was heard. Our orphan boys went on reading the Scriptures as usual while the others sat and listened. In a few days, however, the Bible was given to a class of city lads to read, at their own request. They had requested to read Milton's Paradise Lost, and after reading it a few days, discovered that they could not understand it properly without the Bible, and asked me to read it with them." It was gradually introduced into the other classes, as they were willing to receive it.

On the 10th of December, after the college had been two months in connection with the mission, a public examination was had, in presence of several visitors, ladies and gentlemen, who expressed themselves "delighted to hear all the classes reading the Bible, except the youngest, who were not yet able to read it with advantage." 1847

About a hundred youth were present at the examination, although they had opened with only fifty.

"While the mela lasted we continued our regular recitations daily, without any regard to the festival, though frequently besieged by the students with requests for holiday. We would have been glad to be at the mela for preaching, more than we were, but as the object of all our labors is to break up the mela and every other idolatrous thing, we thought it would be best promoted by remaining at our proper post."[1]

On the first festival after the transfer of the college none of the scholars attended. "When the next came, for they are constantly coming, the government gave about one-third of the year to them, two or three were present. On the arrival of the next, the same arguments were urged, for the holy day." The calm reply was, "We are Christians, we do not compel you to observe our sacred days, why should you wish to compel us to observe yours? We allow you to follow your consciences, you should allow us to follow ours. We think you are wrong in observing these days, we advise you to attend to your studies, still we lay no compulsion on you." Gentle firmness, with care to make knowledge entertaining to them, struggled through the difficulty. With similar caution and respectful kindness the objections to reading the Bible in College were overcome.

At the end of a few months Mr. Owen could say, "I spend an hour daily with all in the College department, eight Sophomores and fourteen Freshmen, in the reading and exposition of the oracles of God, and I have not a more delightful hour in the whole twenty-four. We proceed thus: I call upon some one to repeat what he can remember of the preceding day's lesson from the Old

1) F. M. Chron. XV. 326.

Testament, (at present Genesis,) with the explanation given; then we proceed to a new chapter, which they read, two verses in turn, after which we go over it carefully, calling attention to the most important parts, showing the connection between the different parts of the history, keeping prominently in view the great fact that this is the inspired history of God's church, and in connection with this, explaining the nature of the church, pointing out the doctrines, the types of the Messiah, and prophecies respecting him, and making such practical remarks as the portion read may suggest. After this is done we turn to the New Testament, and after some one has given an account of the preceding day's lesson from it, we proceed with a small portion on a plan similar to the one used with the Old Testament, varying the instruction as the subject may require. We are at present reading the gospels in harmony. On Saturdays, instead of reading the Scriptures they spend an hour or more in reciting two or three answers from the Westminster Shorter Catechism, with proofs. In this way I hope precious seed is finding soil where it shall yet germinate and yield an increase to the glory of God's grace.

The truth has already begun to work. Sometimes we have most interesting conversations on some of the doctrines brought into view by the Scripture read, of which I could not repeat to you the tenth part. Exclamations like the following have been made, with all appearance of sincerity, and with marked feeling: 'Oh, is this book indeed true! Is the soul really to live forever, and is its condition to be fixed, without any possibility of change, after leaving this world? Then I am in great fear; my shasters never told me any such thing. Is the soul hereafter to

have no transmigration, *must* it be unchangeably fixed either in heaven or in hell? I am not fit to go to heaven; if I should die now, I must go to hell; I am in great fear. Oh, must the punishment of hell be *forever?* That is awful. What shall I do to be saved?' This last was said to me one day by a young Brahman, with tears in his eyes, after we had been reading the Bible. He came home with me, I conversed and prayed with him; he has frequently been to me for private conversation and prayer since that time, attends church regularly, attends also, I hope, to secret prayer, reads the Scriptures with attention, has read Baxter's Call, is now reading Doddridge's Rise and Progress, and will, I trust, in God's own good time be led to make a public profession of attachment to the Savior."

After prayer had also been introduced with the consent of the students, "some who had attended church and heard singing, wished that we might have singing also. So I promised them that they should have it the next morning. I got several copies of the General Assembly's former collection of hymns, now lying out of use, since the introduction of the last collection, distributed them, and requested that all would try to sing, as that was the only way of learning. They all seemed greatly pleased. All, except a strict Mohammedan, joined in trying, and as I am not much of a singer, the strange variety of noises sometimes almost puts me out. But they do it all with great respect and sobriety, and some express a desire to learn the art of singing well. The Hindus generally are such bad musicians, so monotonous and without taste in all their performances, whether instrumental or vocal, that the desire expressed by these youth to learn the science of music is rather remarkable."

Toward the end of the first year Mr. Owen wrote to the Lieutenant-Governor, giving him an account of what had been done, and asking him to become patron of the college. "He replied very kindly, and freely gave his consent." Several English residents became trustees. "Of course they will not interfere with our regulations, but will visit the institution from time to time, attend the examinations, award prizes, give us their counsel, and in various ways show themselves interested in its prosperity."

On the same occasion he also proposed a system of scholarships, remarking that "It is very desirable to hold out some inducement to our best scholars to remain in connection with the institution, pursuing their studies a year or two after passing through the regular course, and we hope to have theological classes that will need assistance from these scholarships. The course of study, as at present marked out, is eight years, four for the school and four for the college."

Appended to the Catalogue and Regulations of the Allahabad Mission College for the year 1847, was a list of contributions to its support subscribed by English gentlemen of the East India Company's service, of from ten to two hundred rupees annually. At the head of that list stands the name of Arthur Lang, magistrate of the district of Allahabad in the East India Company's service.

Next year, 1848, in the month of March, the mission was strengthened by the arrival of the Rev. A. A. Hodge and his wife. The Rev. Merrit Owen, who was to have accompanied them, to join his brother, was detained by sickness, and died while they were on the way. Mr. Hodge was assigned to a place in the mission college; but his residence in India was brief. The declining health of

Mrs. Hodge rendered it necessary to return to America before the end of two years.[1] His place was subsequently filled by Mr. Munnis, transferred from the Furrukabad mission. From the beginning the method was adopted of appointing native monitors, and of employing them, according to their capacity, in teaching.

In 1849, three of the bazár schools were connected with the college, as a vernacular department, making the whole number of scholars about three hundred.

In August 1850, reinforcements left America for all the North India Missions; Mr. and Mrs. L. G. Hay, and Mr. and Mrs. H. W. Shaw to join that of Allahabad, Mr. and Mrs. Campbell, and Mr. Fullerton, to Furrukabad, and Mr. Orbison, to Lodiana. They reached Calcutta Dec. 30, 1850.[2]

On the 6th of Feb., 1850, Mr. Owen made the following statements respecting the progress of the college. "At the examination, on the 6th of December, we had present 153 in the English department, and 145 in the vernacular, in all 298. Of course, our Assembly Hall was nearly full. We opened again, on the 4th of January, and though the *Mela*, and immediately after that the *Holi*, have been in progress, we have yet nearly the same number in attendance."

"Day before yesterday (Feb. 4,) was observed by several Christians in different parts of India, as a day of fasting and prayer," for the blessing of God upon missionary labors in this country. I had forgotten previously to announce the subject to our pupils. They assembled, as usual, at 10 A. M. for prayers, in the Assembly Hall, when I had

1) F. Miss. Chron. XV. 272. F. Miss. July, 1850, p. 41.
2) F. M. Chron. 1850, p. 74. F. M. Chron. 1851, p. 188.

worship with them, and explained why the day was thus observed, and invited them to go over with me to the church at 11 o'clock. Accordingly they all formed in procession at 11, to the number of 237, and marched with me to church, where I preached to them in Hindustani, from Psalm li. 10.

Mr. Thomason, our excellent Lieutenant Governor, visited us about the middle of January, and expressed himself much pleased with our arrangements. Seeing them all assembled in the Hall, he inquired whether they could sing hymns. I had made no special preparation of this kind, but mentioned the hymn that first occurred to me,

"Salvation, O the joyful sound," &c.,

which they sang greatly to his delight. He kindly sent the Institution a donation of two hundred rupees, a day or two afterward.

Since we have got the large room, we have prayers twice daily, at the commencement and at the close of our daily duties. At each time, I read a portion of Scripture, and pray in Hindustani, so that all may understand, and at the morning service we always sing. Sometimes I exhibit pictures, illustrative of Scripture scenes, or incidents, accompanied, of course, with explanations, and remarks in Urdu."

At that date, the number of children and youth under instruction of the Allahabad Missionaries amounted to 399.

While laboring thus to create a centre of Christian education, and to raise up a class of men to take the place of Christian ministers for their native land, Mr. Owen conceived also the plan of having a system of branch schools, connected with preaching stations, within the district of Allahabad, to be conducted by some of the best prepared

graduates of the Mission College. An English gentleman having generously offered to assist in "some private benevolent scheme," Mr. Owen stated to him his views on this subject. A branch school was forthwith commenced at Phulpur, a town some 18 or 20 miles from Allahabad, under instruction of two native teachers. Mr. Owen himself spent four days there making arrangements. "If this experiment succeeds, I have another place in view, and we have two young men qualified to occupy it. Indeed, I have half a dozen places in view, and shall not feel satisfied till the whole district of Allahabad is dotted over with Christian schools and stations."

A similar branch school was soon after (Nov., 1853)[1] commenced at Banda. At the end of the first year, it numbered 154 scholars. In April, 1854, we find Mr. Owen on a visit to that place,[2] for the purpose of securing greater conveniences of accommodation, in suitable dwellings, and a school-house for the branch mission there. "Am thankful," he writes, "to record that we have now 1137 Rupees in the school treasury, with which to commence buying and building, if we are all spared till after the rains." At the examination in Oct., 1854, Mr. Owen was present, together with an English gentleman, who published a commendatory account of it.[3]

At the end of that year the principal school at Allahabad closed its session with five hundred and fifty scholars. It was subsequently assigned to other superintendency. And at the end of three years, a great calamity befell the country, putting that and all other missionary work to a stop.

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1) F. M. 1855, p. 255.
2) Ibid, 1854, p. 224. 3) F. M. for Nov., 1854. Nov., 1855, p. 170. May, 1856.

In 1854 the Government of India provided for extending their system of education, in the creating of universities and common schools, which were to be open to all ranks and colors, and teachers were to be allowed to give Bible instruction to any of their scholars who might wish it, out of school hours. But such instruction was not to be subject of examination by the visitors appointed under government.[1]

A larger portion of Mr. Owen's time was now given to translation, revision of translation, and exposition of Scripture.

1) F. M. Jan., 1855, p. 254.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL PROGRESS, AND EVENTS OF MISSIONARY WORK.

Although true religion has no such peculiar adaptability to one branch of mankind as to unfit it for another, yet there are certain ethnic natures of a more religious disposition than others. The Chinese, when they rise above superstition, are merely moral or formal, and the Turks when not fatalists, lean to rationalism; but there are two oriental races which, from the earliest dawn of their history, have been distinguished by the devotional element of character. These two are the Hebrew and the Hindu. Equally prone in their devotionalism to worship anything that can be conceived of as representative of God, the former have through all their history been guarded against the errors of that tendency, the latter abandoned to it without restraint; the former has been made the means of maintaining the present monotheism; the latter has developed the most complex and artificial system of polytheism. The monotheistic faith of the Hebrews is devotional, contemplates a personal God, and abhors the generalization of the rationalist; so the polytheism of the Hindu, though comprehended in the theory of a pantheistic philosophy, is practically devotional and rests on manifold objects of idolatry. Similarly endowed natures have, under different styles of treatment, been brought to religious positions diametrically opposite; one to the highest, and the other to the lowest occupied by civilized man. Among the religions of the far east the

Hindu stands, as the Hebrew among those of the west. His is the oldest religion of the ruling race, to the east of Assyria and short of China. From it has set off the greatest and most pervasive reforms of all the further east, Avestanism and Buddhism; and its productivity in sects continues to this hour. To such a degree have spiritual and eternal things always occupied the mind of the Hindu, that those of the present life have been overlooked and undervalued. The spiritual has been regarded as the only reality and material things but seeming—mere illusion, the Maya of their mythology. Hebrews were abundantly realistic, and from their ancient Scriptures it appears as prone to idolatry as the Hindoos. That they did not reach the same depth was due to the interposition of a better instruction. May we not hope that the same instruction impressed upon the Hindus may work a similar effect upon them, and through them upon the world of which they form so large a part. The race which has given the self-sacrificing devotees of Brahmanism, and the propagandists of Buddhism, if converted to a purer faith, one more satisfactory to both the heart and understanding, may be expected, when imbued by the lessons of the Gospel, to furnish the most devoted of its ministers. In this light, an interesting fact of the American missions in Northern India is that they are planted among a Hindu people.

The Mohammedans of that country are descended of the foreign conquerors who ruled it, before the arrival of the British. From Oude westward to the Indus was the scene of their principal residence. And their authority, planted at Delhi or Agra, made Allahabad one of its strong places. Not Arabs, but Persians and Afghans were those invaders. And although the Arabic language was intro-

duced by them in worship and the observances of religion, Persian was their language of business and of state. Their religion presented itself to the Hindu as utterly foreign. The strong point of Mohammedanism, the certain truth of the oneness of God, answers the purpose of making its believers boldly confident in the whole of their creed, haughty, overbearing and intolerant. In discussion with them, Mr. Owen found his familiar knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures and of the Koran in Arabic of great advantage. Copies of both he carried with him on his missionary tours, always ready to verify or refute an alleged quotation. If his acquaintance with Sanskrit was not equally extensive, it was enough to furnish the means of encountering the common Brahmanical opposition from that quarter, as well as a help in the work of translation into Hindi, which soon fell to his lot. In accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, adopted in 1841, the missions of Lodiana, Allahabad, and Furrukabad were constituted Presbyteries, and organized into a Synod, to be called the Synod of Northern India. Intervening changes, and the distances and expense of travelling occasioned much delay in carrying that act of Assembly into effect. The first meeting of the Synod was to have been at Futtehgurh, on the 7th of December, 1844, and Messrs. Owen and Warren were requested, by the missionaries at Allahabad, to represent their station.

On the 7th of November preceding, Mr. Owen was married to Augusta Margaret, daughter of Major General Proctor of the British army. Upon the death of her father, Miss Proctor had accepted the invitation of her cousin, Mrs. Lang, wife of Arthur Lang, magistrate of the district

of Allahabad, and removed thither in 1842. His union with that amiable and accomplished Christian lady, brought Mr. Owen into more intimate social relations with the British residents, both civil and military, greatly extending the sphere of his influence.

On the day of their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Owen set out on a missionary tour, which was to terminate in the meeting of synod at Futtehgurh. They travelled by budgerow, on the Ganges; and at all stopping places, Mr. Owen availed himself, as usual, of opportunities to preach the Gospel by oral instruction and distribution of books.

They reached Futtehgurh on the 2d of December, and on the 7th, the day appointed for the meeting of synod, the members present assembled in the orphan school chapel; but in consequence of the absence of representation from Lodiana, were unable to organize the synod. They however met in convention, and transacted some business, the most important of which were two resolutions in regard to translation. First, "That a revision of the Hindi and Urdu versions of the Scriptures now in use is desirable so soon as the work can be done." And second, "That in order to expedite the translation of the standards of the church, the three Presbyteries constituting the Synod be requested to divide the work among themselves, as follows, Allahabad to translate the Larger and Shorter Catechisms; Furrukabad, the Form of Government and Directory, and Lodiana, the Confession of Faith. These are to be prepared both in Urdu and Hindi, and ready to be presented to Synod for its approval whenever that body may meet."

It had also been thought advisable by the mission to print for circulation among the native population a volume

of sermons in the Urdu language. The text undertaken by Mr. Owen was the first Psalm. His work upon it proved, in course of time, to be the beginning of a translation and exposition of the whole book of Psalms in Urdu.

The events of the Sikh war disturbed only the mission at Lodiana, but the interests concerned belonged equally to all the stations. The missionaries felt that the cause of the British government in that conflict was the cause of Christianity in India. On their part, the authorities did everything in their power, to protect the missionaries of Lodiana, who were inclosed within the military movements.

"Jan. 6th, 1846. The close of the year was marked by important events in the Northwest—occurrences that will no doubt make a prominent figure in Indian history. The British army encountered a large army of the Sikhs, who had made aggression on this side of the Sutlej, on the 18th, 21st, and 22d of December, and, though with great loss, drove them from the field. The first battle was at Moodkee, twenty-two miles from Firozpúr, the engagements on the 21st and 22d at Firozshahr near Firozpúr. The loss on both sides has been sad, though all particulars are not yet known."

"Feb. 18. If it had not been the Lord that was on our side, when men rose up against us, surely we had been destroyed, or driven from India. Why was not our army vanquished at Firozshahr, when weakened by hunger and fatigue they were led against a well disciplined and numerous foe thirsting for our blood, and whose artillery did such awful execution? The hand of God was there. Why have not the natives in every direction around us created revolt, and why was a conspiracy at Patna detected and

suppressed? God has been for us. Every observer of Providence must perceive that the Great Ruler has the direction of all the occurrences that have been taking place, and are still going on. On the 28th of January a division of the army, under command of Sir Harry Smith, attacked the Sikhs in their entrenchments, and drove them over the river with great loss."

"Again we have heard of a most decisive victory gained on the 10th instant. The loss on the Sikh side must have been awful. They were driven from their entrenchments into the river, and their bridge having been destroyed, they were upwards of half an hour in crossing, during which time an awful file firing of eight or ten regiments was pouring upon an immense mass of them, and the horse artillery driving grape into them. The slaughter must have been awful."

"April 10th. Occupied, in the morning, at the Third Psalm, after breakfast, reading Urdu and correspondence, and a little of the Qurán with the *Tafsir i Husaini*. In school with the first class, on the first and second of Joshua, having finished the Pentateuch in Hebrew, also in assisting them to commence Greek. Am pleased with their improvement in Euclid and history. Preached in the evening at Kydganj chapel, from John 8: 12 to a rather attentive audience."

"May 6th. Overland letters bringing me tidings for which I was somewhat prepared,—the death of dear George. Cannot be sufficiently thankful for the grace given to prepare him to meet death. Afflicted family! Dear mother, dear father, breach upon breach. Yet they can sing of mercy as well as of judgment. The rod of our Heavenly Father has been heavily laid upon us. May we be humbled,

and brought nearer to him. Three sisters and one brother at God's right hand, to meet me the moment I depart hence to be with Christ. O how holy I ought to be in all holy conversation and godliness, how instant in prayer, how strong in faith, how pure and fervent in love, how ardent in zeal, how dead to this world, how alive to heavenly things! O my God, take Thou full possession of my soul. Let me not be so stupid, so cold and sluggish in prayer, so lacking in a due regard to Thy Kingdom. Dear Jesus, comfort my friends at home, give them that joy and peace, which Thou alone canst impart."

"Aug. 8th. Occupied the last three days with Bro. Warren and native assistants in revising the translation of the Shorter Catechism, and preparing it for the approval of Synod: a pleasant though difficult work. Its words of grace are pleasant to go over, because drawn from the Bible.

Two of my dear boys, George and Yunas, are to join us in the communion to-morrow evening. Hope and rejoice, yet with trembling. Edwin applied, but was deferred till next time. Do not see the large boys as earnest for the salvation of the younger ones as I wish. When shall we have more like Koilas Chunder Mookerjee?"

"Aug. 9th. . . . Lord's Supper in Hindustani, in the evening, services conducted by Bro. Freeman. Happy, very happy, to see George and Yunas among the communicants. Had little *Gulál*, an orphan sent here a few months ago by Mr. Moncton, baptized by the name Albert Dod. May he be baptized by the Holy Ghost."

"Sept. 26th. A Brahman, after service, wished to have a talk, and began with Sanskrit. I repeated a *shlok* from Manu, and demanded its meaning, before we could proceed.

This he was unable to give, and after several fruitless attempts at evasion, he backed out of the crowd, went into the street, and at the safe distance of several rods, poured forth another volley of the language in which he professed to be so learned."

The missions of the American Presbyterian Church in India had now increased to eight stations classed under the heads of the Lodiana, Furrukhabad, and Allahabad missions. To the first belonged the stations at Lodiana, Saharunpur, Sabathu, and Merut; to the second, Furrukhabad, or Futtehgurh, Mynpury and Agra; and to the last, that of the city and district of Allahabad.

