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SIR DONALD MCLEOD,

C.B., K.C.S.I.,

A RECORD OF

Forty-two Years' Service in India.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL EDWARD LAKE, C.S.I.



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## P R E F A C E .

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**D**URING the first twenty years after the Punjab became a British province, Sir Donald McLeod played so important a part in its administration, that a complete record of his life during those years would be in a great measure the history of the Punjab during that eventful period ; for long before he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, scarcely any measure of importance was introduced regarding which his counsel was not sought, and his advice, to some extent, followed. But to give any such detailed history would be beyond the scope of the following brief memoir. The object is rather to concentrate atten-

tion upon a few questions of permanent interest, the growing importance of which is day by day becoming more apparent to those who have the welfare of our great Indian Empire at heart—such questions as the evangelisation of the people of India, and more particularly of her aboriginal races, the education of the masses, and the relations between Europeans as the governing class and the natives whom God's providence has placed under British rule. Upon these important questions Sir Donald McLeod was eminently qualified to speak with authority, not only on account of the experience he had acquired during more than forty years' service in India, but because from the beginning to the end of his career he mixed freely with the natives of the country, and had, therefore, great opportunities for looking at these questions from the native standpoint as well as his own. He thus learnt that many of the objections raised to the evangelisation of the natives, and more particularly

of the aboriginal races, were stalking-horses of British creation. Upon these and other important points Sir Donald McLeod's views are given as far as possible in his own words, and this will explain why copious extracts are made from his letters and papers referring to these subjects.

"McLeod, in a word," writes Lord Lawrence, who had known him for more than forty years, "was a worthy type of the best of our civilians; a man devoted to his duty, who spared no pains to accomplish the work he had to do, and who, while health and strength lasted, never wished to leave his post."

The following pages will show how true this description is, and how at an early period, having cast in his lot with India, Sir Donald continued to serve the best interests of her people to the very end, when a terrible accident brought his earthly career suddenly to a close. They will also show that, while he was a devoted servant of the State, labouring in no selfish

or self-seeking spirit, but in the interests of the people committed to his charge, he never forgot his obligations to his Divine Master, in humble imitation of whom he went about doing good, and whose cause and kingdom he was ever anxious to advance.

It only remains to add that a great part of this memoir has already appeared in the "Sunday at Home;" but there are here many additions, chiefly from Sir Donald McLeod's own letters and papers.

EDWARD LAKE.

LONDON : *December 10, 1873.*



# SIR DONALD F. McLEOD.

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## CHAPTER I.

### EARLY DAYS.

**S**IR DONALD FRIELL McLEOD belonged to a distinguished family, whose home at Geanies, in the parish of Tarbert, in Eastern Ross, was a centre of influence and open-hearted Highland hospitality.

Before, however, the family became possessed of Geanies, they had held for many centuries the lands and barony of Assynt, which their ancestors had acquired by a charter from King David II., son of Robert the Bruce. In the turbulent times of the 17th century, these ancestral possessions were lost to the

rightful owners; and after passing through other hands, they finally became the property of the Duke of Sutherland, to whom they still belong.

Sir Donald's branch of the family, however, are still known as the McLeods of Assynt; and with the McLeods of Dunvegan, in the Isle of Skye, and the McLeods of Lewis and Rasay, they claim to be descendants of a Norwegian chief, who, coming centuries ago from the ancient kingdom of Sogne, on the south-western shores of Norway, settled in this part of Scotland. The McLeods of Assynt and the McLeods of Lewis regarded as their chief McLeod of Rasay, who was visited by Dr. Johnson and Boswell on their famous trip to the Western Hebrides in 1773. Boswell gives a glowing account of the hospitable reception they met with, and also relates how the father of his host had, in 1745, joined the Highland army, but had prudently guarded against a forfeiture by previously conveying his estate to his eldest son. The McLeods of Assynt were staunch supporters of the House of Hanover, and Sir Donald's grandfather, Donald McLeod of Geanies, was, for about sixty years, the well-known Sheriff-Depute of Ross and Cromarty; and in 1804 he materially assisted Lord Seaforth in raising the 2nd battalion of the regiment now known as the 78th Highlanders, or "Ross-shire Buffs," to



which his son Patrick McLeod was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel.

This battalion, which has in our days earned fresh renown in Persia, and in the memorable relief of Lucknow by Sir Henry Havelock, fought its first action at Maida, in 1806, when it was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick McLeod. Led by him, the young Highlanders so recently enlisted showed all the steadiness of old soldiers. On this occasion Colonel Patrick McLeod was wounded. In the spring of the following year, 1807, the 78th formed part of the expeditionary force sent from Sicily to occupy Alexandria, Rosetta, and a part of the coast of Egypt. Alexandria capitulated, but in the operations which followed Colonel Patrick McLeod was posted with 700 men, broken up into three detachments, in and about the village of El-Hamet, which is on the Nile, six miles above Rosetta. Here the Highlanders were suddenly surrounded by an overwhelming body of Turkish horse. Against the repeated attacks of these numerous squadrons a most gallant resistance was made ; but when at last the whole of their ammunition was expended, many of the detachment had to surrender as prisoners of war, while Colonel Patrick McLeod, with many officers and men, died at their post. Sir Donald's father, afterwards Lieutenant-General Dun-

can McLeod, joined the Bengal Engineers about the year 1794; and although during the many years he spent in India he was not called to active service in the field like his brother Patrick, he proved himself a worthy member of a regiment which can boast of many distinguished officers, some well known to fame, as Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir Henry Durand, and others not so well known, but who have yet rendered excellent service to the State both in time of peace and war.

As monuments of General McLeod's engineering skill and architectural taste, we may refer to the Moorshedabad palace (a model of which is in Hampton Court), designed by him and constructed under his direction by native workmen; also to the iron bridge over the Goomty at Lucknow, which was designed by him under serious difficulties; for the various portions of the bridge had first to be manufactured in England according to minute directions received from him, and then to be transported a considerable distance across a country unprovided with roads, and rendered almost impassable by floods.

From his father, Sir Donald McLeod inherited the great fondness he had throughout his life for engineering, for while as a public officer he always took an active part in providing the country under his charge

(whether it was a district or a province) with roads, bridges, and other engineering works, he seemed to be never tired of planning and carrying out improvements and alterations in the different houses occupied by him for any time.

General McLeod married in Calcutta, in 1804, Miss Henrietta C. L. Friell, and she, through her mother, was descended from the ancient Huguenot family of the Boileaus of Castelnau, the head of which was ennobled in A.D. 1371 by King Charles V. of France. At the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, A.D. 1685, Jacques Boileau, the tenth baron, was arrested as a Protestant, and, after an imprisonment of ten and a-half years, died in the prison of St. Jean de Vedas, one mile from Montpellier, a noble martyr for the Protestant faith. His son, Charles Boileau, then a youth, took refuge in England, where he entered the British army, and formally renounced his rights, titles, and estates, which have since been held by the Roman Catholic branch of the family.

Sir Donald was born in Fort William at Calcutta, on the 6th May, 1810; and in the year 1814 his father and mother had to undergo that sore trial to parents in India, of separation from their children. They had, however, the comfort of consigning their little ones to the loving charge of their grandfather,

Donald McLeod. The little Donald was accompanied by his sister and by his elder brother, Duncan, and in the autumn of 1814 the youthful trio arrived at Geanies, the family home, where they were welcomed not only by their grandfather, but by his two daughters, the Misses McLeod, whose love and tender care supplied in great measure to the children the place of their absent mother. The loving care of his "Aunt Kitty," as he always called her, and who has survived him, was always most affectionately remembered by Sir Donald McLeod ; and in a letter written on the 21st January, 1865, announcing his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, he thus refers to those early days : " To our loved Aunt Kitty it must have been a matter of solemn and devout thankfulness that she has lived to see the little boy she so tenderly cherished advanced to a post of so much usefulness and honour ; and for her sake, at least, I am thankful that it is so ordered." When little Donald first arrived at Geanies, he could only speak Hindustani ; but this was soon forgotten, and five years spent under his grandfather's roof were turned to good account, as he was thoroughly well grounded in English and Latin grammar, and other useful branches of knowledge. To this period we must trace the beginning of that great love of music

which clung to him throughout life—for a flute given to him by his grandpapa was the most prized of all his boyish possessions.

The even tenor of his life at Geanies was somewhat disturbed when his elder brother, Duncan, left for school ; this separation he felt at the time very keenly, but before long he had to leave home himself, to be entered in October, 1819, as a pupil at the High School in Edinburgh, under Mr. Samuel Lindsay, where he at once took a good place as regards boys of his own age. In December, 1820, he was moved to Dr. Glennie's school at Dulwich, where one of his greatest friends was Frederic Glennie, one of the master's sons.

From Dulwich he went to Dr. Carmalt's, at Putney, where among his schoolfellows were Lord Canning and Henry Carre Tucker. In these early days the three schoolboys little thought that afterwards they were to be associated together, each in his own sphere, in the work of saving the Indian empire in the great crisis of the mutiny. Lord Lawrence also, whose name will ever stand foremost in connection with that critical period, was in these early days associated with Donald McLeod, for they were at Haileybury together, Donald McLeod having entered in 1826, and Lord Lawrence in the following year. As at

school, so at Haileybury, Donald's great abilities and habits of industry enabled him to take a high place, and he came out third in his term. In those days civilians went out at a comparatively early age to India, and Sir Donald was only eighteen when, on the 10th December, 1828, he found himself back again in Calcutta.

The members of his family, whom he rejoined there, noticed that he was sad and dispirited, and that he had not at that time that bright, happy cheerfulness of manner which distinguished him in after-life, and which constituted one of the charms of his companionship.

His aptitude for learning languages soon enabled him to obtain a thorough knowledge not only of the vernacular of the people, but also to acquire considerable proficiency in his study of Sanscrit. His first appointment was that of assistant magistrate at Monghyr, on the right bank of the Ganges, about half-way between Calcutta and Allahabad.

Here occurred an event which exercised a marked influence on his whole career, the record of which is reserved for a separate chapter.



## CHAPTER II.

### LIFE'S TURNING-POINT.

**I**N the Highland home at Geanies, in the bosom of his own family, in school and at college, Donald McLeod had endeared himself to relations and friends—not only by the attractions of a most amiable and loving nature, but also because from an early period he had learnt that there was no happiness so great as that of giving pleasure to others. Still he, like all others of the human race, however highly gifted with natural endowments, needed that regenerating power of the Holy Spirit of which the Saviour of the world spoke, when He declared that “except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.”

This change, so momentous that in comparison with it the most startling events of the most eventful life sink into insignificance, was experienced by Donald

McLeod at Monghyr in 1831, as will be seen by the following extract from a letter dated March 9 in that year, addressed to the Rev. A. Leslie, a devoted Baptist missionary labouring at that place :—

“For about the last six months—that is, since I commenced attendance at your chapel—I have felt a change to have been effected in my spirit, towards which I have been gradually inclining for the last three years—that is, since my leaving England.

“This change I have for a long time had a strange conviction must at some time take place in my nature, as I felt it to be necessary to complete the being that God intended me to be. Of this unaccountable feeling I can tell you no more than its existence ; and I have, in consequence, often thanked the Almighty that He formed me with weaknesses greater than the most of mankind, which forcibly led me to an unbounded reliance on Him, and led me to suppose that He had intended me to be a vessel formed to honour.

“My reasons for feeling this change to have passed over me are these : the whole tenor of my tastes and inclinations is changed. Attendance at church, which I formerly disliked, and never performed but as a duty, has become to me a pleasure, the anticipation of which presents itself to me during the whole week.



My wish to partake of the sacrament is also of this nature ; but, of course, in every way more forcible.

“I have attained a confidence and tranquillity in regard to my worldly duties, from which the weaknesses of my character formerly debarred me ; and I have now been freed from despondency and gloominess of spirits, to which for the five previous years I was continually a martyr.

“P.S.—In reading my letter, I think it may convey the idea of self-importance. I will only add, in the words of Pascal, that religion has ‘abased me infinitely more than unassisted reason, yet without producing despair ; and exalted me infinitely more than pride, yet without puffing up.’ ”

Shortly after this letter was written, Donald McLeod made a personal application for baptism to the Rev. A. Leslie, saying that he was fully convinced that it was his duty to follow Christ in this ordinance ; and when reminded of the sneers to which he would be exposed in the circle in which he moved, he replied that he had fully considered all this, but that he must, at the risk of all consequences, regard Christ rather than man. From a long and most interesting letter written at this time to one of his friends, we are only able to give the following short extract :—

“I now come to another point on which I should

wish you to know my opinion ; and that is, that I see no presumption in feeling a certainty of going to heaven. The Bible in all parts abounds with declarations that they who love God and place their whole trust in Him shall have no cause to fear. You would smile at the person who should tell you you did not love your best friend ; and why should a Christian be more ignorant of the state of his feelings towards God ? . . . Be assured that this conviction which I have stated can never make me uncharitable in act. However false and unkind you may deem the sentiment, Christians have in all ages been eager in urging the necessity of regeneration. Our Saviour repeated it three times to Nicodemus almost in a breath, 'Marvel not that I said unto you, you must be born again.' It is only to be lamented that in urging this, much—very much—of indiscretion, and not a little of impropriety, has been used. Pray remember, however, that no confidence is placed in the merits of our own actions ; the conviction arises solely from having placed entire trust in our Saviour, though this trust cannot truly exist unaccompanied by propriety of conduct. I cannot allow that imagination has the slightest part in the matter ; it rests in the heart solely. Neither can I perceive how it tends to ambition. As regards my own particular change—as you

say you more than doubt that any has taken place—I would say a few words. Prayer, which you recommend to me, and which was formerly an irksome duty seldom performed, has now become, I may say, almost the only pure pleasure I enjoy. I resort to it in the morning, not only as the most delightful, but as the most necessary act of the day ; for without it I should have no peace, no power ; and during the remainder of the day, whatever of difficulty or of annoyance presents itself, my mind flies up to its Creator, and is at rest—fully convincing me of the truth of that ‘ communion of saints ’ which the apostles, and the Church of England after them, require us to believe, and which it yet appears that few do believe. The result of this is that I am never harassed for any length of time by anticipations of evil, nor fear of consequences, and am able (which formerly I was not) to obey the direction of our Saviour, ‘ Not to fear what man can do unto me.’ My aspect now is consequently always more or less cheerful, which is certainly a visible change.”

There are some good men whose conscientious scruples having led them to withdraw from one denomination to join another, seem to think it their duty to write bitter things against the communion from which they have seceded. This was not at all

the spirit of Sir Donald McLeod. Only a few days before his death he contributed liberally for the establishment in his neighbourhood of a place of worship for the Presbyterians, to whose communion he originally belonged ; and with them, as well as with Episcopalians, Independents, and other Protestant denominations, he was ever ready to hold Christian communion. Indeed, it would be difficult to say which of the several Protestant missionary societies labouring in India benefited most by his open-handed liberality. This was not because the convictions which decided him to become a Baptist were weakened—for only a few months before his death he presided at the annual meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society in London—but he saw how important it was that the faithful members of Christ's mystical body should present an united front against the infidelity, the heathenism, and the superstition which cast such dark shadows upon the earth.

As a memorable instance of the powerful influence for good he was enabled after this change to exercise upon others, the case may be mentioned of a native minister of the Free Church of Scotland, the Rev. Behari Lal Sing, still usefully employed among his countrymen in India as a missionary in connection with the Presbyterian Church in England. On the

occasion of the Liverpool Conference in 1860, he was asked to give some account of his early history, and of the steps by which he had been led to embrace the Christian faith. Among other circumstances he mentioned how in early life he had come into contact with a civil officer, who had defrayed the expenses of his education in Dr. Duff's school, and in the Government Medical College. "It was the pious example of this gentleman," said the native minister, "his integrity, his honesty, his disinterestedness, his active benevolence, that made me think that Christianity was something living—that there was a living power in Christ. Here is a man in the receipt of 2,000 or 3,000 rupees a-month; he spends little on himself, and gives away the surplus of his money for education—the temporal and spiritual welfare of my countrymen. This was the turning-point of my religious history, and led to my conversion."

The officer here referred to was Sir Donald McLeod. This case seems to show that there was something more than an empty compliment in the remark of another native gentleman, who recently observed, "If all Christians were like Sir Donald McLeod, there would be no Hindoos or Mahomedans."

