

THE THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT.

THE "Social Science Review" for June contains an address delivered by Bishop Colenso, "On Missions in Natal and Zululand." We are therefore at liberty to regard it as an authentic document, published with his approval, and containing a true exposition of his opinions.

What those opinions are we propose to consider. We feel ourselves under an obligation so to do, because they are the opinions, not of an isolated individual, but of a school to which he has attached himself—a school of philosophy, falsely so called—which is pertinaciously occupied in devising and propagating diverse theories irreconcilable with the explicit declarations of Holy Writ, and calculated, if not to unsettle the faith, at least to disturb the minds of many.

The task we have to discharge is a painful one, yet it is needful, and may be salutary. It may serve to convey a useful lesson—one much needed at the present day—the danger of tampering with those inspired writings which God has given to guide us to the knowledge of Himself, and of his merciful will respecting us.

Holy Scripture possesses in Dr. Colenso's eyes no infallibility. Irreverently has he dealt with it. Disregarding the unanswerable weight of testimony which exists as to the genuineness, authenticity, and consequent inspiration of these books, he has occupied himself in searching out difficulties, and parading them before the public mind. His objections are verbose and puerile. If from the heaps of tedious and worthless matter could be extracted all the truth which they contain, the whole, when balanced against the evidences which can be accumulated in support of the inspiration of the Scriptures, would be found to bear to them about the same proportion which a molehill does to a mountain mass.

His sophistries, however, have injured many, and, amongst these, they have done most injury to himself. In abnegating the infallibility of the Scriptures he has cast off his moorings, and has drifted down the stream, much more rapidly than he is aware of, towards the final issue—the great maelström of open infidelity, and avowed rejection of the Christian faith.

We shall not weary our readers by imposing upon them the wearisome task of accompanying us through the details of the Bishop's address on Missions in Zululand. As a matter of duty, not of choice, we have been constrained to its perusal. The task reminded us of a peregrination through an Irish bog, wide-spread as far as the horizon, a few hills looming in the distance, scarcely breaking the monotony of the scene; the pathway requiring great caution, as ever and anon a dangerous quagmire approached it, deceitfully hidden by a thin scraw, on which, if you attempted to lean, it would be to find yourself plunged into a miry slough, from which, if you emerged at all, it would be only after much effort and grievous defilement. Certainly they are dreary places these wastes of infidelity. They are dangerous enterprises these, to leave the sure ground of what God has said, and climb with a presumptuous spirit the perilous heights of speculation. We lament the misdirected energy which prompts young men to imperil the lives, given them of God for higher purposes, on those alpine heights, where even the chamois does not venture. So enthusiastic have men grown on these ascents, that at last they ventured to attempt the Matterhorn, a tower of rock rising some 4000 or 5000 feet from an elevated plateau or ridge, itself 10,000 feet in height, the summit of this tower being a level space of no great extent, the highest point being rather nearer the western than the eastern declivity. In fact, the Matterhorn is "a tower without a stair." "Mount Cervin," observes one writer, "is assuredly a different sort of affair from Mont Blanc or Mont Rosa, or any other of the thousand and one summits which nature has kindly opened to man, by leaving one side of them a sloping plain of snow, easy of ascent, till the brink of the precipice is reached, which descends on the other side. The square massive lines of terraced crags, which fence the Matterhorn, stand up

on all sides nearly destitute of snow, and where the snow lies thinly on the rocks it soon melts, and is hardened again into smooth glassy ice, which covers the granite slabs like a coat of varnish, and bids defiance to the axe. Every step of the way lies between two precipices and toppling crags, which may at any moment bring down on climbers the most formidable of Alpine dangers—a fire of falling stones." Truly these dreary summits, where all "seems strangely rigid and motionless, are out of keeping with the beating heart and moving limbs, the life and activity of man;" and when the foot slips, and the dexterity of the practised climber is found unequal to the preservation of life amidst such dangers; when the rope, the last resource breaks; when the doomed victims roll helplessly down the steep which slopes to the edge of a precipice so sheer and dread, that the very thought of it is painful, and over the brink the fatal plunge is made, the stones and ice feel no pity and extend no help. But the heights of infidelity, those towering summits, up which men venture, prompted by the love of notoriety, and the desire of being distinguished, if not in any other way, at least by the singularity of their opinions,—are not these more perilous? What a precipice do they not overhang? It is very well for such men, who, denying God's truth themselves, are diligently occupied in perverting others to the same scepticism, to persuade themselves that there is no precipice, no such dread result as eternal punishment, and thus say one to another as they climb, "Wold immer achtung," "no fear;" but unless, by God's mercy, they are brought to repentance, the final issue must come, and the dread plunge be made over the brink to an abyss, compared with which the walls of the Matterhorn are as nothing. The body is crushed and broken in the one: the soul is lost eternally in the other.

Nor do these men endanger only themselves. According to their influence and position they have attached others to them, and bound them in the same cords. Bishop Colenso—if the statements in a pamphlet, purporting to contain an address of his "on the efforts of Missionaries among savages," be reliable—admits that on one occasion he stopped a Missionary when telling the Zulus that they were all involved in Adam's sin and its consequences, and in danger of eternal perdition—"by nature the children of wrath, even as others." "Of course I told them not to believe this;" and thus, unless the rope break, there is danger lest the guide and the disciples perish together.

But as to the principles avowed in the address, this is one of them—"The human race, instead of sinking from a higher to a lower condition, by reason of the fall, as is generally supposed, has been rising gradually from a lower to a higher."

From what depths we may have ascended the bishop is not as yet sure; he has not yet quite to his satisfaction sounded the abyss; but he is engaged in doing so, as our readers will perceive by the following quotation—

There are some good people, I know, who are very much disgusted, if they are not dismayed and distressed, at the very suggestion of the bare possibility of their having had any such a parentage, and who look with horror upon the gorilla and chimpanzee—those near approximations, anatomically considered, to the human form—as having any, the slightest

possible claim to be regarded in the light of our ancestors. Though I am not with Mr. D'Israeli on the side of the angels, yet I confess I am not on the side of the apes; or rather, I should say, I do not feel competent at present to pronounce any decisive judgment on this question.

We fear, however, that little doubt can be entertained as to the decision to which he will eventually come. The bishop is in a condition of progress; we cannot say on the ascending scale, rising from the lower to the higher. In his religious history he presents, very unhappily, an exemplification of the opposite principle, sinking from the higher to the lower. As yet, however, he is not prepared to accept unhesitatingly the progenitorship of apes; the plummet has not sunk quite so low. He appears to think that man, in his primeval state, was, after all, a man—not a chimpanzee or a gorilla—but "a companion of beasts which have now disappeared for long ages, and that for thousands and ten thousands of years before the usual date assigned by traditionary

views to the creation." Through this long lapse of ages "his intellect was gradually sharpened by necessity to invent contrivances for the relief of his own wants. Thus he learnt to provide himself, first with food, then with houses, cities, government, laws; next with letters, carved on stone or written on parchment; then with the compass and printing-press; and, alas that it must be said! with 'the villanous saltpetre' and the cannon-ball; and so onward, as the ages rolled, till at last we are living in the age of steam, photography, and the electric telegraph. In one word, it is joyous and refreshing to know that we are not laboriously toiling to recover some of that almost infinite extent of ground which Adam lost for us by his one act of sin: it is hopeful to be assured, by the plainest evidences of scientific research, that all our present advances in art and science are the just results of the proper development of the great human family, as part of their great Creator's scheme from the first; and to know that every fresh fact, brought to light by a course of honest and persevering inquiry, is a fresh blessing bestowed upon the race from the Father of lights—a fresh conquest, either in the domain of the present or the territories of the bygone past, which the mind, that guides and governs all, has permitted and enabled us to achieve, with the powers entrusted to us."

We have quoted the passage *in extenso*, because, culminative and weighty as it is designed to be, it lacks congruity; for if all these steps of progress be "the first results of the proper development of the great human family," how did the "villanous saltpetre" and the "cannon-ball" intrude themselves? If the saltpetre be among the first results, how comes it to be villanous; or, if villanous, how was it permitted to mar the fair process of development? In short, according to this theory, how did sin find entrance into the world? The proper development of the great human family "has been," we are informed, "the great Creator's scheme from the first." Is sin, then, a part of the designed process, a link in the golden series of predestined results; or, if it be an evil of man's introduction, how is this to be reconciled with the assertion, that he has not "fallen from a higher to a lower condition," but has been gradually rising "from a lower to a higher?"