At Lodiana and Allahabad printing presses were in operation issuing books and tracts in Hindustani and Hindi: at Lodiana also in Punjabi and at Allahabad also in Sanskrit and English. At Lodiana, Saharunpur, Furrukhabad, Mynpury and Allahabad, there were schools for children, and at Lodiana and Allahabad, high schools for pupils further advanced; that at Allahabad chiefly for the purpose of preparing young men to be ministers of the Gospel and helpers in Christian work.

At Lodiana were stationed the Rev. Messrs. Porter, Janvier and Morrison, with Golok Nath, a native licentiate; at Saharunpur, the Rev. J. R. Campbell with assistant teachers; at Sabathu, the Rev. Messrs. Newton and Jamieson; at Merut, the Rev. J. Caldwell with Mrs. Caldwell, and Gabriel, a native assistant. At Furrukhabad the missionaries were the Rev. J. L. Scott, W. H. M'Auley and Mrs. Nundy, with native teachers; at Mynpury, the Rev. J. J. Walsh, Mrs. Walsh, Hulasi, a native assistant, and native teachers; at Agra, the Rev. Messrs. J. Wilson, J. C. Rankin, Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Rankin; and at Allahabad,

the Rev. Messrs. Warren, Freeman, Owen, Wray, and their wives, with native assistants and teachers. And on their way to India, designed for the Furrukhabad mission, were the Rev. Messrs. Irving and Seeley, with their wives, and Robert M. Munnis, a licentiate preacher.

The printing press at Lodiana had commenced work, after a destructive fire; that at Allahabad had issued in the course of the preceding year, 4,579,000 pages in four different languages, Hindi, Hindustani, Sanskrit and English.

In the schools, the missionaries encouraged by all means at their command the study of the English language, and of the vernaculars; the former, in order that their pupils might have free access to the Christian literature, which they were prepared to put into their hands; and the latter, that the knowledge acquired by the student through the English language might at once be available through his own mother tongue.

One of the results of the Sikh war was to extend the field of missions into the Punjab. On the first of January, 1847, Golok Nath was ordained as an evangelist, by the Presbytery of Lodiana, and appointed to occupy the city of Jalandar, about 35 miles west of Lodiana, and the capital of the Doäb called by its name, the first district of the Punjab annexed to the British empire.[1] Lahor was occupied by Messrs. Newton and Forman in 1849, Nov. 21, and a school was commenced on the 19th of December.[2] In 1848, Mr. J. Ullmann, a German long resident in India, was licensed by the Presbytery of Furrukhabad to preach the Gospel, and added to the force of Allahabad.[3] A new

1) For. Miss. Chron. XV. p. 148, 225. 2) For. Miss. Feb., 1856, p 263.
3) For. Miss. Chron. XVII, p. 48.

station was constituted at Ambala, and occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Jamieson, in the beginning of the year 1848.[1] Mr. Morrison was transferred to Sabathu in the course of the same year.[2] Futtehpore, as a branch of the Allahabad mission, was occupied by Mr. Munnis and four native helpers.[3] Subsequently to the annexation of the whole Punjab, Rawal Pindi was assumed as a mission station for the northwest of that province, and also as a position from which to operate upon the Afghans. An English Christian friend made the offer of $7,500 to the Board if a mission were established for that people, and the New Testament translated into their language. Nearly at the same time the services of five brethren were placed at the disposal of the committee for India. One of these, Mr. Lowenthal, from the Theological Seminary at Princeton, was considered to be peculiarly fitted, by his linguistic talents and acquirements, for the mission to the Afghans. The Lodiana missionaries were requested to select two of their number, and assign them to whatever point in the Punjab was deemed most eligible, one of them from the older missionaries to be still employed in Hindu work, and the other, from the newly arrived, to take up Pushtoo studies. Missionary effort within Afghanistan was not yet practicable. The result was the choice of Rawal Pindi, as the station, and of Messrs. Morrison and Lowenthal as the missionaries. They were soon afterward separated, and while Mr. Morrison remained in Rawal Pindi, Mr. Lowenthal was located nearer to the field which his views contemplated, at Peshawar, on the west side of the Indus.

Under the influence of accumulating Christian intelligence and culture, a society of young men, native Hindus,

1) Ibid. XVI. p. 212. 2) F. M. Chron. XVI. p. 113. 3) Ibid. Sept., 1852, p. 72.

trained in the schools to Christian science and English literature, but not spiritually prepared to accept the Gospel, was formed by themselves at Agra, under the name of the "Young Bengal Literary Society of Agra," in relation to the party in Calcutta calling themselves "Young Bengal," and associated for mutual support in casting off the practices and prejudices of Hinduism. The work of the Society consisted mostly in "debating, reading essays, and supporting and teaching an English school. In religion, they rejected Hinduism without becoming Christian, but taking the ground of pure Monotheism. In their meetings and exercises they used the English language; and regarded the Bible as an authority to be appealed to in questions of right and wrong. Actual professions of Christian faith were still few; but increasing in number in all the missions. And in the conversion of some, who had never been under the personal instruction of the missionaries, evidence was furnished that the influence of their books and pupils was operating beyond the bounds of the stations.[1] Many of these enterprises received liberal contributions from British residents, and even from a few natives of rank and wealth, among whom were the Rajah of Kapurthala and the Sikh Prince Dhuleep Singh. The latter professed Christianity and was baptized by the English Chaplain at Futtehgurh in 1853.[2] At Futtehgurh a village was erected for the accommodation of Christian natives, in which they could pursue their occupations, enjoy society and their religious privileges without interruption, or offense. And some native villages in that quarter, applied through their own authorities, for regular

1) F. M. Nov. p. 104.
2) F. M. for July, 1853, p. 45. Also for Oct. p. 90.

instruction in the Christian religion. A similar movement took place at Rawal Pindee, where a number of people rejected Hinduism,[1] and accepted what they knew of Christianity.

Mr. Campbell at Saharunpur reported that twelve Hindus in that city had renounced idolatry, and were in the habit of assembling daily to read the Christian Scriptures, and inquire about Christianity.[2] They were headed by a learned Pundit.

At the melas at Allahabad, a greater number gave attention, and more serious attention, to the preaching of the Gospel.[3] Mr. Woodside of the Lodiana mission commenced about the same time his work at Dehra, where although encountering much opposition from Government officials as well as natives, he was favored with encouraging success. He opened his school January 1st, 1854, with two pupils and closed its first session at the end of September with nearly eighty. He adds in his letter on the subject, "I have a very respectable congregation of Europeans every Sabbath, and a prayer meeting on Thursday evening. I have gathered around me a little native community of about twenty souls, who all attend our exercises."[4]

By that date also, British roads, canals, telegraphs, railways, steamboats and industrial methods were establishing an unanswerable argument for the superiority of Education among Christians, and effacing the prestige of Hindu antiquity while providing increased facilities for prosecution of Christian work.[5]

On the other hand, opposition began to be more systematically organized. The society of educated but un-

1) F. M. Jan. 1854, p. 158. 2) F. M. May, 1854, p. 285. 3) F. M. June, 1854, 28.
4) F. M., Feb., 1855, p. 258. 5) F. M,. June, 1855, p. 2-6.

believing Hindus, who having lost respect for their native religion had no faith in that of Christ, operated to promote unbelief. Infidel books were procured from Europe, which they reprinted and distributed among their countrymen.

Mr. Morrison, who had already acted as a pioneer in several directions, in the year 1855, made a tour of exploration from Lahor through the west and north of the Punjab, between the Jelum and the Indus, and described new fields of missionary labor. Already the mission had schools in that region, at Rawal Pindi, Jelum, and Pind Dadal Khan,[1] and ere the close of next year, the stations had been increased by the addition of Rurkee and Peshawar.

About the same date occurred the annexation of Oude to the British dominions. "This," writes Mr. Ullmann, "opens a new field of missionary labor, and may perhaps by and by be taken up by the Furrukhabad mission, as it is close to us, its western boundary stretching along the left bank of the Ganges, almost from Allahabad to Furrukhabad. Three of our converts during the last year were from that province. Lucknow, the capital of Oude, numbers not less than 300,000 inhabitants, probably more. Some estimate it as high as 600,000 or 800,000. Considering the nature of the country and its inhabitants, it will no doubt one day become a most important field for missionary operations."[2]

By the Report of the year closing with October 1, 1856, the stations comprehended under the two Missions of Lodiana and Furrukhabad extended across the Punjab including Peshawar,[3] Rawal Pindi, Lahor and Jalundar; and in a belt of the same direction southeastward, includ-

1) F. M., Sept., 1855, p. 98–100. 2) F. M., June, 1856, p. 17.
3) Ibid., March, 1857. p. 333.

ing Lodiana, Sabathu, Ambala, Dehra, Saharunpur and Roorkee then under the head of Furrukhabad, Futtehgurh, Agra, Mynpury, Futtehpur, Banda and Allahabad. The stations connected with Furrukhabad lay at some distance from those of the Lodiana connection, but they continued the direction as a belt of Christian schools, along the great routes of communication between Bengal and Afghanistan, from the junction of the Ganges and Jumna to the west bank of the Indus. The stations of Saharunpur, Dehra, and Rurkee were manned by missionaries of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of the United States.[1]

Over this field, the men, with whom our narrative began, were dispersed at several important points. Morrison was at Rawal Pindi, where he had just organized a Christian church and school; Janvier was at Lodiana, together with a few fellow laborers of kindred devotion, sustaining the heavy work of that mother-mission and centre of the larger group of stations; Freeman was at Mynpurie alone with only one or two native helpers, and Owen, at Allahabad, having been recently transferred from the charge of the Mission College, which he had built up to an unexpected prosperity, to other duties in which more of his time could be secured for translation and exposition of Scripture. They were associated with others no less zealous and laborious. Altogether, and without any invidious comparison with others, or among themselves, the missionaries who then occupied that ground, as a harmonious company of Christian workers, both men and women, are entitled to one common tribute of respect, as the founders of the church in Northern India. And so firmly was their work done, as far as it went, that even

1) F. M., April, 1865, p. 341.

the terrible convulsion, which upturned for a time the civil government, and broke to pieces the army, although it shook the structure of that mission church, did not displace a single stone of its foundation.

CHAPTER VIII.

TRANSLATION AND PUBLICATION.

To the mission work of preaching and teaching, it was found expedient to add that of writing and superintending the printing and publishing of books. Of course, in that department, the object is to issue such works as shall communicate Christion knowledge in a way to arrest attention. Their publication is effected by the agency of the missionaries themselves freely distributing them to persons who can read, and seem likely to make a proper use of them. On that head mistakes are no doubt often made, and books given to persons who never read them, if they do not even destroy them. But many do read, and are thereby led to inquire further after the way of life. Upon their preaching tours the missionaries take supplies of books and tracts with them, and give them away, with the view of confirming and deepening the impression of their preaching. At the Melas, where Hindus assemble in vast multitudes, they make a point of being present, with a goodly number of their printed messengers. Sometimes two or more missionaries go in company to those assemblages, and keep up the work of preaching and conversing with the people, and distributing books most of the time.

At Allahabad the Mission Press was set up and conducted for several years by the Rev. Joseph Warren, and upon the removal of Mr. Warren to Agra, in 1851, was carried on by the Rev. Lawrence G. Hay.[1]

1) F. Miss., January, 1852, p. 128.

An important agency in this work was the North India Bible Society, auxiliary to the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was formed at Agra in the year 1845. It was constituted and supported by the missionaries and the friends of missions in Upper India. Though not enjoying a large income, that society proved to be eminently useful in "promoting the translation, and the revision of translations already made, of the Sacred Scriptures into several Indian dialects, and the printing and circulating of the sacred volume."[1] It was in connection with this institution that some of Mr. Owen's most laborious work was executed, consisting chiefly in translation, revision of translation, and exposition of Scripture.

One of the earliest of these enterprises by the missionaries of Allahabad was that of a volume of Urdu sermons, expository of select portions of Scripture, for which Mr. Owen undertook to furnish an exposition of some of the Psalms,[2] a work which ultimately extended to a commentary upon the whole book of Psalms. Among the resolutions adopted by the tentative meeting of Synod at Futtehgurh, Dec., 1844, was one for expediting the translation into Hindi and Urdu of the standards of the church, in which the Larger and Shorter Catechisms were assigned to the missionaries of Allahabad. By another, a revision of the Hindi and Urdu versions of the Scriptures, then in use, was recommended as soon as the work could be done.

The former resolution was adopted by the first regular meeting, Nov., 1845, and a committee appointed to inquire into and report as to what had been done, and to recommend some plan for the accomplishment of that important object. The committee reported the action of the ten-

1) F. M., May, 1852, p. 188. 2) For. Miss., January, 1852, p. 203–206.

tative meeting, and that the translators had made considerable progress, and recommended to the Synod that the Presbyteries be instructed to continue those committees, directing them to make over their respective portions to a committee of revision to be appointed by Synod, who should revise the whole when completed. The report was accepted and adopted.

Among the works prepared for worship and for instructing native Christians and inquirers, the book of Psalms and Hymns was prepared by Messrs. Janvier and Ullmann, and practical expositions of Isaiah, Daniel, the Creation and Fall of Man, by Mr. Owen.[1] As Secretary of the Hindi Sub-committee of the North India Bible Society, Mr. Owen undertook to revise the Hindi translation of the Old Testament made by the Rev. William Bowley. The whole was carefully compared with the Hebrew, and altered in so many places to make it more conformable to the original, that the result was almost a new version. Of that work, to which the reviser, although he did not feel that it would be just to Mr. Bowley to place his name on the title page, in a note prefixed assigns to him all the credit of original translation, the first volume, from Genesis to the second book of Kings inclusive, was printed in 1851 at the Mission Press of Allahabad, then under the superintendence of the Rev. L. G. Hay.

It was also thought desirable to draw up a systematic treatise of Christian Theology adapted to the understanding of the Hindu people, and for purposes of education. This also was prepared by Mr. Owen.

While engaged in these labors, additional to the ordinary duties of the station, about the beginning of the year

1) F. M., October, 1856, p. 154.

1856, Mr. Owen felt called upon to submit to one of those trials, incident to missionary life in a heathen land, among the hardest to bear. With all the care expended in building up a system of instruction for heathen youth, it was still in the midst of heathen influences, struggling against them, and suffering from them,—influences to which the missionaries could not subject their own children, in that period of life when the character is so largely formed by comparisons, Mr. and Mrs. Owen perceived that they ought no longer to delay the apprehended separation. While he should remain at his work, Mrs. Owen undertook to bring their son to America, for the further prosecution of his studies among his father's kindred. Mr. Owen accompanied his wife and son as far as practicable, and parted from them on the 20th of February in the Bay of Bengal.

It was the season of religious anniversaries in Calcutta. He accordingly remained a few days in that city for the purpose of attending some of the religious meetings, enjoying at the same time the hospitality and society of highly valued friends, in business circles as well as among missionaries. At the Scottish Free Church, he had the pleasure of listening to the preaching of the Rev. John Milne; and at the Baptist church to that of Mr. Leslie; spent an evening with Dr. Mullens at his own house, where he met with the venerable missionary Lacroix, went out to see Dr. Duff then residing with his daughter, Mrs. Watson, at some distance from Calcutta, and in passing through Serampore made the valuable acquaintance of Mr. Townsend, editor of the *Friend of India*.

Returning to Calcutta, he visited the church mission school at Mirzapore, the Sanskrit College, School of In-

dustrial Art, General Hospital, Medical College, the London Missionary Society's Home, and other institutions of missionary and general Christian benevolence. His return to Allahabad was a different kind of progress from that which he made in 1841. Leaving Calcutta on the 1st of March, on the morning of the 5th he "opened the carriage door in a delightful fragrance of mango blossoms, within a few miles of Benares." "About half-past seven I came in sight of the Ganges, and soon found myself on the ghat, surrounded by large athletic forms, presenting a marked contrast to the diminutive Bengalis. I also heard my own Urdu and Hindi again, and could scarcely realize that I had left the Bengali *Schekari mekari* so far behind." A partly executed railway had wrought the change.

March 9th, he preached at Allahabad in Hindustani, and resumed his usual lecture in the afternoon, and on Monday recommenced his Hindustani worship with the boys, at the usual morning hour.

Among other occupations, he writes of being at work upon his exposition of the Psalms, the printing of which was going forward.

For many months his journal letters constitute one long but diversified, "Tristia," containing details of the station, of his friends, the tenderest and warmest expressions of attachment and respect for the Munises, the Hays, and others, their toils, their joys, their sorrows and bereavements, and their mutual support, their social work and devotions, their hopes and fears for the native youth under their charge, in the midst of which not one harsh or censorious word occurs. Every day's news is the record of Christian work, of Christian life in a little isolated Christian community, breathing nothing but tender Chris-

tian affections, and closes with some variation on the same refrain, a prayer for his absent wife and child.

"April 10th, 1856." The Ex-king of Oude entered Allahabad yesterday morning under a salute of 21 guns. He is on his way to Calcutta, and some say to England. The latter I doubt. I question if he knows where England is. He has lost his kingdom without firing a shot in its defence. It ought to have been taken from him long ago. The arrangements for its government, under the Company's rule, are going on quietly and surely. Oude is now an open mission field. I have offered myself to the mission to send me to Banda or to Oude, or to wherever else they may think best. They think that I ought to stay here, for the present." The kingdom of Oude was formally annexed to the British possessions on Feb. 7, 1856, by the Governor General, the Marquis of Dalhousie.

"April 22. Mr. Bradford returned this evening from Oude. He gives a glowing account of the resources of the country, and of the civility of the inhabitants, and their joy at the establishment of the British rule. None regret it except the chakladars and others who formerly had it in their power to oppress the people."[1]

Meanwhile in addition to all his other occupations Mr. Owen was working up his exposition of the Psalms in Urdu, his Hindi New Testament and Urdu Theology in parallel lines of labor, carrying on the printing of the first at the same time, and wishing he could get on faster.

May 19th. "The sickness and mortality around us are very melancholy." Mr. Hay and his family had to retreat to Landour. Other missionary families had also gone to the mountains, and many of the natives connected with

1) MS. Jour. of 1856.

the school were ill of fever. Still, under the oppressively hot easterly wind, Mr. Owen pressed forward his work.

Mrs. Owen landed in England on the 24th of May. Through the kindness of friends, her son was entered at Eton school, where he remained during the period of her stay in England.

At the Mela of that year Mr. Owen had the assistance of only native helpers. "Simeon and George were on the ground when I arrived, and Mirza and Caleb, Yunas and Joel soon came. I then divided the forces, stationing Simeon, Yunas and Caleb at one place, and Mirza, George and Joel at another, and divided my own time as equally as possible between the two stations. In this way we kept up continued preaching and discussion at each station until near twelve o'clock. I was particularly pleased with the spirited manner in which the preachers carried on their labors. The day was cloudy without rain, and therefore very pleasant."

August 16. "Tucker has been writing to me about a new edition of the Hindi Bible, towards which he and his brother are ready to give Rs. 4000. He wishes a standard edition brought out, and I have proposed that it be in one volume, instead of three, as at present. We have both written to the Agra Bible Society on the subject."

Sept. 26. "Have just received orders from the Agra Bible Society to enlarge the edition of the Hindi New Testament from 2,500 to 5000 copies, and besides to print 5000 copies extra of Luke and Acts, to be bound up together, and 5000 copies of Matthew and John." 1856

Oct. 7. "We had a pleasant meeting of Presbytery this evening. Gopinath, the moderator, preached a good Hindustani sermon, after which we proceeded to business.

Among other items, we received reports from the catechists of their labors during the last five months. George and Joel applied to be received as catechists under the care and direction of the Presbytery. We proceeded at once to examine them, and kept them under examination until after ten o'clock. The examination was all in Hindustani, and it was pleasant to see the interest the native audience seemed to take in it. The result was, they were received. We have now under the care and direction of the Presbytery six catechists, viz: Mirza, Simeon, Yunas, George, Kasim Ali, and Joel.

In November, 1856, Mr. Butler, of the Methodist Episcopal church of America, visited Allahabad in the course of a tour, undertaken for the purpose of ascertaining where his church could be most useful in missionary work in Northern India. Mr. Owen had received letters from him, and had expressed a readiness to afford him any aid in his power.

"Nov. 21. This afternoon, while I was at dinner, a *dak* carriage came to the door, and the servants came telling me that a gentleman was enquiring after me. I went out, and found Mr. and Mrs. Butler. They had started from Benares to go through Oude to Rohilcund; but suddenly turned and came to Allahabad. I had them at once seated at the table with me, and have given them a room, in which I hope they will be comfortable. He has been asking me a good deal about India this evening; and with maps spread before us, I have been giving him all the information, of the kind he requires, which I possess. He appears to be a very good man, well informed, and of good abilities. He proposes going to Rohilcund, and thence down to Benares, in time for the conference in January;

and talks of joining me in Bundelcund, to look at that field, should he, after surveying Rohilcund, not fix upon that as the field of labor for their church." The conference, here referred to, was a general meeting of missionaries called to meet in Benares.