The native minister above referred to, on the occa-

sion of Sir Donald's retirement from the service, wrote as follows :—

“Other good and able men have patronised the natives ; but Sir Donald, by his large sympathy, identified himself with them as one of themselves—the bone of their bones and the flesh of their flesh—and thus afforded the best security that could be given for the stability of British power ; since the ascendancy acquired over the conquered races by genuine Christian kindness is far more lasting and complete than that obtained by mere energy or physical force. The amount of his secret liberality in the giving of his substance for the moral and intellectual elevation of a great country will be disclosed in eternity. He gave not by hundreds, but by thousands, out of pure love to the cause of God and man. Wherever the writer of this report went, during his visitation of Upper India, he found the name of Sir Donald held in affectionate and grateful remembrance. His office may be filled, but not his place ; for it is our belief, that a nobler Christian philanthropist or statesman has not yet trod the plains of India.”

It would be difficult indeed to over-estimate the influence he unconsciously exercised, not only upon natives, but also upon friends, and those who were

intimately associated with him. One who had been officially connected with him, and who had known him for thirty years, wrote, on hearing of his death : " I owe to his example and words and conduct more than I owe to any living man." Many would be ready to endorse this sentiment.





## CHAPTER III.

### WORK IN CENTRAL INDIA.

**I**N 1831 Sir Donald was transferred from Monghyr to Saugor, where for some time he was employed in duties connected with the Thuggee Department. This was a special department created in 1830 by Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India. His name will always be honourably associated with that of Sir William Sleeman and others for the part they took in the great and humane work of suppressing the system of wholesale murder which, with comparative impunity, the Thugs had carried on in India from the earliest times. Thevenot, in his travels, published in 1687, writes of the road between Delhi and Agra : " One may meet with tigers, panthers, and lions upon it ; and one had best also have a care of robbers, and, above all things, not suffer anybody to come near one upon the road.



The cunningest robbers in the world are in that country. They use a certain rope with a running noose, which they can cast with so much sleight about a man's neck when they are within reach of him, that they never fail so that they strangle him in a trice."

It shows into what depths of degradation poor fallen humanity may sink, when we find Sir William Sleeman declaring that "there is not among the Thugs one who doubts the Divine origin of Thuggee ; not one who doubts that he and all who have followed the trade of murder with the prescribed rites and observances, were acting under the immediate orders and auspices of the goddess Davee Durga, Kalee, or Bhowanee, as she is indifferently called ; and consequently there is not one who feels the slightest remorse for murders which he may in the course of his vocation have perpetrated, or assisted in perpetrating."

In the first few years of the present century, so many native soldiers, going and returning from leave, had been murdered by Thugs, that the Commander-in-Chief, on the 28th April, 1810, issued an order warning his soldiers against them ; and as the existing agencies had failed to put a stop to these practices, Sir William, then Major Sleeman, had a staff of

officers placed at his disposal, and was directed to take special measures against the Thugs, which proved so successful that, in the course of six years, 2,000 members of this organised fraternity of hereditary assassins were arrested and tried, and three-fourths of them sentenced to imprisonment, transportation, or death.

Although Sir Donald McLeod was always ready to act with severity and rigour when such action was called for in the interests of society, it was a relief to him when, in 1835, he left the Thuggee Department to take up the more congenial employment of administering a district in the tract of country then known as the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, ceded to the British Government in 1817-18 by the Mahrattas after the Pindaree war, and now included in the Central Provinces, of which it may be regarded as the Highlands.

To the south of the River Nerbudda are the Sautpoora Hills, while to the north is the Vindhya range of mountains, or the Vundachal, celebrated in Hindoo story, and nature's great boundary-wall between the southern peninsula of India and the rest of its great continent. One of the districts in the Sautpoora range is that of Seoni, now traversed from end to end by the trunk-road from Jubbulpore to Nagpore ; and

to the charge of this district Donald McLeod was appointed in 1835.

- From a paper published by Sir Donald, giving a full and interesting account of the Saugor and Nerbudda territory (to which we shall have occasion to refer once and again), we take the following description of the Sautpoora range, and of the valley of the Nerbudda :—

“As on the north, so likewise on the south of the Nerbudda, an elevated table-land of great extent, usually termed the Sautpoora range, runs in a course nearly parallel to the river, and at a distance rarely exceeding two ordinary stages. Opposite to Jubbulpore, this range almost touches the Nerbudda ; after which, proceeding eastward, it recedes and advances at intervals, as far as a little beyond Mandla, where it becomes united with the range which commences at Jubbulpore north of the Nerbudda, and skirts that river in like manner on its northern bank. The valley of the Nerbudda may thus be considered as extending, with more or less of interruptions, as far as the limit of the rich Havelli lands immediately adjoining Mandla ; in fact, to the town of Ramnuggar, where it ceases.

“The united range proceeds in an easterly direction, gradually rising higher and higher, until it

reaches the elevated point of Amurkuntuk, said to be 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, from whence the Nerbudda, flowing westward, the Johla, flowing into the Son River northward, and feeders of the Mahanaddi, flowing into the Bay of Bengal, take their rise. At this 'holy' spot, Hindoo princes have been emulous of possessing a 'Rood of Land,' and, accordingly, Sohagpore, Mandla, and Nagpore, each has its separate village on the edge of the pool from whence the deified waters spring, ornamented by numerous picturesque temples. It is remarkable that this range possesses two such elevated points—for at Pachmarhi on the Mahadeo Hills, not far from Hoshungabad and Baitul, but within the Nagpore territory, a point or small portion of elevated land, consisting of sandstone, and five or six miles in diameter, occurs, of similar height, and similarly consecrated; while, farther eastward, within the confines of the agency of the South-West Frontier, occur the Maniput and other elevated plateaux, upon what must be considered as a continuation or renewal of these mountains. It would seem that along this belt has raged the principal force of those subterranean fires which in former ages have heaved up the central portion of Hindustan, and introduced so much of variety in its aspect, its temperature, its productive powers, and, most striking perhaps

of all, in its inhabitants, language, and manners. It is remarkable that almost the whole of this range has been overflowed by volcanic matter, while this is rarely the case as regards the northern range.

“It remains to speak of the valley of the Nerbudda, lying between these two ranges ; and, while in richness it is not perhaps excelled by any portion of country, and but rarely equalled, its position will render it a matter of no surprise that, in point of temperature, free circulation, and bracing qualities, it cannot bear comparison with the higher parts. Its population is dense throughout ; and agriculture and commerce active. All it now requires to invest it with the charms and the value which belong to our Gangetic provinces, is that the noble stream, from which it derives its name, was made navigable—an undertaking of which, however arduous, it may be allowed us to hope for the execution at some future period. It has been stated that Amurkuntuk, whence it rises, is thought to be 5,000 feet above the ocean, but from thence to Ramnuggar, where the valley may be considered to commence, it falls very rapidly ; and at Jubbulpore it little, if at all, exceeds an elevation of 1,500 feet, which, in fact, compared with the length of its course from thence to the ocean, will furnish a general idea as to its availability for the above pur-

pose. At Mandla, to which point it is extensively navigated from Ramnuggar by small boats, its still deep waters, reflecting the images of numerous temples and ghats, many of them in ruins, and of a dismantled fort and city wall, the mementoes of former dynasties, and of bygone days of regal dignity, added to a landscape rich with varied hill and well-cultivated plain, rude forest in the distance, luxuriant groves upon its banks, make the whole scene one of romantic beauty, difficult to find surpassed. Proceeding onwards, down the stream, the constant alternations of mountain and valley, wild bamboo forests and inhabited villages, give a constant interest to the banks of the Nerbudda. Below Jubbulpore the rocks of Bhera Garh, where the river flows in a deep narrow stream, between two high perpendicular cliffs of snowy-white magnesium marble, have long been a favourite object of admiration ; and, farther downwards still, as we approach towards Mandlêsur, banks of columnar basalt, sometimes in horizontal, sometimes in vertical strata, afford a fresh and unusual object of interest to the inquiring traveller."

Reference is also made in the following terms to the Seoni district, and to the country to the eastward thereof :—

"In the Seoni district, however, large portions of

the rich soil lie waste, and as we advance farther to the eastward, this is the case in a still more marked degree ; a few years of neglect rendering the brush-wood which lines its streams the abode of numerous tigers and other beasts of prey, so that reclamation becomes frequently a matter of danger and difficulty. Eastward of Mandla, as far as Amurkuntuk, where the Hindoos and Mussulmans are but few, and usually in the character only of plunderers of the simple and besotted Gonds, who form the mass of the population, almost all is wildness and desolation, though here and there a rich oasis occurs to gladden the eye. The Pergunnahs of Pertâbghur, Dharbar, etc., in the immediate vicinity of Amurkuntuk, within a range of thirty or forty miles, are, in particular, of surpassing beauty and richness, presenting noble plains of the most fertile virgin soil, wholly unbroken by forest, but adorned here and there by small picturesque ranges of hills. The air here is peculiarly buoyant and invigorating in the hot months, as might be expected from its elevation, and, it is said, at Amurkuntuk fifteen or twenty days rarely elapse without showers. The writer has seen the grass quite verdant there at the end of May, and the streams gushing in all directions, vividly reminding him of the mountain burns of Scotland. Throughout these Pergunnahs the grazing

is so highly prized that cattle are, during the dry months, collected here from distances of two or three hundred miles ; and tall green grass is found in abundance in all their slopes. What might not European energy and capital make of this delightful but neglected region, and of the basaltic soil which principally covers it ? ”

While Sir Donald was at Seoni, the following letter was written, dated Sept., 1836 :—

“ Our circle will probably be soon scattered far and wide, and I shall feel myself a lonely wanderer. Still, however it be, come weal, come woe, I look upon my lot as fixed in this country—a land of wondrous interest, albeit at present sunk in the darkness of night ; pre-eminently interesting to the Christian, as closely associated from similarity even at the present day, and connection in a thousand ways with those regions which are hallowed to him as the scenes of God’s revelations ; but, above all, demanding his most fervent outpourings and untiring efforts for its regeneration, as presenting a vineyard much more extensive than all the present labourers multiplied a thousand-fold are capable of filling.

“ My hopes, my fears, my sorrows and my joys, I may say, therefore, are in a great measure concentrated in this land, where I contemplate leaving a



heritage to my posterity : not, however, I trust, allied to any of that feverish and culpable anxiety which would lead me to regret, should it please God to call me away in the midst of those scenes ; but in the firm conviction that this is that state of life to which it has pleased God to call me. Most humbly, however, would I offer my thanksgiving to Him that in these times of wondrous advancement, when communication is extending itself on all sides with a rapidity which almost promises to convert the universe into one nation, I am enabled to form such a resolve without estranging myself from the land of my fathers, for which my affection only increases with the increase of my interest in the people amongst whom I have been sent. My visits, if I live, will possibly be more frequent than can be at present contemplated ; but they will principally have reference to extending my usefulness in this quarter ; while my studies, thoughts, and actions while here have constant aim, in as far as my insufficiency will permit, towards what may prove a blessing to this idolatrous generation."

After three years he returned to Saugor, north of the Vindhya range, to take charge of that district ; and the following extract from a letter, dated July, 1838, shows that the attachment he felt for the natives in this part of the country led him to decline

more remunerative employment elsewhere ; and at the same time gives information on various points bearing upon the administration in which he was taking an honourable part :—

“ By the date of this, you will see that I am once more at the station which I joined upwards of seven years ago : a circumstance for which I have to thank my own constancy, for, although no less than four different appointments have been offered to me within the last few months, all more immediately advantageous in a pecuniary point of view than my present one, I have deemed it prudent to decline them, and to maintain my position in that part of the country in which an acquaintance of seven years has inspired me with a deep interest ; while I have attained a much more considerable intimacy with the people, their manners, etc., etc., than I can possibly possess as regards any other part. Further, I have long been satisfied, and my recent visit to Bengal has painfully confirmed the impression, that the nature of our rule, our system of procedure, and our policy generally towards the people in those parts of the Company's dominions which have been longer in our possession, are characterised by a degree of harshness and inefficiency which contrast unfavourably with the more mild and beneficent system which prevails in this

part ; and this consideration has had, I believe, the most important share in determining me, if possible, to pass the whole of my Indian career in these (commonly called) Nerbudda territories. . . . For the last three years Seoni has been my district. As it was the first local charge of any importance which I had held—and I laboured incessantly and earnestly during this period, not only to make myself fully acquainted with it, but also to contribute all in my power towards its benefit and advancement—I naturally became much attached to the people and the district, and had made up my mind to remain there at any sacrifice. However, on my return from Calcutta in April last, I found that the principal assistant of Saugor had gone to Egypt on leave of absence, and accordingly, notwithstanding my expressed wish to decline, I was ordered to proceed hither and take charge of the office. Here I am therefore ; and, if it please God, here I shall remain until the close of the year, when the assistant is expected to return. In the event of no vacancy occurring in the commissioner-ship during this interval, I shall then return to Seoni ; but should any occur, as I am the first for promotion among the first juniors, some other post will, I suppose, be assigned to me. It is extremely probable that the principal assistant of Jubbulpore will retire

in November, in which case I shall have a claim to succeed him at once ; and that is the office to which my own district of Seoni is subordinate, so that I should, in fact, be returning to the scene of my most matured experience ; and Jubbulpore being, as I think, the most delightful station I have seen in India, my satisfaction will be complete. To succeed to that post has, indeed, for a long time been the height of my ambition, and, once obtained, I shall really feel (if I may venture the assertion) that I have no more to wish for, as the duties, the place, and the people will all be exceedingly to my liking. My prospects are altogether most favourable ; and often have I thanked a kind Providence that I have been led to refuse all offers which, although they would have given me a temporary increase of salary, and taken me nearer to the rest of my family, would certainly have created an unsettled feeling in my mind, not unaccompanied by self-reproach, instead of the placid satisfaction which everything around me now inspires."

In the same letter he refers to an attempt he had made to interest people in Calcutta on behalf of the hill population in this territory, with the view of evangelising them ; and he also mourns that the irreligion which so largely prevailed among the English in

India had made their name a byword and reproach :—

“One fatal evil, however, which more or less characterises all our settlements in this country, has painfully and shamefully marked our condition here up to the present time, viz., the want of spiritual guidance or consolation, and of the prescribed ordinances of religion. Saugor is the only station in these territories to which a chaplain is allowed ; he is, moreover, absent at present on sick-leave, and no substitute appointed, so that the whole of this community—consisting of four native infantry corps, one corps of native horse, and a detachment of European artillery, besides an extensive staff, civil and military, as well as the smaller communities at all the other stations—are destitute of the privilege even of meeting together for worship on the Lord's Day ; while, towards instructing the natives in heavenly truths, not a single effort has been made, and the voice of the missionary has never yet been heard in any part of this morally desolate land. This last melancholy fact is attributable to our district having been hitherto almost a *terra incognita*, to which few, if any, thought it worth while to turn their attention, while the more inviting and accessible plains on the borders of the great streams of India lay more open to their efforts.

“When lately in Calcutta, one of my chief objects was to make known our claims to the religious world there, and to invite attention to the urgency of our wants ; for, insulated as we are among native states, it is surely the more incumbent on us to kindle that spark which may shine forth as ‘a light to lighten the Gentiles.’ Besides the interesting fact that in the heart of these territories we possess a numerous hill population, who (not being Hindoos, but wild idolaters), from their freedom from prejudice and the trammels of a crafty priesthood, appear, in common with similar aboriginal tribes scattered all over the continent of India, to offer us an opportunity, too long overlooked, of planting the germs of India’s evangelisation with (under God) the most cheering prospect of success.

“I am in hopes that I have in some degree succeeded, having almost got a promise that two or more German missionaries sent out by the Basle Society, and whom the Russians have compelled to quit Tabreez, will be sent here after the rains. And assuredly a greater blessing, humanly speaking, could not be conferred on this region. For, to give you an idea of the darkness which universally prevails, I may mention that at my last station of Seoni, where there were only three Europeans besides my-

self, I found that the natives were ignorant even that there is one day in the week which we are enjoined to hallow.

“When I look back upon our career in this country, and on our present irreligious state, I cannot believe that our deeds can be viewed otherwise at the throne of God than as deserving of Almighty vengeance. Never has a nation been so singularly marshalled on by the finger of God Himself, yet I doubt whether there has ever been one so utterly unmindful of the source whence its blessings flow. I often feel an awful hesitation in contemplating the purpose of our being sent here—whether we are destined to prove a blessing to this people, or to consummate our own shame; to confer on them the treasures of the Gospel, or to exhibit to them the awful fate of those who make a mock at the long-suffering of the Almighty. The nations we have come to rule over, in spite of their idolatrous darkness, acknowledge no truth more universally and habitually than that we are in all things at the immediate disposal of the Almighty. And they possess also the salutary belief that the welfare of nations depends more on the virtue than the ability of their rulers.