But again, how can this theory be reconciled with the actual condition of the world? Man is not ignored of God: he is cared for by Him who "maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust;" and yet on him and on his portion rest unmistakeably the evidences of the divine displeasure. Suffering abounds. "Man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upwards." So saith the Scripture, and what Scripture affirms, experience verifies. Death awaits man, and that not merely when he has attained old age, and his nature might be supposed to break down beneath the weight of its own infirmities, but it comes prematurely, suddenly, upon the tender babe, on opening youth, and manhood in its prime; and thus "our bones lie scattered at the grave's mouth, as when one cutteth and cleaveth wood upon the earth."

Why should this be? for man has always been progressing, "rising gradually from a lower to a higher state;" from a condition so low that he was once "a companion of beasts," to the "age of steam, photography, and the electric telegraph." Man, then, has made marvellous progress: he has improved to the utmost the resources of his nature. Whence, then, the suffering? Let the disciples of the new school grapple with facts, and explain to us how their new theory is to be reconciled with our every-day's experience. With the Scripture principle, that man has fallen from a higher condition to a lower, all is reconcilable. The mystery of our existence is at once solved. Man has displeased God, therefore he is in suffering. Yet is he not cast off, but continues to be an object of the divine concernment, because, although fallen, he may be recovered. He is therefore placed under corrective dispensations, that, thus humiliated, he may the more readily appreciate and thankfully receive the salvation which God has provided for him.

But again, the facts which connect with languages refuse to harmonize with the principles of the subversive school. Certainly, if a nation is in a progressive state, its language may be expected to advance with it. Bishop Colenso speaks of degraded tribes of human beings as specimens of man as yet undeveloped. According to his theory, they have never been in a better condition: low as their state is, it is, nevertheless, as yet their highest stage of attainment. Surely, then, it may be expected that their language will be found in the same embryo state, imperfectly fashioned, and with no further capacity than what may suffice to express the few wants of a savage life.

But does experience coincide with this? On the contrary, it makes us acquainted with the remarkable fact, that the languages of rude and savage people are often most elaborate in structure, and capable of reduction to a most perfect system of grammatical rules. Yet of this the people themselves are entirely ignorant.

A Missionary enters some new field of labour, and locates himself amongst a savage race only recently discovered. To acquaint himself with the language is one of his first necessities, and he commences the work of lingual exploration. But it is as when the stock-keeper in Australia struck the quartz rock, and the rich gold stood revealed. The richness of grammatical forms astonishes, and at first confuses him, and no little perseverance and exertion are required to ascertain their often strange peculiarities and fine differences. The language is, confessedly, in a more advanced state than the people. The people are rude; their language richly grammatical. They are unconsciously using for the ordinary purposes of a rude life a beautiful machinery of words. It is as though their household utensils were made of gold, and they knew not their value, and dealt with them as though they were common earthenware.

Let it be remembered, however, that, according to the principles of the new school, neither in their own persons, or in that of their progenitors, were these tribes ever in a more advanced state than they are at present, for they have been rising gradually from a lower state to a higher. When, then, or how, did they acquire their language?

The problem can only be solved on the principles laid down in Genesis xi. 7. But the universal deluge and its adjuncts are not portions of Bishop Colenso's Bible. These he has discarded to make way for his new theory; and we now call upon him to explain in what way the sceptical principle to which he has committed himself can be adjusted to lingual experiences and facts.

But we pass on to another of those novelties which are set forth in this "address on Missions to the Zulus," and which sound so strange and startling, and that the more so because enunciated by the lips of a Christian Bishop.

The common parentage of the human family, and the unity of all the races upon earth in one progenitor, Adam, is the next point assailed in the address we are reviewing. In this antagonism Dr. Colenso is not alone: there are many associated with him. Our attention has been especially directed to a book entitled "Adam and the Adamite," in which the same theory, with much ingenuity, is advocated. Unlike Bishop Colenso, the writer does not despise and reject, as undeserving of serious consideration, the Scripture narratives respecting the creation of Adam and the Noachian deluge. These he admits to be true. But the common parentage of the human race is his stumbling-block. He does not deny its possibility, but, in admitting it, he imagines this formidable difficulty, that the time required for the development from one source of races so diverse in complexion, physiognomy, language, as the tribes of man, must be far more extensive than the Mosaic chronology could afford to allow. Dr. Colenso is of the same opinion. He, too, thinks it highly probable that we are not all sprung from the same parentage, unless, indeed, sufficient time for that development be allowed, namely, the lapse of millions on millions of years.

We have to congratulate ourselves that this school of philosophy has not yet ruled it an impossibility that the negro or the Hottentot should have sprung from Adam. We

do not, indeed, see how, with any degree of consistency, they could so decide, for surely the difference between a Bushman and a Caucasian is not so great as that which exists between a monkey and a man. The most degraded man can speak; but even the best educated of monkeys can only jabber. Bring Christianity to bear upon the most degraded of men, and it illuminates them so that they acknowledge God and their responsibility to Him; but a monkey can never be brought into any communication with the unseen world: yet these gentlemen absorb, without an effort, the greater difficulty, while they stagger at the less: a monkey may develop into a man, but that a savage man could ever have deteriorated from Adam, is ruled by them to be next to an impossibility. How is it that they strain at a gnat and swallow a camel? Because to admit the descent of inferior races from Adam would be to overthrow the ambitious theory of development, by which they hope, having risen from a depth so profound, to ascend so high that "they shall be as gods." To admit, therefore, that men have deteriorated in their descent from Adam, is exceedingly distasteful to them; or if, indeed, they are constrained to admit the possibility of a common parentage, for this concession they must have an equivalent: their sceptical spirit must be gratified by an irreverent rejection of scriptural chronology as untrue, and the substitution of millions of years for the 6000 of human existence.

Now the author of "Adam and the Adamite" is not prepared for this. He would retain the chronology, but surrender the common parentage. "No culture," in his opinion, "will transform a negro into a Caucasian, and no degradation will convert the Caucasian into a negro." The races, therefore, he fancies, must have had different parentages, Adam being the progenitor of the Adamite, or superior race, and of none other, and it is only of this race that the Bible is a record. "The Bible is the history of a particular race, the Adamite: his creation, fall, restoration to Paradise, are the theme of holy writ from Alpha to Omega." (p. 285.)

The Bible, then, is an imperfect record. It relates only the origin of one race, although at the time when that creation took place, about 6000 years ago, the earth was peopled by other human tribes of low condition. Therefore the author of "Adam and the Adamite" publishes in this, the nineteenth century, a supplement to the Bible, which, filling up the void of the scriptural narrative, shall at once harmonize philosophy and revelation, and terminate the discussions of the present day.

Let us consider more particularly the Adamite theory.

We are told, then, that the unity of mankind, and the unity of mankind in Adam, are two different propositions: the progenitor may not be one, and yet the races are to be regarded as one.

But if there be races of mankind which have not a common progenitorship in Adam, of necessity they are excluded from the beneficial action of the Gospel. The effects of Christ's death extend no further than the effects of Adam's sin. "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." And such was the teaching of the Old Testament. The Goel was alike kinsman and Redeemer: none but a kinsman could be a Redeemer. Christ was the seed (if one must employ, for distinctness' sake, the nonsensical phraseology of the new school) of the Adamite woman, and He is only in a position to redeem those who, with Him, are partakers of the same parentage.

And yet these collateral races are affected by the same disease of sin as that by which the Adamites are vitiated, and need a physician. This is a matter of fact which even the scepticism of our new philosophers, who, although they have cast off the principles of Christianity, still retain its name, is constrained to admit. Before the Adamite was in existence (such is the new theory) there were races of men on earth. They were the contemporaries of "the mammoth, the woolly rhinoceros, the cave lions, &c." "Climates have changed," "tides have ebbed and flowed," lands have been submerged, and others have appeared in their stead—"all these phenomena proclaim the long lapse of ages

throughout which our planet has been the abode of races of men who never reached a higher social position than that indicated by their stone and bone implements which survived them." The inferior races preceded the advent of the superior, and "the Mongol and the negro were inhabitants of the earth before the birth of the first of the Caucasians." But how came sin amongst these races? for that they are vitiated with it, and that to a great extent, is undoubted. Moreover, it is with them, as with the Adamite, a hereditary taint; it descends from father to child; it is in the blood of the race; it must have come from the first parentage, otherwise the race could not have been universally affected by it. How, then, is this reconcilable with the Scripture declaration—"By *one man* sin entered into the world, and death by sin, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned?" for, according to this new speculation, sin entered in, not by one man, but by many.