"Mr. Butler has applied to our mission for a native assistant. He comes from our own country, and in an honest manly way asks for assistance. I applied to the other brethren, but no one seems able to give him a man. I have therefore given him Joel; and with the sanction of the mission, poor Joel is preparing to go. It is a bitter trial to him, and a severe one to me. But it is our duty as well as privilege to help a Christian brother in need. It is doing what we would be thankful to have done for us in similar circumstances. Joel is an excellent young man. I have nothing but good to say of him, and can without reserve recommend him to Mr. Butler as worthy of all confidence." Mr. Butler was then on his way to Bareilly, the station selected for the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"Feb. 5. Mullens and Beaumont arrived this evening. At the close of the Benares conference, they started for Agra, Delhi and other places up the country, and are now on their return to Calcutta."

"Feb. 6. Went with Mullens and Beaumont this morning to the Mela and Fort." Mr. Mullens took photographic views of the principal objects of interest, making also particular inquiries about all, — inquiries which few residents of the place were as well qualified to answer as Mr. Owen.

"Feb. 16. My dear venerable friend, Mr. Lacroix, left me this afternoon for Benares. I have indeed had a treat

in his society. He is in every sense a noble man. And his fine natural and acquired endowments are sanctified in a very eminent degree by God's grace." "His visit to me has been like the visit of an angel."

"We are daily expecting the MacMullins from Calcutta. Hay told me to-day that he had heard from them from Benares." The persons here mentioned were Mr. and Mrs. Robert M'Mullin, who had left Philadelphia on the 11th of the preceding September, and after a voyage round the Cape were now coming up the country to their appointed station at Futtehgurh. On the 18th of February, Mr. Owen welcomed their arrival at Allahabad.

Mr. Owen's Christian charity, his cordial courtesy, and sound judgment secured for him the highest respect and confidence of British residents in both the civil and military service. With some of them it amounted to affectionate friendship. And many were ready to contribute generously to enterprises in which he was concerned. Episcopalians, Baptists, Methodists, who seemed to truly love the Lord, were alike welcomed to his house and taken to his heart. His long, almost uninterrupted residence at Allahabad, with the interest which he took in its public affairs, rendered him, in many respects, a valuable advisor to the officers of government. His discrimination of character, though softened by Christian charity, was quick and clear. Men who resisted the cause he loved, or sought to defeat efforts on behalf of it, did not escape a keen criticism of their action, although, where not necessary to a public good, such dissections were confided to his journal alone. At the date to which our narrative has arrived, by reason of death, and changes in office, and return of missionaries to America, he had become one of

the oldest foreign residents at the station, and his opinions the more highly esteemed by men of all the Christian denominations there represented.

March 10th, 1857. "Our new Governor General lacks the pre-eminent ability of Lord Dalhousie, and we are approaching a crisis, in which a man of pre-eminent ability will be required."

March 21st, he writes: "There are signs of trouble abroad in the native community. The Sepoys are becoming troublesome and mutinous. Hitherto, the matter has been dealt with leniently, but the probability is, that it must be put down with a strong hand. The chief trouble has been at Barrackpore and Berhampore. I got a letter from Beaumont the other day, who wrote that they were obliged to send a steamer off in haste to Maulmein to bring up a European regiment for putting down a mutiny at Barrackpore."

"Several regiments have lately become mutinous, and given no little anxiety. The 19th was disbanded the other day, at Barrackpore. The Mohammedans talk of wishing to massacre all the infidel English. God is our protector."

Mrs. Owen had now reached the home of her husband's relations at Bedford, in the State of New York, to whose care their son was to be intrusted for his education.

CHAPTER IX.

THE MISSION AT ALLAHABAD DURING THE SEPOY MUTINY.

Apprehensions of danger had been abroad in the atmosphere of India for weeks. Rumors vague and authorless were passed from neighbor to neighbor, and the European residents scarcely knew to what sources they were indebted for the impressions of alarm they received. On the 14th of May, 1857, Mr. Owen had been busy all day translating and explaining the Scriptures for the pupils of his school, and his little congregation of converts, and with a view to that Christian reading public, to which he looked forward in faith, as the fruit of missionary effort. Toward evening, he rose from his work, and went out to a friend's house, to learn if any positive news had arrived in the course of the day. His friend, Mr. Court, the magistrate of Allahabad, in the East India Company's service, had just come from the fort, and was in possession of the latest military intelligence. It was, to some extent, positive enough. Dissatisfaction existed extensively in the native army. The actual disbanding at Barrackpore was already known. Other cases of insubordination were now reported at Calcutta, at Madras, and in the Punjab. And at Ambala, Lucknow, Benares, Meerut and Agra it was told that things looked threatening. "And here," said Mr. Court, "they are getting guns into position in the fort. There is a suppressed rumor among the natives of an intended general massacre of the Europeans at the station."

Mr. Owen's family were still absent in the United States. But over and above the danger threatening the Europeans, his fellow-missionaries and himself, the fate which might befall the Christian converts of his charge, and whether they would prove faithful in the day of trial, occasioned him great anxiety. Next morning rose peacefully. At an early hour, he called at the house of his fellow missionary, Mr. Munnis, and there heard of inflammatory notices in circulation among the natives. The character of the military forces at the place also created apprehension. And thus he wrote: "The Sixth Regiment of North India, now stationed here, are said to be in a very disaffected state. There are no European troops at this place. This is very wrong to leave so large a station and magazine so unprotected. A few companies of Sikhs have lately been got into the fort, and the whole garrison is in their hands. They may prove loyal, in case of an outbreak. Most people think they will." "Hitherto I have kept my mind easy, hoping that the storm might blow over, without much injury. But the events of the last few days, up the country, are of a very alarming character. I have received a letter from Vere, dated Agra, May 11th, in which he says, that they had learned, by telegraph from Meerut, of a mutiny of the Third Native Cavalry, who had set fire to their own lines, and to several bungalows, and killed and wounded some European officers and soldiers. Afterwards we heard that the *dák* from Meerut was stopped, and that the telegraph wires were cut. Then came in alarming rumors of the state of things in this city, of the willingness, on the part of a large number, to join the 6th Regiment in breaking open the jail, plundering the city, and massacring the European residents. A public notice

of a conciliatory kind, sent through the city by Mr. Court, has tended greatly to quiet the minds of the people."

May 16th. "Last night, I drove to Mr. Court's to get the news from up the country. Full particulars from Meerut have not yet reached us. For there is no *dák* on that road from a nearer point than Allygurh. The attack appears to have taken place last Sunday night (10th inst.), and to have come chiefly from the 3rd Regiment of Native Cavalry, though the 11th N. I. are also implicated, as well as several others. Regimental lines and government offices have been burned down, and a vast number of private bungalows, the jails also, and the felons let loose. The telegraph office has been burned, and all the *dák* horses cut to pieces. The country for thirty miles around is said to have joined in revolt.

"Mr. Colvin, the Lieutenant Governor, has telegraphed from Agra down to this station, that the treasure at Meerut is safe, and that they are forming parties to scour the country. At Meerut they have three European regiments.

"When I came home, I found the Munnises in a state of great alarm. Simeon had just been telling them that there was a panic and religious frenzy in the city, that an outbreak might be expected at any moment, and that the missionaries would be the first objects of attack. Hitherto my rest at night has not been disturbed by these things, but I did not sleep much last night, after such excitement. I had, however, a comfortable season of prayer, and meditation on the divine Word, 'The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal: The Lord knoweth them that are his.' I came to India to give my life for this land. My life is in God's hands, to be disposed of as he shall see

best for the interests of his own church. I have been a very unprofitable servant. If God sees best now to remove me, he can easily fill my place with one far more faithful and efficient. May I be found in Christ."

On the 31st of May Mr. Owen received a letter from Mr. Freeman of Futtehgurh, bringing intelligence that all the missionaries in Delhi had been murdered, and that in the massacre there were not less than two hundred European and East Indian victims. As yet few of the particulars were certainly known at Allahabad.

"June 4th. Last Sabbath evening, about church time, Mr. Mantell, of the railway, drove over to say that we were in great danger; that the people at the railway station had all been warned into the station, and that an attack was expected. We got through the night without any disturbance. On Monday morning I went over to the station to ascertain the true cause of alarm. It was a telegraphic message from Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow, that the Sepoys there had mutinied on Saturday night, that they had a fight, and that three European officers had been wounded, and three killed.[1] Etaweh also had been burned, and Mr. Hume, the magistrate, escaped in an Ayah's dress. On Sunday night, the mutineers at Lucknow made another attack and killed some Europeans, but were driven out from the station fifteen miles. We were apprehensive lest they might come this way, but afterwards heard that they had gone off toward Seetapore, in a northwesterly direction from Lucknow, and were consequently anxious about that station and Futtehgurh."

"June 5th (Friday). We have had no mail from Cawnpore for three days past.

1) At Lucknow the mutiny broke out on the 30th of May.

"This morning the mail from Calcutta came in, and the man who drove the cart, brought the news that Benares was in a blaze, and that he could not come through that station.

"We are now all ordered into the fort to night. It is supposed that the mutineers from Benares will make a dash at Allahabad; and arrangements have been made to meet them. We are all gathering up a few articles of clothing to take with us, into the fort. 'No beds, no baggage, light kits the order of the day.' Gopinath says he will not go, and prefers remaining here. For he says the Sikhs may turn and butcher us all."

"June 9th, Tuesday. Here I am, in the fort, living in a small tent with all the property I have left in the world, comprised in a few changes of clothes, my Hebrew Bible, Greek Testament, Turretin's Theology, Witsius' Economy of the Covenants, and a few other odd volumes. All my furniture, my library, and most of my private manuscripts and papers have been consumed. Our dear Jumna house has been burned. The church has been robbed, also the mission college, and the whole place completely sacked. The native Christians have been scattered I know not where. I can only see the place from the ramparts of the fort, but cannot go there to inquire; nor have I yet been able to ascertain the particulars of their condition. We feared they were all murdered, but hear that their lives have been spared. The station and cantonments of Allahabad are in ashes. Mr. Hay's house has been burned, and we hear that the press has also gone. Scarcely a bungalow seems to have been left. The work of conflagration is still in progress. Day and night new fires are added to the vast scene of desolation and smoking embers. Here we are

shut up in the fort, and not an effort has been made to arrest the work of destruction.

"On Friday night, June 5th, I assisted in watching the fort with a company of volunteers. For we had no European troops, and were quite at the mercy of the Sepoys and Sikhs. Of course I got no sleep that night, and went home to our bungalow, on Saturday, and got a good rest under the punkah. All there was so quiet that I felt strongly inclined to remain next night. Gopinath and his family had spent two or three nights in the fort, but thought themselves more insecure there than at our house. They were extremely afraid, not only of the Sepoys, but also of the Sikhs. I tried to get them to come in, on Saturday night, but they chose to remain, and I left Kallan there, with an order to make them as comfortable as possible. All seemed to be expecting something that night, and were on the alert. The volunteers, amounting to some eighty, were divided into three squads, one to protect the flagstaff, where it was supposed an enemy might attempt to scale the walls, another to protect a weak point on the Jumna, and the third to be with the main guard at the gate. At nine o'clock the volunteers met and were told off to their respective duties for the night, The moon was full, and shining beautifully. It was impossible to realize, when coming through the bazar, that danger was near. The shops were open and the people were quietly at their occupations.

"Arrangements had been made to meet the mutineers on their arrival from Benares. A detachment of the 6th R. N. I. were stationed at the Daragunge bridge, with two nine-pounders, and a complement of native artillerymen. Sowars (native cavalry) were placed on the Benares road

to watch the approach of men from that direction, and on their coming to fall back at a gallop, and to give notice to the officer commanding at the bridge. Lieut. Alexander, with his irregular cavalry, was at Alopee Bagh. It was therefore hoped that if the mutineers came, they would meet with a warm reception, and soon be overcome. I had little confidence in the regiment, and in this feeling was far from being alone. All the officers, however, placed implicit reliance on the Sepoys, perpetually singing the praises of their loyalty. They appeared to me the worst set of Sepoys I ever saw. Their countenances seemed equal to any amount of barbarity and brutality. My imagination had probably been tinged by recent occurrences elsewhere. Having no European troops, we were shut up to hope for the best. What madness in the authorities to leave such a garrison as this, with 33,000 stand of arms, entirely in the hands of natives. Had the Sikhs chosen to join the regiment against us, not one of us would have been left alive.

"On Saturday evening, about nine o'clock, Court walked up to me, as I was standing near the old pillar, remarking, 'You must not be surprised if we have something to-night; for the telegraphic wire from Benares has just been cut, in the midst of a message,' requesting me at the same time to stay with the ladies, if anything should occur. I came up and joined in worship with the Hays and Munnises and was on my way back to the tent, when we began to hear a rattling of musketry in cantonments. The alarm was immediately sounded, and all the volunteers rushed to their posts. I ran up and gave notice to our friends. They were soon out on the balcony, where in a few minutes all the women, leaving the tents, were collected. Hay,

Munnis and myself then closed all the doors leading from the stairways and stood with loaded pistols, ready to shoot down the first native who might attempt an assault upon the ladies and children. We saw a native quietly sitting among the ladies with a sword in his hand, whom we disarmed and turned out in double quick time. The rattling of musketry continued about half an hour, the sound reaching us from various points between cantonments and the bridge. We thought that the mutineers had probably got in, and made a combined attack at those various points, and hoped they were getting a good cutting up."

"A few days previously the Sepoys at Allahabad had seized and delivered up to the authorities, two men, who, they said, had come from the city to incite them to rebellion. They had also expressed very deep regret that the ladies of the station had not all assembled in one building, and placed themselves under their protection, instead of coming into the fort! On the previous Monday they offered their services to the government to go and fight the rebels, and on Saturday evening at 6 o'clock, on parade, they received the thanks of the Governor General, and acknowledged it by three hearty cheers. The officers' wives were, of course, deeply anxious about their husbands, who were in the midst of all that firing. One after another came to me asking, 'Do you think the Sepoys will be loyal?' I could only say, in the effort to comfort them, 'I hope so.' Others were highly indignant that any such question should be asked, or that the least doubt should be entertained of their loyalty."

"Some time after the firing ceased, we saw a gentleman coming from the main gate to the barracks. Hitherto we knew nothing of what had occurred. I went and

opened a door and called him. His first words were, 'Alexander is lying dead outside. But tell Mrs. Harvard and Mrs. Simpson that their husbands are safe here in the fort; although Col. Simpson's horse has been riddled through with bullets. The 6th are in open mutiny.' There was a general rush to me to know what had happened. The ladies, who a few minutes before were so strongly standing up for the Sepoys, were utterly confounded. I went to Mrs. Simpson and delivered the message. She seized my hand, and fell on my arm with a loud cry. In a few minutes Col. Simpson came up with his clothes covered with blood, and gave an account of his almost miraculous escape. I must however mention what occurred at the gate, before the Col. came up to his quarters, which was the turning point with us in the fort.

"The one hundred Sepoys at the main gate, who were mounted on the main guard, were commanded by Lieutenant Brasyer to give up their guns. Two nine-pounders were brought close to them, and the torches ready to touch them off, in case of disobedience. The volunteers were also before them with loaded muskets, cocked and fingers on the trigger. At the command to pile their arms there seemed a slight hesitation, but they at once gave them up; then partly rushed back to them, but finding themselves overpowered eventually yielded. This was the critical moment for the four hundred Sikhs to join them, had they been so disposed. Had they done so, not one of us could have escaped. The massacre would have been universal, and then the Allahabad fort, with its vast magazine and armory, would have been in the hands of the mutineers, and the whole of the northwestern provinces must have gone from under British rule. You may imagine our

relief and joy when word was quietly passed on to us, 'The Sikhs are staunch.'

Mr. Owen was not then aware, but subsequently he mentions that a train had been laid to the magazine, and an officer appointed to fire it, should the fort fall into the hands of the mutineers.

"The Sepoys were all ready to start an outbreak in the fort; for their muskets were loaded, and, contrary to orders, capped, and in this condition were taken from them." "It may be said that, under God, we owe our safety to Brasyer especially and to the volunteers. Most of these are railway people, and for securing them we owe all thanks to Mr. Hodgson, who sent out train after train, and brought them in from the distance of more than twenty miles. Their presence doubtless did much to turn the scale in our favor. For I have no confidence in the Sikhs. At Benares they actually did fire upon the European soldiers, but instantly received a shower of grape, which cut up about eighty of them. They then turned and fought with the Europeans against the Sepoys."

"Meanwhile Harvard and Hicks were at the bridge with the guns. The only Europeans with them were two young ensigns just come out from England. An order was sent down for Harvard to bring the guns back into the fort, under an escort of sixteen Sepoys. The order reached him about 8 o'clock. He sent out word to make ready to move off the guns. The Havildar returned and informed him that the Sepoys refused to obey. Hicks went out and tried to reason with them; but instead of listening to reason, one man leveled his musket at him, which however was immediately knocked down by his neighbor. About this time, the Sepoys at the bridge sent

up three rockets, as a signal to those in the cantonments that they had commenced. They were seen from the fort, but were taken at the time for fire-works connected with some native wedding. The outbreak in cantonments instantly commenced, and the Sepoys at the bridge took the guns and went off in that direction. After they left, Harvard walked up to Alopee Bagh, where Alexander was stationed, with his irregular cavalry. Alexander immediately had his horse ready and gave one to Harvard, and got several men into the saddle as soon as possible. The deserters were overtaken, but in the attempt to rescue the guns Alexander was killed, his cavalry joined the mutineers, and Harvard finding himself alone, and very near the parade ground, fell back to the fort, which he reached in safety. The guns were taken to the parade ground, which they reached about 9 o'clock. Col. Simpson soon after leaving the Mess, heard an alarm at the parade ground, and rode over. As he passed each guard he was saluted with a shower of bullets. The other officers had gone over, and some of them had already been shot down. The Sepoys sounded an alarm on purpose to call out the officers, and shoot them all at once. The dead bodies of seven are still lying there. Col. Simpson rode on to the Treasury, where he was met by another shower of bullets, and as he passed the Mess house, the guard there gave him another volley. His horse was shot in many places, yet had sufficient strength left to bring his rider to the fort. The Colonel heard the bullets flying about his head. One hit the top of his cap, and a spent one his wrist, which was slightly lamed. His clothes were drenched with his horse's blood. Lieut. Currie had his horse shot from under him, but managed to escape. Capt. Gordon was concealed by

some of the Sepoys until the firing had ceased, and then quietly taken by them to a safe place, and requested to flee to the fort, as fast as possible. Out of seventeen officers who sat down to dinner at the Mess, on Saturday evening, only three are *known* to survive. It is possible, however, that others may yet turn up, for we have received some vague native rumors of Europeans hiding in the jungles in a most destitute state.

"When the guns left the bridge, about twenty Sepoys took Hicks and the two young ensigns prisoners, and conducted them through the Daragunge up to the station, and left them at Birch's house, and went on to join the main party, who were robbing the Government treasury at the collector's cutchery. Hicks and the ensigns then walked on to Staig's bungalow, took a horse and buggy, and instead of driving directly down the Fort road, where they would doubtless have been intercepted, drove over towards the Ganges, left the buggy there, and went on till they reached the river, and plunged in. They swam down stream about a mile and a half, crossed to the Jhoosie side, made a detour of two or three miles through the country, having blackened themselves with mud, reached the side of the river opposite the fort, again plunged in, and came out by the fort, near the flagstaff. They then crept around, close under the fort till they reached the entrance of the main gate, where the volunteers, having disarmed the Sepoys, were with the Sikhs, keeping guard. I was conversing with Hicks' sister in the balcony, when a call was made to her, 'Mrs. Hicks, Mrs. Hicks, somebody is knocking at your door.' She ran and found her brother and sister-in-law happy once more. Morning came and nothing was heard of poor Birch. During Sunday, we heard of his death.

"Toward morning, the Colonel went out to the 100 Sepoys of the 6th who had been disarmed, and told them that if they would go home, and not join the rebels, they should get pensions according to the time they had served the government,—and this to men who a few hours before had laid down their muskets loaded and capped, and whose comrades, in conspiracy with them, had butchered so many Europeans! Who is to know whether they went home, like good boys, or not?"