“Considering us, therefore, to fear neither God nor devil, they very generally designate us by the em-

phatic title, '*the irreligious government*,' a term which, although applied more immediately to our countenancing their idolatrous worship and superstitious ceremonies, they would not have so applied had they not beheld us 'without God in the world.' "

The hill population in whose behalf he pleaded were the Gonds, one of the aboriginal non-Aryan races of India, with whom he first came in contact while he was in the district of Seoni, and who, to the number of a million or so, are to be found scattered in the hilly parts of the Central Provinces, speaking a distinct language of their own. The commonly-accepted theory regarding the population of India is, that in pre-historic times an invasion took place by a people from a district lying to the north-west of Afghanistan, who carried with them their Aryan or Sanscrit speech ; that these Aryan invaders overran all the richest parts of India, amalgamating with themselves some of the aboriginal tribes, conquering others, without, however, superseding them ; and driving other tribes, such as the Gonds, Kols, Santals, and Bheels into the hills, where they maintained themselves as separate and independent communities. There is thus a marked distinction observable between the Aryan and the non-Aryan races ; the latter of which are, so to speak, outside the pale of Hinduism.



It would be foreign to our present purpose to enter into an account of further subdivisions which may be traced among these non-Aryan races ; but, reverting to the Gonds, it may be mentioned that at one time they ranked among the most powerful and important of the aboriginal races of India, holding their own for many centuries against the Aryan invaders. At length they were conquered by the Rajpoots ; with them, however, the Gonds intermarried, and thus a mixed race arose, who formed new kingdoms, and maintained more or less independence, until the Mahomedans appeared on the scene. By them the Gonds were shorn of some of their most fertile possessions. It is related that when Todormull, the famous finance minister of the Emperor Akbar, was asked by his master about the settlements he had effected, his reply was, that where he had found meat he had reserved it for his master, but that he had thrown the bones to the dogs. Certainly the Mahomedans acted in this way towards the Gonds, for the rich valleys were constituted crown lands, while the uncultivated hills were left with the Gonds. After the Mahomedans came the Mahrattas again and again ; and last of all the robber tribe of Pindarees fixed their headquarters in a strong position in the wild country on the banks of the Nerbudda, below Hoshungabad.

From the Mahrattas this territory passed into the hands of the British, and the circumstances under which this transfer was effected is thus related by Sir Donald, who at the same time refers to the advantages which have thereby been secured both to the people and to ourselves :—

“When the extensive plans of the Marquis of Hastings obliged him to take a general view of all the native states scattered over Central India, and to regulate his alliances, so as best to command their co-operation and prevent their intrigues from proving dangerous, he early determined that a friendly understanding with the chieftainship of Bhopal and Saugor would be the most effective means of raising a barrier between the two Mahratta chiefs, Scindia and the ruler of Berar ; and of connecting in some degree our possessions and resources in the north of Hindustan with those of our allies in the Deccan (or the Southern Peninsula of India). Negotiations were accordingly opened, through the Governor-General’s agent in Bundelcund, with both the Nawab of Bhopal and the Nana-Governor of Saugor, thus treating the latter as an independent power, which the remoteness of his principality from Poona virtually, though not nominally, rendered him ; and although circumstances at the time prevented them from being drawn to a suc-

cessful conclusion, yet when a treaty was ultimately made with the Peshwa, Saugor was included in the territories transferred by him to the British. In like manner, when the Bhousla ruler of Berar broke his engagements, and commenced hostilities with us, Jubbulpore was at once taken possession of by our troops, after some resistance ; and when a fresh treaty was entered into with him, he was required to surrender to us in perpetuity Jubbulpore, and all the possessions south of the Nerbudda now held by the British, together with the separate fort of Dhamoni, on the brow of the Vindly, a range north of Saugor. . . . .

“ In a very short period peace and tranquillity were established throughout these entire territories, where constant inroads of Pindarees and other sources of trouble and turmoil had previously prevailed. From that period to the present, their prosperity has continued steadily to advance, especially of late, since the completion of a reduced land assessment ; and who but must perceive how different would have been the character of British supremacy, and the inter-communication of native states, in Central Hindustan, but for the possession by us of this insulated portion of territory ?

“ The position is, no doubt, an important one, in a military point of view, as, although the complete sub-

jection to which the surrounding states have been reduced, the insignificance of most of them, and the friendly relations which they have all hitherto desired to maintain, have for the most part obviated the necessity for troops being called out; yet such occasions have arisen, and, insulated as the territory is, together with the recollections of former power, and of the frequent changes of rulers, still fresh in the minds of the people, and with many turbulently-disposed members among its own inhabitants, it is certain that their presence is absolutely indispensable."

In 1840, Sir Donald's wish to be appointed to the charge of the Jubbulpore district was gratified. He had not been long here when he furnished an interesting paper to the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, with the view of exciting Christian sympathy and efforts on behalf of the Gonds and other hill tribes of India.

As will be seen by the following extracts, he apprehended, even at this early period, that as they were quite distinct from the Hindoos, they should be considered apart, and should be placed rather in the category of races in Africa, North-West America, and the Pacific, to whom Christian instruction has been imparted with the best results, and without causing any political complications. If, in deference to the strong

prejudices of the Hindoo and Mahommedan communities, it was incumbent upon us to adopt a policy of religious neutrality towards them, the aboriginal races of India, who are outside the pale of both Hinduism and Mahommedanism, and who are altogether free from religious prejudices, might at any rate have been dealt with as the negroes of Africa, the Red Indians of America, the Maoris of New Zealand, and the subject races in other colonial possessions of the British Government :—

“I have been truly rejoiced to observe that your attention has recently been directed to the subject of missions amongst the hill tribes of India, *a class of our subjects so exceedingly distinct, that to do them justice it appears to me essential that they should be considered apart.* It is highly worthy of attention that in numerous parts of the world, where the labours of the missionary have been exercised amongst these primitive races, they have been attended with the most encouraging success. Whether in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, on the plains of Africa, or amidst the hills and forests of Hindustan, they have been found alike free from those bonds which lay so fatal a hold upon the victims of other idolatries ; no venerated literature records the deeds or characters of their deities ; no powerful and sagacious priesthood

holds them in a state of mental or moral vassalage ; but, led simply by feelings of mysterious awe and dread, which sin has given us as our heritage, to deprecate by sacrifices and mystic ceremonies the supposed wrath of an unknown God, they have ever evinced a disposition to listen to the soothing assurances of the Gospel ; to be charmed by the beauties of knowledge and of truth as it is unfolded to them ; and to return the most ardent gratitude to those who have turned aside with Christian affection to raise them in the scale of being.

“ If these encouraging results suffice to invite the exertions of the missionary in behalf of the aborigines of other lands, there are, I conceive, exclusive of the consideration that this land has been specially entrusted to us by the will of the Almighty, other reasons which call upon us even yet more imperatively to rouse ourselves in behalf of the hill tribes found scattered throughout Hindustan.

“ In the first place, a close inspection of their actual condition, feelings, and progress, will lead, I believe, to the conclusion that delay must increase our difficulties with regard to them. Notwithstanding the assertion so frequently made that Hinduism is not a proselytising creed, it has been found that wherever the Hindoo has been brought into close connection

with hill tribes for any length of time, it has become the endeavour of the latter to assimilate themselves as much as possible with the former ; to which they are urged no less by the interested counsels of the Brahmins than by their own desire to raise themselves from a condition esteemed to be the most debased, to one which gives them something of conventional respectability. Thus the tribes to the eastward are described by those who know them as rapidly assimilating in all respects to the Bengalis ; while, amongst all those with which I am myself acquainted, this predilection for Hinduism has very decidedly developed itself amongst the higher ranks.

“In Kolhân or Chota Nagpore, the chiefs call themselves ‘Nâgbansis,’ altogether repudiating the name of Kol ; and farther to the westward the Gond chiefs, and all who have affinity with them, denominate themselves ‘Râj-Gonds,’ or ‘Gond Thâkurs,’ wear the ‘*Janêu*,’ or thread allowed to the three pure orders of Hindoos, keep *purohits* or Brahmin priests, and perform most of the mummeries of Hinduism.

“In the second place, let us reflect upon the results that would follow, as far as human reasoning or experience can enable us to judge, from success in our ministrations amongst these wide-spread races. Let us suppose that Christian colonies have been esta-

blished among them, that they have flocked round the standard of the Gospel, and, having become to some extent the subjects of mental as well as moral culture, have exchanged the devilish ferocity of their idolatrous revelries for the comparatively sober and respectable demeanour of a more or less educated Christian community ; and can we then doubt that the existence of such communities, scattered here and there in the midst of the millions of our Hindoo subjects, must produce a most important effect in impressing the minds of these last ? And apart from this, I conceive that the time is approaching when it may prove a point of great importance thus to secure, at every brief interval, a nucleus around which the weaker Hindoo proselytes may assemble to screen themselves from the storm which it must be expected will beat upon them. Obloquy and persecution the convert in all parts of the world must doubtless be prepared to meet ; yet it cannot be doubted that the tyranny of society in various forms is one of Satan's readiest and most constantly employed instruments for the destruction of true religion ; and it surely cannot be undeserving of our consideration to strive after the establishment of a breakwater which may mitigate the violence of the billows when at the highest. . . .

“ I have become thoroughly convinced that, hu-



manly speaking, by far the most effective method—I would even say the *only* practicable one—by which the missionary can hope to obtain familiar access to these people, is by the establishment of an agricultural settlement in the midst of them, somewhat after the manner of the Moravians, or as has been tried, I believe, with the most cheering success, by Dr. Philip and others at the Cape of Good Hope. As these races are never to be found congregated in considerable numbers in cities or large towns, and, for the most part (excepting in Chota Nagpore proper), even their villages are widely separated and thinly peopled, in consequence of their very desultory and insufficient modes of cultivation, I do not perceive how by any other means they could be collected in sufficient numbers, or with sufficient frequency, to admit of their being effectively impressed ; while it seems to me that the advantages which this course offers are so apparent to all who will reflect on the subject, and the modes it would afford of enlisting the affections and the interests of a simple and neglected people so numerous, that I will refrain from enlarging on this branch of the subject. . . . I would further observe that Jubbulpore appears to me to be, of all our stations not actually in the midst of the hill tribes, the one most favourable of all from whence to com-

mence our approach to them. It is situated close upon the confines of tracts exclusively peopled by them, and numerous individuals of the Gond and Kol tribes are to be found in the town itself and the villages around it, at the same time that there is a dense Hindoo population affording an untrodden field for ministration strictly analogous to the missionary's previous experience, and likewise a considerable European community, on whom I need not say how banefully the total privation of Christian ordinances continues to operate. Situated also in the valley of the Nerbudda, it forms a connecting point between the hill region described in this letter and the forest tracts extending continuously onwards to the west on either bank of that river, which are inhabited by similar races, until, after passing Mau and Mandlesur, we reach successively the Bheels, the Minas, the Kûlis, Thoris, Bâoris, Râmûsis, and other similar races of Western India. Let us hope, then, that our day is at hand, and affectionately will we hail the messengers who shall bring to us the tidings of the Gospel."

Some further interesting particulars regarding the Gonds and their customs and rites, extracted below, are taken from Sir Donald's account of the Saugor and Nerbudda territory :—

“The Gonds include amongst them several different sections : the Baiyas, who are very generally regarded as sorcerers, living apart from all, in solitary habitations in the most dense forests, where they clear spaces with their axes, and sow their grain, without further labour, in the ashes left after the felled timber has been burned, but subsisting, for the most part, on the roots and fruits of the forest (with which they are especially familiar), the wild honey, or the beasts of the forest, which in some parts they occasionally destroy with bows and poisoned arrows ; the Bhumias, a nearly similar and almost equally wild race, without whose consecration a village is not considered habitable or safe from tigers, and who are universally the referees in all disputes regarding boundaries and established usages amongst these tribes : the Pardhans, who preside at their orgies, are their beggars and bards, and unquestionably the most roguish and worthless part of their community ; the Patharis, who greatly assimilate to the latter ; with some other divisions. As yet, however, very little indeed is known as to the domestic economy, habits, and sentiments of this primitive race, as they possess not any written language, nor has any European as yet thoroughly acquired their spoken one ; and although most of

them can make themselves understood in Hindi, and the Thakurs and superior persons amongst them communicate nearly as freely with their European rulers as any other class, yet no one has yet allowed himself to be brought into such close contact with them as to break through that reserve which a contemned race never fails to show, or to enable him to penetrate below the mere surface of their feelings, customs, and superstitions. This race nowhere worships idols, excepting where persons of the superior ranks have been cajoled by Brahmins into aping Hinduism. They are, however, filled with superstitions; and when it is said that the One Supreme Being is their object of worship, it must not be supposed that there is any purity in their conception or fervour in their adoration of Him. They offer to Him sacrifices, principally of pigs and fowls; and intoxicating spirits (that made by distillation from the flower of the Mohwa being the only one in general use) would seem to constitute the main and indispensable ingredient in all their ceremonies, whether of oblation, gladness, or mourning. Insulated peaks of hills are viewed by them with great awe, being generally named in a manner to convey this sentiment; trees will be frequently seen within the forest, having chickens' feathers and

claws suspended in numbers from their branches, which are similarly regarded by them ; as well as heaps of stones, or 'cairns,' raised on the sides of the road by the contributions of travellers ; and even in some instances an unshapen stone, with a little red earth and oil plastered over it. Their dead are buried, not burned, and little earthen platforms, with ornamental pillars, raised over the spot ; or, if a person of importance, a shed, with a pole and flag ; though the writer is not aware that they ever place a monumental stone permanently to mark the spot, or preserve family sepulchral grounds, as is said of other similar tribes. They are usually dirty in their persons, wearing a mere rag round their loins, but very particular in purifications prescribed under certain circumstances. They are said also to be most sensitive in the observance of caste amongst themselves, the subdivisions established being alleged to be numerous ; and although the writer cannot say how far this may in reality be carried, he is well aware that the 'Raj-Gonds,' and others, considering themselves of superior order, would utterly repudiate the idea of connecting themselves, or having any close communication with the members of inferior ones."

It has been stated on good authority, although Sir

Donald McLeod does not mention it, that, anterior to British rule, human sacrifices prevailed to a great extent among the Gonds, and cannibalism among some sections of them. In speaking of them, the more civilised natives have been heard to say, "These hills have for their inhabitants wild beasts, demons, and savage Gonds."





## CHAPTER IV.

### MISSION TO THE GONDS.

**F**OR three years or more Sir Donald McLeod had been urging upon the Church of Christ the claims of the Gonds on their compassion; and as no Missionary Society then labouring in India seemed prepared to enter upon the field, he determined to take action himself. He accordingly applied to Pastor Gossner, of Berlin, whose career had been a very remarkable one. At one time a zealous priest in the Church of Rome, the teaching of a fellow-priest, Martin Boos, at the close of the last century, had led him, under God, not only to secede from that communion, but also to proclaim publicly the doctrine of justification by faith alone. For this he was banished from Bavaria, his own country, and after some years spent in exile in Russia he settled in Berlin, where, by his preaching and his writings, he

exercised a marked influence in Germany, and succeeded so well in awakening a prayerful interest in the state of the heathen world, that before his death in 1858 he had sent out one hundred and forty-one missionary agents to different parts of the world. Many of these were humble artisans, not possessed of great literary attainments, but animated by a fervent desire to make known to others the love of the Saviour.

The result of Sir Donald McLeod's appeal to Pastor Gossner was, that in 1841 five German artisans and husbandmen, with an apothecary, arrived at Jubbulpore, some of them married, with children; and this band of missionaries was placed under the superintendence of an ordained German minister, the Rev. J. Loesch, of the Basle Missionary Society, who had previously laboured among the Canarese in South India. It was hoped that, after the mission had been once fairly established, the missionaries would be able to support themselves by farming and by skilled labour. They proceeded to the highlands of the Jubbulpore district, which form the watershed of this part of the continent of India. The locality selected was near the source of the Nerbudda, the famed "Amurkuntuk," or "Waters of Immortality," of which a detailed description by Sir Donald McLeod has



already been given. The Hindoos resort to it in great numbers, as a sacred place of pilgrimage; but the wild region round it is inhabited chiefly by Gonds, who received the missionaries gladly, and appeared much impressed with their kindly, simple manners. The missionaries insisted upon building their houses with their own hands; and when advised to employ the natives of the country, so as to save themselves needless exposure, their reply was, that they had not come to India to be served, but to serve.