"Moreover, "generation after generation of these primeval natives lived and passed away" before the Adamite, the superior man, appeared upon the earth. Either, then, sin was in the world before Adam, or human death was in the world before sin. Either alternative contradicts the word of God, which expressly tells us that "by *one man's* disobedience sin entered into the world, and *death by sin*, and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."

In his avoidance of one error, the writer of the "Adamite" has fallen into another just as anti-scriptural, and, while professing a great reverence for Scripture, inflicts upon it a grievous wrong. We can have no more sympathy with him than we have with those who would set aside the chronology of Scripture.

This, however, is the enterprise to which the gentlemen of the development theory address themselves, the chronology of Scripture being, in their judgment, the weak point of the citadel. They wish especially to get rid of the limits assigned by revelation to years of human history, and so remove the origin of man to a point removed from us by millions of years. This vastness of time is a favourite refuge with these new philosophers, when they meet, as they often do, with insuperable difficulties in their speculations. But "no length of time will suffice to cause that which is absurd in principle to cease to be absurd, though it is by these enormous drafts on time that men bewilder themselves." Every absurdity must have a beginning, and the difficulty lies there, whether the initiative moment be near to us by a few thousand years, or remote from us by millions of years. If the man was once an ape, there must have been a moment when, to use Dr. Colenso's words, the *barrier* was passed which separated the monkey from the man. That is an impassable barrier, and whether it be comparatively near or far off, it remains the same. Speculators place it afar off, in the hope of removing it from the domain of common sense, the inducing men to think that an impossibility is possible. In truth, the idea is so degrading and repulsive, that we cannot be surprised if its inventors are ashamed of it, and consign it to the remote distance of millions of years.

Let it be observed, moreover, that so attached are men of this school to long and vague periods, that not only do they invent them to veil impossibilities, but very unnecessarily introduce them to account for changes which true philosophy proves to have been accomplished within very limited periods. The "Christian Observer," in its review of "Wainwright's Christian Certainty," deals powerfully and satisfactorily with this point, and to that periodical [*Vide* Number for August 1865] we would refer our readers, confining ourselves to the notice of that remarkable upheaving on the western coast of Crete, discovered by Captain Spratt, R.N., when officially engaged in the survey of that island, and made known to the public in his recently-published work, "Travels and Researches in Crete." These upheavings, which have taken place since the commencement of the Christian era, attain a maximum of twenty-six feet, obliterating ports which were known to have existed, and changing islands into peninsulas. Thus Lissos and Suia, coast-cities, had each an harbour, yet "at neither is there now any place to shelter a boat,

unless hauled ashore." Phalaserna, the most western city of Crete, according to Strabo, possessed an artificial port: this is now filled up, and far removed from the sea. Off the south-west cape of Crete once lay three islands: of these only one exists now, and that separated from the mainland by a narrow and shallow channel. These changes, according to the new school, could not have been effected except during a lapse of thousands of years; the fact being that they have all occurred subsequently to every historical record of the cities on the western coast of Crete, while at the same time they are of a character so decided as to render it difficult to reconcile modern features with ancient descriptions.

Before we part company with "Adam and the Adamite," let us inquire whether the writer of this book is of such sound judgment, that to him may be entrusted the difficult task of reconciling the apparent discrepancies of Scripture and science? We say *apparent* discrepancies, because revelation does not refuse to harmonize with true science, but only with that which assumes to be such.

Let the interpretation which he has put on Gen. vi. 4 decide the question—"And it came to pass, when the Adamites began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, that the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair, and they took them wives of all that they chose." The daughters of the Adamites are the female descendants of Adam, according to this rendering. But who are the sons of God? That is the dilemma to which the writer is reduced by limiting the expression, "daughters of men" to the "daughters of the Adamites;" for it would not consist with his theory to apply the high expression, "sons of God," to the inferior cognate races. So by the sons of God we are to understand, kind readers, "the fallen angels, who thus mingled their blood with the race of Adam." The only difficulty in so understanding the passage is, that the angels, being spirits, had no blood to mingle.

But the enormity to the adoption of which the writer is forced in this passage shows how baseless is the attempt to limit the universality of the word Adam, so that it shall only include a part, and not the whole of the human race.

We have been engaged in examining the "theory of development." Let our readers understand it: it is one utterly irreconcilable with Scripture, so that revelation and the new philosophy can never harmonize. Let us add, that not only is it irreconcilable with Scripture, but contrary to fact. There is in God's terrestrial works "a persistence of type" which refuses to reconcile itself with the theory of development.

On this interesting subject we would again refer our readers to Captain Spratt's work, and more particularly to the chapter in the second volume on the "Development Theory." It will there be seen that proofs of the unsoundness of the development theory have been brought up from the depths of the ocean.

Fifteen miles to the south of the south-west extreme of Crete lies an ocean depth of 1950 fathoms, or nearly 12,000 feet. Not far off rise in the centre of the island the white mountains, to the height of 8000 feet, showing a difference of level between the bed of the Mediterranean and the top of the white mountains of nearly 20,000 feet, in a distance of about twenty five miles. In the surface zone of these deep waters, and, indeed, throughout the Mediterranean, is found swarming in abundance that interesting pteropod, the *criseis*. As from year to year, and age to age, they have died, their glassy shells have sunk down into the depths below, and they are found in hundreds in every cup of mud brought up from the bottom of these seas. They are also found fossil in the marls of Crete. The living and dead have been compared, and the persistence of type is undeniable. The past and the present are the same, nor during the lapse of ages has there been development.

Passing from delicate organisms to great organisms, the same may be shown of the mammoth. "The whole range of the mammalia, fossil and recent, cannot furnish a species which has a wider geographical distribution, and has at the same time passed through

a longer term of time, and through more extreme changes of climatal conditions than the mammoth. Yet persistency of type is evidenced in its "most important and characteristic organ, *the tooth*, even including the little pigmy species recently found fossil in Malta, and the Siberian or pre-glacial mammoth."

From these and other interesting exemplifications it is shown that "the inherent elasticity of every species is strictly circumscribed."

Captain Spratt introduces the opinions of the late Edward Forbes on these points, as embodied in lectures given at the Royal Institution a few years before his death. We introduce them because they are so brief and decisive.

"Is man a member of the last organic province in time? for, if so, he need not have been the last member, and species might have appeared after him.

"Argument on this point—The members of the present animal and vegetable population of the world are members of a centre in time, which had its point of creative maximum anterior to man's coming."

"Man's appearance a unique geological fact. Man not a member of the last centre of creation, but a unique being, and concentrated act of creation, equivalent to an entire province in himself."

"That the creation of man was a final act, and the great purpose to which previous creations tended."

"That such a view accords with the dignity of position and moral and social standard taken by man in the world."

Such are the convictions of a real philosopher, and to these we add, still quoting from Captain Spratt's book, the recent statement of an eminent anatomist, M. Gratiolet, who, after a patient dissection of some of the pithecoïd apes in reference to man's place in nature, declares—"The facts upon which I insist, permit me to affirm, with a conviction founded on a personal and attentive study of all at present known, demonstrate that anatomy gives no grounds for the idea, so violently defended now-a-days, of a close relationship between man and ape. One may invoke in vain some animal skulls, evident monstrosities found by chance, such as that of Neanderthal, and here and there similar forms may be found: they belong to idiots."

One more point remains to be noticed, and then we have done: it is one which connects with Missionary action, and in which, therefore, we have a special interest.

Both the writer of "Adam and the Adamite" and Dr. Colenso are of opinion that the cognate races, human, yet not Adamite, have a claim on us for the communication to them of that salvation which was wrought out by the "seed of the woman." Dr. Colenso says—

"Whenever we meet with the power of speech, with reason and conscience, with tender human affections, we must confess that the owner of such gifts is a friend and a brother. . . . We are bound to teach him, as God shall give us opportunity for so doing, what we ourselves have learned. . . . Most of all, we are bound to impart that highest knowledge, that knowledge of God Himself, in which consists eternal life," &c.

And what shall we tell them?—that they are disconnected with Adam? How, then, can we prove to them their connexion with Christ? The uncertainty of the grounds on which we approach them will at once confirm that natural indisposition to the Gospel message, which, as experience proves, never fails to show itself in the first instance; and they will then say to us, as they have often said, even under advantageous circumstances, "Go; you mistake. Your message is for the white man, not for us. It may suit him, not us. Go, then: the Redeemer you speak of was not of our race: we owe Him no regard, and desire not to hear of Him." Such undoubtedly would be the result. This new fable about races, this ethnological folly, destroys all sympathy between Christ and the inferior races, which, in the preference shown to the Adamite, must necessarily feel themselves humiliated and disowned.

EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND EXPLAINED AND INTERPRETED.

SELDOM, if ever, in the annals of Missionary history, has a scene been enacted of such painful features as that which recently occurred at Opotiki. Missionaries have often been persecuted by such portions of the people whom they had come to evangelize as disliked their teaching, and hated them for the truth's sake; but at such times the Christian flock has gathered round them, endeavoured to shield them from injury, and often suffered in their defence.

It was so on a recent occasion with the Christian Sioux. When their heathen countrymen, in a moment of ungovernable fury, rose up to massacre the whites, they befriended the Missionaries, and conducted them and a large body of the settlers to a place of safety.

At Opotiki it was otherwise. When the Hauhaus led forth the Missionary Volkner with the intention of murdering him, no one interfered; no hand was stretched out to rescue him; no tongue pleaded that he might be spared. His flock was there, the people for whom he had prayed and laboured. Within sight of the church where he had been wont to assemble them, to tell of God's love in Christ Jesus, they saw him ignominiously dealt with as a malefactor, and yet not only did they refuse all sympathy, but so filled with savage cruelty was every heart, that when, on his head being cut off, the fanatics rushed forward, eager to taste his blood, many rubbing it on their faces, "some of his old friends took part in all this."

We throw a veil over further details: they are too revolting. But the Missionary died a Christian's death. So surprised, so suddenly overtaken by death in such a form, and from a quarter so wholly unexpected, he quailed not. Very affecting are the details of the eventful day on which he suffered, as related by his companion in tribulation, the Rev. T. S. Grace. When the last attempt had been made, but in vain, to obtain release by a money-ransom, they had prayer with their fellow-captives, and read together Psalm x., "Why standest thou afar off, O Lord? Why hidest thou thyself in times of trouble?" It is even so. God sees his own people in sorrow, yet He does not rescue them: He sees the wicked prospering, yet He smites not. This state of things is but temporary. Yet a little while, and He shall "judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of earth may no more oppress." About one o'clock "we had prayer and reading for the last time, the portion read being Psalm xiv., the words of which so exactly described the rampant ungodliness of the natives—"The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that did understand, and seek after God. They are all gone aside, they are altogether become filthy: there is none that doeth good, no, not one." "My poor dear friend," observes Mr. Grace, "offered up a most earnest prayer. During the morning I could not help noticing the calmness of his manner, and the beautiful smile that was on his face."

He was now led forth alone, none of his fellow-prisoners, not even Mr. Grace, being permitted to accompany him. They took his coat and waistcoat from him, and led him beneath a willow-tree. If doubt had previously rested on his mind as to their intentions, there could be none now. He asked for his Prayer-book, which was in his coat-pocket: they brought it. He knelt down and prayed. He then *shook hands with his murderer*. Forgiven of God, he had learned to forgive even those who rendered him evil for good. He then said, "I am ready." That was the triumph of Christianity. They who had become his enemies might take his life, but they could not take from him his hope, his peace. When this mad excitement is over, and the Maoris reflect, they will acknowledge respecting him that he was indeed a man of God. When the period of tribulation has passed away, the surviving tribes will not fail to erect, on the spot where he suffered, a

memorial of the gentle, loving Missionary, whom their fellow-countrymen, in a moment of wild fanaticism, had savagely put to death.

But what moved the people of Opotiki? A mad delusion had seized them, and they acted as though they had been possessed. A fortnight before Mr. Volkner's murder there arrived at Opotiki a messenger to say that the Pai Marire, from Taranaki, were at hand. At their head was Patara. This man, originally of Waikato, is well known at Wellington as a notoriously bad character: with him was associated Kereopa, a pretended prophet, who carried about with him a soldier's head, which by the aid of ventriloquism he used for his own purposes. They were coming, it was said, to obtain men who should fight the soldiers at Taranaki, and to instruct the people of Opotiki in the new religion. The tidings excited not regret, but joy. The people of Opotiki were at once on the alert. Great were the preparations. Some were erecting tents, others putting up flags, carrying wood, &c. As the Pai Marire drew near, the women, 257 in number, who had formed in double line for their reception, opened, and Patara passed through them amidst the greatest rejoicings and welcomes. A review followed, the Opotiki natives going through their war manœuvres, and the Pai Marire flags being hoisted on a very high flag-staff near the church. A Jewish merchant, Levy by name, recognised one Hebrew letter on the flag-staffs. Then came the feast after the old Maori fashion—dead oxen, potatoes, and water-melons. When it was evening, Kereopa, placing himself in front of the skull, addressed the people, maligning the Missionaries, by whom he declared they had been robbed of lands, money, and blood; and then, conducting them into the church, initiated them into the new religion, the Taranakis running round the new proselytes, shouting, and going through many old-fashioned forms of incantation, until the people seemed to be possessed, falling on the ground in a state of stupidity, and some of them remaining without meat or drink for four or five days. These orgies continued through the whole night, the people remaining in the two churches. We can only compare the process to Luke xi. 24—"When the unclean spirit is gone out of a man, he walketh through dry places, seeking rest; and finding none, he saith, I will return unto my house, whence I came out. And when he cometh he findeth it swept and garnished. Then goeth he and taketh to him seven other spirits more wicked than himself, and they enter in and dwell there; and the last state of that man is worse than the first." Aroused to a savage furor, the natives were now prepared for the tragedy that was to follow, and Volkner was murdered—an act which will ever remain a blot on the Whakatowhea nation.

The Pai Marire is a revival of old superstitions under a new name. The curing of heads is unmistakeable. "In olden times the heads of fallen chiefs were carefully preserved from decay by an ingenious process, and deposited within their ancestors' houses, to be brought forth on future occasions to excite men to revenge their deaths. The bloody heads of the enemy were stuck round the fences of the village, for the purpose of being insulted. The people were roused to desperation by the excitement of oratory and the war-dance, until they became frenzied, and rushed to the bloody conflict in fits of temporary madness. On the battle-field the dead were decapitated, the brains, tongue, and eyes scooped out, and their cavities filled with fern or flax." The features of identity are complete. The Pai Marire have cast off their profession of Christianity, and relapsed into their old heathenism, under a new name, and with some slight modifications.

The hold which Christianity had on this lapsed portion of the Maori race must have been very slight. Undoubtedly it could have been only superficial, and when the gilding was removed by the friction of unexpected trials, the old savage stood revealed.

The Maori race came over to a profession of Christianity in a mass. Nothing could exceed the rapidity with which they renounced heathenism, and placed themselves under the instruction of the Missionaries, with a desire to be taught and become Chris-

tians. It needed, then, that they should have been dealt with as the Tamils in Tinnevely have been dealt with—subjected to a systematic, persevering, and minute process of Christian instruction, until a sound foundation of Christian knowledge had been laid in their minds, and feeling and excitement had been improved into sterling and influential principle.

And so it has been in those localities of New Zealand where a European Missionary has permanently resided, and has been uninterrupted in his work. But this has not been the case everywhere. At one time there were not enough of clergymen in full orders to administer the necessary ordinances. Opotiki, in particular, suffered under great disadvantages. The Rev. James Hamlin, on visiting this district in 1850, observes—“I am sorry to say the priests have gained considerable advantage here, from the weak state in which this district has *always been left*. No ordained minister having been placed here, our people have been, and still are, put to great inconvenience for the administration of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and are thus become a reproach to their Popish neighbours. They are consequently much discouraged; and some of them have joined the Romanists. I hear, indeed, that the Rev. C. Davies has been appointed to Whakatane (a neighbouring station) by the Bishop; but as he is only in deacons' orders, this will not facilitate the administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

In his reports for 1852, 1853, 1854, Mr. Davies laments over the greediness for worldly wealth which exhibited itself among the Opotiki people, so that they had grown lax in the service of God: this unhealthy state resulted in a war, of which the place next beyond Opotiki was the scene, and in which several of the combatants lost their lives.

Mr. Davies having been obliged to withdraw from ill-health, *Opotiki was left for five years without a Missionary*, with a Romish priest living in the midst of 500 natives, the native teachers, to whose care the spiritual interests of the Protestant natives were confided, not being energetic men.