"Morning came, and such a dismal morning I have never seen. I walked out to the main gate and there saw a dooly, in which were the remains of poor Alexander lying in the riding dress in which he was shot down. He was a very amiable young man. We all deeply lament his loss in the bloom of life. His body was laid at evening in the trenches."

"The morning passed on, and until 11 o'clock, our bungalow appeared, from the top of the barracks, all safe. In reality, however, it was not so. From an early hour the Pathán of Durgábád, from whom we rent the land, and to whom we have shown nothing but kindness, was there, with some hundred of low-caste Mohammedans, plundering all our property and burning our books. Of this I knew nothing at the time. Mr. Spry (the Church of England chaplain) appointed a short service at 12 o'clock, in the verandah of the barracks. Just before it began, I ran up to the top of the barracks, and saw the smoke rising from the roof of our bungalow. It caused a bitter pang, but I was enabled with calmness to look up to God, and say 'All is right. Thy will be done.' As we sat at worship in the verandah I could see the thick column of smoke rising from it. Mr. Spry read the 86th Psalm

and the 9th chapter of Daniel and prayed, and then gave the Bible to me. I selected the 46th Psalm and read it with a few cursory remarks, and prayed, and then Mr. Spry pronounced the benediction. The service was very short and attended by few. Most of the gentlemen were engaged in guarding the fort, and several ladies were overwhelmed with grief at the recent loss of their husbands.

"The burning went on during the whole of Sunday, and no effort was made from the fort to arrest it."

"Some sixty or seventy of the 1st Madras fusileers (Europeans) arrived from Benares, and were brought across by a steamer that happened to be here. In the afternoon the rebels came close under the fort, and burned the bungalow at Arail. The incendiaries continued the whole night unchecked."

"On Monday (yesterday) we heard that the Mohammedans had planted their standard in the city, and that a Maulawi, at the gardens, had set up as the Lieutenant Governor of the king of Delhi, and offers two thousand five hundred Rupees for Mr. Court's head. The parade ground is occupied by Mohammedan troops, and it is at present impossible to recover the bodies of the seven officers who fell there. We hear distressing reports about our native Christians and Gopinath. Last night a company of three women and seven children found their way into the fort, in a most desolate condition." "Mrs. Thomas, in trying to escape, was overtaken by a Mohammedan, who struck her in the neck with a sword. She fell with a faint cry. She then got up and walked a few steps, and sat down and asked for water. The Mohammedan ran up, saying, 'you want water, do you?' and gave her another sword cut on the other side of her neck,

which ended her life. He also killed one of the children." Reports of other like atrocities were brought in by the same parties.

"We are almost starving here, living on half rations. We can get nothing from the outside. The people of the town seem determined to starve us out, at least the Mohammedan portion, and have forbidden supplies of any kind to be sent in. The commissariat was very badly supplied, and we are all suffering. The heat, too, is excessive, and the filth allowed to accumulate, abominable. It will be wonderful if we have not a pestilence, should we stay here long, and things remain as they are. I have no quarters, but sleep in a tent at night. I have no furniture, except two chairs. I care little for my furniture; but my dear books are a sad loss. For I do not know how to get on without them. But God will provide."

"June 10th (Wednesday). This morning Major Byres, Mr. Snow and several others came in from about twenty-four miles up the railway. I was at the Jumna water-gate on Monday, and took in a letter brought from Mr. Snow, telling us of their danger, and where they were. Mr. Court sent fourteen Sowars of the 25th Irregular Cavalry, who remained loyal, promising them 1400 Rupees if they brought the whole party in safe. Byres and his party were on a Tank, surrounded by thousands of natives, thirsting for their blood. Their bungalows were burned, and their property plundered before their eyes. The Sowars reached them yesterday afternoon. Just as the moment of deliverance had come, Mrs. Byres died of sun-stroke. They brought the body on to the Ganges, and were in the act of reading the burial service over it, when an alarm was given that the enemy was upon them.

Hastily they covered it up, and escaped. They walked their horses all night, avoiding villages, coming through ravines, and keeping quite out of the way of the city in their approach to the fort."

"June 11th. This morning Mrs. Boilard found her way into the fort. We had heard that she and her husband had been killed. Yesterday a message came that she was alive. Two Sowars were sent out for her. They got a third horse, dressed her up as a Sowar, placed her on the horse, and thus brought her in. On the way, they were asked who the third rider was. They said, they had with them one of the Maulawi's Sowars." She says, the rebels are enjoying a glorious revel at the station. Brandy is selling for a pice a bottle, champagne and beer for almost nothing. A butcher bought Mr. Court's carriage and pair for 30 Rs. Her husband was alive at 10 A. M. on Sunday. Since then she has not heard from him.

"We have this afternoon been cheered by the arrival of Col. Neill, who behaved so gallantly in the outbreak at Benares, and to whom, under God, that station owes its continued safety."

"June 12th. Col. Neill seems determined not to let the grass grow under his feet. Immediately after his arrival yesterday, he had preparation made for an attack on Daragunge. This morning at daybreak all was astir. Hitherto the mutineers have had it all their own way. Daragunge, a nest of Pryagwals, has been very troublesome in stopping communication over the Ganges. When this morning the fusileers were getting ready for their work, Col. Neill, to whom I had not been introduced, came and spoke kindly to me and said he was 'going to clear away that village, out there.' The troops were soon mov-

ing out of the fort, sixty fusileers, three hundred Sikhs and thirty cavalry. They marched off in the direction of Alopee Bagh, there to wait for the cannonading to cease. The guns from two batteries opened about sunrise. I stood near the outer battery, and saw where almost every ball struck. The dust arose from Daragunge in clouds. When the firing stopped, the troops moved in, and we saw no more. They returned about ten o'clock, having reopened the communication across the Ganges.

"June 13th. Active skirmishing was now kept up in the neighborhood of the fort. "Col. Neill requested me this morning to speak to my colleagues about going with their families to Calcutta. All ladies and non-military men are to go as soon as possible. I told him that my family were not here, and that I would like somehow to stay, and after the restoration of order, try to gather up the fragments of our mission. He gave me leave to remain, and said he would make arrangements for me, but requested that the others with their families prepare at once to remove. Troops are now on the way and all the space in the fort will very soon be required. Besides, this is not the place for ladies, especially if sickness should break out." Mr. Owen presents their discomforts as indescribable, scantiness of food and the poorness of its quality, the people outside, either by constraint or of their malignant purpose, withholding from them all supplies.

"June 14th, Sabbath. This morning I attended worship in the fort chapel. Mr. Spry conducted the services in a very appropriate manner." "The Sabbath has not been spent as any of us desired; but our confusion was unavoidable. I accompanied the Hays on board, this evening, truly sorry to part from them. They have been very

kind to me. I love and esteem them the more I know them, and shall feel lonely without them; but they, I believe, are in the way of duty in going. The flat, on which they are, is crowded with people, the steamer also. A number of armed volunteers protect both steamer and flat. Major Cary, an officer of the late "Illustrious 6th," goes as military commander of the whole. There are not cabins for one-third of the passengers. Screens and curtains are fitted up all over the decks, and the poor people jumbled in as thick as they can stand. The steamer is at the water-gate, and leaves early to-morrow morning."

"June 15th. A steamer was this morning sent up the Jumna with fifty or sixty fusileers and a twelve pound howitzer, for the purpose of harassing the rebels in that quarter.

"The fusileers upon landing found themselves face to face with thousands. But the Sikhs who went up by land soon joined them, and fought bravely. The Sikhs, ever since two or three of their number were killed by the Mohammedans, have been impatient to get revenge, and this morning they have had an opportunity. The fighting continued about four hours. We heard the firing very distinctly, and the dark columns of smoke, rising from the city, marked the course the troops were taking." "While they were at work, a battery from the fort was throwing shot and shell upon Pryágwálitolah. Col. Neill is much grieved at losing some of his brave men."

"I omitted mentioning an interesting occurrence of yesterday—the arrival of thirty-seven fugitives from Oude, under Lieut. Grant, assistant commissioner. Most of them are from Sultanpore. About the time of the outbreak here, they heard alarming rumors, and started for Purtah-

gurh, where Lieut. Grant was stationed. There they heard that Allahabad had fallen, and that all the Europeans had been massacred. Ajeet Singh, a powerful Zamindár, professed to protect them several days, though in reality they were his prisoners. Grant managed to get a letter forwarded to Court, who immediately sent out some native cavalry to escort them in. When Ajeet Singh heard that the Europeans at Allahabad were still safe in the fort, he at once became most loyal, and came in with the party himself, bringing with him a native escort of two thousand men. About 10 o'clock yesterday morning they arrived. I saw them come in just as I was retiring to my tent, and immediately went among them to render any assistance in my power. At Court's request, I took a list of all, and assisted in getting them refreshment. They came in a most forlorn state. Nearly the whole party were sent on board the steamer at once, without change of clothes—without anything, and pushed off to Calcutta. Lieutenant Grant remains, and shares my tent with me—indeed I have made it quite over to him, and have come into the quarters vacated by the Hays.

"My fare is very simple, *dail*, rice, and chupatties. The rations drawn in my name I make over to the poor railway people, who are working hard as volunteer militiamen, and in reward, are almost starving. I now pay for the little food I am able to get with my own money. The heat is dreadful. I fear we shall have sickness here, in the rains. It is well that the Colonel is pushing off the people to Calcutta, as fast as possible. For cholera, or any other epidemic, in this crowded fort would make fearful work."

Since the fifth of June, ten days had now elapsed since all who survived of the European residents of Allahabad

entered that stronghold. Many of the non-military part of them had been sent, under escort, to Calcutta. Of the American mission all who remained, besides Mr. Owen, were Mr. and Mrs. Munnis and their children.

"June 16th. We have been most anxious respecting our native Christians, only two or three have found their way in the fort. Of the rest we have no definite intelligence. From the accounts received, we apprehended the most concerning Gopinath and his family, whom I left in my house on Saturday, the 6th inst. Judge then of my agreeable surprise, this morning, on receiving from him a short note, written from our school-building, assuring me of the safety of all his family, and requesting me to get a party to go up and bring them, and Conductor Coleman and family, and Ensign Cheek of the 6th, down to the Fort. Gulzar, our Sais, brought me the note. I went to Mr. Court, who had just received a similar note, and was preparing to go. I could get no writing materials, and was obliged to send a verbal message, that we were coming at once. Court asked me to breakfast with him, and go up with the steamer that was to take the escort. We went on the steamer Jumna with sixty Fusileers and a twelve-pounder. As we approached the dear old place, the scene of desolation was most sad. The Fusileers and Mr. Court landed, but the officer in charge would not allow any of the others to go ashore. Dr. Irving was with us to take care of the wounded, but not a shot was fired. The party went up to the school building, but found no one there. They brought back a dismal account of the desolation which they had seen. When we returned to the fort, I found Gopinath and his family in my quarters. Gulzar had mistaken my message, and told them to

start, and that I would meet them on the way! They, therefore, came alone to the Fort, and entered in a most forlorn state, with scarcely a rag of clothing on. They had before sent their clothes into the Fort, and therefore had a supply at hand. But I had scarcely anything for them to eat. They expected, on reaching the Fort, to find abundant supplies; but actually found us almost starving. I immediately secured for them a passage to Calcutta, on board the flat that leaves to-morrow morning, in tow of the steamer Jumna, secured for them all the comforts I could on the passage, had their things taken on board, and accompanied them on board this evening.

"Poor Gopinath has suffered much. For two or three days he and his family were wandering about in the greatest distress. He had been robbed of all the money about him, and was reduced to the condition of a beggar. At last he fell into the hands of the Maulawi, who had set up his government at the Gardens. He was kept there in the serai with his feet in the stocks four days and four nights. His poor wife was dragged by the hair of her head on the stones, and greatly bruised. They threatened several times to kill him; and having found out that he was a Christian Padre were very bitter against him. But he stood firm, and witnessed a good confession. Young Ensign Cheek, who was wounded on the night of the outbreak, and had been wandering about, hiding sometimes in the jungles, sometimes on trees, sometimes standing in the water, was suffering most excruciating pain, while with Gopinath in the serai. Not the least of his suffering was from thirst, and almost night and day, he was calling for water. In the midst of all his sufferings, he exhorted Gopinath to stand firm, saying 'Padre Sahib, hold on to

your faith. Don't give it up.' When the Mohammedans saw Gopinath trying to show kindness to Cheek, they put him at a distance, and tried to prevent all further intercourse between them.

"Poor Cheek died this evening, from exposure and the long neglect of his wounds. Gopinath, this afternoon, remarked that he had a relative living at Bancoorah. It struck me that he might be a relative of Dr. Cheek, and I immediately went down to the hospital to see him, and see if he had any message to his friends. But he was past speaking. Mr. Spry had seen and prayed with him.

"The heat here is so great that I cannot think of sleeping in the quarters before the rains set in. Hitherto, I have slept out of doors almost every night since I entered the Fort, and have not once undressed at night. Last night I slept on the ramparts with Hodgson's squad of volunteers, over the Main Guard. It is the coolest place in the Fort."

CHAPTER X.

AN ATTEMPT AT RETURN TO MISSION WORK.

Next morning, June 17th, Mr. Owen, after reflecting upon what was best for him to do, determined to walk up to the mission school building, find out how things stood, and try what sort of a residence he could find there. Of the dangers to be encountered he seems to have taken little account, except that some native fugitives had come through safely.

"I walked up in an awfully hot sun, about eleven o'clock, and met with no molestation on the way. I might almost have fancied myself walking through a city of the dead. The school building I found dreadfully broken, all the bars and bolts torn from the doors, the glass of the windows broken out, many of the doors taken away, books torn and scattered in every room and all about the compound, pieces of broken apparatus lying here and there, and everything as desolate as possible. But no Sepoys were to be seen. All was silent and desolate, without inhabitant. From the school I went to the church, which I found sadly broken, and completely robbed. Scarcely a door remains in it. All the furniture—chairs, seats, lamps, Bibles, have been carried away. The bell is in the hands of the Pryagwals, who have taken it for one of their Hindu temples."

His house on the Jumna he found in ruins. Its bare walls filled with rubbish. "I soon left it, quite heartsick. Several of the native Christians ran to me, and got others

from their hiding places, among whom was Yunas. I requested him with his family, and all the native christians, to come into the school building, and promised to come there, and live there with them. The poor things seemed very glad to see me, and still more glad of what I proposed. We went into a garden in front of the mission compound, where I found pieces of our furniture scattered about, and Mrs. Pearson's piano all smashed. They told me I would find some of our things in an adjoining house belonging to Abdullah (a Mohammedan), one of Mr. Court's police officers. I walked in, and found no one there. I picked up two or three of my towels, which I was glad to get, and a few other things. The native Christians also found some articles belonging to them. Presently we discovered a mound of fresh earth. I got diggers, and soon came to some boards; which when I had taken up, I found a deep cellar, in which many things were stowed away. These were taken out, and the native Christians selected from them their own property. The rest I directed to be left there. The only article of Abdullah's, which I took away, was his splendid copy of the Koran, which I gave to Lieut. (or as he is called, Major) Brasyer, commander of the Sikhs, as a trophy. Brasyer has promised to give me a guard of Sikhs at the school building. He and Col. Neil and others were amused at my report of where I had been, and what I had done. Several in the fort had been asking after me during the day, not knowing where I had gone."

The adventurous missionary had unawares made an important reconnoisance, and discovered that the Sepoys were withdrawn from all parts of the Jumna bank which he had visited: the very direction which the military officers

had it in view to explore. "I found them," he writes, "arranging for a grand expedition to morrow. Harvard has asked to accompany the party. We are to start at gun-fire to morrow morning."

"June 18. I slept under a tree near my tent last night, and early this morning heard the preparation and then the marching of troops. I was soon on the steamer, and about sunrise we were off." The reconnoisance proved that the Sepoys had entirely withdrawn. When it was completed and the soldiers returned to the Fort, Mr. Owen remained with the native Christians, among the ruins.

"It is pleasant to get among the native Christians again, but I do not feel so comfortable as I expected, some of them having become half Mohammedans. Yunas repeated the Kalima, *i. e.*, their confession of faith—There is no god but God, and Mohammed is his prophet? So did Mrs. Fitz Gibbons and others. Not one of them, except Gopinath, has shown the spirit of a martyr.

"Brasyer has kindly sent a guard of Sikhs this evening, consisting of two Havildars, two Naiks, and twenty men. I have got a supply of sugar to give them, to put into their water for making sherbet. I expect to go up on the roof, where they are stationed, and sleep in the midst of them. 'I will lay me down in peace and sleep; for thou, Lord, only makest me to dwell in safety.'

"June 19. Rose early this morning, and began to set my house in order. In the midst of my labors, Mrs. Carr and her daughters rushed up from the fort in a panic, saying that the cholera had there broken out, and begging me to give them shelter. I sent the native Christians out into the long school house, and gave Mrs. Carr and her daughters rooms in the east part of the college building, where

they were soon joined by Mr. Carr. Then came Mr. Robinson asking for shelter, which was given. Then Edward Hamilton and his clerk, Mr. Knight, came running up, saying the cholera in the fort was fearful, and that people were fleeing for their lives in all directions. I gave them shelter also.

"During the day, I have picked up a few books in quite a ruined state. Yesterday, while marching with the troops through Durgabád, I saw stray leaves, here and there, of my Poole's Synopsis, Howe's works, Warburton, and other standard authors, that had been torn and scattered to the four winds by those Durgabád scoundrels.

"I slept soundly last night on the top of the house quite alone among the Sikhs. Badhi, the Punkahwála, sat near me. My little Pussy, that used to sit so comfortable under the Punkah on my study-table in the bungalow, had been a wanderer ever since the outbreak. Last night she came calling for me, and as soon as she found me out, ran up purring with the greatest satisfaction, followed me to the house-top, and there spent the night with me.

The cholera was raging at a fearful rate at the Fort, to day."

Upon going into the fort, the first duty which was demanded of him was to conduct the funeral of a victim of that terrible plague, the wife of an officer, while others were lying at the point of death. On the way to the burial ground they overtook Mr. Spry, the Church of England chaplain, outside the main gate, accompanying the coffin of another lady, who had just died of cholera, borne by European soldiers. They took that coffin also on the carriage. "Mr. Spry read the burial service for both at once. He then returned to the trenches and read the ser-

vice over the bodies of eighteen European soldiers, who had all died of cholera during the day. They were buried without coffins, by twos and threes, in narrow graves just wide enough to admit them. Their poor comrades who were killed in action the other day, in Durgabád, were never buried. A party went out to recover the bodies, but found they had been cut to pieces by the Mohammedans, and treated with every manner of indignity."

When he returned from the burial to the quarters, he found more deaths, running up the number by cholera to twenty-one on that day. He returned to his ruined school house in the evening. "I had to walk up quite alone and in the dark; and could scarcely stand when I reached this place, which I found filled to overflowing. The Sikh Guard is on the top, and I take my station with them, for the night. He that keepeth Israel neither slumbers nor sleeps; and unless he keep us, the watchmen watch in vain."

"June 20. Had a good refreshing sleep last night, and feel well again to-day. The heat is intense, and we have —at least I have—neither tatties nor punkahs, and the glass windows are out, and the dust flying into my room in clouds.

"I saw and had a very pleasant talk with Mr. and Mrs. Spry in the Fort to-day. In these times it is truly refreshing to find those who take an interest in things of Zion. I miss the Hays very much in this respect. Allahabád never appeared more godless than it does now. While in the Fort I could scarcely walk about without hearing profane language from various directions. I never saw the European character in a more unfavorable aspect.

"June 21. Sabbath. We had service to-day in English, which I conducted. Afterwards I collected the native

Christians, and had service with them in Hindustani. It was pleasant to see them assembled for worship once more, although I fear several of them, to save their lives, have professed the Mohammedan belief. This is very melancholy, and casts a bitter alloy into the pleasure of meeting them again.

"The native reports which have reached us from Futtehgurh are of the most discouraging character. We have painful fears regarding the safety of our dear friends there. No Cawnpore *Dak* for more than two weeks past. The Futtehpore station has been destroyed, and Mr. Robert Tucker killed. All the other residents have fled, and are supposed to be safe.

"June 22. Walked this morning to the Press. The scene of desolation on the way is beyond all description. The Native Hospital, and Blind and Leper Asylums have been burned. The bones of the poor officers who fell on the Parade ground, have been gathered up and buried. The desolation at the Press is dismal. All the bound books in the Depository, and all the unbound sheets in the binding room, and the store rooms adjoining, in value not to be counted in Rupees, have all been consumed. My commentary on the Psalms, printed as far as the 60th Psalm, has been burnt. I have a copy of the printed sheets, which I happened to take with me into the Fort. Much of my manuscript, which was in the Press, has also been destroyed, and of this I have no second copy. The manuscript of the Psalms, which I left in our bungalow, has also been destroyed beyond recovery.