The following extract from a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Loesch, dated Káranjia, 1st of April, 1842, and addressed to Dr. Murray Mitchell, gives a simple account of the difficulties and encouragements which attended the first formation of this missionary settlement:—

“We now fixed upon pitching our tents near the fine village Káranjia, for all of us were exceedingly tired of travelling, and our servants fully prepared to leave us if we should not stay near an inhabited village. During the first three weeks of our stay here the Gonds were very suspicious and full of distrust. We had the greatest difficulty in getting some fowls and rice, though we paid for them beforehand, and were obliged to send for our daily food to Kun-chunpur, nineteen miles from this. I wrote to Mr.— begging him to counsel us in our precarious situation,

but three weeks elapsed before his answer could make its appearance. The good man himself was entirely at a loss what to do, and left the decision upon our final settling to ourselves. Thus we were thrown upon the Lord, whom we gave no rest day or night till He in mercy inclined His ear to our cry, and delivered us out of all our troubles. The distrust in the minds of most of these people became changed into affection—as regards all, into confidence. When they heard that we intended to remain hereabout, and to rent some waste villages, they begged us to take their own; they promised to cultivate the fields for us, and only wished to keep so much soil for themselves as two ploughs will turn up. As we did not know whether such an engagement would be lawful, I asked Mr. McLeod for his kind advice; he was much rejoiced to hear of what the Lord had done, and requested us to enter by all means into our engagement with the actual holder of this village. We now asked the Málguzár, or the man who was responsible for the revenue, how much he would have for his village. He said, ‘I pay 27 rs. to Government, and if you will pay them the village is yours, and we are your farmers.’ But we told him that we did not wish to take their fields from them, and that we only intended to cultivate the waste soil attached to this

village, and if he had no objection to give us this much, we would gladly pay the yearly rent. However, the Málguzár, as well as all the farmers, insisted upon our taking all the fields belonging to them, excepting so much as two ploughs will turn up; thus the contract was ratified by the deputy collector.

“Káranjia is one of the finest places I have ever seen in India; it is sixteen miles to the west of Amurkuntuk, and situated on the road to this place; it is often visited by hosts of Fakirs and Gosains, who extort even the last cowrie (or shell) from these poor ignorant Gonds, whom we shall no longer suffer to be maltreated by that idle and wicked set of people. The climate is almost European; the soil very fertile; the water delicious. The village is situated on a triangled hill; on both sides, east and west, at an equal distance of five miles, there are high mountains clad with the finest timber. There is also a fine jungle close to the village, in which, or out of which, my brethren have cut all the timber for two small bungalows, which, if God please, will be finished in a month or two hence. Everything here is very cheap: we get sixty large fowls for one rupee, or two shillings, a good bullock for twelve rupees, twenty sheep for eight rupees, forty seers of rice, one rupee, etc. etc. The people here live chiefly upon khodum, a small grain.

It is called khodum when in husks, and khodai when out of husks. This is almost our daily food, for it tastes better than rice, is wholesome, and very cheap—eighty seers for one rupee. Although the people here are Gonds, they know but little of the Gond language; Hindui and Hindustani are spoken throughout all the districts west of Jubbulpore. I have begun making a collection of Gond words, and am astonished to find that many are either Canarese or Tamil. As soon as I shall have a little more time I shall send Dr. Stevenson a long list of Gond words. At present I am much pressed for time. Concerning the religion of the Gonds I am as yet not able to say anything.

“The Revenue Surveyor, who is measuring out all the districts hereabout, arrived here a fortnight ago, with an encampment of 1,500 men, and went to Amurkuntuk, where he will stay till the 15th of this month. The Chaprásis (Peons), who had to provide some people in camp with milk, flour, eggs, rice, etc., used to take these articles by force from the poor Gonds without paying for them. And when these poor creatures were not able to give what was required, they were beaten and robbed of their clothes by those monsters. This maltreatment induced them to quit their villages and take refuge in the jungles. But when these dreaded Chaprásis began their business in our

village, we turned them out very nicely, and I requested Captain Wroughton to have them punished, which he also has done in an exemplary manner. When the other villagers heard that we protected our people, they all came to us and begged us, for God's sake, to allow them to remain with us, which we were most happy to do. By this event all the Gonds hereabout have become very much attached to us, and cannot sufficiently express their gratitude towards us. May they soon be led to the knowledge of Him who redeemed them from the power of the great enemy, the devil!"

A serious illness obliged Sir Donald to leave Jubulpore, in 1842, for Mussoorie, a sanatorium in the hills, which he reached in the early part of July; but before leaving he had managed, at the end of April, to visit the missionary settlement at Amurkuntuk. The following extract from a letter dated Mussoorie, August 8th, 1842, will show that, apart from the interest he took in it as an evangelistic centre, he was in hopes that Amurkuntuk might prove a suitable sanatorium for Europeans:—

"The opinion generally entertained in the scientific world, I believe, is, that at 4,000 feet of elevation above the sea the air becomes so rarefied that the malignant malaria which characterises tropical regions

cannot remain suspended in it ; and the place named Amurkuntuk is of about that elevation. Some, however, say only 3,500, and others 5,000 feet. I need only state that when I was there myself on the 31st of May of last year I found the temperature quite pleasant, and the grass quite green.

“A small German colony has this year been happily established there, consisting of five artisans and husbandmen, an apothecary, and a well-educated missionary of very superior talent and acquirements, and great devotion. These men I left this year, in the end of April, labouring hard in the open air at the erection of their house, without suffering any injury, or any very material inconvenience therefrom—a fact which Indians will duly appreciate ; and I am now most anxiously watching the effects which the climate may produce on them during the rainy season, feeling assured that if they be not visited with sickness during the present season, after all their exposure and discomfort, the climate may be regarded as one adapted for the European constitution.

“If such should prove the case, you may judge with what joy and gladness the announcement will be received by me, whose affections have been so greatly concentrated on the Jubbulpore district. Already, however, I have seen my fondest hopes, as regards its

establishment, beginning, by God's blessing, to be realised. They are delighted with the climate; the Gonds, amongst whom they have established themselves, appear to have greatly taken to them, and already do the Germans begin to feel sanguine that a most hopeful field will be speedily opened to them for sowing the seed of the Lord. The people, having little or no religion or priesthood of their own, appear at once to have yielded their confidence to the missionary and his brethren, and have promised, so soon as their home is completed, to send their children to school under their care. May God's blessing be with them, and the prayers of all those who seek the extension of His kingdom be offered up in their behalf."

So far, however, from these sanguine expectations being realised, a few weeks later, in God's providence, a dire visitation of cholera swept through the country, and two only of the missionary band survived, and these two were themselves so ill that they could not perform the last sad offices for the dead, whom, after great difficulty, the Gonds were induced to bury.

In the absence of Sir Donald McLeod, a kind friend, Colonel Clement Browne, to whom he was warmly attached, did all that he could for the comfort of the survivors, and with difficulty brought them into Jubbulpore, which they reached more dead than alive.

With care and treatment they recovered ; but for a time the mind of one of them gave way, overwrought by the sorrows and anxieties through which he had passed. Such was the disastrous termination of a mission for which Sir Donald McLeod had earnestly laboured, and the expense of which he had generously met from his own private resources.

There are those who, in all earnestness of purpose and good faith, having devoted themselves, with all the powers of a strong nature, to a service to which they believed God had called them, and who, meeting with disaster when they looked for triumph, have fallen into such a state of hopeless despondency, that the efficacy of all work undertaken for God has been called in question. We might point to more than one, with much nobility of natural disposition, who has thus made shipwreck of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. But with Donald McLeod it was far otherwise. He could not but feel the deepest sympathy for the missionaries in their sufferings and desolation ; he could not but mourn that his design for evangelising the Gonds had for a time been frustrated ; and he would doubtless find cause for humiliation in the thought, that errors of judgment, committed either by himself or the missionaries, may have hindered the good work. Still



his faith was as strong as ever in God and in His purpose of mercy to a fallen world ; and his sense of the Christian's responsibility to endeavour to carry out those purposes was deepened rather than otherwise. Hence, to the last day of his life he was a warm advocate of the cause of missions.

The work even of opening out new regions, or of conferring other benefits of a temporal character upon the human race, often demands the lives of the first explorers or of the first pioneers of such undertakings ; and the early history of missions shows that the same fate not uncommonly awaits the pioneers of missionary enterprise, who have often only found a grave where they had expected to establish the kingdom of God. But the later history of these same missions has frequently shown that where the Gospel has been cradled in suffering, there it has won its greatest triumphs. It is true, alas ! that among the Gonds no such triumph has yet been won, although thirty years have passed since Sir Donald McLeod first sought to bring them under the influence of the Gospel ; and they must still be numbered with those unevangelised races of India, in whose behalf the efforts put forth are utterly disproportionate to the work that has to be done. The Church Missionary Society and the Free Church of Scotland are now

labouring amongst them, and a few have been brought into the fold of Christ—an earnest, we trust, of a large ingathering when God's own time shall come.

Sir Donald's interest in the Gonds never waned, and after the mutiny, in a valuable State Paper drawn up by him, dated 26th Feb., 1858 (to which we shall have occasion afterwards to refer more particularly), he urged upon the Government of India the claims of these and other aboriginal races, in the following terms :—

“The continent of India contains scattered over it, chiefly in the fastnesses of its hilly tracts, numerous aboriginal races who are neither Hindoo nor Mahomedan, are utterly neglected and despised by these, and have no sympathy with them whatever—who have no literature, no learned or influential priesthood, and who, so far from rejecting the advances of Christian teachers, when these settle among them, appear almost invariably to evince gratitude for the attention thus paid to them by a race whom they feel to be so far their superiors. Simple, and for the most part truthful, though addicted to plunder, these races appear, whenever tried, to afford an admirable field for missionary labour, while very inaccessible to the ordinary machinery of our civil administration.

“It is generally understood, that in the case of the

Santals, who form a portion of the races referred to, a proposition that Government should largely avail itself of the aid of missionaries for their instruction and enlightenment, was not long since made, but has been rejected; and if this be the case, I would earnestly hope that it may now be re-entertained and acted upon. Believing, as I do, that it is hardly possible to over-estimate the influence which it might exert on the rest of Hindustan, could these groups of degraded, yet manly races, be brought to accept the Gospel, I would strongly urge the expediency and the duty of thus affording to the tribe in question the opportunity of becoming acquainted with our creed and our civilisation, in the only way in which this appears to be practicable; and the same arguments apply to other races similarly circumstanced.

“While many conscientiously believe that it would not be right for Government to take any part in missionary efforts amongst those classes of our subjects to whom these are distasteful, yet this view can hardly be maintained in regard to those races who gladly welcome the missionary, and to whom he appears, at present, to afford the only effective means of access. In the case of the negroes of Southern Africa, amongst whom missions have been systematically encouraged, as being the great means of civilising them, this view

is being principally acted upon ; and I believe it will be found that the neglected hilly regions of India supply the means of assisting us in spreading the germs of true religion and enlightenment amongst the populations of these magnificent plains—a result which might not inaptly be compared, in a moral sense, with the physical benefits which the sanatorium established in some of them confers on our own countrymen.

“ The Karens of Pegu and Burmah, who are another of these races, have lately attracted very great attention in this point of view, and as they have already embraced Christianity in thousands, with an earnestness not to be mistaken, it has been proposed, and I believe determined, to raise one or more regiments or police battalions from amongst them. This brings me to the second of the subjects on which I have above stated that I wished to remark, which is, that it will in my opinion be little short of infatuation if we do not now avail ourselves of such materials for our army; and wherever a Christian corps may be raised among the natives of India, a chaplain or pastor should, I conceive, be invariably maintained in connection with it. The entire neglect by Government of the spiritual welfare of our native soldiery is, as respects the great mass of them, a lamentable necessity, or is considered to be so. But to pursue the same course

towards Christian regiments would be a clear breach of duty, while the influence of such regiments thus cared for on the mass of their countrymen could not but be vast, beneficent, and cheering to any Christian philanthropist."

The same State Paper refers to the demoralising effects which have resulted to the people of India from the greater use of spirituous liquors under British administration, and Sir Donald mentions that among the Gonds of the Nerbudda, who are much addicted to spirits, he had himself witnessed a tract of country almost entirely laid desolate by the absconding of cultivators who had ruined themselves by yielding to the temptations of the liquor shops ; and that the evil became so great that the Gonds themselves begged for the adoption of some restrictive measures. The increased intercourse which, under British rule, these hill-tribes carry on with the people of the plains will subject them to many temptations which have led to the extinction of similar races in other parts of the world ; and unless they can be won over to the Christian faith, such of them as are not utterly ruined will most assuredly be proselytised, sooner or later, either by Hindoos or Mahommedans. One would imagine that, apart from the solemn obligations incumbent upon us as Christians to evangelise them, considera-

tions of policy would point to the necessity of doing what we can to transform them into loyal Christian subjects of the Crown.\*

It is encouraging to find that Sir Donald McLeod's views are meeting in these days with increased acceptance. Sir George Campbell, the present able Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, has recently stated that in his opinion the policy of religious neutrality need not be so strictly applied to aboriginal races as to Hindoos and Mahommedans; and in the *Report on the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India*, presented by the India Office to Parliament for 1871-72, the following passage occurs:—

“Taking them together, these rural and aboriginal populations of India, which have received a large share of the attention of the missionary societies, now contain among them a *quarter of a million* native Christian converts. The principles they profess, the standard

\* After the Santal insurrection in 1855, Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of India, sanctioned a plan under which the education of the people was entrusted to missionaries, half the expense being borne by mission funds and half by Government. When, however, the mutiny broke out in 1857, the home authorities sent out a despatch disapproving of these arrangements, which, consequently, remained in abeyance for some time, but eventually better counsels prevailed, and in 1860 the Government of India was authorised to carry out the scheme it had originally established, and which has been more or less in force ever since without giving rise to any political complications.

of morals at which they aim, the education and training which they receive, make them no unimportant element in the empire which the Government of India has under its control. These populations must greatly influence the communities of which they form a part ; they are thoroughly loyal to the British Crown ; and the experience through which many have passed has proved that they are governed by solid principle in the conduct they pursue. Dr. Hunter has recently set before the Government the importance of the hill races and other aborigines of India, reckoned at 70,000,000 in number, and, both because of the simplicity of their habits, their general love of order, their teachableness, as well as their great numbers, has urged that new and large efforts shall be made for their enlightenment. In the same way many able missionaries advocate that the Christian efforts among them shall be increased. There is reason to believe that these estimable races will occupy a more prominent position in the empire, in the future, than they have done hitherto."

That the Gospel message meets with a ready reception from these simple primitive races is shown by the success which has attended Pastor Gossner's mission among the Kols, a race similar in all respects to the Gonds, and living in districts contiguous to them.

This mission was only commenced in 1844, and already some 20,000 profess the Christian faith, with a tendency to increase yearly in numbers. In like manner, considerable success has attended the Christian efforts made in behalf of the Karens in Burmah, the Santals in Bengal, and other aboriginal races in South India.

It remains only to mention, in connection with Sir Donald's mission to the Gonds, that the two surviving missionaries, William Bártels and James Lechler, moved from Jubbulpore to Kamptee, where they were kindly received by Sir William Hill (another of Sir Donald's friends), who, like himself, was interested in all work for Christ, and who had, in the first instance, received the whole party on their way to Jubbulpore. Under his hospitable roof they remained for a year, until a suitable sphere of missionary labour was found for them at Nagpore, where they remained until their death, receiving during the whole period a salary from Sir Donald McLeod. Another missionary sent out to India by Pastor Gossner, the Rev. W. Ziemann, who is still labouring at Ghazeepore and in the valley of the Ganges, received year by year a fixed allowance from Sir Donald, which was continued until he left India.





## CHAPTER V.

### NEW FIELD OF LABOUR.

**D**URING the latter part of the eight years spent by Donald McLeod in the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, events of a momentous character were taking place in India, which indirectly exercised a marked influence upon his future. In 1839 an army was sent to Cabul, and, although its march was a series of triumphs, the occupation of Cabul was followed, in January, 1842, by a reverse of a more disastrous character than any which had yet fallen upon the British power in India. Out of a large force which, including camp-followers, numbered 15,000 men, there were only a few survivors; the rest perished either by the sword or from the effects of the cold, the victims of the imbecility of those in command, and the dupes of Affghan treachery. This reverse made itself felt throughout India. From the Saugor and Nerbudda territory, as from other parts, troops

had to be withdrawn in order to supply Sir George Pollock with a sufficient force to enable him to march not only for the relief of Jellalabad, but also, by an advance on Cabul, to retrieve in some measure the prestige we had lost.