Indeed the whole of the Eastern District appears to have laboured under similar disadvantages. The Bishop of Waiapu, when Archdeacon W. Williams, in his report for 1858, observes—“It becomes a matter of serious importance to inquire how suitable provision is to be made for these native districts, particularly in the prospect of but a limited provision on the part of the Society. When the supply of Missionaries was most effective, that supply was but scanty as compared with the parochial system in England. The deficiency was met, in the only way practicable, by native teachers. But those teachers were not regularly prepared for their work. They were such natives as seemed to be best informed in the different villages to which they belonged. They were very imperfectly taught, and could not therefore teach much; and, in the majority of cases, they have grown weary of their work, and have resigned their posts to others not better qualified than themselves. It may be asked, Why have we not made provision earlier for this necessity? I will speak for the Eastern District. I came to it in the year 1849, and for *some years I occupied it alone*, having to travel continually north and south.”

Whether at home or abroad, Christian congregations, if they are to be preserved from strange opinions, must be well instructed. For this great object the Christian ministry was especially appointed, as Paul informs us in Ephes. iv. 14—“that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every weight of doctrine, by the sleight of men and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive,” &c. But if the ministry be scanty, and below the proper standard, and the congregations be left in an immature and childish state, then we are not to be surprised if mischief ensues, and the tares spring up among the wheat. So it proved to be in this Eastern District. In 1857, many natives were carried away by a belief in an audible intercourse with the

spirits of their departed friends. To such an extent was this carried, that on one occasion all the villages of an extensive district were excluded from the Lord's Supper. Inasmuch as any direction given by any medium of those supposed spirits was most implicitly followed out, as though it were a direct revelation from God Himself, several superstitious practices were revived. But what was, if possible, still more alarming, as showing the unsound state of the Christian community, the native teachers, with few exceptions, were among the most zealous followers of the "spirits."* Let it be borne in mind that we are describing, not a state of things which has long since passed away, but one which existed only *seven* years ago.

But we can bring these investigations still nearer to us as to date. In April and May 1861, the Rev. E. B. Clarke visited portions of the Eastern District, amongst other places, Opotiki. What was its condition four years ago? The following is an extract from the notes of this tour—"Opotiki.—Alas! I am tempted to begin my account of this place with the word 'Ichabod,' for of it I may truly write 'the glory is departed.' Once an orderly, industrious, and thriving people, they are now the very reverse. Spirits and their runanga are their ruin. Their runanga, or native council, is most oppressive, and is, in fact, their old tana, or robbing system, in another form. They eagerly seize upon any pretext for the exercise of their power, and are most extortionate in their decisions." Mr. Clarke next refers to the prevalence of another evil—the use of spirits. "The natives, as well as the traders, are in the habit of bringing large quantities from Auckland. One hundred pounds' worth have been known to have been bought by them, taken up to their cultivations inland, and retailed at exorbitant prices. Men, women, and children are frequently seen in a state of intoxication. As usual, other crimes follow." Then follows a paragraph, to which we would specially direct the attention of our readers—"I have heard of several instances of the natives of this place having had recourse to the old *harakia Maori*. Their instigator is an old woman from Whakatane. She tells her followers that they are not to give up their former ways, as the Missionaries teach them to do; but, on the contrary, they are to persevere in them. She says that her principles are not opposed to Christianity. She also exorcises the 'harakia'—evil spirits—who are supposed to be the sources of human suffering, by administering to her patients a decoction of native herbs." On the occasion of Mr. Clarke's visit, the communicants had dwindled down from sixty-four in the previous year to twenty-six. Of these people Mr. Clarke, in conclusion, says—"They are indeed as sheep without a shepherd; and if there be one place in New Zealand which needs the prayers of the Lord's people, that place is Opotiki."†

It was not until the autumn of 1861 that Mr. Volkner became resident at Opotiki. He had not been with the people for a long previous period, so as to have had time and opportunity to have acquired influence over them before troublous times came. The troubles had already commenced. The act of incendiarism in connexion with the Waitara block, which kindled a conflagration so fierce and wide-spread as that which has since involved the northern island of New Zealand, had been perpetrated on March 5th, 1860.

On his arrival at Opotiki, Mr. Volkner addressed himself to the improvement of this neglected and unsettled people, and, for a time, every thing seemed to progress favourably. A new church was commenced, at which the natives laboured diligently, at the same time contributing liberally to its cost. Village schools were opened, and the people gathered in, that they might learn to read and write. But now the war-feeling, which had hitherto been confined to the western and Waikato districts, began to spread

* See "Church Missionary Record" for 1858, pp. 363, 364.

† See "Church Missionary Record" for 1861, pp. 387, 388.

eastward, and a general distrust as to the intentions of the Government pervaded the native race. Messengers arrived from the seat of war, moving the Opotiki people to join therein. At first Mr. Volkner's efforts to restrain them appeared to be successful; but the hope was soon disappointed. In a letter dated May 30th, 1864, he thus states the facts—

On Christmas-day we had a feast. The Protestant party had hoisted the Queen's flag, and all rejoiced. About dusk I went home to tea, leaving them all in a state of happiness. In about half an hour I returned to bring the feast to a close, and to get synodsmen elected. But how was I disappointed when I found them all in a ferment, and talking about it being their duty to go to Waikato to help the people there in fighting. When I spoke about electing synodsmen, they replied, "Do not speak to us about that: our eyes and our thoughts are turned to Waikato." On inquiring what had caused this sudden change in their thoughts, I was told that the Roman-Catholic priest had brought a letter from the rebel party at Waikato. I did not believe he had done so, and went to him with the man who had told me. When I asked the priest whether he had brought the letter, he hesitated a little, and then answered in the affirmative; and, in going out with me, he told me the contents of it, which were that all the

Maoris in the Bay of Plenty and the East Coast were to come at once and drive the Europeans away, of whom the writer spoke in an offensive way. From that moment the people, step by step, became more deeply involved in the war, and, in spite of the Governor's kindness in writing to them, and in many other ways, and of all my efforts, they would not be convinced that the home Parliament had not given instruction to the Colonial Government here to destroy all the natives who fight them, take the island, and make slaves of those who remain quiet.

I have not been able to trace the source from whence this report comes; but it does not sound at all as if of Maori origin. On January 30th a meeting was held, in which all the tribes of the Bay of Plenty were represented. They decided in favour of the King movement. On February 1st they started for Waikato. They were stopped on their way by the Arawa, which led to a collision of these tribes, in which six persons were killed.

When the tidings of Mr. Volkner's murder reached this country, that portion of the daily press which, for reasons best known to the writers themselves, takes pleasure in disparaging Missionary effort, immediately laid hold upon them, as affording a favourable and unexpected opportunity for prosecuting their work of depreciation; and forthwith articles were penned, which proclaimed with a loud voice the worthlessness of the efforts carried on by weak-minded, although well-intentioned persons, to ameliorate, by such means as they employed, the condition of barbarous races. "Behold," exclaimed the leading journal of the day, "the measure of the depth to which this much-talked-of Christianity has penetrated." But is this correct? Has this Christianity been much talked of, much vaunted? Has it been described as a deep-laid and well-consolidated structure which might bid defiance to the tempest? Have the Opotiki natives been set forth as favourable specimens of Maori Christianity, by whose conduct might be proved its reality and power of endurance? Who has so described them? Certainly not the Church Missionary Society. The extracts given in this article, which speak so unfavourably of the principles and conduct of the Opotiki people, are to be found in the published Reports of the Society. In those yearly accounts they have been spoken of as an ill-instructed, unsettled people, now carried away by the love of gain, now yielding themselves to the influence of old superstitions.

Other portions of the New-Zealand work are of the same kind. First impressions were not followed up with that pertinacity and minuteness which were necessary to render them permanent and influential. The European Missionaries were not sufficiently numerous to meet the requisitions of that new state of things which arose, when, on the cessation of native wars, the Maoris, dispersing themselves over their extensive lands, cultivated with a view to the European markets, without, however, any settled homesteads, and shifting about from place to place. Several of them were only in deacons' orders. The native agency employed to help them was itself uninstructed, and inade-

quate to its duties. The development of an efficient native ministry was very slow; the withdrawal of the Church Missionary Society from the work of education was not supplemented by adequate efforts on the part either of the Government or the natives themselves. The first converts died, and were gathered in to their rest; but their children grew up no better instructed than their fathers, and without their spirituality. A portion of Maori Christianity was such as we have described, superficial, and ill-fitted to endure the severity of the ordeal to which it has been subjected. It has been otherwise where European Missionaries have been long stationed; where, through their indefatigable exertions, the people have been well instructed; where schools have been well worked; where godly influence has been acquired over the native mind, and old superstitions rooted out. So it has been at Wanganui, for thirty years the station of the Rev. R. Taylor. Our last Number brings out the men of Opotiki and the men of Wanganui in memorable contrast; the one, carried away by the impulse of a wild fanaticism, murdered their Missionary; the others indignantly repudiated the new creed; and when its bloodthirsty followers proposed to carry out at Wanganui deeds of blood similar to those which had been enacted at Opotiki, they fought and defeated them. So is it also at Otaki, the station for thirty years of the Venerable Archdeacon Hadfield. His people, too, at this crisis, have rendered invaluable services to the cause of Christianity and evangelization.