"June 27. During the past week, I have been attending to the comfort and security of the native Christians. Joel has just come from Bareilly, from which place he and

Emma, with a child in arms, walked the whole way. The outbreak there occurred on the 30th of May. Dr. Hay, Mr. Robinson, the Judge, and Dr. Hansbrow, have been killed, also Mr. Poynder the chaplain, and his wife, and many others. The Butlers are safe at Nynee Tal, but all their property has been plundered and their houses burned. All Rohilcund seems to have fallen. Bareilly appears to have been attacked by the mutinous regiment (18th) on Sabbath, the 30th of May, just as the people were leaving church. The people at Shahjehanpore are said to have been attacked in church, and most of them then and there killed. Joel came through Shahjehanpore, and saw it a scene of perfect desolation, no Europeans there. He also came through Lucknow and Cawnpore, where Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir Hugh Wheeler were holding out in their respective entrenchments against the rebels. Sir Henry Lawrence seems safe at Lucknow; but great apprehensions are entertained for the safety of Sir Hugh Wheeler's force at Cawnpore, closely hemmed in as they are by overwhelming odds, and with limited ammunition and supplies.

"Babu Hari walked to Lucknow, then to Cawnpore, and so back to Allahabad. I sent him, on his arrival, to Col. Neill, to give an account of what he had seen. "We have no up country *Dak* in these days, and have great difficulty in getting any authentic intelligence. A very bad report has reached us from Cawnpore, which the Babu confirms. Several days since, it is said, some forty boats, with 132 Europeans from Futtehgurh, were passing Cawnpore, on their way to Allahabad. When they reached Bithoor, eight miles above Cawnpore, the Náná Sahib, a Mahratta, who has for several years resided at Bithoor,

fired upon them, and brought them all into Cawnpore, where he had them taken upon the parade ground and slain. The party is said to have comprised all the non-military people of Futtehgurh, and if so, our missionary friends must have been among them. A few days before the outbreak here, I received a letter from Freeman informing me that all the missionaries in Delhi had been murdered. He wrote in a desponding style. Poor fellow, I still hope that he and the rest may be all right. For there is a counter flying report that the 10th Regiment at Futtehgurh have not mutinied, and that that station is still safe. The missionary brethren there have for some time back been on the lookout, and have had native dresses for themselves and their families all ready to attempt their escape. They were all living in one compound and had prayer meetings daily.

"June 28. The quiet rest of the Sabbath has been very refreshing. I have not been able to get the European portion of the population together, but have had service quietly with the native Christians.

"June 30. This afternoon 400 or 500 Europeans and 700 to 800 Sikhs started for Cawnpore, amidst great cheering. The force is commanded by Major Renaud of the first Madras Fusileers.

"July 7. Another force, under Gen. Havelock, went off this afternoon." Immediately on the breaking out of the mutiny the forces were recalled from Persia, the war there being ended. Col. Havelock with two regiments, the 78th and 64th, was delayed on the voyage by shipwreck but reached Calcutta on the 17th of June. He was at once raised to the rank of Brigadier General, and appointed to command the troops sent to relieve Sir Hugh Wheeler

at Cawnpore and Sir Henry Lawrence at Lucknow. He arrived at Allahabad June 30. "We fear," writes Mr. Owen, "they are now too late to relieve Cawnpore. The force there is reported to have been all cut up, and several European ladies to be yet alive in the hands of the rebels."

"July 14th. Gen. Havelock's force pushed on and joined the advance column, and last Sunday, at Futtehpore, were attacked by the rebels, whom they defeated. There were three regiments of infantry and two of cavalry on the side of the enemy.

"July 16th. Yesterday, Havelock again fought the rebels at Pandoo Nuddy, about 15 miles this side of Cawnpore. Gen. Neill has pushed on to join him with a few more troops.

"July 18th. Day before yesterday Havelock entered Cawnpore, after hard fighting about four miles this side of that place. The women, who had been in the hands of the rebels, were all murdered, a few hours before the British forces entered. In one house the troops found a pool of fresh blood with arms, legs and heads, and traced the blood to a well near by, from which were taken the bodies of twenty-five women to whom they had belonged, all recently murdered. In the same house was found the journal of a lady kept until the day she was slain.

"Edmonstone, formerly of Futtehpore, and recently officiating as judge at Banda, has just arrived here. The fugitives from Futtehpore went to Banda, where they were joined by most of the residents of that station; and thence went to Nagode, farther south, thence to Mirzapore, whence the ladies, Mrs. Edmonstone and Mrs. Webster, went to Calcutta, and the gentlemen came here. At Humeerpore, Mr. Loyd and Mr. Donald Grant were blown from a gun.

Bruce and Benjamin, at Banda, have been killed by the Mohammedans. At Jhansi all the Europeans have been killed. Our prospects are now darker than ever. Sir Henry Lawrence, at Lucknow, was wounded on the 2nd and died on the 4th inst. A sad loss to India at this time.

"July 19th. Baptized Old Maulawi Mohammed Taki, who was examined last Monday by the session. At the same time Yunas appeared and confessed his having repeated the Kalima to save his wife, sister-in-law, and mother-in-law from being dishonored, and to-day he asked forgiveness of the church.

"August 10th. Havelock started to go on to Lucknow, but has been obliged to fall back to Cawnpore. All Oude is in arms. Lucknow still holds out, but is in great danger. Should that place fall, the rebels may make a rush at Allahabad, and we may be besieged in the fort again. Great preparations are going forward in the fort to be ready for such an event. Delhi is still in the hands of the rebels, and the British troops have been there trying to retake it ever since the 8th of June. The station and cantonments of Agra are in the hands of the insurgents; but the Europeans are all safe in the fort. In all the Northwestern Provinces there is no such thing as order and government, except in the few garrisons over which the British flag is still waving.

"August 18th. No *dak* from Calcutta for several days past. The native troops at Dinapore have mutinied, and are now scattered over the province of Behar, and stopping the mail carts. Prospects are still very dark. In the Fort preparations are made for blowing up the whole place, in case it should be necessary to evacuate Allahabad. The Munnises have just left by steamer for Calcutta.

"August 19th. I am here alone with Mr. Sandys. We have better news from Agra and Delhi. If Lucknow could be relieved, we might hope to see things soon beginning to mend. Calcutta *dak* and telegraph still closed. The Cawnpore *dak* and wire have also been closed again.

"August 23. Yesterday a rumor reached us that Lucknow had fallen, and that the Cawnpore tragedy had been there re-enacted; also that Lohunda was in the hands of the rebels, who were tearing up the railway.

"To-day I received a letter from Scott, dated July 25th, the first letter from any of our brethren up the country since May 14th. He has heard of the murder of our dear Futtehgurh brethren and sisters. The station of Agra has been burned and destroyed.

"August 24th, Allahabad Fort. On Saturday I was warned not to remain at the Jumna alone. The Muharam has just commenced, and the Mohammedans have vowed destruction to all the "infidels" they can lay hold of. Walter Freeling kindly sent me up a note from the Fort that Lieut. Jenkins would gladly allow me to come into his quarters. I came down and received a kind welcome. I slept here on Saturday night and went up to the Jumna yesterday, and spent a quiet Sabbath with the native Christians. I returned last night, have now become the guest of the mess, to which Freeling, Jenkins, Christopher and other pleasant gentlemen belong, and receive from them all great kindness; am making arrangements to have the native Christians brought within the outer entrenchments."

At this point Mr. Owen's journal letters come to an end. Having gone to Calcutta to meet his wife, on her return from America, he was there detained for four

months by the unsettled state of the country. Allahabad had become the base of military operations for the northern provinces. Mission work was entirely swept from the field of all that group of stations comprehended under the name of Furrukhabad. The laborious and prayerful work of twenty years seemed to have been expended in vain; all its fruits utterly extinguished.

CHAPTER XI.

RETURNING TO WORK. FROM CALCUTTA TO FURRUKHABAD IN THE TRAIL OF THE MUTINY, AND THROUGH LORD CLYDE'S ARMY.

On the 15th of September, Mr. Owen reached Calcutta, where his wife landed on the 21st; he did not leave that city on his return to the north until January next. Meanwhile occurred Havelock's final march on Lucknow, and reinforcement of the European garrison there, Lord Clyde's victories at Cawnpore and Alumbagh, and relief of the Residency of Lucknow, the recapture of Delhi by General Wilson, and protection of Agra by Colonel Greathed. But Lucknow, although humiliated, and her prey wrested out of her grasp, was still, at the beginning of 1858, unsubdued; and the mutineers, who now made that city their headquarters, remained a numerous, well organized, and well equipped army. Oude and the adjoining country across the Ganges were still occupied by conflicting forces. Missionary operations were still impracticable in the region of Allahabad.

Mr. Owen, at Calcutta, remained impatiently listening to every report of the movements which seemed to be opening the way for return to his work. On the 24th of Nov. he writes, "We spent Saturday with Dr. and Mrs. Duff, and went with him again over his noble institution. Last night we were in company of upwards of thirty Christian friends, where we saw all the Lacroix party. We see them frequently, and have much delighful intercourse

with them." "I have much to be thankful for, life spared, wife and son spared, the sympathy and affection of dear friends, a hope in the Blessed Redeemer."

On the 19th of January, 1858, Mr. Owen left Calcutta alone, for the field of his mission. The journey was one of exploration among ruins, to find out where to recommence, and what remained that could be useful. From Calcutta the railway then extended as far north as Raneegunge. At that station he was detained most of two days, all the *garis* (carriages) being engaged for the transportation of troops. Part of that time he spent in visiting the camp and hospital, in talking with the men on the interest of their souls, and reading the Scriptures to them. In the hospital, "When I suggested having worship with them, they immediately got me a desk and a Bible, and were all very attentive, some of them following me in their Bibles while I read."

On leaving Raneegunge, he went in company with certain military officers on their way to Lucknow. "A gentleman accustomed to the use of fire arms kindly loaded my revolver for me, and put the caps on. I heard the driver giving notice, during the night, to some natives, that I was armed. Our carriages continued near each other all night. We passed two or three detachments of troops by the way, and hundreds of carts laden with supplies. My carriage was a comfortable one; but the night was very cold. This morning a cold north wind was blowing down from the hills. I wrapped myself up in my cloak, and enjoyed it greatly. The scenery in all directions is beautiful and the mountain air bracing."

It was through a constant stream of military, coming and going, that Mr. Owen had to make his way. Upon

his arrival at the station of Nimeaghant, the officer in command there, whose duty it was to receive troops on their way, feed them, and pass them on, had just received orders to have rations for two hundred men a day, for several days to come, which seemed to confirm the rumors of hard fighting up the country. "They say all is safe as far as Sasseram, and if there is any danger beyond, the officer commanding there will not allow us to go on, until the road is quite clear. If all goes well, we reach Sasseram the day after to-morrow." At various places he found the road blocked up with bullock carts, conveying troops to the north, not a promising symptom for the conditions of missionary work.

Next day he met a rumor that Amar Singh was in force at Roletas Gurh, and that the British troops were to attack him from Sasseram in a few days. "The people are quietly pursuing their occupations."

On arrival at Sasseram, he found the report correct as to the intended attack upon Roletas Gurh. But as that was not to be made for a few days, and no impediment was put in his way, he determined to push forward. At Sasseram he spent the Sabbath, and had religious services with some of the soldiers. He mentions with affection some officers in whose company he had travelled so far, and with whom he had worship on Sabbath evening. "After we rose, (from kneeling in prayer) they all thanked me. Poor dear fellows, they seem very friendly. They all seem to have been well brought up in the Church of England."

At Sasseram Mr. Owen parted from his military friends, who had to wait there for their men to come up. At Benares he found some of his old missionary friends; but

their kindness failed to induce him to stay more than part of three days with them. Through crowds of *Karanchies* laden with European soldiers, and accepting conveyance with a military friend, Capt. Bunbury, in a government van, he pushed on his way, and reached Allahabad the next morning. Along the road between Benares and Allahabad he remarks that he had never seen the country in a better state of cultivation. "The poor cultivators seem to have taken little interest in the rebellion, either against or for us." "I saw the outlines of the old fort by moonlight. Many hearts feel grateful for the protection it afforded last June. The esplanade in front is covered with tents. As we came up the road leading from the fort to the station, I saw the plain on our left covered with a sea of canvas, the encampment of the Queen's Second Dragoon Guards."

"The part near the station is covered with a park of artillery, and in the part where the Sepoy lines were, European barracks are in course of rapid preparation." "We entered the Mission Press compound shortly before one o'clock this morning." "Babu John Hari, and Mirza, and other native Christians were soon up, and came to assist in taking my things off the van. I was cold, and felt too much excited to sleep. I was early up, and walked with Kennedy to the fort to find Dr. Guise." His tent was on the esplanade. "One of his servants took us to the scene of his laborious duties." "We had then a long walk through the hospitals, in which are 430 sick and wounded. It would be impossible to speak too highly in praise of the perfect neatness and cleanliness, in which we saw the poor fellows, in their comfortable wards and beds. Every thing is done for them that human skill and kind-

ness can do." "Col. Greathed, the hero of Delhi and Agra, is now here, on his way to Calcutta, a very soldierly looking man."

Entertained by Mr. Court, the magistrate, as his guest in the mess for the few days which intervened before he could proceed to Futtehgurh where he expected to meet some brethren from the northern stations, Mr. Owen was in the way of hearing, from both civilians and military men, the news of what was going on in both departments of the public service, and being deeply interested in having the native Christians recognized as worthy of government confidence, consistently defended their cause, in that company. He collected many examples of their loyalty, self-reliance and enterprise, when trusted as soldiers, or otherwise. Some of them, to save their lives and those of their families, had submitted to repeat the Mohammedan creed; and now came to him lamenting their lapse, and begging to be taken back into the church. Many of them, through all their trials had clung to the ruins of the Mission premises, and that neighborhood. Babu John Hari had mended one of the broken presses, and commenced printing jobs. For that purpose he had obtained a government license.

Allahabad was at that time in the midst of a revolution, going to make it for a time the seat of the general government, and the centre of military operations. Changes were taking place in every direction, and everything unsettled, mission work was still impracticable. Hindu Melas were also suspended. "The Pryagwals have nearly all left Pryagwalitolah. Several of them live in Daragunge; and, as the people are prohibited from going to the Tribeni in large companies, the Pryagwals go down themselves, one or two at a time, and bring a *lotah* of water from the

sacred point of the junction, mix it with other Ganges water in Daragunge, and there bathe the few people from the city, who persist in patronizing them."

"The ungodly lives of Europeans have been no inconsiderable hindrance to the progress of the Gospel in India." "Chester was highly indignant at a man called De Cruz, for turning Mussulman. De Cruz was asked if he had become a Mussulman. He very coolly replied, 'Yes, as a temporary measure.' Chester was for hanging him."

Feb. 2nd, "I have received a letter from Scott at Landour, where he was writing from the midst of a snow storm. He intended going down to Agra, in a week or two, and wishes me to try and come there. Fullerton is at Futtehgurh, and I have written to him to stand fast there, until I come. I hope to start in a day or two. To get as far as Cawnpore is easy enough by Government *dak*; but beyond there is no *dak*, but the mail cart; and that passes twenty miles from Futtehgurh. However, I hope to get on somehow."

Feb. 6th, Camp Futtehpore. "On Saturday morning I got an order from the Brigadier for a government *dak* at my own expense. He gave me also a pass for the train to Khaga, and my passage to that place cost me nothing. The train was a very long one, bringing us commissariat stores, and munitions of war." The commander-in-chief was expected to meet him by the way; but at Khaga heard that he was at Cawnpore, crossing his troops into Oude.

While the engineer was taking in water, I conversed with some of the Sepoys who mutinied at Nowgong. About 80 of them remained staunch, and protected their Major. The Government have committed to their charge

the railway works at Bawari. I asked them why their comrades mutinied. They professed entire ignorance of the cause, simply saying "God made them bad." I asked them whether they would shoot any of their old comrades, if they should meet them. "Yes, certainly," said they, for if we did not, they would shoot us."

The country through which we passed is under cultivation, and the crops seem as usual.

From Khaga, I came on to Futtehpore, 22 miles, by government van, paying for myself. The *dak* bungalows between Allahabad and Futtehpore, were all burned during the rebellion, except the one at Lohunda; the telegraph wires all destroyed, and nearly all the telegraph posts. The wire is now supported by temporary posts of bamboo, and whatever else material came first to hand. At Belinda, four miles from Futtehpore, where Havelock was first attacked, and whence he proceeded and fought the battle of Futtehpore, Sunday morning, July 12, the first advantage gained by us, after the dreadful events of June, we stopped to change horses. I asked the people of the village about it. They saw it, and said they were all loyal, and furnished our troops with supplies.

I drove to the Camp, not knowing where I was to find shelter, but inquiring for Mr. Marcy's tent. The driver brought me into the cutchery compound to the military camp, and I was met immediately, by a pleasant gentleman on horseback, Major Babington, of the 17th Madras Native Infantry, with a kind "How do you do, sir? Are you going up the country? You'll stop and give us service to-morrow? But unfortunately we are going out on a tour, to be gone several days. But there's my tent, occupy it as long as you like. We dine at six, this evening, and

shall be happy to have you with us. Take your things to my tent, and I'll be back in a few minutes. I deposited my things in my new home, and drove off on the van to look at the mission premises." It was in Gopeenath's congregation. The property had been seriously injured, and some of the houses burned, but some of them were still inhabited by native Christians. And Mr. Owen thought that as "the walls were standing, if covered over before the next rains, they would with some repairing, be as good as ever."

Mr. Owen then visited the civil camp, and meeting some acquaintances there, dismissed his van, and in their company took a walk among the ruins in other parts of the city, describing the desolation, which the mutiny and its punishment had left behind them. Dining with Major Babington that evening, he was introduced to the principal officers of the station, by whom he was treated with the kindest courtesy. Next day he preached in the camp. The conclusion of his observations was that Futtehpore was quite safe, and that if Gopeenath were there he might recommence missionary operations on a small scale. His next letter was from "Cawnpore, Feb. 9th. Here I am, in the station, which of all that have suffered by the rebellion, has been the scene of most suffering, cruelty and slaughter. I left the Major's tent at half-past eight. I passed the mission premises, and left money, and an order with Henry to have the four catechists' houses repaired immediately. The natives should see as soon as possible that we have not been driven from the ground. I think Futtehpore will now remain safe. The only fear, so far as I can see, is that the rebels, when driven from Lucknow and Oude, may make a dash that way. But the authorities

must protect the railway, and other property there, and not allow the enemy again to take possession. The commander-in-chief went over to Allahabad on Sunday morning, and passed through Futtehpore on his return to Cawnpore early this morning, having left Allahabad on Monday night. The horses had been well used up, and consequently I came on slowly, and reached Cawnpore just before sunset. The road is well kept open, and quite safe. I came comfortably in one of the government vans. The country is under cultivation, and the crops appear as usual; but the road to-day bore more evident marks of the rebellion than any part I have seen, except at the stations of Allahabad and Futtehpore. Most of the villages had been plundered and burnt, and the people are just beginning to settle in them again. The telegraph posts had nearly all been cut, and temporary posts have been put up. The bare walls of the two *dak* bungalows, at Kullianpoor and Sirsoul are standing. Kullianpoor, the second *dak* bungalow from Cawnpore, is the place to which the revolted regiments had gone, on their way to Allahabad, when the Nana went out and brought them back to Cawnpore. At Aung I saw the entrenchment, or a part of it, from behind which the rebels attempted to oppose Havelock's progress, after the battle of Futtehpore. They were driven from their position, and fell back three miles to the Pandoo Nuddi. There they began to break down the Pakha bridge; but had not time to do much, before Havelock was again upon them. They had another entrenchment on this side of the bridge, a portion of which is still there. After two hours fighting, the rebels retreated towards Cawnpore and made a stand, on the 15th of July, at the place where the road into cantonment forks from the trunk

road. After Havelock had defeated them at this last place, the Nana came into Cawnpore, and caused every European here, about 150, to be butchered that night. Havelock came in the next morning, and found the slaughter house and the well. The scene, as we approached and entered the station, was sad—sad beyond description. The ruin is more extensive and complete, and the desolation much more visible and striking than in Allahabad.