Some of the Saugor and Nerbudda chiefs, as well as many in the adjoining territory of Bundelcund, were not well affected to the British Government. Into all the causes of this we need not enter here; it will suffice to say that the mistake was made which has continually been made in other parts of India—of introducing among primitive races rules and regulations adapted for a more civilised state of society. Their previous history had further disposed them to be turbulent; accordingly advantage was taken by them of the withdrawal of troops to get up an insurrection, during which towns were plundered, villages burnt, several people killed and wounded, and outrages of a more or less serious character were perpetrated.

From a letter already quoted, bearing date 8th August, 1842, further extracts are taken, expressing Sir Donald's views as to Affghan policy, and in which he also refers to the disturbances in Bundelcund:—

“You will have shared with others the horror, dismay, and excitement caused by these disastrous and

heart-rending accounts which have from time to time been pouring in from Affghanistan; and even now we by no means know, or are able to conjecture with any degree of certainty, what is to be the end of these things. The opinion is now strong and general that our armies are within the next three months to withdraw entirely from the country, without coming to any understanding, or making any effort to ensure for our character in future in that country either respect or forbearance on the part of the Affghans or other Central Asian nations; and it is said that the Duke of Wellington himself has counselled this course. This I cannot believe; and while, as I conceive, the origin of the war was altogether unjust on our part, and I would warmly protest against a thirsting after revenge, I must confess it appears to me almost imperative on us to adopt some course by which the Affghans may be made to feel that we are yet their masters. We ought, I think, to lose no reasonable opportunity of letting them understand that we acknowledge we have been in error and done them grievous wrong in the first instance, and then withdrawing on this ground from further interference. But this should, it seems to me, be done by us in such a way as to make them aware that had it been otherwise, and they had wantonly outraged us, the voice of

all England would have been raised as one man to denounce their fiendish treachery ; and they would have had cause sorely to rue the day that they roused our anger. If such a feeling be not established, and a British influence still maintained at the Affghan Court, it seems to me that we have already had abundance to show us that it will speedily become an arena for our continental enemies, secret or avowed, to hatch and mature their intrigues in, and that India will become too hot to hold us. Many, however, seem to think that we have not at present the power to do anything if we would, and if so, what can we do but mourn ?

“ Meantime, within the limits of India itself, there is evidently but too much cause, if not for alarm, at least for great watchfulness and preparedness ; and Government, who appear to know of much regarding which the public are as yet uninformed, have ordered measures to be adopted, the cause or object of which is as yet by no means apparent. A large army of reserve, consisting of about 15,000 men, with the full allowance of artillery, etc., has been organised to rendezvous at Ferozepore on the Sutlej in November. Lord Ellenborough is immediately coming up the country, and just now we learn that orders have been issued to put Delhi in an entire state of defence, the

motive of which is as yet quite an enigma. In the Deccan it has for some months been well known that some extensive intrigues have been going on, though amongst whom and with what plan I believe has not been distinctly discovered. What with all this, and the commotion in Bundelcund, it appears evident that we must expect some trouble and turmoil; but as yet all is mystery and uncertainty; and possibly the energy of Lord Ellenborough, who is vigorous almost beyond reason, may yet prevent any very decided outbreak. So far, however, as the public are able to judge, his proceedings seem somewhat wild. . . .

“On my return to my district it appears but too likely that I shall have occasion for all the energies which can be derived from this fine climate; for you may, perhaps, have learned ere this, either from the public prints or otherwise, that the province of Bundelcund and the district of Saugor have been of late in a very disturbed state, partly from the paucity of troops caused by the Affghan war, and partly from other causes. The commotions have not extended to the Jubbulpore district, but there seems some reason to apprehend that after the rains cease the whole of those parts may be in a state of commotion; and it is alleged by the newspapers that Government have determined on moving down an army of 5,000

men in October; one of the ablest officers in the country, a Major Sleeman, formerly my superior at Saugor, having been in the meantime deputed thither to inquire into the causes of the outbreak, and see whether anything effectual or satisfactory can be effected by their removal without a resort to arms."

These disturbances exercised a very marked influence upon Sir Donald's future, for at the very beginning of the insurrection Lord Ellenborough, then Governor-General of India, jumped hastily to the conclusion that it had its origin in defects of administration for which the officers employed were to blame; and on the 15th March, 1843, he issued an order re-organising the Saugor and Nerbudda agency, and dispensing with the services of most of the officers, amongst whom was Sir Donald McLeod. This must have been a sore trial to him, for the deep interest and warm attachment he felt for the people had determined him to cast in his lot with them. They on their part entertained such respect and affection for him that his name is still revered in the valley of the Nerbudda, as was publicly stated by the late Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, just after he had visited these parts. At the same time it was a pecuniary advantage to him to leave, for his merits as a

public officer were so well known, that the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces immediately appointed him to more remunerative employment as magistrate and collector of Benares. The time spent here was actively and usefully employed by him, not only as a public officer of the Government, but also as a servant of Christ. A mission had been established in 1817 by the Church Missionary Society in the city of Benares, and the veteran missionaries, the Revs. W. Smith and C. B. Leupolt (who had been labouring there for some years when Sir Donald McLeod arrived), found him a wise counsellor and a trusty friend, who until his death gave them many proofs of sincere regard. Instead of allowing difficulties and discouragements to lessen his interest in the spread of Christianity and the spiritual welfare of the natives, these seemed only to draw out his heart in more loving sympathy to those who were bearing the burden and heat of the day. It was, indeed, this wonderful power of sympathy which gave him such remarkable influence with people of all ranks and classes, and with persons of all ages. His exquisite courtesy of manner, displayed quite as much in his intercourse with a poor native as when he entertained the Duke of Edinburgh or received the Ameer of Cabul, was free from affectation of every kind, being the genuine outflow of a

heart capable of entering thoroughly into the feelings of others, and truly sympathising with the joys and the sorrows, the aspirations and the trials of our common humanity.

In the autumn of 1845 Sir Donald had a very serious illness, after which it was deemed advisable that he should go for change of air to the Cape of Good Hope. The following extract from a letter, dated 4th June, 1846, written at Cape Town, gives some insight into his life at this period. Dr. Innes, of whom mention is made, was his brother-in-law :—

“ To Innes’s skill and tender care of me I entirely attribute it, under God, that I recovered so speedily and effectually—insomuch that before I embarked I felt myself quite free from all ailment, and before the completion of my voyage to this place had become quite robust. Now that I have been upwards of a month here, enjoying this beautiful country, and taking long rides and plenty of exercise, I feel as if I could never fatigue myself. The enjoyment of perfect leisure and a bracing climate, after the toils and burning climate of Benares, you may suppose is indescribable ; and I enjoy it yet the more as I am living with a sister and brother-in-law—the Hawkins’, who preceded me hither from Calcutta—and am most comfortably located in a separate little bungalow in



their compound, at one of the most rural and eligible villages in the neighbourhood of Cape Town.

"I brought with me a considerable library, have bought a seraphine since I came, and thus, what with my books, musical instruments of all sorts, and a variety of pretty walks and rides around, I most thoroughly enjoy myself. My only source of regret is that this enjoyment is to be so short-lived, as my leave only extends to April; and as this would be the very worst season for reaching India, it is probable I shall accompany the Hawkins' when they return in September, or, if not so, then at all events about two months later I shall be starting."

In the following year Sir Donald McLeod returned to Benares, but not to remain long, as he was selected for a higher and more important post in the Punjab. This selection was entirely due to the reputation he had made for himself during the six years he administered the district of Benares. He effected great improvements in the municipal arrangements and police of the city, and this resulted in the marked diminution of crime among the population of one of the most important cities of India.



## CHAPTER VI.

### EARLY DAYS IN THE PUNJAB.

**I**N 1845 the Sikh army had crossed the Sutlej, and invaded British territory; but after four sanguinary battles, fought at Moodkee, Ferozeshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon, they were forced to sue for terms. To pay for the expenses of the war, the Sikh Government had to give up large tracts of country. Of these cessions, a portion of the hills, with Cashmere, was formed into an independent principality, of which the Maharajah Goolab Sing was constituted the chief, while the rest of the hills, with the Jellundur Doab, which is the garden of the Punjab, was annexed to British territory, and formed into a division, of which Lord Lawrence, then Mr. John Lawrence, was appointed the first Commissioner.

In 1848-49, the Sikhs and English again met in deadly conflict; a second time the Sikhs were defeated, and the Punjab became a British province,

to a seat in the governing board of which Mr. Lawrence was appointed. It therefore became necessary to select his successor for the post of Commissioner of Jellundur, and the choice, as has been already mentioned, fell on Donald McLeod, who thus came in 1849 to the border province of India, which was to be the scene of his devoted labours for more than twenty years. Among other distinguished officers associated with him in the administrative charge of the Jellundur division was Major, afterwards Sir Herbert, Edwardes. He was for a short time Deputy Commissioner at Jellundur; and the following extract is taken from a letter written by him just after he had received a great ovation in England in recognition of his services at Mooltan. It is not only a just tribute to Donald McLeod, but its tone and spirit do no less honour to the writer, whose early renown was but an earnest of greater services afterwards rendered to the State: "We shall be together under the roof of Mr. McLeod, the Commissioner, who only left me the day before yesterday, after staying some days with us. He is a rare and excellent character—one whose whole life is one even career of duty to God and man, and whose mind and heart do not apparently contain one selfish thought or feeling. He is by nature blessed with at once the best of intellects and the kindest of dispo-

sitions ; and an industry of study, stimulated by the desire to be useful, has given him a range of knowledge on all subjects bearing on the welfare of the people of India, such as I do not know that I ever saw equalled ; yet few people hear of him ; and in the noisy world the ripple of his gentle stream of goodness is altogether drowned—but it fertilises nevertheless ; and when I come to compare my own brawling fame with the secluded usefulness of this good man, I quite shrink with shame, and positively rejoice that there will be a light in which the true value of things will stand revealed.”

In connection with this period of Sir Donald's service, it would be well to refer to the efforts made by him to promote among the natives education generally, and Christian education more particularly ; for it was at Jellundur that he wrote a most elaborate minute, one important suggestion in which was afterwards embodied in the famous Educational Despatch of 1854, to be referred to more particularly hereafter.

Previous to this, when he was in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, Sir Donald had taken a marked interest in education, and in connection with the schools established at Jubbulpore he paid out of his own private funds a number of scholarships to the more promising pupils, in order to encourage them to pursue their

studies. The following is an extract from his letter, dated August 8th, 1842 :—

“I may make mention of Dr. Duff, as you know and esteem him, and make warm mention of him in your last letter. Before his return to this country I had selected from the institution over which he presides, and in which he takes so deep an interest, a youth, whom I for some time left there to be perfected in his education, and have since had transferred to Jubbulpore, where he is now one of the teachers in the Government Institution.\*

“I had not removed him from Calcutta when Dr. Duff arrived (he was, however, well known to me by repute long before he went home), and I availed myself of the circumstance as a means of introducing myself to him by letter, to which I received a most kind and cordial reply ; and other letters have since passed between us.”

We must now revert to the minute drawn up at Jellundur by Sir Donald McLeod in 1853. At this time, out of the thirty or forty millions of school-going age in India, there were only some 40,000 attending Government schools and colleges, and some 97,000 in missionary institutions. The value of the instruc-

\* This was the Rev. Behari Lal Sing, already referred to in an earlier chapter, who was employed as a teacher before he became a Christian.

tion imparted in missionary schools, which he had many opportunities of personally testing, led him to advocate, as will be seen by the following paragraphs, that the Government should in future make them grants in aid.

In connection with Jai Narain's College at Benares, to which Sir Donald refers, it may be mentioned that this intelligent and liberal Hindoo, who during his life had shown some leaning towards Christianity, died, saying: "Had the Christian religion been true, the Company Bahadur, which had, in other respects, benefited his country, would not have withheld from at least commending this religion to their notice."

"Under ordinary circumstances it is, I think, vain to expect that the Government school can compete in efficiency with the mission school, or that its teachers will show that devotedness to their task which usually characterises the teacher who acts under the eye and influence of the missionary, while the establishment of the former tends more or less to embarrass the other; and for these reasons, not to advert to others of a yet graver character, I would urge that, with the reservation I have indicated, Government should, in such cases, withdraw from the field, leaving it to be occupied by those who have benevolently entered on the task of maintaining a

school, and are best fitted for its fulfilment; and at all events, whether it do so or not, *that it make a half-yearly or yearly grant to the missionary school, where its superintendents may wish to receive it, and it really imparts a good secular education, to enable them to increase its efficiency.*

“This course has already been followed by Government in respect to Jai Narain's College at Benares, an institution established by a Hindoo, and made over by him to the Church Missionary Society, with all its endowments; and I believe that in another presidency the principle has been admitted that it is just and right for the Government to afford encouragement to secular education, where it is of an effective character, though combined with religious instruction. I would by no means advocate that Government should depart from its strictly secular character; but where really sound instruction in secular matters is imparted, I would encourage it; and it is time, I think, that we should show that the Christian religion will not be discountenanced by us, though abstaining from all attempts, as a Government, to interfere with the religious persuasion of any.

“At Jellundur, as I have already mentioned, a most efficient school has been established by the American Presbyterian Mission, in which not only

the vernaculars, but English, is taught, and with which the Government school can bear no comparison. The inhabitants speak with enthusiasm of the attention and care shown by its excellent superintendent ;\* and although some conversions have taken place, which for a time impaired its progress, the number of its scholars is steadily on the increase, while want of funds alone, I believe, prevents its efficiency from being further extended.” †

Lord Dalhousie, the vigorous and enlightened statesman then holding the office of Governor-General

\* The Rev. Goluknath, formerly a pupil in Dr. Duff's institution, was the superintendent referred to, and is still in charge of this mission.

† In a despatch, dated April 18, 1855, the Court of Directors expressed their acknowledgments in the following terms to Sir Donald, and other officers in the Punjab, for the efforts they had made in behalf of education :—

“The attention which has been paid to the subject of education in the Punjab has given us sincere pleasure. We beg that you will communicate to the Chief Commissioners, to Mr. Montgomery, to Mr. McLeod, and to the other officers generally, our warmest thanks for their exertions. That those gentlemen have, amidst their other arduous and more pressing duties, been able to direct so large a portion of their attention to the promotion of education, affords to us fresh evidences of their energy and zeal, and of their desire to identify themselves with the feelings and interests of the people committed to their charge. The soundness of the conclusions to which they have arrived gives us, moreover, the best ground for anticipating that the success which they so justly merit will follow their exertions, and that the Punjab will present to the world a signal example of the benefits which British rule confers upon the natives of India.”



of India, had the moral courage to recommend Sir Donald's suggestion, opposed though it was to the traditional policy of the past. His remarks on this point may well find a place here.

“During my administration here, I have carefully followed the traditional policy, which has been handed down to the Government of India for its observance in all matters into which there enters a religious element. But I am of opinion that for these days we carry the principle of neutrality too far; that even in a political point of view we err in ignoring so completely as we do the agency of ministers of our own true faith in extending education among the people; and that the time has now come when grants of money in aid of secular education, carried on in schools established and conducted by Christian missionaries, might be made by the Government without any risk of giving rise to those evils which a recognition of such agency has hitherto been thought likely to create, and with the certainty of producing an immense and an immediate effect in the extension of sound secular education throughout the masses of the population in India.

“I sincerely trust that the Honourable Court of Directors, when they reply to the reference which must now be made to them, may see fit to recognise the principle I have now advanced, and may be

pleased to authorise the Government of India to act upon it, in the exercise of a sound discretion."

This minute bears date the 6th June, 1854; and a few weeks later, on the 19th July, 1854, was promulgated Sir Charles Wood's famous Educational Despatch, which has been called the "Intellectual Charter of India," and under the provisions of which grants in aid were sanctioned for all schools without reference to caste or creed. If the scheme had been worked in India in the spirit in which it was framed, a great impulse would have been given to sound religious instruction; but among Lord Dalhousie's colleagues in the Supreme Council there were those who were strongly opposed to any change of the old traditional policy; and in some parts of India the local rules for grants in aid were so framed and worked that under them very little pecuniary assistance was rendered to mission schools. In spite, however, of these hindrances the numbers of pupils in missionary institutions have increased from 97,000 to 129,000, showing an increase of 32,000 in twenty years.

When, a few years later, in 1857, the mutiny broke out, there were those in high office in England who mainly attributed the outbreak to this change of policy; and Lord Ellenborough, then President of the Board of Control, taking this view, addressed a des-

patch, dated 28th April, 1858, to the Court of Directors, in which the following passage occurs :—

“I feel satisfied that at the present moment no measure could be adopted more calculated to tranquillise the minds of the natives, and to restore to us their confidence, than that of withholding the aid of Government from schools with which missionaries are connected.”