In the letters from New Zealand, which will be found under the head of Recent Intelligence, it will be seen that, after the murder of Mr. Volkner, the Pai Marire entered the districts more immediately under the superintendence of Bishop Williams. The people of Turanga at first appeared to be fixed in their resolution of withstanding them, and the bishop was requested to remain quiet where he was, as in that district the Pai Marire should have no power. But when they did come in considerable strength, making an imposing display of their karakia, the natives, who had promised adherence to the cause of Christianity, melted away so rapidly, and the aspect of affairs seemed so uncertain, that the bishop, with the ladies and children of the Missionaries' families, embarked for Auckland, leaving behind his son, Archdeacon Leonard Williams, with the Rev. S. Williams, and one of his nephews, to watch the course of events.

Just at this crisis arrived a party of influential natives from Otaki. Amongst them were Wi Tako and Matene Te Whiwhi, both influential chiefs and decided Christians. How timely has been the visit of these chiefs to the Turanga district, and how useful they have proved, will best appear from the following letter received from Archdeacon W. L. Williams, and dated April 22nd—

Just at that time a party of chiefs had arrived from Otaki and Ahuriri, including Wi Tako and Matene Te Whiwhi, having been invited a short time since by the Turanga chiefs; but they were so disgusted to find that the Hauhau religion was being received with so much favour that they talked of returning home immediately. They agreed afterwards, however, to go to Whakato, where they would meet most of the principal men of the district. I was unable to be present at the meetings, which took place on the 7th and 8th instant; but, from the reports of them which I received, there seemed to be little prospect of matters taking a favourable turn. Most of the speakers seemed altogether to repudiate the notion of their having done any thing wrong in entertaining the murderers of Mr. Volkner. The Rev. S. Williams,

who had accompanied Wi Tako and his party from Napier, was present, and he and the Maori visitors spoke very strongly, urging the Turanga people to show their detestation of the proceedings of the Hauhau by at least compelling them to leave the district.

Patara is a relative of Wi Tako's, but, at the same time, he is a man of notoriously bad character; and Wi Tako, by exposing him, did much towards weakening the influence which he was fast acquiring over the Turanga people.

In accordance with an invitation which they received from some of the Waerenga-a-Hika people, who had not joined the Hauhau, the southern chiefs were to have come here on the 10th; but, in accepting the invitation, Wi Tako had intimated that if his kinsman Patara was to be present they need not be

expected. The Teitanga-a-Mahaki Hauhau determined to bring Patara with them, relying on his effrontery for the support of their cause against the attacks which might be made upon it; and accordingly, about noon, they arrived in the pa (many of them armed), bringing with them Patara and the Urewera. Soon after their arrival the whole party were harangued by several of the chiefs in very violent language, some of the speakers threatening that all strangers and all sympathizers with the Government should be driven into the sea. These threats were understood to have reference to myself and the pupils in our schools, and also to a few Uawa people who were then here, and who are adherents of the Government. Under these circumstances I was recommended by my Maori friends to move out of the way; but, before I had started, I was told that the whole of this warlike party had returned again to Taureka, in consequence of some difference between them and the Waerenga-a-Hika people.

Most of the Teitanga-a-Mahaki came back on the two following days to meet the visitors, leaving Patara and his immediate followers behind them. The Hauhau were drawn out at these meetings, and induced to state quietly the reasons which had moved them to adopt the new religion. Their arguments were very satisfactorily refuted by our Otaki and Ahuriri friends; and the refutation was the better received as coming from Maoris, we having frequently been told by those who take up extravagant views that we oppose them because we are English, and not Maori.

In the evening of the second day Henare Ruru, one of the Hauhau of this place, stood up and exposed the absurdity of the doctrines, and the wickedness of the practices of the new religion; and on the following morning he openly recanted, and urged me to stay quietly at Waerenga-a-Hika; saying, at the same time, that if he had not been beguiled into meddling with the Hauhau he would have strenuously opposed the Bishop's leaving. He assured me, moreover, that if any one should come to do me harm he was prepared to lay down his life in my defence. He was then urged by Wi Tako and others to go immediately, and to use his influence with the Teitanga-a-Mahaki to induce them to follow his example. This he undertook to do; and we promised to wait till Monday, the 17th, before deciding upon any movement, so as to give him an opportunity of bringing the subject before the people.

On the afternoon of the 13th Wi Tako fell in with Patara, at the house of a settler, and reproved him sharply in the presence of some of the Teitanga-a-Mahaki whom he had

deluded. Patara was absolutely confounded, not having a word to say in his own defence.

On Saturday, the 15th, it was decided that a deputation of the Rongowhakaata tribe, accompanied by several of the Otaki and Ahuriri chiefs, should remonstrate again with the Teitanga-a-Mahaki, with a view to induce them to retrace their steps. This decision was strengthened by the arrival from Auckland, on the same day, of Rutene and Rawiri, the two chiefs who had gone away in H.M.S. "Eclipse" a month before to try to effect the deliverance of Mr. Grace.

On Sunday Patara and his party left Taureka for the Bay of Plenty (Kereopa having already left for Opotiki on the 5th), and on Tuesday, the 18th, the deputation came, and the Rev. S. Williams and I accompanied them to Taureka. They were supported by Rawiri, who spoke of the egregious failure of the Hauhau at Opotiki in the attempt to draw H.M.S. "Eclipse" on shore, and of the rough treatment which he and his companion experienced at the hands of the Opotiki natives in consequence of the escape of Mr. Grace. There were not many people to meet us, but Horomona, the principal man of the village, was there, and he spoke very moderately, and in such a way as to encourage us to hope that their attachment to their new religion is not very deeply rooted.

On the following day we went to Patutahi, the other stronghold of the party. There were more people present here, but the tone of the most influential speakers was the same as that exhibited at Taureka. It was evident that a great change had come over them, for the Patutahi people were among the most violent in their language at Waerenga-a-Hika on the 10th. Patara, however, was with them; but, since that time, he has left them somewhat ignominiously, feeling, doubtless, that the presence of Wi Tako and others who were able to expose the falsehood of his assertions, and to show the real object of his fair speeches, was fatal to his success.

Finding now that matters have begun to wear a more promising aspect, I have concluded, with the advice of the Rev. S. Williams and our Maori friends, to remain quietly at this place for the present, and to endeavour to get our establishment into working order again. I hope soon to be rejoined by the Rev. E. B. Clarke, and I think that he and I together may be able to hold our ground for some time longer—at all events, till we get another alarm.

The Rev. S. Williams, with the Otaki and Ahuriri chiefs, are now leaving us, having done the district very good service during the three weeks that they have been with us.

Some of the Turanga chiefs are to accompany them, in order to have some communication with the Government. One or more of these wish to join the Government decidedly, but whether any thing will come of their wish at present is doubtful.

Though I have concluded to stay here, I must admit that I am not without fears of our being disturbed again. It may be before very long; for, in the event of active measures being taken by the Government at Opotiki, it may become necessary for all the Tu-

ranga people to choose which side they will take. In such an emergency, they would probably be split into two hostile parties, and we might then, perhaps, find it necessary to break up our whole establishment. These anticipations, however, may not, after all, be realized, and as we cannot but feel that the kind providence of our heavenly Father has been watching over us throughout the trying events of the past few weeks, so we have every encouragement to trust in Him for the future.

Now it is from these well-worked parts of the Mission, where Christian truth is really understood and felt, and where it has taken strong hold upon the native mind, that, under God, we look for help at such a time this: all else in New Zealand seems involved in dire confusion. Affairs there, civil and military, present such a tangled net, that in our present Number we shall not venture into these complications. But we look for a healthful reaction amongst the better portion of the natives. The proceedings of the Otaki chiefs in the Eastern District are full of hope; and further encouragement is afforded by the following address to the Governor from the leading chiefs of Wellington and Hawke's Bay—

Pakowhai, March 20, 1865.

From the whole meeting at Pakowhai assembled on the occasion of the arrival of parties of the Ngatitōa, Te Atiawa, and Ngatirauhawa, and from the chiefs of Heretaunga.