"I am in Nir Muhammed's Hotel, rather a rough affair; but a great convenience just now. One is glad to get any shelter, in such a time as this. The Commander-in-chief's camp is here, and troops are crossing on two or three bridges, day and night. The whole place is full of bustle and dust, swarming with red coats. In the compound of the Hotel are encamped the ladies, who have just come down with a convoy from Agra.

"One's heart sickens in going over this vast scene of desolation and ruins, with the recollection of what Cawnpore was only a few months since, and that all the recent occupants of these walls are now in eternity, sent there, alas! sadly unprepared. Cawnpore is like a city of the dead. I can scarcely recognize places with which I was once acquainted. After surveying the new fort, we drove to the chief's camp, and called on Major Norman, the son of my old friend, and fellow-passenger round the Cape. I expect to leave early on Friday morning, by Government van, for Agra. I have just received a letter from Fullerton, who has returned to that city; also one from Butler, from Meerut.

"This evening I drove out to find some of the places which have obtained such a sad notoriety. No native that I met would tell me the way to the House of Murder.

They all feign entire ignorance of its locality, and of what occurred there. At last I got a drummer boy of the 34th to come with me and show me the way. He is a bright little fellow, and told me of their recent hard fighting with the Gwalior rebels, and pointed out the places where some of the severest struggles took place. The slaughter house has been blown up and the well in which the bodies were thrown, has been filled. A very beautiful monument "To the Memory of the Women and Children of H. M. 32nd, who were massacred near this place," has been erected by twenty men of that regiment, who passed through Cawnpore in November. The well into which Miss Wheeler threw herself, a few feet distant, has also been covered over. The trees, against which the Sepoys dashed the children, have been cut down. They were just back of the house, between that and the well. The bark which was stained with the children's blood, has been taken off; but the trees are lying there still.

The slaughter house is in ruins, and one cannot see what it was, but the entrenchment, if such it may be called, is just as it was when Wheeler capitulated. There is no entrenchment, only a mud bank, scarcely as high as one's knee, a few rods in front of the buildings they occupied; in some places no bank at all. It is perfectly astonishing that they were held so long, by so weak a force, against such overwhelming odds, and proves, more than anything I have yet seen, the rebels' want of skill and courage. In the defence were only 150 of the Queen's 32nd, 15 of the Madras Fusileers, and a few other fighting men, and 6 small guns. The place is very extensive, and, even if really well entrenched, would require at least 500 men to defend the works. It was surrounded by at least

20,000 of the Nana's forces, who had not less than 50 or 60 guns battering it day and night from every direction. I never saw buildings so thoroughly battered and riddled. No wonder the poor people lost all heart, balls constantly coming in upon them, bricks falling and walls tumbling about their ears, no quiet day or night, many being killed daily, others dying of wounds, and sunstroke. This is the most dismal of all the dismal scenes of desolation that I have yet seen caused by this rebellion. It makes one's heart sick to walk about and think of the grief and suffering these battered and riddled walls have witnessed. Some who died are buried in a small garden, most however were thrown into a well near one of the buildings. On some of the walls are still marks of blood. The place is still marked where young Wheeler, the general's son and aide-de-camp, was killed by a round shot, throwing his blood all over the wall.[1] How our people managed to hold out those 20 days is matter of astonishment. Equally astonishing is the fatuity evinced in entrenching there. They were exposed on every side, without any cover from the enemy's cannon and musketry, and in every direction the walls are battered and broken in, and heaps of brick lying all about.

"Lieut. Thompson, one of the only three survivors of Cawnpore, whom I met this evening, says the place is just as they left it. Thompson is a particularly pleasant man, and gives a most interesting account of what he has seen and suffered. He was wounded the other day at Calpee, and can scarcely walk. He and Delafosse and private Murphy are the only survivors of all who went into the

1) Another account is that young Wheeler was fatally wounded in a sally on the 20th, and died next day.

entrenchments here on the 6th of last June. Government ought to pension and title them, instead of exposing them to further danger. Murphy is fighting at Lucknow, and Thompson will be at it again as soon as his wound heals. Delafosse, they say, is half mad.

"Wheeler capitulated with the Nana on the 26th of June, and the ladies began to move to the boats about 6 o'clock on the morning of the 27th, and by eight A. M., all were on board. They were not without suspicions of foul play, but had no idea that it could be so bad. I have heard from native reports that when the ladies came out of the entrenchments to go on board, they could scarcely be distinguished from native women, they were so sunburnt and covered with dust and smoke. Willock told me this evening that our European soldiers, when going into action, to urge each other on, often call out 'Cawnpore, Cawnpore,' and the Sikhs cry 'Cawnpore há badla — Cawnpore há badla!'—'Revenge of Cawnpore!'

"Feb. 11. Breakfasted this morning with Gregson, and afterwards drove with him over the ground of the late disasters under Wyndham; also to the church and graveyard. The roof of the church was burnt, and fell in; but an awning of Sirka grass has been run over it, a shelter from the sun, but not for rain, rude seats placed inside, something like a pulpit set up, and service is conducted there on Sundays. The walls are all blackened with smoke. They seem good, and the tower is still standing. The place is sadly dilapidated. The monuments in the burial ground are much broken." "On returning I found here Debi Din, one of the native Christians, who came with the missionaries from Futtehgurh, and was with them until they were seized at Nawabgunge. His account is most

touching. I have determined to remain here a day or two longer, and take down his statement, before going on to Agra. His account agrees, for the most part, with what I have heard, but adds further particulars.

"A large number (132) of Europeans left Futtehgurh, on the 4th of June, in boats, to make their escape down the river, either to Cawnpore, or Allahabad. Our missionary friends, Freeman and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, Campbell, his wife and two children, and Mr. and Mrs. M'Mullin, were with others on one of the boats. They proceeded with very great difficulty, in some places giving the natives money to be allowed to proceed, and in others, fighting their way through crowds of rebels."

"They were not taken at Bithoor, as we had heard, but five miles further down, and five miles above Cawnpore, at Nawabgunge. There they saw with spy-glasses, guns placed on the banks to oppose their progress down the river, and wrote a letter to General Wheeler, asking for assistance to get up to his entrenchments, and offered a man, who afterward proved to be a spy of the Nana's, 200 Rs., to take the letter up to Wheeler. They heard the booming of cannon, and knew that all Cawnpore was up and that the Europeans were somewhere in one place defending themselves. There they remained, near a small island in the river, about two days, unable to get on down the river, and unable to get assistance from the English. At last, hundreds of people, Budmashes, Sepoys, Sowars, cultivators from the villages, men, women and children, surrounded them. They fought as long as they could, the ladies loading and the gentlemen firing the muskets. A round shot broke a hole in the large boat, on which they had all been obliged to get. The boat began to sink,

and all got out on the small island, the ladies holding their children in their arms, under the scorching sun of June, the hots blowing in full blast. All knelt down, and Mr. Campbell led them in prayer. Then they directed the servants on the boat to break all the weapons and throw them into the river. They were soon beset with multitudes, who took away their watches, all they had in their pockets, their hats, shoes, stockings, coats, every thing except a slight covering from the waist downward. Then all were put into a large boat and brought to the Cawnpore side. Mr. Campbell requested the three native Christians, who were with them, to escape and get back to Futtehgurh, and warn all there to flee, and try to save themselves.

"Debi Din saw the whole party brought to the shore, the ladies brought off first, and made to sit on the ground; then the gentlemen were brought off and tied with a long rope arm to arm. The Sowars rode near the ladies while thus sitting on the ground. The ladies joined their hands and in an attitude of entreaty, begged for their lives. The Sowars replied to them in abusive and obscene language, shook their swords over them, and told them not one of them should live. When the gentlemen had all been tied together in a ring, the ladies were placed within the ring, and thus, they were all marched off. Mr. Campbell gave a farewell salám to the native Christians; and the latter gazed after the company, till a bazar, through which they were taken, covered them from view.

"A native here says that he saw a number of European ladies and gentlemen, with their children, being killed by Sepoys and Sowars, one morning, about ten o'clock, on the plain in front of the Savadah Kothi, the house formerly

occupied by Perkins. The Sepoys shot them with their muskets, and the Sowars with their pistols and then cut them to pieces with their swords. The man can give me no dates.[1] I hope yet to learn further particulars."

Next morning in company with a friend, Mr. Owen walked up to the Savadah Kothi, and recognized the main features of the place remaining as he had formerly known them. There also he found a man who told him that "he saw a company of Europeans, gentlemen, ladies, and children, being led bound from the direction of the Savadah Kothi, to the plain below, between that place and Wheeler's entrenchment, and there, by order of the Nana, who was present on horseback, shot and afterwards cut to pieces with swords.

"We have no doubt that all is well with them, that they have long since been at rest. The struggle was doubtless sharp, yet short. Christ was near, who has said 'I will never leave you nor forsake you." "We have been busy all day taking the statements of some native Christians from Futtehgurh."

On the following day, Mr. Owen visited the scene of the fearful treachery to Wheeler and his party after their capitulation. "The road from the entrenchment down to the river is pretty direct. Some walked, others went on carts and in doolies, and some of the sick and wounded were taken on elephants, Wheeler walked down supporting his two daughters on his arms, accompanied by Thompson. At the ghát is a large Hindu temple. Below the temple, on the shore, is a line of native houses. On a rising ground beyond these houses, were planted three guns. Near

1) It was subsequently ascertained to have occurred on the 13th of June. The party had been taken off the island on the 12th.

a bungalow still higher up the river, was another gun, and two more were on the Oude side. In the river is a sand bank, which at that time was covered with about a foot of water. The boats, about 40, were therefore confined in a narrow creek, near the shore. Just as they were pushing off, the guns opened upon them with grape, killing many in the boats near. Some of the boats went on. These were hit by round shot and sunk. The one in which Thompson was, took fire, and he swam to another ahead. Another near this was sinking, and all the passengers, including about 60 women and children, were taken on board. This boat and another managed to get beyond the reach of the guns, and went on down several miles. The rebels pursued, firing upon them with muskets, from the bank. At last a party of 14 went ashore, to clear them out. They succeeded, but lost just half their number. The remaining seven, finding themselves closely pressed, made a stand in a Hindu temple. They saw nothing more of the boats they had left. Finding themselves cut off from returning to the boats, they started to swim down stream. They swam several miles; but three of the seven were either drowned or killed by the enemy, who followed them, firing upon them. When no longer pursued, and quite exhausted, they saw some natives on shore beckoning to them. They stopped, and had a parley with them, standing in the water, at a distance. They distrusted, but had no alternative, and so gave themselves up. The natives were kind and faithful, and through their assistance, Lieutenants Thompson and Delafosse, and privates Murphy and Sullivan, the only survivors of the party, who embarked at the Gola Ghát, were taken into Havelock's camp, near Futtehpore. Sullivan has since died, Murphy is said to

have been killed at Alumbagh, and Delafosse has partly gone mad. Thompson is here, wounded from a ball he got the other day at Calpee."

"Feb. 14, Sabbath. To-day at 11 A. M., I had worship in Hindustani here in the tent, with four of our Futtehgurh Christians, and a few others." "I long to get settled at my work again. I would not exchange my calling as a missionary for all the honors and emoluments in the gift of either my native land, or Great Britain. And yet, if I look at what I have done, I have reason for nothing but the deepest humiliation. For I can see nothing of my work remaining. We must however remember that the progress of God's Kingdom does not depend on our individual efforts any further than his good pleasure makes it so. He may own and bless our faith and labor, and make them to advance His glory, in a way of which we have no conception. Through the united faith and prayer and effort of his church, he will manifest his glory among the heathen, and extend and establish his kingdom throughout the whole earth. The ruins of Allahabad, and Futtehpore, and Cawnpore, and Futtehgurh, and Agra, and Delhi, if not all in a material, yet in a spiritual sense, shall be built up, and Christ's kingdom appear great and glorious in all these places. It is comforting to know that all these things are in the hand of our God, and that though we die, Jesus Christ remains the same yesterday, to-day and forever."

"The ploughmen, artisans, and shopkeepers are, in general, passively and negatively loyal. Most of these are Hindus. Passing through the country, you would scarcely, without previous knowledge of the fact, suppose the people in a state of rebellion. To a certain extent they

are not, and to a certain extent they are. The revolt is something more than a military mutiny; and yet, with the exception of Oude, Rohilkund and Bundelkund, can scarcely be called a national rebellion. The ignorant, unstable, selfish people are always ready for anything that promises a greater present good, having little foresight as to the future. The Bible, and the Bible alone, can raise them from their ignorance, superstition and degradation, and make real men of them. When they become Christians, then we may look for something good, amiable and noble in them. Some of the natives, and Sepoys too, have stuck to us nobly. This is a fact not to be forgotten. When the gospel works upon their hearts, we shall have a good, amiable, if not a great people."

"Is it not remarkable that the Punjab, where Sir John Lawrence and Mr. Montgomery have, all through the mutiny, openly favored Missionary operations, has remained so quiet, and in fact, been the means of saving India? Major Edwards, at Peshawar, has from the beginning of his rule in that place, favored missionary work." "How remarkably has God fulfilled his word, as regards the rulers of the Punjab." 'Them that honor me I will honor.'

"How different things are in the Regulation Provinces, where the old traditional and conciliation policy is the order of the day!

"Mr. Grant, our present Lieut.-Governor, seldom, if ever, goes to church, and clings to the anti-Christian policy. The missionaries in Benares raised a corps of about 400 native Christians for Government service. Mr. Grant declined taking them, lest the Hindus and Mohammedans should take offence! The missionaries in Krishnaghur, in Bengal, not long since, wished the native Christians to

enlist in Government service, and the native Christians themselves desired to do so; but Lord Canning and Mr. Halliday refused to accept them! All that we want is that the native Christians have *fair play*, not be favored because they are Christians, nor be rejected on that account; but if they are otherwise qualified, that they be, equally with Mohammedans and Hindus, eligible to Government service. The native Christian, whom I sent with Walter Freeling, followed his master on the 25th of September, through that terrible firing into the Residency, and I hear has done very well. Walter wrote me a gratifying account of him. I sent a company of them to engage in Government service under Court. All the officers, who have had them on service, speak well of them.

"I long to get settled at my work again. I came here hoping to be able to get on to Agra, and consult with my brethren there about our future labors, so as to secure, as far as possible, unity in our plans. The road to Agra has been opened, and Government vans have been running. Within a day or two, however, they say it has become unsafe, and that rebels are crossing from Oude to get into Central India."

"I am awkwardly situated, having no books, having lost all but my Hebrew Bible, Greek Testament, and a very few others. I have no lexicons, nor commentaries, or other books of reference. However, Jehovah Jireh. For the present I shall give myself, as much as possible, to native preaching."

"May the blessed Gospel soon bring peace and happiness to this now distracted and wretched land. Though all is now shaken, yet God's promises remain the same, and his foundation stands sure. My own work, so far as

I see, has been destroyed; but I am not discouraged. *Nil desperandum Jesu duce.* The work is not ours, but God's. It may be his will to burn up all our wood, hay and stubble, in order to bring out more distinctly and gloriously to view, his own immovable foundation, and to render the glory of his name illustrious. To his name be all glory. Though cast down, we are not destroyed; though faint, we are still pursuing. O that we might be more than ever devoted to him, who loved us and gave himself for us."

1858 On the 19th of Feb., the road being deemed safe, Mr. Owen proceeded in a Government van to Agra. Along the way, for twenty miles or more from Cawnpore, he found detachments of military, and mounted patrols guarding the fords of the Ganges, and the country in every direction, to keep the Nana and his people from crossing and molesting the great convoy of ladies, now on the way from Agra to Allahabad. "I stopped a few minutes to see the mission bungalow at Mynpurie, which has been burnt. The walls are good, and the chapel might soon be set right." At Agra he met with the missionaries Fullerton, Scott, and Williams, and a few other friends, held the desired conference in relation to their future operations, examined with them the ruins of the Mission premises, and on the 26th left Agra, on his way to Futtehgurh, which he reached on the evening of the 27th." "I directed the driver to take me at once to the Mission premises, at Rakha. As we approached, I saw the Mission Church by moonlight at a distance. When we came up, I found it all in ruins, only the walls and steeple standing. The mission bungalows had been burned in June, and their walls, and the walls of all the adjoining buildings, present a dismal scene of desolation."

Mr. Owen collected as many as he could of the native Christians, encouraged them, and spent the Sabbath and held divine service with them. And next Wednesday was in Cawnpore, from which he proceeded without impediment on his return to Allahabad.

CHAPTER XII.

RESTORATION OF THE MISSION.

On the 19th of March, 1858, the capture of Lucknow was completed. The rebellion lost the force of concentration, and it only remained to reduce the separate groups of mutineers who held "some of the strongholds of Central India and Rajpootana," or who roved about the country for plunder. By the beginning of April, Mr. Owen had again taken up his residence in the school building at Allahabad, having repaired it far enough for the accommodation of his wife and himself. "I am preaching," he writes, "to the people in the city almost every day, and they attend pretty well." "The railway is open as far as Futtehpore, and the train runs there and back daily. They expect to open it as far as Cawnpore in June or July, so I hope the rebels will not be able to do much more mischief in this part of the country. I am expecting Gopeenath and his family from Calcutta very soon, to make arrangements for beginning the missionary work at Futtehpore again. These troubles must not discourage us, but we must pray and labor more earnestly than ever for these poor heathen. The worse they are, the more need have they of the gospel."

Allahabad was now occupied as the seat of Government for the Northwestern Provinces; and the erection of public buildings, for both civil and military service, brought a great increase of European population and rendered it more than ever important as a missionary station. At first the whole work of resumption had to be done by

Mr. Owen alone. He had to see to the necessary repairs of the buildings which admitted of being repaired, and of building new, where the ruin was complete. He gathered the little native congregation together and conducted regular religious service with them, discharging among them the duties of a missionary pastor. As Secretary of the North India Bible and Tract Societies, he had to carry on a large correspondence. Besides the care of his own station he found himself also called upon by the circumstances of the case to act as a transit agent in general for boxes and parcels without number coming from Calcutta for friends up the country; while his house and much of his time was occupied by a constant succession of friends passing up and down.

In prosecuting the war to its termination in Oude both Lord Canning, the Governor-General, and Lord Clyde the commander-in-chief, made their head-quarters in Allahabad, and with the forces thereby assembled in that city, mission work could be conducted with safety, but in circumstances far from favorable to success.

As late as October 15, Mr. Owen wrote: "The general hope is that by the close of this cold weather, order and authority will be re-established. The old chief is slow in making a beginning. I hear he is not to leave Allahabad before the 20th; portions of the trunk road will probably become unsafe again for a time. It is supposed by some that the rebels, when driven from Oude, may attempt to cross the Doab, and effect a junction with Tantia Topi in the south.[1] But if we are on the alert, there is no serious ground of apprehension regarding the result.

1) Tantia Topi, in whose hands the mutiny terminated in a kind of guerilla warfare in Central India, was captured, tried by court martial and hanged, April 18, 1859.

"I have been busy repairing our Mission church for several months past, and a few weeks since we re-opened it for service. The press we shall not re-establish. Pending the decision of that question by our home committee, I had one of the old iron presses repaired, and began job work at my own risk, with the few types we picked up after the mutiny. During the few months of waiting for the Committee's decision, the native Christian workmen carried it on so vigorously that when the answer came, I had in hand, after paying their wages in full, and all the other expenses of the establishment, and making up some back pay, one thousand Rupees to hand over to the Mission Treasury. With the Board's sanction, I have sold the remains of the press to the native brethren, and they are now carrying it on, on their own account. With their savings they are laying in a new stock, and I trust they will succeed well. I have no pecuniary responsibility in regard to them, but assist them in every way I can, as a friend."

In reconstructing the mission at Allahabad, it was deemed necessary to greatly reduce the extent of operations. And Mr. Owen, though he did not change his mind respecting the importance of education, now thought that, for the time then being, it would be better to have the teaching done by an auxiliary society, that all the funds of the Foreign Mission Board might be devoted entirely to the work of preaching the Gospel.

As Secretary of the North India Bible and Tract Societies, the headquarters of which had been removed from Agra to Allahabad, Mr. Owen had much to do in the way of supplying the European soldiers in the Northern Provinces with Bibles, tracts and other Christian books. In

that work he was sometimes cheered by receiving letters from chaplains and others, telling of the good which those books were doing among the soldiers. December 20, 1858, he writes, "There has been a revival of religion in one of the Highland regiments, and several of the soldiers have become hopefully converted. In some of the regiments, even on the field of battle, prayer-meetings are regularly kept up."