Fortunately, at that time Lord Lawrence was Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and, without being aware of Lord Ellenborough's despatch, he drew up at the same time an admirable State Paper, dated Lahore, 21st April, 1858, the general scope of which was directly opposed to any such retrograde policy as that proposed by Lord Ellenborough, and in which he laid down the principle that “having endeavoured solely to ascertain what is our Christian duty, we should follow it to the uttermost, undeterred by any consideration.”

Indeed, the mutiny had impressed the conviction upon many thoughtful minds that we had not done our duty as a Christian nation towards the natives of India ; and Sir Herbert Edwardes submitted a memorandum on the subject of eliminating everything unchristian or immoral in principle from the legislation and practice of the Government of British India ; and

in which, among other matters, he protested vigorously against the exclusion of the Bible and of Christian teaching from the Government schools and colleges. Lord Lawrence in his conclusions upon this and other points concurred in the main with Sir Donald McLeod, from whose letter, dated 26th February, 1858, the following is taken :—

“ I highly honour the bold and earnest spirit which has led Colonel Edwardes thus to come forward and take, as far as this province is concerned, the lead among the servants of the Government in urging upon it the adoption of a momentous change of policy, in language which, while some will doubtless consider it too strong, yet springs, I well know, from a deep conviction—shared by very many, both in India and in other lands—that the questions which he discusses involve alike the honour of God, the faithfulness of his country, and the well-being of India.

“ I fully participate with him, at the same time, in the conviction, which forms the basis of all he has urged, that the government of this land has been entrusted to us by the Supreme Ruler, as being a Christian nation, and that in proportion only as we maintain this character can we look for His favour.

“ I believe with him, also, that the ‘ neutrality

which we have heretofore avowed, however well-intended, however approved and defended heretofore by many good men amongst our public servants, is in truth quite incompatible with the attitude which it is incumbent on us to maintain; that it is based quite as much on timidity as on forbearance, and that the tenderness for systems which we know to be false has been carried to such an extreme as to be no longer impartial, leading us in some instances to tolerate immorality, and to suffer wrong to the consciences and claims of some portion of our subjects, even at the cost of our consistency.

"It becomes us, in my opinion, as a Government no less than as individuals, to acknowledge and avow our conviction that the Christian religion is alone the true one, and to avail ourselves of every legitimate opportunity of encouraging and enabling our subjects to learn the truth and follow it; but having done this, it is, I think, imperative on us to evince the greatest forbearance towards the convictions of those who have not yet accepted it.

"I concur with Colonel Edwardes in the opinion that the Bible should be introduced as a class-book into our schools, though I would restrict this according to circumstances. Wherever there is a Christian teacher, or where there is a chaplain or missionary,

or other devout and competent person, willing to superintend a Bible-class there, I am very decidedly of opinion that it should be introduced ; but to allow the adoption of the Bible as a class-book, where such a teacher is not available, would in my opinion be worse than useless, even under the direct eye of the missionaries. The necessity for employing heathens as teachers of Bible-classes is felt by all to be a matter for regret, and by not a few the measure is regarded as one of questionable expediency, but in Government schools, away from Christian supervision, I have no hesitation in asserting that it would be productive of almost unmixed evil.

“ Besides this, it will be readily understood from the remarks which I have offered in a preceding paragraph, that I am of opinion attendance in these Bible-classes, where established, should not be made obligatory. If the principle on which I urge this be correct, that is sufficient. But I may add, that although in Ireland, or other Christian countries, the rendering attendance on religious instruction optional may have the effect of withholding from it all who do not belong to the State Church, I am convinced this would not be the case in India, unless the school-teachers and local authorities were believed to be either adverse or indifferent.

“I have heretofore been assured, by a missionary of rare devotedness, that if all the people could but read and write, he should feel that half the missionary’s work had been done, by the ground being thus prepared for him ; and although this view will not be acceded to, if the instruction imparted be of an infidel or heathenish character, yet it may be hoped that all Government schools may at least be preserved from this reproach by the selection, as far as possible, of those teachers only who are free from bigotry, and favourably disposed towards the cause of truth and enlightenment, added to the exclusion of all books of an injurious tendency, and the adoption of such only as inculcate virtue and sound knowledge.

“If the introduction of the Bible to the extent which I have advocated be our duty, it may perhaps be hardly necessary to say more, but I would nevertheless observe, that I am convinced this measure would by no means be so dangerous as some apprehend, and as I myself apprehended but a short time ago. What the Hindoos are really afraid of is forcible contamination, or loss of caste—a conversion of the heart is a thing in regard to which they are indifferent, if not incredulous.”

Thus it will be seen that while Sir Donald was most desirous to encourage Christian instruction, he

was at the same time careful to avoid anything which might seem harsh or inconsiderate towards the natives; and that the policy sanctioned by the authorities in England was in a great measure in accordance with the views expressed by himself.

While in charge of the Jellundur division Sir Donald McLeod had many opportunities of putting to the test his engineering skill. The Sikh rulers of the Punjab had done little or nothing in the way of facilitating communication by the construction of roads and bridges; and when on one occasion Maharajah Runjeet Sing was asked to improve the road between Lahore and the British frontier, his answer was that the road was good enough for his elephants, and that he had no intention of rendering it more easy for British horse artillery. The consequence was, that when the Jellundur division was first ceded to the English, and, in order to coerce the refractory governor of the fort of Kangra, a force with heavy guns had to march into the hilly and mountainous portion of the Jellundur division, the troops had for a greater part of the distance to traverse the beds of rivers, which fortunately at that season were for the most part dry; and even then, but for the sagacity of the elephants, who pushed the guns up steep places with their heads, it would scarcely have been possible to have got the



guns to Kangra. The importance of opening out a communication between the hill and plain portions of the division became at once evident. A few years later Major, now General, Saunders Abbott, who then held the office of Deputy-Commissioner under Sir Donald, selected an excellent line of road, opening out the Kangra district to the plains. He displayed much scientific skill in carrying the line along the watershed, avoiding ravines and streams as far as possible. For the construction of the Kangra end of the road Sir Donald had a zealous and active helper in Mr. Douglas Forsyth, then Deputy-Commissioner of Kangra, but Sir Donald reserved to himself the construction of two large stone bridges—one over the Bangunga, just below the fort of Kangra, and the other over a tributary of this river close to Rannee Talao. Both these bridges were about eighty feet span, and the only workmen available were unskilled native masons of the country. The bridges were therefore not completed without some failures, the work done one year being carried away by a flood the next; but finally all difficulties were successfully overcome. Thus, by the efforts of Sir Donald and the officers associated with him, a fine road, spanned by these two noble bridges, as well as by many others of smaller dimensions, is now open all the year round to wheeled traffic,

carts passing with ease where formerly unladen mules could scarcely get along. It should be mentioned that the cost of one of these bridges was undertaken by a liberal Hindoo gentleman of Lahore, Dewan Ruttun-chund, who, regarding Kangra as a sacred place of pilgrimage, was glad to devote his money to this object. The other bridge was constructed by Sir Donald McLeod out of his own private funds, at a cost of £1,400. This sum, however, was afterwards refunded to him by the authorities, and at the same time both the Government of India and the Court of Directors acknowledged his public spirit in terms of commendation.





## CHAPTER VII.

### BRIGHT AND DARK DAYS.

**T**HE success which attended Sir Donald McLeod's administration of Jellundur led, in 1854, to his promotion to the post of Financial Commissioner of the Punjab; and his headquarters being at Lahore, he came into intimate personal relations with Lord Lawrence and Sir Robert Montgomery. Here, too, he first met his future wife, Miss Montgomery, to whom he was married on the 10th October, 1854. In a letter, dated August 7, 1854, after referring to the link which bound them together as fellow-heirs of a glorious immortality, and which would enable them as fellow-worshippers to commune together at the throne of grace, he thus speaks of his great happiness: "I feel as if my cup were too overflowing, and that my chief care must now be to make no idol for myself here, nor allow myself to regard as

my rest those earthly joys, however pure and hallowed, which are only given as a solace upon our pilgrimage."

A few short months of happiness, and his earthly home was left desolate. After a few days' illness at Dhurmsalla, the hill station of the Jellundur division, she was suddenly called away, whose companionship and tender sympathy had called out all the strong affections of his loving nature, and had shed a gleam of brightness over the occupations of his life. To this sore and most bitter trial he meekly bowed his head in the spirit of Christian submission; as the following letter written at the time will show, the desire of his heart was to glorify God in the furnace of affliction:—

*"August 25, 1855.*

"Thus passed from amongst us the being in whom nearly all my earthly hopes and fears and aspirations have centred! Thus has passed away a nature which I believe to have been as pure, guileless, humble, and devoted as ever existed. . . . The remembrance of her is, and will ever continue to be, altogether hallowed, and will inspirit me, I trust, to loftier aspirations for the future. Her early fate, the earthly ruin it has effected, will excite an amount of sympathy rarely felt, and speaks to me in particular, in accents

not to be mistaken, of the vanity of all below. Still I am deeply thankful to say that the same arm which has wrought all this has accompanied it with many, many mercies, and has enabled me, by His Spirit overshadowing and comforting me, to rest assured that all has been in mercy, even though we cannot now see it. I hope shortly to be braced to go on my way afresh, however sad, yet not desponding or dissatisfied, placing my reliance on that Saviour who was ever my support, and will be a support in every extremity to all who will place their trust in Him."

The dark days of the mutiny which followed in 1857 found Sir Donald at Lahore, calm and serene, with humble reliance that, in the midst of judgment, God would remember mercy. This is shown in the following extracts from a letter, dated 15th May, 1857, written a few days after the outbreaks at Delhi and Meerut, and giving an account of the rising of native troops at Ferozepore, one of the military stations of the Punjab :—

"I write, at Montgomery's request, to give some particulars of passing events. We have heard by express that the native infantry troops broke out at Ferozepore the day before yesterday, burned the church and chapel and several bungalows, and seized the bridge of boats; that the 10th cavalry stood

staunch ; and with their aid, and that of the Europeans and guns, the two native infantry regiments were broken. The 57th of themselves surrendered their arms, with a part of the 45th. The bulk of the latter, however, tried to move off with the colours, and were hotly pursued by the cavalry and guns, which will doubtless have given a good account of them. It was said here yesterday that our disarmed native infantry regiments were contemplating a move off to Ferozepore ; and although, on riding up there at 2 P.M., we found all quiet, and the alarm needless, yet probably such an intention did exist ; and I am strongly inclined to believe that the Ferozepore arsenal had been the preconcerted object of attack. The failure there, therefore, is a matter of deep thankfulness, and, to my thinking, most providential. This morning's telegram has brought us intelligence of a council of war at Peshawur, at which it was determined to form a large movable force at Jhelum, composed of Europeans, and Punjab troops that can be relied on, which force will be ready to move in any direction that may be desired. These vigorous counsels have inspired great confidence here. A company of Europeans was despatched to Umritsur last night, to relieve the native troops in Govindghur ; and I trust all is safe there by this time.

“Owing to the spirit evinced by the 33rd at Hoshiarpore, we had been feeling uneasy for that place; but as all has hitherto been reported quiet there by the telegraph, I trust that the fact of the Phillor and Ferozepore arsenals and the forts of Govindghur and Lahore being safe may tend greatly to quell the rising spirit, and allow the better disposed time and opportunity to declare themselves, and separate from the rebels. Montgomery has written home intelligence express, *via* Kurrachee, up to date; and I have written to the Commissioner of Scinde. All must be vigilant at the present time; but I trust that the spirit has not spread to any portion of the Bombay army, though it contains many relatives of our Sepoys.

“Sir Henry Lawrence must, I fear, have a difficult task at Lucknow; but he will be equal to the emergency, and he is, probably, the best man in India for it. We must, I apprehend, look for sad intelligence from some of the stations below Meerut and Delhi; but I have the firmest confidence myself that the present trial is intended, not for our destruction, but to warn and improve us; and I expect that ere long a way will be opened for us out of these troubles.”

A later letter, written after the fall of Delhi, and

dated 27th September, 1857, breathes the same spirit, as the following extract will show :—

“ The country to the west of us here appears to be much excited. The post between this and Mooltan has been stopped since the 14th; and, besides the interruption of the postal line, the north bank of the Sutlej, and left bank of the Râvi, in the Googaira district, appear to be both in commotion, as well as the right bank of the Râvi, in Jhung. Troops have been sent from hence and from Mooltan, who should have joined yesterday at Harrapa, where the main body of the insurgents is said to be holding out; and we are anxiously looking for intelligence of their having given them a severe lesson.

“ What a matter of thankfulness it is that Delhi has fallen at this critical time! Would that our leaders and rulers were more forward to evince the deep gratitude which the occasion calls for, and to show that their reliance is upon the Power that rules over us, not in an arm of flesh! All are well here, I am thankful to say; and Sir John Lawrence, who is an inmate of my house, looks very hale and hearty, though much harassed, of course, by the troubled state of the times and the cares and vexations which press upon him, the care of the Delhi territory being now added to his own proper charge. He *dreams* (he



says) about the arrival of the reinforcements from England. Would that they made their appearance!"

The following hurried lines, written by Lord Lawrence on hearing of Sir Donald's death, will serve to fill up the picture not only of those dark days, but of his whole life :—

"I had a strong feeling of respect and affection for him. I feel, however, an inability to do justice to his noble, high-minded, and simple character. We first met at Haileybury College, and were very intimate. In India we did not come together for some years. We subsequently met when he was appointed to the Punjab, and were in close and constant communication from 1849 to 1859. In the worst days of the mutiny we lived under the same roof. I can vividly recall his serene and resolute bearing in that crisis. He was an excellent counsellor, whose advice I often sought. McLeod, when at college, gave full promise of what he turned out in after life. He was then a most genial, pleasant, and disinterested friend. He possessed excellent abilities, and had received a good education. He worked steadily, and took high honours. He was through life a sincere and zealous Christian, without a particle of narrowness or bigotry. In India he was the earnest and liberal friend of every

good work, with the strongest sympathy and affection for the people. He was an excellent linguist and oriental scholar, with as true an insight into the character of the people as perhaps any Englishman of his day. McLeod, in a word, was a worthy type of the best of our civilians—a man devoted to his duty, who spared no pains to accomplish the work he had to do, and who, while health and strength lasted, never wished to leave his post. I don't think I ever knew any man who possessed higher faculties of head and heart, or one whose actions through life were more guided by the purest principles. His loss will be deeply felt wherever he was known. He had many friends, and, I may add, no enemies; though his conduct in all important matters was straightforward and uncompromising."

The conviction wrought on Sir D. McLeod's mind by the mutiny found expression on many occasions; and in the concluding remarks on the Punjab Missionary Conference Report, published in 1862, which were penned by him, he dwelt very forcibly on the responsibilities of Englishmen for the evangelisation of India:—

"The Lahore Conference issue this volume in the earnest and prayerful hope that the blessing of God may accompany it; that many who profess to be fol-

lowers of Christ may be stimulated by it to greater earnestness in His service; and above all, that the members of that nation to which, in the mysterious workings of His Providence, it has pleased the Almighty to entrust the government of this deeply interesting land, may become impressed with a sense of the vastness and solemnity of the responsibilities imposed upon them. Thoughtful men in India have been constrained, by the course of events during the past few years, profoundly to feel the truth of the Psalmist's declaration that, 'Except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain;' and unless we fulfil our duty here, we have no right to expect that we shall dwell secure. If the Bible be the Word of God, and the books revered by the Hindoo and Mahommedan contain mere fables, then it must have been intended that the Christian's rule should prepare the way for the spread of the Gospel. And how is this to be secured? 'Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.' And may all who name the name of Christ—whether they be able to take part in the work by their labours or by their contributions, or whether they be precluded from both—be instant, nevertheless, in supplication at the throne of grace, that the Spirit of God may be abundantly poured out, and that the

glorious light of His Gospel may illuminate these lands of darkness and of sin."

There were those in high places, both in England and in India, who took exception to Sir Donald and other officers having taken part in the Punjab Missionary Conference. The spirit which in former days called upon British officers to arrange for religious processions and ceremonies of an idolatrous character, in order to conciliate the Hindoos, still lives, but in another form. For, whereas no count is taken of the immense harm done to British power and influence in India by exhibitions of irreligion, there is always an eager tendency to repress any manifestation of an earnest desire for the spread of the Gospel. In connection with this, it would be well to write in characters of gold Lord Lawrence's memorable words, "that Christian things done in a Christian way will never alienate the heathen;" and that it is when unchristian things are done in the name of Christianity, or when Christian things are done in an unchristian way, that mischief and danger are occasioned.