To the Governor—

SIR,—This is a letter to express to you our vexation at the wicked doings of the Hauhau which are being perpetrated in this island. We had already expressed our displeasure at its being carried about and taught in our villages, and we told them to take it back to the land from whence it came and carry it on there. But now that we have heard of the murder of the Rev. Mr. Volkner at Opotiki, we are overwhelmed with vexation and horror, for now at last has the most frightful kind of murder been perpetrated in New Zealand. There were plenty of armed men with whom they might have fought if they wanted to show their bravery, instead of which they turn upon a defenceless and innocent man—upon their own father, like a miserable coward turning his weapon against his own father who had nourished him.

Those murderers, by travelling through the

country of other tribes, have saved themselves, and have obtained time to spread about their doctrines; for had they come this way we should have seized them, and with our own hands handed them over to you. But as they have not yet come, we have laid down the above rule for our conduct with regard to those bearers of Pakeha's heads through our places, and if they resist us we will not spare them: we will kill them.

Sir, we wish to express to you and the people our unmeasured distress at the doings of our country. Not satisfied with fighting with men, they actually attempt to fight against God, and are working downwards again to the deeds of the darkest times. But do not suppose that this wicked course is general, for there are many tribes who still stand aloof from such wickedness, and may God preserve and keep them! That is all. From your friends—Karaitiana (Ngatikahungunu); Wi Tako (Ngatiawa, West Coast); Renata (Ngatikahungunu); Matene (Ngatitōa, West Coast); Henare (Poraughau); Wi Parata (Ngatirauhawa, West Coast); and others.

We desire, also, to refer our readers very particularly to the following letter from the Rev. T. S. Grace, the late Mr. Volkner's companion in tribulation, and who so very nearly shared his fate—

Auckland, May 5, 1865.

You will be glad to hear that the Pai Marire superstition has received a check at Turanga. I had a conversation with two natives from there this morning, from which it appears evident, that though the Turanga people were willing, for political purposes, to join

the fanatics, yet they found the murder more than they could defend or excuse. I believe the tide of this dreadful superstition has now turned, and that it will recede, or at least take a less objectional form.

When at Opotiki, during the worst days of my stay there, I was strangely impressed with

the feeling that dear Volkner's blood had not been shed in vain. Had this outrage not been perpetrated, there cannot be a reasonable doubt but that Turanga would have followed Opotiki, and that the Taranaki party would have marched triumphant round the East Cape, and carried all before them, in which case the northern part of the island would have followed. But this dreadful murder has made it self-evident, even to the natives themselves, that the Pai Marire superstition is the work of the devil.

If the enemies of Missions at home are like those we have here, they will, no doubt, make the most of this murder to show the failure of

our work. If the natives are such a blood-thirsty race of cannibals as they are now said to be, what must have been the amount of the restraining influence of the Gospel for the last fifty years, so as to enable hundreds, yea, thousands of settlers to live in perfect safety in their midst, though entirely at their mercy? The causes which have led to the present state of things, for which we Missionaries suffer both from natives and Europeans, are entirely political, and have been caused by the war. From the natives we are suffering because of the supposed assistance we have given to Government, which they believe intends to take their island from them.

From the whole subject, as placed before us, we would deduce two lessons. There is an admonition conveyed to all Missionary Societies to take heed that the work they take in hand be thoroughly wrought out; that the foundations of the native churches be well laid on the Rock, and the whole structure not carried up too rapidly, nor yet at the same time unwisely delayed, but built perseveringly and surely. So soon as Christian congregations have been got together, let educational institutions be organized; schools for the children; training institutions for the development of a native agency, schoolmasters, catechists, native ministers. The more effectively this is done, the sooner will the maturity of a self-supporting native church be attained. To deal liberally in respect to such organizations is the best economy.

At home and abroad all work done for the Lord needs to be of this character, especially at the present time. There is abroad an energetic influence for evil, subtle and penetrative, seeking for what is unsound to fasten upon, and where it exists, sure to find it out whether it be in individuals or churches. Its action is like that of an epidemic which lays hold of predisposed constitutions. It is variable, and with facility adapts itself to the disposition and tendencies of men. In Europe it comes to the philosophical mind under the guise of science, falsely so called; to minds anxious on religious subjects, yet ignorant and uninstructed, it presents itself under a different aspect, and suggesting forms and ceremonies as especially deserving of attention, diverts men from the great realities of Christian truth. Availing itself of some moment of discouragement, when with the profession of Christianity which he has embraced, there are mingled tribulations, it commends to the recently-converted native the old times and the old customs, and, if the heart be not right with God, causes him to retrograde.

We are reminded in all this of one verse from holy writ—"Woe to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea; for the devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time." A forward movement on the part of Gospel truth has ever been followed by such a season.

The exhortation, therefore, of the apostle is peculiarly appropriate—"Be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord."

INDIA—ITS PROGRESS.

The following paper on this subject well deserves the attention of our readers. It was drawn up by one of our native pastors, the Rev. W. T. Saththianadhan, who is engaged in Missionary labours at Madras, in answer to certain questions of an important character, proposed to him by the Honorary Clerical Secretary of the Parent Society.

We shall first present the questions *seriatim*. It will be seen that they are precisely such questions as the friends of India, who are interested in her true progress, would desire to see ably answered, and this we think has been done by Mr. Saththianadhan. It is desirable that we should see India as it is from the stand-point of a native mind alike intelligent and Christian.

The queries which, it will be remembered, have more especial reference to Madras, are as follows—

1. Is there among the higher classes any thing of the same desire for superior English education, and for literary and scientific English cultivation, as there is in Calcutta?

2. Are they becoming Anglicised in their habits?

3. Do they seem in any way freed from the claims of Hinduism, and at all more favourably disposed towards Christianity?

4. Is there any increasing acquaintance with the Gospel, or respect for it among the middling and lower classes?

5. Any spread of female education, any breaking down of caste prejudices?

6. Are the native Christians becoming bolder, more independent, more feeling themselves to be a distinct body?

7. Among the native Protestants is there much sectarian animosity or denominational jealousy; or do they feel themselves to be one body in Christ; and is there any prospect of the rise (in the good sense of the words) of an Indian Catholic Church?

To these Mr. Saththianadhan replies as follows—

May 26, 1865—Your letter is a very important one, and requires a good deal of thought and observation. I look to God for help, and earnestly trust that He will enable me to answer your questions in such a manner as to convey not only clear but correct impressions of things, and stir you up to more prayers on behalf of our benighted country, and of the church planted in it. I will now proceed to answer your queries in the order in which they occur in your letter.

1. "Is there among the higher classes any thing of the same desire for superior English education, and for literary and scientific English cultivation, as there is in Calcutta?"

The Hindu community in Madras may be divided into two bodies, viz. the wealthier classes and the middle and poorer classes. To the former belong the trading classes, chiefly the Komaties, Beri Chetties, and Guzarati Soucaris. These people are not eager for English education. They are actually rolling in wealth, and do not therefore feel the need of superior education in English. If they attain the three R's they are contented; or should any of them deviate from this rule, and aspire after a higher standard of education, it is only with a view to fill intelligently their calling in life, and to acquire facility for intercourse with European merchants. These people are still untouched by the Gospel. The middle and lower classes, on the other hand, have a great thirst for English education. Among these classes education makes rapid

strides. An idea may be formed of it by a reference to the results of the Madras University. This was founded in 1857, and it has accomplished a great deal during the nine years of its existence. The number of matriculated students in the year 1857 was 20, whereas this year their number is no less than 225. In the year 1858 there were two B.A.'s; this year they number 11. To sum up: there are 657 matriculated students, 56 B.A.'s, 13 B.L.'s, and one M.D.