"I am preparing to reprint my commentary on the Psalms, which was burnt here during the mutiny. Much of it I have to re-write, but hope to get it ready by and by. I am also going on with preaching. We need an outpouring of the Holy Spirit, such as the Church in America has been enjoying." "We have a weekly union prayer-meeting, attended by Episcopalians, Baptists and Presbyterians, held in the Bible Depository. I trust it may result in good."

In January following (1859) Mr. and Mrs. Owen enjoyed a few days relaxation in a visit to their kinsman Mr. Arthur Lang, at Lucknow. Under his experienced guidance the places renowned in the war were visited with a still fresh and vivid interest.

"This morning he took us over Havelock's route, from the Char Bagh bridge on the Cawnpore road, down to the Residency. What a wonderful place that Residency is. I wonder more and more that any one came out of it alive. Truly, God has been with us, and we may regard His merciful dealings with us as pledges of the good in store for India."

"Oude is now quiet, and we have the blessing of peace once more. Mr. Montgomery has done a great work for this province, during the few months of his rule. He

leaves in February, to the regret of all here, to return to Lahor, to take Sir John Lawrence's place, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. It is wonderful to see how the British power has again settled down here, on a firmer basis than ever. The greatest energy is apparent in all departments."

"The Commander-in-chief is here, on his way from the campaign, which is now over. It has been admirably arranged, and well carried out. The old chief will go home laden with honors, to the enjoyment of domestic life. The troops are going off to their quarters, and everything seems settling down to a peace establishment.

"Tantia Topi, in Central India, may give trouble some little time longer. The Nana and Begum have been driven off into the Nepal hills. If they are caught the Government will likely pardon—perhaps pension—them. The Nawab of Furrukhabad, who blew away English ladies from guns, has been pardoned."

"The missions here have made an encouraging beginning. The Episcopalians occupy the east, and the Methodists the west side of the city. Crowds of people come round the preachers, many from curiosity, preaching being a new thing here, some probably from fear of the Europeans, and possibly a few from a spirit of inquiry. I preached, the other evening, a few rods from the Methodist mission, to a large, motley crowd, numbering, one of the missionaries told me, about five hundred. The brethren in both missions feel much encouraged. The field is indeed wide, and I think a promising one."

After a few days at Lucknow, Mr. and Mrs. Owen returned by way of Cawnpore and Futtehpore. At the latter, they partook of the hospitality of Gopeenath, who

was busy restoring the mission there. "We are in a tent in Gopeenath's compound, near his chapel and bungalow, which are rapidly going on to completion." "We are gradually rebuilding our mission at Allahabad, Futtehpore and Futtehgurh." "Allahabad is undergoing great changes. We have now a bi-weekly newspaper published there, called the *New Times*. The changes at Cawnpore are also great, especially the railway station, a magnificent pile of buildings, which has sprung up within about eight months. But Cawnpore is a desolate gloomy place, especially rendered such by the recollection of our disasters there."

"Allahabad, January 29, 1859. We have a united Protestant prayer meeting here, held weekly at the Bible Depository. It is a Protestant prayer meeting, not Presbyterian, Baptist, or Episcopalian, and it is held at the Bible Depository rather than any particular church, the Bible being the rallying point for Protestants. We began several weeks ago with only five or six, but with a determination to persevere, and now the room can scarcely hold all that come. It is conducted in turn by Mr. Mackay, the chaplain, Mr. Williams, the Baptist minister, and myself. The interest in it seems to be increasing. How delightful it is to hear what God is doing in America and in Great Britain. We communicate, at these meetings, the most recent religious intelligence we receive." "At several stations in India, these union prayer meetings are coming into existence."

At this time, however busily Mr. Owen was engaged in re-organization of the mission, preparing books for instruction of Christian converts, Bible and Tract Society work, and otherwise, he was not prevented from preaching to the people almost every day.

The Lodiana Mission, although it suffered severely in the mutiny, was not completely broken up, like that of Furrukhabad; an advantage mainly due to the prompt and efficient management of Lawrence and Montgomery in the Punjab, and the means taken by them to repel the advance of mutiny northward, but partly also to the policy adopted, after some wavering, by the Sikhs. Mutiny, instead of spreading northward over the regions in which the Lodiana stations lie, was soon constrained to the south east of those northern provinces. Its greatest strength and fiercest atrocities were exhibited on the field of the Furrukhabad stations, and the adjoining countries of Delhi, Rohilcund, and Oude. In the Lodiana stations some damage was done to property, and missionary operations were obstructed, but no lives were lost. Reconstruction was also practicable there at an earlier date. The usual routine of labor was resumed soon after October, 1857, although for the succeeding year, most of the time had to be spent in repairing and in some cases rebuilding from the foundation. Occasion was also taken to enlarge the accommodations, for which means were supplied from an indemnity fund provided by the civil authorities.

Some stations of that mission had been regularly occupied most of the time. Sabbath services had been kept up; and even preaching tours made into the Punjab, as early as October, 1857, by Messrs. Thackwell and Newton. The schools at Lodiana continued in operation, although with diminished numbers. The printing establishment, greatly damaged in the outbreak, was soon repaired, and printing resumed towards the end of 1857. The poor house and leper asylum were also continued in operation.[1]

1) F. M., May 1859, p. 365.

Of the Furrukhabad mission, consisting of six stations, at Agra, Mynpurie, Futtehgurh, Futtehpore, Allahabad and Banda, only that of Agra escaped entire deprivation of its missionaries. Ullmann of Mynpurie escaped to Agra,[1] those of Futtehgurh were all slain, except Walsh who was then in America.[2] From Futtehpore Gopeenath was driven to seek refuge in Calcutta. All, except Owen, were sent from Allahabad, in the beginning of the outbreak, and the station at Banda was at that crisis occupied by a native catechist and teacher with his assistant. The native Christians were subjected to great hardships, and some of them to death; and all valuable property was plundered or destroyed.

Resumption of work at those stations was slow, as everything had to be recommenced almost from the beginning, the means were scanty, and the workmen few. Besides the three brethren at Agra, and Ullmann who had taken refuge with them, the only missionary in any of the stations was Owen. His operations were chiefly on behalf of Allahabad, and through Gopeenath, of Futtehpore; but he also coöperated with the brethren at Agra, for the revival of the stations at Futtehgurh and Mynpurie. It was for this purpose, that while the conflict of arms was still going on, he undertook his journey from Calcutta into the very heart of the theatre of war, that he might begin work at his own station, and hold conference with those brethren, at the earliest date possible.

In that mission, the stations had all to recommence with greatly limited means. At Agra and Allahabad some additional inconvenience was also, for a time, created by transfer of the seat of government.

1) F. M., April 1858, p. 351. 2) F. M., May 1858, p. 377.

At Allahabad the Mela was suspended in the first season after the mutiny. "European soldiers stood upon the ramparts of the fort, and threatened to shoot any native, who might attempt to go and bathe at the sacred place." Next year a few assembled; and the following year the number amounted to a few thousands. Mr. Owen began to preach among them and found attentive listeners.

At Futtehgurh, the only missionaries were Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Scott, who had been stationed at Agra before and during the mutiny. They were also assisted by a number of native helpers.[1] Mr. Fullerton, another of the Agra brethren, was, at the close of the mutiny, transferred to the second station of Futtehgurh, more properly called that of Furrukhabad. Mynpurie remained unoccupied by a missionary, the native teacher, Babu Hulas Roy, alone sustaining the cause at that station. In this depleted condition were the stations of the southern mission at a time, when also it was felt by the missionaries on the ground, that at least two more stations, Allygurh and Etawah should be added to the number.[2]

Mr. Owen was enabled to sustain the amount of work, which thus fell to his share, only by persevering regularity and order. October 31, 1860, he writes: "My health is good, never strong, but with care usually comfortable. A little imprudence would at any time upset me, and render a trip to the hills, or a voyage home necessary. People here sometimes wonder at my having been nearly twenty years in India and never yet having seen the hills, and young missionaries seeing me in such good health, after so long an uninterrupted residence on the plains,

1) F. M., May 1860, p. 379 comp. with July, 1857, p. 35.
2) F. M., May 1860, p. 401.

take courage for themselves." It had however been recommended to him that a trip to the mountains, or his native land would be prudent, as a measure of precaution. A visit to America had many attractions, which he began to cherish the hope of enjoying, but his work in India was dear to him, there was yet no person in whose hands he could leave it; and in the end of 1860, his explanation of the Psalms for native Christians was being slowly carried through the press by the North India Tract Society, he could not expect to see it finished before another hot season, and then it would be too late to set out on his homeward journey. So the project was of necessity postponed for another year. And ere that year had far advanced, the news from home was such as to render a further postponement advisable. By the improved facilities of transport in India, intelligence of the American civil war had reached the northern provinces early in the month of June, 1861. In that conflict Mr. Owen took a strong interest from the beginning on the loyal side, and on behalf of the good of the whole country. "The sad state of things at home is almost a constant subject of my thoughts, and is a subject of my daily prayer."

The Urdu commentary on the Psalms was completed and published the ensuing year, and a corresponding work on Isaiah undertaken.

At the same time, in the famine prevailing in the neighborhood of Agra, to which he had been removed, Mr. Owen, as a member of the Local Relief Committee, was brought into intimate relations with many of the sufferers, and made eye witness of an appalling calamity, which has so often befallen India, but which no government in that country until the British ever alleviated.

Thousands in both city and country were daily fed at the public expense, and by private benevolence. The famine was most severe in the districts where the mutiny began.

It was in February, 1861, that Mr. Owen was removed to Agra. The missionary brethren wished him to go. His own judgment, which was not favorable to the change, he yielded to their wishes. On the same occasion he resigned his place as Secretary of the North India Bible and Tract Societies, which he had held about three years. His apprehensions in respect to the change proved to be well founded, and at the end of two years he was recalled to his old station, to which he returned in the beginning of March, 1863, and was soon re-installed in his house by the Jumna, which had been rebuilt since its destruction in the mutiny. Again he was left in charge of the whole mission, the school, two native churches and bazár-preaching, besides his press work, which he steadily carried forward. But he remarks: "I have a good staff of native preachers and assistants, foremost among whom is my dear old pupil Yunas. He has become an excellent man, and is greatly respected, not only for his scholarship, but also for his high character." Moreover, he had now no English services to conduct, the church of Scotland having appointed a chaplain for the British residents of Presbyterian persuasion. Mr. Williamson, the chaplain, and Mr. Owen soon became intimately related in their respective work. "I occasionally," writes Mr. Owen, "assist him, taking charge of his congregation, when he goes to look after his Presbyterian flocks at Benares, Cawnpore, and Lucknow."

After a year more of steady, persistent work among his beloved converts but all alone as an American Missionary

at the station, the desire grew upon him to see once more his native land. Writing to his mother May 7, 1864, he says: "I have long been wishing to go home and pay you a visit, before your departure from this world, but am beginning sincerely to fear that I shall never enjoy this great pleasure. In the present crippled state of our mission it would be quite impossible to leave without serious injury to the work. Here I am, alone at this station, where there should be, at least, three missionaries; and should I go, there is no one to take my place, without leaving another station vacant. I do wish the Board would send us a good reinforcement soon. There are plenty of young men to volunteer for the war; but there seems to be but few volunteers for the missionary work. This should be done, while the other should not be left undone. I have never seen cause to regret that I became a missionary. My only cause of regret is that I have not been a more faithful and devoted one. When we meet in heaven, I will tell you how thankful I have reason to be that I was a missionary; and you will be thankful that your son became a missionary. The time passes rapidly, and soon we shall be there—soon we shall be with our blessed Savior. May he give us grace to be faithful unto death."

Meanwhile the laborious missionary, alone, as such, in the management of his station, in the midst of a vast populace of Europeans, Hindus and Mohammedans, where he felt his sole efforts to be as nothing, and his appeals for more workmen unheeded, was not forgotten nor unheeded at home. Fellow workmen were getting ready to go out to join him; and in recognition of his scholarship, his Biblical labors, and heroic efforts during the mutiny,

and in re-establishing the station, Princeton College at the commencement in 1864, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor in Divinity.

Within the same year, another of his early friends in College, and fellow laborers on Indian ground, fell by the hand of violence. In a letter of date June 2, 1864, he thus relates the event. Levi Janvier "was one of my dearest and most intimate friends in College and since we came to India. He had been preaching at a Mela at Armudpoor. He and Mr. Carleton, and Mrs. Carleton and Mrs. Janvier with their native assistants had been there for several days. Mrs. Janvier and Mrs. Carleton, with the assistance of some native Bible women, had obtained access to several native women, while the gentlemen had labored among the crowds. Nothing unpleasant had occurred, no unpleasant discussion of any kind. On the contrary, all seemed most respectful and attentive. On the last day of the Mela, the 24th of March, Mr. Janvier labored very hard. Towards evening he preached on the coming of our Lord, and seemed unusually solemn. At the close of the day he proposed that they should have the communion. The native Christians expressed surprise, as it was not Sunday. But he said it would be most appropriate, as they were all to separate on the following morning and go different ways. So, at 7 o'clock in the evening, they surrounded the communion table in his tent, he leading the services, and singing with his usual vigor the hymn beginning with the words,—

"Árásta ho, Ai meri ján,"
(Be ready, O my soul,)

a Hindustani hymn often sung at our communion seasons. At 9 o'clock he went out to make arrangements for march-

ing on the following morning, and as he stepped to a cart to give an order, a Sikh fanatic suddenly struck him insensible with two blows on the head, one of which fractured his skull over the right eye. The man instantly attempted to run away, but was pursued, and seized by the servants and native Christians, while Mr. Carleton carried his bleeding brother into the tent. He lay groaning, but quite unconscious, during the whole night, and expired early on the following morning.

His remains were taken to Hoshiarpore, for a *post mortem* examination, and then sent on to Lodiana, and interred by the side of his first wife. He was a man of superior scholarship, and of eminent qualifications for his great missionary work."

On the 26th of April, another laborer in the same field was slain—shot by his chaukidar at Peshawar. "Isidore Löwenthal, a Polish Jew, by birth, but a naturalized American citizen, had translated the New Testament into Pushtu—the language of the Affghans, and was eminent in Oriental scholarship. His death too is a great loss to us."

Mr. Löwenthal was a graduate of Lafayette College, and of the Theological Seminary at Princeton, where he left a reputation for extraordinary oriental learning. His object in making those attainments was to preach the gospel among the heathen of the eastern world. A pious British Officer in the Indian Army, deeply interested in the conversion of the Affghans, offered to the American missionaries of the north-west a sum of money to establish a mission at Peshawar, with an ultimate view to that people, and for the immediate purpose of translating the New Testament into their language, furnished the amount of

seven thousand five hundred dollars. No question could be raised as to the propriety of appointing Mr. Löwenthal to that service. He commenced, in company with Dr. Morrison, at Rawal Pindee, in 1855, but two years afterwards, removed to Peshawar. By the middle of April, 1864, his work was complete—the New Testament was rendered into Pushtu, and ready to be sent over the dangerous border, which no missionary had yet dared to pass. No Presbyterian successor has taken the place, at which Löwenthal fell.

Before the same year closed, a nearer calamity clouded Dr. Owen's own household. The prudent and affectionate companion of his cares and labors for twenty years was removed from his side by death. Mrs. Owen was a woman of excellent judgment in practical matters, quiet and cheerful in manner, of eminent piety, deeply interested in her husband's work, an ornament to his household, and as he expressed it, "a sweet companion, a stay and support and great comfort to me to the last minute of her life." She died on the 14th of December, 1864. Her social qualities had endeared her to the better class of European residents, and her unostentatious, but ever active efforts to do good among them, to the poor Christian natives. A great assemblage of both attended her remains to their last resting place. And although her happy death in Christ removed from friends the bitterness of sorrow, many lamented it as a personal bereavement to themselves.

During his wife's long illness of more than two months, much of Dr. Owen's work stood still, and after her death, his friends, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Lang, then residing at Simla, urged him to withdraw from the station for a time, and seek recuperation for his own depressed health, in a visit to themselves among the hills. Others suggested a

visit to England or his native country. But when his thoughts could be collected again about his work, he felt too much the importance of what needed to be done, to take any time from it: and moreover, the season he thought unsuitable. Postponing his trip to the hills until the hot weather, he at once plunged into the round of daily missionary duties, and the enterprises by which he hoped to extend the influence of the gospel beyond the sound of his own voice. He had already made some progress in a second revision of the Hindi Bible, and in bringing out an explanation of Isaiah for the purpose of instructing the native Christians in the gospel argument from Prophecy. He also found much comfort in the daily exercises of the week of prayer, which followed soon upon his bereavement. Three months later he writes, "It seems an age since I saw her, so long has each day appeared since her departure. It has been mercifully ordered that I have so much work to fully occupy my time and thoughts. I would like much to go home at once, but have work in hand, which I cannot leave. If spared in health, I hope to have all so settled as to be able to leave in about two years, to go home for some two years, and then return for the rest of my days."

His home was now lonely and desolate. He removed to rooms in the Printing house, where he lived with Mr. Wilson, now his colleague, and devoted himself with unremitting assiduity to his tasks. But as the succeeding spring advanced, the necessity of that relaxation, so often contemplated and so often postponed, began to be apparent to himself as well as others. In accordance with the urgent advice of friends, a trip was undertaken to the mountains, which eventually extended into regions seldom visited by Europeans.

CHAPTER XIII.

A TRIP TO SIMLA.

"Walks over high mountains and rugged cliffs, and through regions of cold and snow, during the month of June, when the plains of India are in a blaze, have given health and vigor beyond what I have enjoyed for years past.

"On the 24th of April, 1865, when the heat had already become terrific, I left Allahabad for Simla, with a view of accompanying friends as far as Chini and Pangi in upper Kanawar, fifteen marches from Simla. The journey ultimately extended as far as Shipki, the frontier town of Chinese Thibet, eight marches beyond Pangi.

"The first sight of the Himalaya slightly disappointed me, as I expected to see them rising more abruptly from the plains, whereas the spurs about Kalka seemed not higher than such spurs of the Vindhyas as touch the district of Allahabad. With as little delay as possible, I prepared for the ascent, and having made all needed arrangements, took my seat in that strange conveyance called the jampan, a kind of chair carried on men's shoulders, peculiar to the hills. Taking a narrow path, about six feet wide, which winds about the mountain sides, as we ascended, lovely views opened in every direction. I was not prepared to see such beautiful verdure on the hill sides. This prevails all through the lower Himalaya, but in the upper Himalaya, near and above Chini, the appearance is quite different. The terrace cultivation seen on our way up, in some places rising by regular steps from

the bottom of deep valleys up the sides, nearly to the top, is very picturesque; and almost equally so are the pathways made by the cattle around the sides of the hills when grazing, rising above each other like steps. By and by we came into the midst of wildflowers, when the air was filled with fragrance. The oppressive heat of the plains was left behind, and I got out and walked a few miles, with a new delight. The house of my friends was approached by a steep path down the side of a mountain, where I at once found myself in a pleasant home, in a grove of oak, cedar and rhododendron, with lovely views of the snowy range, from the verandah, and in air of delicious coolness, where a blanket, instead of a punka, was necessary at night, and where broadcloth, instead of the white summercloth, was requisite for comfort during the day. It was pleasant to see snow again, even at a distance, after an interval of a quarter of a century. The walks about Simla, at almost every turn, furnished some new and interesting views in different directions. The sun, from the rarefied atmosphere, at an elevation of 7,000 feet, had still great power, although it was delightfully cool in the shade.

"Simla is not a favorable place for a missionary station. The native population, attracted here to make as much out of the European population as possible, is not a promising one to work upon. And the missionary's great personal danger would be that of becoming lost in the vortex of European society. I found, among old friends and a few new ones, a pleasant group of God's dear people, with whom in the prayer-meeting and the social circle, I enjoyed edifying intercourse. I preached a few times among the natives, but spent most of my time in a course of reading I

had marked out for my holiday. In this way, diversified by long pleasant walks and excursions among lovely scenery, the time rapidly passed away until the date of our departure into the interior of the Himalaya."

In the succeeding part of his tour, Dr. Owen and his companions pursued, in general, the course of the Sutlej, which traverses circuitously the whole breadth of the mountain band, winding round, or cutting through successive ridges, and descending from its sources in Thibet to the plains of India, about ten thousand feet. In many places its channel is confined to a deep and narrow gorge, compelling the traveler to seek his way by mountain passes, in some cases of great elevation and difficulty.