Sir Donald was a living and striking example of the truth of this sentiment; for while all the natives knew that he was an earnest Christian, anxious for the spread of the Christian faith, few Europeans have

succeeded so completely in winning their confidence and affection. At Benares, the stronghold of Hinduism, among a bigoted population, Sir Donald's administration was most popular; and many will recollect that at Lahore one of his enthusiastic admirers used to carry about a picture, which he treated with the utmost reverence, representing Sir Donald seated in a car carried by four angels. In another picture he is the central figure, surrounded by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, the founder of the Sikh empire, his four successors on the throne, and the notables of his court, all of whom are apparently doing him homage.

The mutiny being quelled, Sir D. McLeod returned to England in 1859, after an absence of more than thirty years. The laborious work which had devolved upon him during this long period had fully entitled him to rest; and most thoroughly did he enjoy this respite from official duties and cares. The family home at Geanies had passed into other hands on the death of his grandfather, and his father had died in 1856; but still many beloved members of his family were spared to him, with whom he renewed loving intercourse. He had also a large circle of old friends, and during his sojourn in England formed many new ones, visiting among others relatives of absent friends in India. Thus he often had the pleasure of cheering

fond parents in India by giving them some account of their children, or a husband by tidings of his sick wife, whose burden was lightened by seeing some one fresh from the place where her husband was stationed.

The following extract from an early letter will show that he was anxious that the time spent in England should be turned to good account in connection with his public duties :—

“ When I return to Europe, I must warn you beforehand, that although a reunion with you all is, no doubt, the first consideration, health the next most important, yet I shall ever feel that I go home in a great measure on duty—that, in fact, the handsome allowance which will be made to me by Government during my stay there should be regarded as imposing on me an obligation to return hither with a fresh store of knowledge as well as health, to be devoted to the service of the Government and the country. Indeed, my own disposition will in a great measure incline me to the same course, viz., to devote much time to men and manners, to acquiring an intimate knowledge of all the institutions, most of the arts, and some of the sciences of our wondrous country first, and those of other countries after it ; and to mix much with the people, especially the agricultural classes.”

This will explain the keen interest he took in the geographical and scientific researches, as well as in the engineering and mechanical developments which had so signally marked the thirty years he had been absent from England. The first railway for passenger traffic—that between Liverpool and Manchester—was opened in 1830, two years after he had left England; and now he found the whole country intersected by a network of railways. No one availed himself more than he did of these increased facilities of communication, for he was here, there, and everywhere, and often said, laughingly, that a good deal of his holiday was spent in a railway carriage.

He attended the Liverpool Missionary Conference in 1860, and made some valuable remarks on native Churches, urging the importance of teaching the native Christian communities to manage their own affairs, even though they might make serious mistakes; and observing “that in our administration of India we had committed no error fraught with more serious results than that of practically excluding the bulk of the people from all share in the management of their own affairs; and he believed that the difficulty which the missionary brethren found with regard to the establishing of self-government in native Churches was precisely analogous to the difficulty which public

officers had experienced in connection with the affairs of the Government itself. Though for a century India had been under British rule, up to the present time the whole nation had been kept in a state of pupilage."

Prominence is given to these remarks, not only in their bearing upon the important problem of organising self-supporting, self-extending, and self-governing native Churches, but because one of the main features of Sir Donald's administrative policy was to teach the natives of India to walk alone.

On a memorable occasion his own words were—"I pride myself on being one of those who believe that no culture or training will ever raise a nation to real excellence, fitting it to take its place as a nation amongst the more advanced nations of the world, except that which results from their taking a goodly part in the management of their own affairs, without which I believe mere intellectual culture, valuable as it may be in its way, will never lead to *complete* success."

Sir Donald used to relate with some humour how, during this visit to England, he consulted an eminent physician in London about his health, who, instead of giving him a prescription, gave him the advice "that he was never to dine alone;" and no patient, it may



be confidently affirmed, ever followed the advice of his physician more strictly than did Sir Donald in this respect ; for not only were friends always cordially welcomed to his hospitable table, but he generally occupied in India a very large house, every spare room in which was usually filled with guests. Indeed, from an early period of his Indian career it was his custom to offer a home in his house to young men freshly arrived in the country. Upon these he exercised the best influence, chiefly by the power of his example, which never failed to impress the most thoughtless, and, at fitting opportunities, by words of counsel all the more impressive because they were words in season.

In November, 1860, Sir Donald McLeod was back again in India ; and, on resuming his duties as Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, he found that the province was just beginning to suffer from the dire effects of a famine, which spread desolation for the following twelve months. Sir Robert Montgomery was at this time Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab ; and under his direction a Relief Committee was organised, of which Sir Donald was nominated president. Although his labours were much lightened by the efficient services rendered by the Hon. Secretary, the Rev. C. Sloggett, now Vicar of St. Bartholomew, in Winchester, as well as by the zealous co-operation of

other members of the committee and of the Commissioners of Divisions, the success of the measures taken depended largely, under God, upon the wise suggestions of Sir Donald, whose love for the natives made him feel the deepest sympathy for their sufferings. His duties for a time were very onerous ; but he and those who co-operated with him had the satisfaction of knowing that they had saved the lives of thousands. For some months in 1861 the average number of persons fed daily ranged between 90,000 and 116,000. Many of these must have perished but for the relief afforded. Nowhere was the distress greater than in the neighbourhood of Delhi, where the hungry multitudes now clamouring for bread were a few months before doing their utmost to expel the English from the land. It was a true exhibition of Christian love, quite in accordance with Sir Donald McLeod's own spirit, thus to return good for evil.





## CHAPTER VIII.

### GOVERNMENT OF THE PUNJAB.

**I**N January, 1865, Sir Donald was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, in succession to Sir Robert Montgomery, having been selected for this office by Lord Lawrence, then Viceroy of India. The feelings with which he entered upon the duties of this important post may be gathered from the following extract from a letter dated January 21st, 1865, and written a few days after he had taken up his new office :—

“Truly, when I look back on the past and the present, how can I but feel amazed, and, I may add, penetrated with conflicting feelings, in which humiliation bears a large part, that one so full of weaknesses and failings should have been elevated to such a post—the post in which the strong and vigorous Sir Henry

and Sir John Lawrence won their first renown—the post which Sir Robert Montgomery has graced during the past six years by virtues rarely combined in one individual, and which has been filled by all of these with an ability, energy, and success which render the task of their successor doubly onerous and responsible? In my consciousness of weakness, and the prayers of many good men, lies my only strength; and well do I know, deeply do I feel, that if I should ever cease to look above for guidance and for strength, I must fail. God grant that it may never be so. I have felt much more solemnised than gratified by the position in which I find myself. But one source of unmixed gratification has been the hearty manner in which my accession to the post of Lieutenant-Governor has been hailed by a host of kind friends throughout the province, European and native. The nomination has been made, I doubt not, in a prayerful spirit by Lord Lawrence, who is a God-fearing man. It has been accepted, I trust, in the same spirit; and I will not allow myself to doubt that it has been brought about in the decrees of an all-wise Ruler, for the welfare of this very interesting province.”

In the following letter, addressed to another correspondent, dated December 18th, 1865, he reverts again to his appointment in the following terms:—

"I dare say you will understand that no one probably was taken more by surprise than myself at finding I was elevated to my present post. It is a very strange and unlooked-for circle of events which has placed me here; and as the whole is clearly providential, I am content to hope that good must be intended by the decree, and to work on according to the best of my ability. Hitherto all has been prosperous, tranquil, and progressive; but all Cabul, Turkistan, and Chinese Tartary are seething, and there is no saying how soon our own province may catch the infection. . . . Assuredly I have greater grounds for deepest thankfulness than fall to the lot of most mortals; and by no means the least of these is that my heart is deeply impressed with this conviction."

For his services during the mutiny Sir Donald McLeod had been appointed Companion of the Bath, and shortly after his nomination to the post of Lieutenant-Governor the order of Knight-Commander of the Star of India was conferred upon him.

It is not proposed to enter into any elaborate review of his administration. It was, however, no ordinary task to govern a province which, including the possessions of feudatory chiefs, contains a population as large as that of England and Wales, who, anterior to British rule, were oftener at war than

at peace. Among them were Sikhs, Rajpoots, Beloochees, Pathans, and other races, each and all of whom, having for a time been masters of greater or smaller parts of the province, were not disposed to look with favour upon one another, and much less upon the white men who from a far country, and by a strange series of providences, had been brought to rule over them. Then, apart from the elements of disquiet in the province itself, there were turbulent border tribes on a long line of frontier, ready to pounce down on their neighbours if any want of vigour seemed to give them an opportunity of doing so with impunity.

It so happened, "the good hand of his God being upon him," that during Sir Donald's rule, with the exception of two or three border raids, for which the offending tribes met with well-merited retribution, peace and contentment reigned throughout the Punjab. Relations of a more intimate and friendly character were established with the Ameer, or sovereign, of Cabul, who was right royally entertained when he passed through the Punjab on his memorable visit to Lord Mayo at Umballa. The policy, inaugurated by his predecessors, of developing the resources of the Punjab by the opening out of roads, railways, and canals, was vigorously carried out by Sir Donald McLeod.

If he who makes two blades of grass to grow where nothing has grown before is a benefactor of his race, then passing notice may be taken of Sir Donald's active interest in the culture of products new to the province, as tea, chinchona, silk, and China-grass, as well as in the improved culture of cotton, flax, hemp, and other articles, with the view of meeting the requirements of the English market. He was not only a most active President of the Agri-Horticultural Society of the Punjab, but, at considerable outlay of his own private funds, had plants and trees sent not only from one part of India to another, but also from Cabul, England, and Australia; and, by way of making these consignments more generally useful, distributed a portion of them among the chiefs and other members of the native community. He also sent specimens of rare trees and plants to England. On one occasion, before he was Lieutenant-Governor, he took out with him into camp a considerable number of guinea-fowls, and gave them away in the villages through which he passed, with the view of introducing a new breed throughout the country.

In the working of the Medical College at Lahore, as of the dispensaries established throughout the province, and in the spread of vaccination, he took the

most lively interest, as he did in every measure which had for its object the mitigation of the sufferings of his fellow-creatures.

In order to train the natives to manage their own affairs, he established municipalities in more than three hundred places ; and, with the view of securing at the same time an enlightened administration on their part, he not only actively promoted education, but strove to popularise it by the establishment of an oriental university at Lahore, the great object of which was to encourage the communication of knowledge through the medium of the vernacular, the study of the Oriental classics, and the creation of a vernacular literature, as well as to secure for the native community some voice in the regulation of the educational system of the province. He applied the rules for educational grants-in-aid in a liberal spirit to mission schools, which benefited largely by his own personal contributions.

The admirable papers which Sir Donald drew up on a great variety of subjects, both before and after he became Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, contain matter of much interest ; and the following are extracts from a despatch of his, dated September 5th, 1867, on the relative merits of Native and British rule.



“ I do not think that any one who really knows India will attempt to deny that the security, both in person and property, the freedom from violence or oppressions of every kind, the stability of established order, the encouragements to trade and progress, and facilities for accumulation and utilisation of capital afforded under British rule, are infinitely preferred by the bulk of the people to the comparative lawlessness existing in the native states by whom we are surrounded.

. . . “ Where an Englishman has shown a warm and rational sympathy with the people, they invariably respond in a manner which is unmistakable, regarding him with feelings nearly akin to affection ; and in the case of the Government, the same result would, I feel assured, follow from the same cause ; for the people already fully appreciate and admire its love of justice, its honesty of purpose, and its stability, and would, I believe, be quite prepared to accord to it their devoted loyalty, if they could perceive in its principles of action that spirit of sympathy which it is easy to invoke, but very difficult to describe. The more, in short, we study the people, consult their wishes and feelings, and take them into our confidence, the more shall we soften or remove that alienation which difference of race at present begets. . . .

An intimate acquaintance with the people might suggest numerous particulars, in which our principles and practice are in like manner distasteful to our subjects; but even if I could profess to have such acquaintance with them, it would not be necessary thus to expand these remarks; and the only other point which I will here notice is, in my opinion, by far the most important of all. I allude to our allowing the people but little, if any, real share in the management of their own social and municipal affairs, which they undoubtedly feel to be a great indignity and injustice, and which in very many ways subjects them to the most disagreeable consequences.

“Until very recently, our stipendiary officials alone possessed any authority or discretion whatever, the people being virtually helpless against them. And while I was attached to the North-West Provinces, I well know that for the most part heads of villages, though charged by law with heavy responsibilities, were practically powerless to appoint even a chowkeedar, or village watchman, save at the dictation of the native head of the police. . . . Much has been done of late years in many parts towards remedying this state of things by the appointment of honorary magistrates, municipal committees, etc., investing all with certain defined powers or functions, and allowing

to some emoluments, more or less considerable. I know of no move made by us which has been so acceptable to the people; and all that I would desire to see is, that the efforts which have been made in this direction thus far be steadily continued and extended as opportunity may permit. The matter is one surrounded with difficulties, not only in itself, but still more owing to the feelings and opinions of a large portion of our countrymen. Such precision, correctness of practice, and soundness of judgment cannot be expected from the above class of functionaries as from those of a superior and special training; and while we are strenuously endeavouring to raise our judicial and administrative systems to a standard suited to European requirements, it is mortifying to have to submit to the crudenesses which are to be looked for, occasionally at all events, from such persons. Nevertheless, in order to do justice to the people in this matter, I believe it to be indispensable that we so legislate as to admit of the existence of an authorised machinery, both judicial and administrative, of an inferior order, for ministering to their wants and requirements in connection with the social and other affairs of their every-day life; and, while endeavouring gradually to improve this machinery to the utmost, that we be content in the meantime

with such a standard of merit as satisfies and suits them.

“The subject is a vast one, on which it would be out of place to enlarge here. But I would remark that I consider such a course to be desirable and necessary, not only to meet the wants and wishes of the people, but to educate them as a nation. For whatever education we may give them in our schools, it will have but little national effect, or perhaps an injurious one, unless the people be at the same time trained to habits of vigorous thought and self-reliance, by taking some share in their own administration. Many, I know, are of opinion that we shall meet all requirements by educating the higher classes, and opening to them distinguished posts in our councils and administrations. But I cannot assent to this view; and while highly approving of these very excellent and necessary measures, I nevertheless believe that, until the masses be more or less trained in the manner pointed out to robust mental habits, and more or less imbued with the enlightened views of the West, which they will thus inevitably to some extent imbibe, these measures will of themselves secure but very partial results; and any native members whom we may appoint to our councils will either be no real representatives of the people at all, or will evince a puerility

and contractedness of mind which will altogether impair their usefulness."

When Sir Donald's five years of office were drawing to a close, he was requested to remain a further period of six months, and had thus the honour of receiving His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and showing him that the chiefs and inhabitants of the Punjab, the outlying province of India, were animated by the same feelings of loyal attachment which all classes entertain for her gracious Majesty the Queen throughout her world-wide empire. In attaching the Punjabees to British rule, few have done more than Sir Donald McLeod, for whether as Commissioner of the Jellundur Division, or as Financial Commissioner, or as Lieutenant-Governor, he had always the same earnest desire to befriend and elevate the people. Without claiming that his administration was faultless, a foremost place must be assigned to him in that band of devoted officers by whose exertions, under God, the Punjab has prospered and proved a source of strength to the Indian empire during the last twenty years.

Accustomed as the martial races of this frontier province had been in their past history to war and insurrection, it might have been expected that they would have taken advantage of the critical position in

which the mutiny placed the British to have turned their arms against their old enemies, whom they had twice opposed in deadly conflict. Instead of this the Punjab stood by us in the mutiny, and has sent forth her sons again and again to uphold the honour of the British arms, not only in India, but in the distant fields of China and Abyssinia. Under God, who ordereth the hearts of men, this is due in large measure to the paternal administration inaugurated by the Lawrences, and of which Sir Donald McLeod was so valuable a member, and of which he became the distinguished chief.

On the 5th May, 1870, a farewell banquet was given to Sir Donald McLeod at Lahore. On this occasion honourable and well-deserved encomiums were passed upon him by Lord Napier of Magdala, an old personal friend, and by Lord Mayo, the Viceroy, who also took the opportunity of naming Sir Henry Durand as the future Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. Within a very short time three of the most distinguished guests at this banquet were killed—Lord Mayo by the hand of an assassin, Sir Henry Durand and Sir Donald McLeod by terrible accidents.

After the departure of Sir Donald the European residents of the Punjab determined to raise a "Memorial

Fund" in token of the respect and affection in which he was held. The natives declined to join the Europeans, because they preferred having a separate memorial of their own.\* We do not know what form this last has taken, but the European Memorial Fund enabled his friends to place at Lahore, among other Punjab worthies, an excellent picture of Sir Donald, and to institute a "McLeod Prize Medal," which can be competed for by all the schools in the province, and which is to be given annually with a sum of money to the pupil who may pass the best examination in the Oriental classics, combined with a competent knowledge of English. The medal has on one side the likeness of Sir Donald, engraved with much skill by Mr. Wyon, and on the other the words, "McLeod Prize—Oriental Classics and English."

\* Previous to this, while Sir Donald McLeod held the office of Lieutenant-Governor, the Maharajah of Jummoo and Cashmere gave 31,000 rupees, or £3,100, to be expended in the foundation of a fellowship in the Lahore Oriental University, to be held in the name of Sir Donald McLeod. Other Punjab chiefs also gave munificent sums for scholarships and fellowships in this University, which Sir Donald had founded, and requested that they might be called after the name of the Duke of Edinburgh, and thus serve to commemorate the visit of His Royal Highness to the Punjab.



## CHAPTER IX.

### HOME!

**ON** the 1st June, 1870, Sir Donald made over the duties of his office to his successor, and hurried home. But for the pension he received from the State, he returned to England not much richer than he had gone out, more than forty years before; for although he had received for years a large salary, and his own personal wants were simple and moderate, he never grudged expense which would minister to the comforts of his friends, and was munificent in his charities. His friends in England, with whom he lost no time in renewing loving intercourse, were delighted to see him in vigorous health; and they fondly hoped that his career of usefulness was to be long continued.

In the proceedings of the Geographical, Asiatic, and other societies he took a warm interest; and on



many occasions, both in London and in the country, he stood forth a zealous advocate for the furtherance of Christian work at home as well as for the extension of missions abroad.\* He felt the deepest sympathy for the distressed condition of the poorer classes in the East of London; and, not content with being a member of the East London Mission and Relief Fund, the ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab attended regularly once a week one of the sewing-classes in Mile End Old Town, in order to give scriptural instruction to the poor women who were gathered together there. He was a constant attendant at the meetings of the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India, the object of which is to train native teachers and instruct heathen children, and to create a vernacular literature, the Word of God being the basis of all operations. He was on his way to advocate the cause of this society when, in attempting to enter a train in motion, the terrible accident befell him, on the 28th November, 1872, which cost him his life. A touching account of his closing hours upon earth is given in the words of a loving relative who was with him to the last.

“The accident happened about 5 P.M., and it was

\* In the Appendix we give extracts from one of these addresses, referring to the progress of mission work in India.

about an hour afterwards that I saw him in the accident ward of St. George's Hospital. He was laid upon a bed, awaiting an examination by the surgeon. There had been little or no hæmorrhage, and, owing to the shock, there was no pain; while the mind was clear. He suffered merely from discomfort and prostration of strength. On seeing me, he smiled and asked me to tell him what had happened to him. He was told that the surgeon was about to examine his wounds. When this was done, and he was told of only a part of the injuries, he was quite calm, and said he was thankful it was no worse. His left arm, which was much crushed, was then removed while he was under the influence of ether. He was then placed in a bed in a small room, the surgeon pronouncing the case hopeless, and that he was sinking rapidly, and could not survive more than half-an-hour. (He lived more than two hours after this.) While the operation was being performed, I had gone to fetch his sister, Mrs. Hawkins; and, on returning to the hospital with her, we received this dreadful announcement. On being conducted to his room, we found him lying quietly in bed with his eyes closed, surrounded by his father-in-law, Sir Robert Montgomery, a young friend who was staying with him, the lady superintendent, a nurse, and the surgeon. He was

told, as quietly as possible, that he was dying, to which he only replied, 'Is it really so? I don't feel very ill.' He was asked if we might engage in prayer to God, to which he said he should like it as far as he could collect his thoughts. We then knelt, commending him in earnest prayer to God, to which he gave a hearty 'Amen.' He lay silent for some time; not a murmur escaped his lips; and he retained the same placid countenance throughout. The breathing becoming oppressive, he asked if he might sit up; but, on the nurse saying that this could not be, he was quite satisfied.

"At one time he was asked if he had anything to say about his temporal concerns; but he said he could not collect his thoughts to speak of these. About nine o'clock he was evidently getting weaker, and, except an occasional request for a little water or ice, he had been long silent. I now asked him how he was feeling. 'Peaceable, peaceable,' was the reply. 'But,' he added, 'you must go home and get your dinner.' I said that his sister had just gone to see about her husband, and he exclaimed, 'Poor dear John! he will be so sorry about this.'

"Presently I said, 'I have no doubt you can say, "Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth."' He re-

plied, 'MOST CERTAINLY!' 'And you can say, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly"?' He repeated the text, adding, 'I shall then be free from sin and sorrow, and for ever with the Lord,' or words to that effect. He then engaged in prayer, almost inaudibly; but the last sentence was, 'Praised be His holy name for ever and ever.' These were his last words. He now rapidly sank. Presently he drew a long, deep sigh, as if his spirit was departing, and then the breathing became feebler; then a pause; then a few more breathings. Another pause, longer than before; again a few more gentle respirations; and then he simply ceased to breathe, at twenty minutes to ten—a little less than five hours after the accident.

"We held our breath, overawed. I shall never forget the silence, the solemnity, the holy calm of that dying hour of the believer. 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?'"

Thus passed away suddenly, from the midst of loving friends, one of whom it has been justly remarked, that "Wherever he went his presence was like sunshine; and the sunshine was the reflection of another Presence—even of Him of whom it is said, 'In Thy presence is fulness of joy.'" The peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which had sustained him in bereavement, kept him

calm and serene in the dark hours of the mutiny, and upheld him in the difficulties and trials of life, enabled him now to triumph over the last enemy—death. And if in the manner of that death there are solemn and startling notes of warning to those whom he has left behind, to himself there was only a message calling him to the Father's home in heaven, when life's schooling was over.

As we recall his early declaration that "No confidence is placed in the merit of our own actions ; the conviction of our acceptance arises solely from having placed entire trust in our Saviour," and see how for forty years he "adorned the doctrine which he professed," we feel that we may apply to him the words of Montgomery's beautiful hymn :—

" Servant of God, well done !  
Rest from thy loved employ,—  
The battle fought, the victory won,  
Enter thy Master's joy.  
The voice at midnight came,  
He started up to hear ;  
A mortal arrow pierced his frame,  
He fell—but felt no fear.

The pains of death are past,  
Labour and sorrow cease,  
And, life's long warfare closed at last,  
His soul is found in peace.

Soldier of Christ, well done!  
Praise be thy new employ;  
And while eternal ages run,  
Rest in thy Saviour's joy."

However much, then, we may mourn for ourselves, we will not mourn for him, but rather, in recalling his loving sympathy, his unselfish thoughtfulness for others, his devotedness to his public duties, and his efforts for the extension of Christ's kingdom, we would thank God that His grace was so magnified in him; and we would only add that it would be well for India, and well for England's connection with India, if men in large numbers should be raised up like Sir Donald McLeod, who will labour faithfully, as he did, to consolidate our power, to attach the people of India to our rule, to train them to habits of self-government, and, above all, to commend to them that "godliness which is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come."



## APPENDIX.

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**T**HE following extract from an address delivered by Sir Donald McLeod, about six months before his death, at a meeting of the Winchester and Central Hampshire Association of the Church Missionary Society, is interesting as showing his views upon some of the movements now going on in India :—

“Some remarkable movements, more or less indigenous and hopeful, are taking place in different parts, and probably some of those present have heard of the Brahma Samâj, of Bengal, and its most prominent representative, Baboo Kêshab Chandra. He is a remarkable man, and although he at present stops short of the truth and does not acknowledge the Divinity of our Lord, he regards our blessed Saviour with the most profound reverence, and I heard an address delivered by him some time ago, dwelling on our need to look for the Spirit of God to influence and guide us, and on the necessity of prayer and an humble mind, showing clearly that the whole of his morality was, in fact, de-

rived from the Scriptures. There are many earnest men amongst his followers; and when we see a spontaneous movement like this going on we may surely cherish ardent hopes for the future spiritual progress of India.

“Other movements, more or less of the same character, are taking place, and I was very much struck the other day in reading the following passage in the *Times* newspaper. The writer, a missionary, had been itinerating in the country south of the Sutlej river, and he says:—

“During a journey which extended thirty miles to the southward of Loodiana we met at the town of Rampoor with a peculiar company of Sikhs, who profess to believe in the New Testament as a Divine revelation, and look upon Christ as the immaculate incarnation of the Deity. Their Gooroo, or teacher, seems to think, or, at least, he teaches his followers, that Christ is to be revealed from heaven very soon according to Matthew xxiv. and xxv., and Revelation xix., xxii.; but that Christ will be revealed in his own (the Gooroo's) person! This sect is entirely separate from other Hindoo sects, and is regarded as a sort of Christian sect by the people around them. They are increasing in numbers, and the Gooroo may yet acquire a considerable number of followers. They profess to observe the Sabbath, to pray to God, and to disregard caste ties. In regard to caste it seems pretty clear that the Gooroo would gladly break off from the system, and that he tries to lead his followers to do so, but that he has succeeded in accomplishing his purpose may be doubted. On one occasion two of his disciples



came to Loodiana, and while there ate and smoked with Christians, because they had been told to do so by the Gooroo.'

"The district here referred to is that in which the now notorious 'Kookas' have had their head-quarters; and although in this, as in other instances of men forming new sects in the East, spiritual pride seems to be the besetting sin of those who are dissatisfied with the various forms of idolatry, and profess to be reformers, yet this is a very remarkable incident. I believe others more or less similar, and of an interesting character, are going on in India, of which we are in ignorance, and there are signs abroad that a great impression has been made on the minds of the people with regard to the truth of Christianity.

"The Church Missionary Society has received very great encouragement in its labours in the south of India, from what has occurred in Tinnevely, in which district large portions of the people have become Christian. In later years they and other societies have established missions amongst various hill tribes with a success which has been startling; and everything seems to indicate that, in the course of a few years, or generations, the Kârens, Kôls, Mairs, Khâsias, Santals, and other hill tribes will become Christian nations.

"There are also scattered throughout India races who are looked upon in some measure as outcasts by the Hindûs and Mahommedans—men who, despised by other classes of their own countrymen, are little influenced by their preju-

dices, are not to the same extent under the dominion of priestcraft, and are consequently free to accept any religion that addresses itself to their judgment, without being required to make the great sacrifices which a Hindû or Mahommedan has to make in abandoning the religion of his fathers. One of these races is called the Mazhabee, or sweeper caste among Sikhs. A battalion of these were, during the mutinies, placed under the command of Capt. Chalmers, a nephew of the well-known Dr. Chalmers. He began early to perceive how accessible these men were to religious teaching. He invited them to come to him, and they attended in large numbers to hear him read the Bible. A great impression was speedily made on them, until at length their Granthi, or reader of their holy books, of whom one is usually attached to each battalion, went one day to Capt. Chalmers and told him that he did not see why he should not accompany the men of the regiment whither they were going, and, if Capt. Chalmers would allow him, he would become their Scripture-reader. The man set to work in his new capacity, and by the time Capt. Chalmers left the regiment eighty or ninety men had become Christians. Had that officer remained in the regiment, I believe, in the course of a very few years, the whole would have become Christians; but the movement was not encouraged by his successors, and came more or less to an end. Such classes supply, in the opinion of many, one of the most hopeful fields for missionary labours; and one of the native ordained missionaries of the American Presbyterian Church in the

Punjâb was most anxious, before I left India, to collect a number of men of a similar class, named Râmdâsis, who are leather workers by trade, to assemble them into a small Christian colony, and to devote his whole time to them. His views were not at the time accepted, but I sincerely hope that he will, in some way or other, be able to carry out his intentions in the end.

“In many places an impression prevails that our missions have not produced results adequate to the efforts which have been made ; but I trust enough has been said to prove that there is no real foundation for this impression, and those who hold such opinions know but little of the reality. An excellent illustration of the state of the case has been given by the Rev. N. Midwinter, in the report which he has read this afternoon.\* The work may be going on silently ; but when

\* “In the meanwhile missionary work makes marvellous progress. We know, on God’s promise, that it must succeed ; but we see signs which seem to tell some of us that we ourselves may live to see the Spirit of God doing wonders among the heathen. Great things are at hand, especially in India. For three thousand cold and gloomy years has darkness brooded over the face of India’s deep. It has been as one long, dreary, icebound winter. But even now the Sun of Righteousness puts forth His strength. As sometimes, in some huge mountain rock, you may discern fissures here and faint lines there, so faint and slender that they only who look with close and observant eye may detect them, yet those slender streaks indicate that when the bright sun rises and gives a mighty impulse to those hidden, secret actions of the frost, there shall be a heaving and a rending of that rock to its very base ; so is it with idolatry now. To the careless eye it seems as fixed and as immovable as the rock over which thousands of years have come and gone. But in reality it is not so. Faint streaks may you discover in its sides which seem to wait but

the process of undermining the mountain of idolatry has been completed, the whole may be expected to fall with rapidity, and crumble to dust. Many influences are at work in India tending to produce this result. We have the great spread of education, active commercial intercourse, the electric telegraph, and, indeed, all the appliances of modern civilisation and advancement. People are attaining to great intellectual development, and idolatry is rapidly losing its hold upon them.

“The great question of the day, in truth, is—What direction is the intellectual development of India to take? It is one we cannot evade; and, seeing what an important and responsible charge devolves upon England in respect to her dependency of India, it is most incumbent on all our countrymen, but especially on all Christ’s followers, to lend every assistance in their power towards guiding this develop-

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for the bright, warm sun of God’s influence to hurl it to its base—riven, cast down for ever. Literature has done something. Philosophy has done something. Education has done something. Zenana-work has done something. The preaching of the Cross has done something. The Bible, in its silent, hidden working, has done something also; and all these influences are still silently, though mightily, at work. Yet a little while, and in India idolatry may be no more! But what shall take its place?—Infidelity, Deism, or the Gospel? Ah! that is a question for each heart to muse on! For that Gospel, India—the world—looks to those in England, above all countries, who have it, love it, adorn it, publish it! Take each one your part in this greatest and best of all works for the Master. Then, when He cometh, there shall be more souls ready to welcome His advent, and your soul in that faithful band which shall swell the joy and triumph of that day.”

ment into healthy channels. The English in India, however, are but a handful. They can do comparatively little themselves, and it is to this great country, with all her wealth, knowledge, learning, and appliances, that India must look for adequate aid. It is most gratifying, therefore, to find that throughout England, in other cities and places as well as at Winchester, the wants of India are being made known to the people ; and I venture to hope that a large increase may be made in the amount of contributions to missionary work in that vast country.

“ I must add, at the same time, my belief that if we have any regard to the security of our dominion in India, it is indispensable that we do our utmost to make it a Christian country. We are raising up a large number of highly intellectual youths, and if these youths are not imbued with Christianity, they will prove, I believe, to be the most dangerous part of the population. They see our newspapers ; they travel about on our railways ; they communicate freely with all classes, and they know well what is going on throughout the world. We cannot check this progress, and if we allow them to remain (as they are rapidly becoming) an infidel class, they will be more likely than any other to excite mischief. For this reason the prayers and exertions of a Christian people are required to press on the Government the necessity of doing everything a Government legitimately can do to promote the progress of Christianity and a sound morality throughout India, whether they can take a direct part in spreading the former or not. Above

all, they should be urged to send out Christian rulers—men who are faithful, and are not ashamed of the Gospel.

“India is a deeply interesting country, as well as one that offers many advantages to England, which she freely accepts ; and she should, in return for those advantages, liberally furnish India with all the blessings of the Gospel. No thoughtful person can, I think, survey our progress thus far without acknowledging that, in spite of our many shortcomings, God has wonderfully watched over and protected us, and at no time has this been more conspicuously the case than during the terrible events of the Sepoy mutiny in 1857-8. I had the privilege of listening, in 1860, to a most stirring address delivered in Exeter Hall by the lamented Sir Herbert Edwardes, in which he traced out, in a most graphic manner, the many striking and unforeseen incidents which followed each other in quick succession, turning the tide in our favour at the most critical periods, and enabling us in the end to surmount the storm. That recital had an electric effect on the audience which listened to it. It is still accessible in the records of the Church Missionary Society, and is well worthy of being seriously pondered over. Deeply, indeed, should we feel our debt of gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of all things for the favour which He has shown us ; but, unless we prove ourselves faithful stewards, we cannot expect that favour to be continued.”