On the 15th of June the party crossed another range of the Himalaya, by the Rununq Pass, 14,354 feet high, from which another commanding view was obtained of the multitude of summits among which they were travelling. Their lodging place for the night was Sungnum more than 3000 feet below. So far on the way, Dr. Owen had preached to the people of the villages in Hindi, and found himself understood; but in Sungnum that language was known by very few. Next day they had not proceeded far beyond Sungnum, when they met Mr. Pagell, a Moravian missionary, whose station was at Spoe, a place several miles further on. Mr. Pagell was astonished to see Europeans so far into the heart of the mountains, but greatly pleased to see a brother missionary. He was then going to the forests for building material, but invited them, on their arrival at Spoe, to pitch their tents on his ground. Next morning he joined them at breakfast. They now learned from him that he had opposition to encounter at Spoe, and that a deputation had been sent to the Raja of Bussahir,

through the commissioner at Simla, to effect his removal. That morning he had received the good news that the Raja was his friend, in a letter to his address the Raja informed him that he had the delegates flogged, and another party, called the Wazir, reprimanded.

The travelling party accepted Mr. Pagell's invitation and pitched their tents on his ground. He had in fact no better accommodation for himself, having bought two fields from the Raja of Bussahir, he thereon set up his tent for himself with his wife and child, until he could erect a house, which he should have to build with his own hands. The advantages of the site chosen were that it was out of the way of rocks that often come rolling down from the mountains, out of the way of avalanches, and well supplied with snow water. There men, women and children all spoke the Thibetan language, and there the solitary missionary intended to establish Thibetan vernacular schools. Of this Moravian station in the heart of the Himalaya Dr. Owen writes: "We spent a Sabbath, the 18th of June, in Spoe, where I heard Mr. Pagell discourse to twenty-two people, near his tent, in the Thibetan language. The audience was quite different from any I had ever seen, some with Chinese, the rest with Tartar features. Spoe is the door to Thibet, and here, nominally under protection of the Raja of Bussahir, but virtually under the British protection, I trust the Moravian Brethren, will in time, find an open door into that region and nation. Mr. Pagell here, like his brethren in Lahaul, is, four months of the year, quite shut in by snow from the outer world. He is alone with his wife and child, two hundred miles away from any of his brethren."

The journey and residence in the Himalaya, designed to be limited to a month, were prolonged through

the hot season and far into the succeeding. Dr. Owen did not see Allahabad again until the middle of December. With mind and body greatly refreshed, he returned to the full routine of duty.

Next three years were years of almost uninterrupted toil. Then, in the midst of frequent preaching in English and the native languages, in the church, in the bazars, in the school, and at the Melas, with much daily routine work, which eats into a man's time and energies indescribably, and occasional periods of discouraging despondency, his second edition and revision of the Old Testament Bible in Hindi, and his exposition of Isaiah, for Hindustani readers, were completed.

While thus laboring under a sense of desolateness, he formed the acquaintance of one who was to become a new light to his household, the affectionate and helpful companion of his later years. On the 16th of April, 1867, he was married to Miss Mary Jane Bell, daughter of Dr. D. C. Bell, of the Bombay Medical service, but after her father's death a resident in the family of Mr. Court, at Allahabad.

"Soon after the revision of the New Testament, a Committee, consisting of Messrs. Schneider, Leupoldt, Kennedy, and Owen, was appointed to revise the Old Testament. This edition of two volumes, under the superintendence of Dr. Owen, was brought out at the Allahabad Mission Press in 1852 and 1855. The edition was destroyed in the Mutiny; and now another edition and revision have been completed, under the superintendence of the former editor: of this the first volume was issued in 1866, and the second in the beginning of 1869."[1]

1) British and Foreign Bible Society.

Meanwhile the fellow-laborers of his earlier years at Allahabad, and other stations of the lower mission had all disappeared from the field. Some had returned home, and some had gone to their final rest. Of those who had been his companions in College, Freeman and Janvier had met with violent death. His friends among the civil residents and military officers were also diminished in number, and their places supplied by strangers. The very changes which were improvement upon the city and neighborhood, went to remove some features of the place which had taken hold of his affections. In the midst of his work, when for an hour he occasionally sought relaxation in society, the absence of old friends impressed him sadly.

CHAPTER XIV.

WORK COMPLETED.

The last proof sheet of Dr. Owen's revision of the Hindi Old Testament was returned to the printer on the 22nd of January, 1869, and that of the commentary on Isaiah, on the fifth of February following. On the 9th of the same month, at the end of eight and twenty years from his arrival in India, he left Allahabad on the long projected visit to his native country. It was his purpose to visit on the way Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Italy, France, Germany and the British Isles; to spend two years upon the journey and in the United States, and then to return and devote the rest of his days to India. The evangelization of India was ever uppermost in his mind, first and last of all earthly things.

When it was known in Allahabad that Dr. Owen had fully decided upon a visit to Europe and America, various testimonials to his industry, learning, missionary zeal and social virtues were given by different classes of the residents and native Christians. The session of the Scottish Presbyterian church for British Residents in Allahabad, very warmly expressed their obligations to him for assistance rendered both in word and deed. And the North India Bible Society recognized the value of his Bible work by resolutions of thanks and by contributing towards the expenses of his contemplated journey.

With profound gratitude to God did Dr. Owen contemplate the completion of labors, which had so long occupied his time and thoughts. And now with a sense of freedom, as having one week's work done, he turned his face buoyantly towards his native land, for day of rest. The railway to Bombay was in operation to a great length, at both ends, but not yet complete. From Jubulpore to Nagpore the connection was made by horse *dak*. At the latter place, Dr. and Mrs. Owen spent a pleasant day in visiting the schools of the Free Church of Scotland Mission. Next day they proceeded by train to Poona, where they spent the Sabbath, and where Dr. Owen preached in the Scottish Church.

"And now, I am on my way home. What changes there since I left. No mother, no brothers, no sisters. My native country has become to me a strange land. In looking back upon my career, I feel ashamed of much—very much. I love the missionary work, but alas, how little have I done. 'To Thee belongeth mercy, but to me confusion of face.'"

At Bombay they were entertained at the house of Dr. Wilson, where they met Narayan Sheshadri, and other learned Hindus. After visiting the caves and temples of Elephanta, and other objects of curiosity in and about that great Indo-Anglican city, they embarked on the steamer for Suez. On the fifth of March they came to anchor in the harbor of Aden.

The contemplated visit to Egypt, Palestine and Greece was leisurely accomplished, and recorded. The rest of the journey was now pursued with little delay, by way of Cyprus and Rhodes to Smyrna, thence, after a hasty visit to Athens, continued to Constantinople. His journal

abounds with reminiscences of classical reading, and notes of missionary enterprise. After a brief stay with the missionaries at Constantinople, he went by the Black Sea to Varna, and up the Danube to Vienna, where he was joined by his son, who had for some time been pursuing his studies in Germany. The little party now fell into the common routes of travel, by Trieste, Venice, Northern Italy, Switzerland, and the Rhine, and after a short residence at Bonn, to Scotland. On the 20th of July they arrived in Edinburgh, intending to spend the autumn and winter among friends in that city. Next summer they would all go to the United States, and in the end of that year return to India.

In the society of a widening circle of learned and pious people, the succeeding autumn and winter passed by, not without profit, spiritual and intellectual. Nor did the zealous missionary fail to avail himself of occasions, by public addresses and otherwise, to quicken a Christian interest in the work of sending the gospel to the heathen.

About the beginning of April following, with Mrs. Owen, he went into England, and spent a few weeks at Harrow, and in the vicinity, among friends, the family of Mr. Lang, and others, with whom he had been pleasantly associated many years before in India. With all the interest of a copious reader of English historical literature, he visited London, Windsor, Eton, and the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, in the latter making among other highly esteemed acquaintances, that of Prof. Max Müller. In May he was again in Edinburgh, in time to attend the sessions of the General Assemblies, before one of which, that of the Free Church, he delivered an address on the subject ever dearest to his heart.

On the evening of July 17th, he wrote, "At this quiet hour, at the close of a peaceful day during which a happy Sabbath calm has prevailed, it is difficult to realize that on the other side of the channel two powerful nations are rushing to war." Mrs. Owen had been absent for a short time in Germany. In view of the declaration of war, although her safety was in no danger, there was cause for anxiety about her being detained. She returned immediately. In recording his thanks to God for her safe restoration to the British side of the sea, he adds: "It is not yet a week since the declaration of war, though it seems more like a month, so many events have been crowded into this short period. The Emperor chose the Sabbath for sending his declaration of war to Berlin. On the 19th Prevost Paradol committed suicide in Washington, shooting himself through the heart. This terrible war is bringing ruin to thousands, apart from the suffering and loss of life to tens of thousands, victims of an unprincipled man." It was not then publicly known that the motives to the attack on Prussia did not originate with Napoleon, who bore for a time the reproach of provoking a disastrous conflict for a ridiculously inadequate cause.

The visit to the United States was now postponed until the hot weather should be over: and although Dr. Owen was apparently in good health, it was thought that he might lay in a supply of energy, for his contemplated future labors in India, by a residence of a few weeks in the bracing air of the Scottish Highlands. Accordingly the summer was spent in Scotland. On the 6th of September he was at Corriesyke, Lochgoilhead, with his family.

"We came here on the 3rd of August. Since that date wonderful events have taken place. Watching these from

day to day has been a matter of absorbing attention. The Emperor's pantomime at Saarbruck, on the 2nd of August, the terrible battles of Wessenburg and Forbach, on the sixth, in which the armies of MacMahon and Froisard were completely broken and scattered, and those near Metz, &c., on the fourth, sixteenth, and eighteenth, in which Bazaine was driven back into Metz, and those in the neighborhood of Montmedy and Sedan, last week, on the 29th, 30th, 31st of August, and the 1st of September, in which the army of MacMahon was completely driven back upon Sedan, and surrounded, the surrender of the Emperor on the 2nd, and capitulation of MacMahon's army. These occurrences and their accompaniments have made the month one of the most eventful in history. In this quiet retreat, at the head of this beautiful loch, they have been studied and thought over, and talked over, sometimes climbing the hills or boating on the loch, or walking, or sitting on its shores. The invigorating fresh air has given new life to us all."

These words were the last Dr. Owen was ever to enter in his journal. A few days later, his health began to decline; and upon his return to Edinburgh, became gradually worse. This part of the narrative can be best told in the words of one who watched over him with the tender solicitude of appreciating love.

"Throughout his trying illness he exhibited a patient, unselfish spirit. He felt that his end might be near. But the thought gave no alarm, though it occasioned deep solemnity of spirit, and increased prayerfulness. He had long walked with God, had devoted his life to His service, and was ready, his lamp lit and his loins girt, waiting for his Lord. Though ready to depart, yet he had for many

days prayed for recovery, and said to me, 'I shall be thankful if God spares me to work a little longer in his vineyard, and to be with you. But perhaps He has done with me for this world.' At another time, when speaking of his mission work, he said, 'If I had to choose over again now, I should choose as I have done.' Again, with calm delight, he would say, as he lay with uplifted eyes, 'Absent from the body—present with the Lord—Forever—with—the Lord,' pausing on each word. 'How delightful it will be to be *forever* with the Lord.'

"On Saturday evening, the 3rd of December, he seemed to be very weak, and had a good deal of pain, and often, during the night, exclaimed, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly," and he was much in silent prayer. Still we did not think his end was so near. It was not until about eight o'clock next morning—Sabbath, the 4th December—that the Doctor, on being called to see him, spoke to me the bitter words, "He cannot live through the day," and then I seemed to realize the truth. Harry came, and I took his tenderly loved babe to receive her last kiss. So all his dear ones were around him. God graciously granted that his complaint should cease to trouble him, and he gathered strength to speak to all around him; and to send loving messages to many in America and India. We were privileged to witness from that time till 4 P. M., when his gentle spirit fled away, the power of the peace-speaking blood of Christ, the Christian's victory over Death, through Christ his risen Saviour. Among those he particularly mentioned on his death bed, were Dr. Moffat, at Princeton, his earliest and dearest friend, and the venerable Dr. Hodge. To the native Christians at Allahabad, he sent the following, "Tell them to be steadfast, unmovable,

always abounding in the work of the Lord, not seeking merely after worldly advancement, but seeking first the service of Christ." Words of kindness, love and blessing were spoken to those around him. Whilst full of humility and simple trust in his Savior's merits alone, yet in faith and with joy he could say, "I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness." "We know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, hath this grace been given that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. But I am a poor wretched creature in myself. Oh, that I had been more faithful." As the bells were ringing for forenoon service, Dr. Candlish came in, and after saying a few words, repeated, "I have fought the good fight," &c. "I thank God," he exclaimed with much emphasis. Dr. Candlish's comforting words and his prayer he enjoyed much, and on parting said, "Farewell, dear brother, we may not meet again in the flesh." "No," replied Dr. Candlish, "but it may not be long."

An hour later, Dr. Duff received the following note.

SABBATH MORNING 10:30.

MY DEAR DR. DUFF :—

I am sitting beside Dr. Owen, who is drawing very near his end—in great—in sweetest peace. He wants much to see you before his departure, if it is at all within your power, and the sooner the better. For our beloved friend will not be long on this side Jordan. I hope you will be able to come at once.

Yours, &c.,

ROBERT S. CANDLISH.

No time was lost in responding to that invitation. Dr. Duff subsequently wrote as follows: "I found our dear friend very weak, but in perfect consciousness. He warmly grasped my hand, saying how glad he was I had come, saying it was kind, &c. Blessed words of Scripture he responded to. Every now and then he said "Jesus, blessed Jesus"—almost in a gentle rapture. After praying with him, he fell into a tranquil slumber. So I left for my work, rejoicing at the grace of God. I afterwards learned that our beloved friend gently fell asleep in Jesus, at 4 o'clock."

"I fear," says one who knew Dr. Owen well, "that it will be impossible to have a faithful record of his unobtrusive, though useful and laborious life, and of his manly, his sweet simplicity of character, and his childlike trust in his God and Savior, his eye single to the glory of God, and advancement of his Kingdom. All praise be to God's grace in him."

When the news of Dr. Owen's death reached Allahabad, the Rev. J. Williamson, Chaplain of the Scottish Established Church in that city, preached a sermon before his congregation from 2 Tim. iv. 7, "I have fought the good fight, &c.," from which I am permitted to make the following quotation.

"Since last I preached in this pulpit, there has come to us the intelligence that one who regularly worshipped in this church, who frequently dispensed to you the bread of life, has been taken from us, regarding whom I can with perfect confidence say, that through God's grace, he could give this testimony, "I have fought the good fight." I refer to our friend Dr. Owen. For 28 years, without once leaving this country, he had borne the burden and heat of

the day. And much useful, permanent work had our friend crowded into that period. He arrived in this country with a high reputation for solid scholarship, and genuine piety, which his subsequent career fully justified. From his first landing in India he threw himself heartily into mission work. He acquired soon a thorough and accurate knowledge of the vernaculars. Whatsoever his hand found to do in mission work, that he did with all his might. We find him for some time superintending the large Jumna school, which he raised to the highest state of efficiency; and there are now native Christian ministers, and catechists who testify the deep obligations under which Dr. Owen laid them when his pupils, by giving them a good solid, high class education, fitting them for being workmen that need not be ashamed in the field of labor in which they have been called to work. He willingly responded to the request of the North India Bible Society's Committee to assist in bringing out a new edition of the Hindi Old Testament; a work which was accomplished to the entire satisfaction of the Christian public in Northern India. We find him, after the mutiny of 1857, acting as secretary of the North India Bible and Tract Societies, making every exertion to enlist the sympathies of the Christians in these provinces in the important work of replacing the large stock of Scriptures and religious books that had then been destroyed. Later still, when another edition of the Hindi Old Testament was required, all eyes were turned towards him, as the missionary best qualified to bring out the work,—a work which he had just completed when he left for England.

"Again his ripe scholarship, and acoustic knowledge of Urdù was brought into requisition to bring out exhaustive

commentaries in Urdù on the Psalms and Isaiah, which are an immense boon to the native Christian church. No more will the living voice of our dear friend be heard by the natives of this country, on whose behalf he was willing to spend and be spent; but through his Hindi Old Testament, and commentaries, he being dead yet speaketh, in exhorting the heathen to turn from dumb idols to serve the living God: the Mohammedans to believe in Jesus, as the only true prophet, who can reveal the will of God for their salvation, and in building up the native Christians in faith and holiness.

"You know what a warm interest Dr Owen took in everything that concerned our English congregation. When I first came to Allahabad, he cheerfully handed over to me the care of the church; and as an office bearer, was always ready to strengthen my hands, and encourage my heart in the work to which our Heavenly Father had here called me. He frequently preached to you, and his great theme was "Christ crucified." He was never absent from his pew on Sabbath, except when calls of necessity and mercy prevented him from worshipping with us, and as our communion season came round, and he gave into our hands the elements representing Christ's broken body and shed blood, we all felt that he who then bore the vessels of the sanctuary, was a true son of Aaron,—a priest of the living God. You know that it was owing to him that our prayer meeting was started in 1858,—that meeting which perhaps more than any other means of grace has fostered the spiritual life of our congregation. Not long before he left us, in order to connect you more directly as a congregation with some definite missionary work, he established the mission school in our Kutra

church, which was to be supported by you. And the need for this school is shown by the fact that it is attended by about 150 boys, who there receive a good plain religious education.

"As a member of our community, Dr. Owen was universally respected and beloved, and while scoffers would point to the inconsistent conduct of this and that professor of religion, there was never breathed a whisper of detraction against him." "It was a privilege for us to have in our midst one whose acted motto was, 'For me to live is Christ.' He has left us an example that we should follow his steps. Let us all seek for grace to use faithfully the talents entrusted to us. So that when our race is run, our warfare is ended, we can take up these grand words of the apostle, 'I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.'"

Although the coincidence is not strange that the same passage of Scripture occurred to Dr. Candlish upon his last visit to the death bed of his friend, and to Dr. Duff three hours later, and was chosen by Mr. Williamson for the memorial sermon in India, it certainly testifies to a common impression that Dr. Owen's missionary life had been faithful, laborious and efficient.

To his large christian charity, ever ready to embrace true followers of the Lord under any name, many testimonies might be quoted.

The Rev. George Smith, Editor of the "*Friend of India*," writes of him as "an ornament to our common Presbyterianism, while so catholic as to belong to the whole church."

And the Rev. Theodore S. Wynkoop, a missionary for several years at the station with which Dr. Owen was so

long connected, in a letter to the "*Presbyterian*," writes as follows.

"When I first arrived in Allahabad, in January, 1869, Dr. Owen was completing his preparations for leaving India for a time. He was looking fresh and strong, with every appearance of perfect health—although, as appeared after his death, the disease, which developed into abscess of the liver, had already come upon him. He was a man of fine personal appearance; and none who knew him will soon forget the grace and dignity of his bearing, the sweetness and courtesy of his manner. It was with regret that we parted with him, for what we hoped would be but an absence of a year or two."

"Throughout all his missionary life Dr. Owen took a deep interest in the education of young men. He taught in the mission schools, he gathered young men about him, and did all that was in his power for their intellectual and moral improvement; and there are many now, both among our native Christians, and those who have not professed the faith, who owe their training and position, under God, to him." "He was especially interested in the native church, and ever sought its welfare. A man of marked scholarly tastes and accomplishments, he became unusually well versed in the languages of Hindustan, as well as in the Greek and particularly the Hebrew. He was thus fitted for that most useful and ennobling of all uninspired tasks—the translation of the Word of God. He was largely concerned, some years ago, in the revision of the first translation of the Hindi Bible; and at the time of his leaving India had just carried through the press a still further revision of the Old Testament in Hindi, which was entrusted to him alone. This work gave great satisfaction

to the Committee of the North India Bible Society. I was present at a meeting of that committee in January, 1869, at which a purse of five hundred rupees was presented to him by them as a token of their appreciation of his services. This was entirely unexpected to Dr. Owen, and was received by him with much emotion. The amount was sufficient to enable him on his homeward route to visit Jerusalem and the Holy Land, a visit which fulfilled the desires of many years and gave him keen delight.

"Dr. Owen's translation of the Book of Psalms into the Hindustani language is regarded as a very able and useful work. He also published, besides smaller writings, a Treatise on Theology in the Hindustani, which is used as a text-book for all our students of theology, as are also his Commentaries on the Book of Psalms and the Prophecies of Isaiah. To these, he devoted much time and labor, and they will remain as standard volumes in the Christian literature of India."

The character of Dr. Owen has been delineated in his work. Its principal feature, from youth to age, was single-hearted consecration to the Lord in the preaching of His Gospel to the Heathen.