This thirst for English education on the part of the middle classes is increasing every day. The moment a school is opened, and the matriculation standard set up, young people flock to it in great numbers. The attainment of a University degree seems to be their sole object of life. I am not speaking of the Mohammedan population. Compared with the Hindus, they are a dull race, and display no taste for English education. But the Hindus are all for English, and they strain every nerve to attain it, even to the neglect of their own mother tongue. Some of them have taken a high place in the world of letters. Gopaul Row, a Brahmin of Combaconum, and the second master in the provincial school of that town, was one of the first B.A.'s, and, though a self-taught man, could not be approached by any of his companions, although most of them, if not all, were the *alumni* of the Presidency College. Of the eleven persons who took the degree of B.A. this year, one stands out foremost. His name is Rangana-

dham Mudali, first a pupil of the Pacheiyappan's Institution, and afterwards a student of the Madras Presidency College. He was the only one who was admitted into the first class, and, as such, carried off the valuable gold medal awarded by His Highness the enlightened Prince of Travancore, who liberally offers it to every one who takes the first-class B.A. Although English education is thus making rapid progress through the Presidency, yet it cannot stand in competition with Bengal. Baboo Keshub Chunder Sen, the late Secretary of the Brahma Somaj, who visited Madras a few months ago, in an English lecture delivered in the hall of the Calcutta Bethune Society, makes the following observations—
 "In education and intelligence I believe the Bengalees are superior to both the Madrasses and Bombayites. They are remarkable for the quickness of their understanding, their penetration, and the general acuteness of their intellectual powers. This hardly admits of a doubt; and many Europeans have cheerfully borne testimony to this fact. The magnificent results which have attended the educational efforts of our University contribute also an incontestable evidence, and have all along challenged admiration. There are many in Bombay who have expressed wonder at the long list of B.A.'s and M.A.'s, and other graduates, who every year receive honours from the Calcutta University; and they are really at a loss to make out by what mysterious agency we manage to manufacture so many degree-holders annually. The fact is, the Bengalee mind is possessed of a high order of intellectual powers."

There is no gainsaying this statement of the Baboo. As a confirmation of this, I may mention, that though there are fifty-six B.A.'s, Madras University can boast of no M.A.'s, while in the sister University in Calcutta there are, I believe, several who have attained this enviable distinction. There are various causes to account for this difference, the chief of which is poverty. The people being poor, compared with their richer brethren of Calcutta, they quit the school before they acquire that amount of knowledge which is necessary for the attainment of this maiden honour. For example, Ranganadham Mudali, above alluded to as having won his bachelor laurels, and become an admiration to many, has taken up a teacher's post at the Presidency College, and is thus debarred from prosecuting his studies with the same exclusive attention as before. This is only an illustration of the general state of things.

2. "Are they becoming at all Anglicised in their habits?"

There is a great tendency on the part of the

educated classes to adopt English manners and customs. Indeed, I may say that this tendency runs through the whole community. It is apparent in the erection of their houses, furniture, dress, and even food. The native houses were miserable buildings, with pent-up roofs, hardly admitting the air; but the style of their houses is far superior at present, exhibiting not only marks of architectural skill, but also showing a knowledge of the laws of health. Not only do they build fine, open, airy houses, but they also get them well furnished. There is no native house of any importance in Madras which has not tables, chairs, sofas, globe lights, &c. Nay, some houses have even pankahs. In their dress, too, this change is perceptible. Educated young men do not ride, or take a drive in the evenings, without wearing shoes and stockings. Some of them take their wives with them for a morning or evening drive. Some of the lowest classes, I mean the Pariahs, adopt the European dress, and rank themselves among the East Indians. This they do from motives of expediency or policy. As by birth they take a low place in the scale of society, they are treated with contempt by the higher classes. In order to avoid this, they assume European dress, and assimilate themselves to East Indians. Hence the East-Indian population is fast rising in numbers. The orthodox Hindus, however, do not thus denationalize themselves by putting on European costume entirely: they take a medium, combining the national dress with a portion of the European garb, at least when they are out of doors. This change affects their food too. On special occasions they have grand dinner parties, which more or less partake of the character of English entertainments. Almost all the dishes seen on European tables are seen on theirs, including the use of spirits. But this only occurs occasionally, and among a few of the so-called enlightened of the native community. Though there is this tendency on the part of the educated classes to imitate Europeans, and though, in some respects, they have adopted their manners, yet their progress in this is not so great or striking as it is in Bengal and Bombay, especially to outsiders. I may here introduce another extract from the Baboo's lecture. "Let us," says he, "next turn our attention to Madras. From the picture I have given you of this Presidency, it may be at once inferred that, being eminently bigoted and orthodox, she will not easily forego the ancient order of things. Under the influences of liberal education, she will advance with her other sisters in the path of civilization: however slow her progress may be, she will in time give up her prejudices

and obnoxious social institutions; but she will at the same time guard her nationality with unscrupulous care against the ravages of foreign fashions. Her conservatism will contribute a safeguard against denationalization. Bengal is in danger of being denationalized. Bombay is more so. In both these places I apprehend the tide of outlandish fashions may, in its sweeping course, destroy many of the good and useful institutions of Hindu society, and deprive us of many of its advantages and excellencies. Madras seems destined to hold out always her warning and protest against this process of denationalization, and thus help India in making national advancement, so that she may enjoy the priceless benefits of western civilization with all the simplicity of her primitive manners and the purity of her national institutions. It is certainly desirable that the great fabric of India's social aggrandizement should be upreared on the firm basis of her nationality; and that in being reformed we may not be converted into a different race or people altogether. Let us conscientiously throw aside all moral and social evils, whatever is impure in our domestic and social economy; but let us not extinguish our nationality, and seek meretricious prosperity with a mere patchwork of foreign customs and exotic manners. In this important work I hope Madras will greatly help us by carefully preserving whatever is good and pure in our social system."

3. "Do they seem in any way freed from the chains of Hinduism, and at all more favourably disposed towards Christianity?"

Hinduism, abstractedly considered, has very little hold upon the people. As a general rule, they see and acknowledge the inconsistencies and absurdities of their system. "Hinduism is sick unto death," according to the opinion of a Hindu; but what keeps it up and infuses a kind of life into it is the monster system of caste. Let the latter disappear, and we may be sure the former will die with it. In proportion as caste rules over the people, in the same proportion Hinduism rules over them. Caste, which is the bane of India, is more rampant here than it is in the sister Presidencies. Let Baboo Chunder speak again. "In comparison with Calcutta, Madras seemed to me to be the very fort of orthodoxy. Caste prejudices rule over the people with a despotic sway. The *photas*, or sacred paint, which the Madrasses wear on their forehead, the educated as well as the uneducated, denote the two grand religious sections into which they are divided—the Vaishnavas and the Saivas. Their kudumi, or *teeki* (the tuft of hair on the head), also strikes us as an unmistakeable evidence of their inveterate orthodoxy. They

attach great importance to this hair-lock; hence, for some time, I continued to be 'the observed of all observers,' on account of my head being innocent of it. Equally singular is their custom of leaving their shoes at the gate when entering gentlemen's houses or public offices, a custom to which the people adhere with religious strictness. The Brahmins of Madras are certainly less fortunate than their brethren of Bengal, as they are not only compelled to live exclusively on vegetable diet, but are strictly enjoined not to see the face of a Sudra during dinner, lest the defiling sight of that inferior sect may contaminate the purity of their character. The Sudras of Madras, however, enjoy greater license in matters of diet than those of Bengal. They are allowed to take, not only mutton, but fowl and onion."

But with the spread of education and European ideas and thoughts, the decline of caste, as well as Hinduism, is perceptible. This, I think, is the place for noticing the Veda Somajam, which was lately established by the educated Hindus of Madras, in imitation of the Brahmo Somaj of Calcutta. Its aims and objects may be gathered from its covenants, which are as follows—

1. "I shall worship, through love of Him, and the performance of the work He loveth, the Supreme Being, the Creator, Preserver, the Destroyer, the Giver of Salvation, the Omniscient, the Omnipotent, the Blissful, the Good, the Formless, the One only without a second; and none of the created objects—subject to the following conditions.

2. "I shall labour to compose and gradually bring into practice a ritual agreeable to the spirit of pure Theism, and free from the superstitions and absurdities which at present characterize Hindu ceremonies.

3. "In the mean time, I shall observe the ceremonies now in use, but only in cases where ceremonies are indispensable, as in marriages and funerals; or where their omission will do more violence to the feelings of Hindu community than is consistent with the proper interests of the Veda Somaj, as in Sradhas. And I shall go through such ceremonies, where they are not conformable to pure Theism, as mere matters of routine, destitute of all religious significance, as the lifeless remains of a superstition which has passed away.

4. "This sacrifice, and this only, shall I make to existing prejudices. But I shall never endeavour to deceive any one as to my religious opinions, and never stoop to equivocation or hypocrisy in order to avoid unpopularity.

5. "I shall discard all sectarian views and

animosities, and never offer any encouragement to them.

6. "I shall, as a first step, gradually give up all distinctions, and amalgamate the different branches of the same caste.

7. "Rigidly as I shall adhere to all these rules, I shall be perfectly tolerant to the views of strangers, and never intentionally give offence to their feelings.

8. "I shall never violate the duties and virtues of humanity—justice, veracity, temperance, and chastity.

9. "I shall never hold, or attend, or pay for, nautches, or otherwise hold out encouragement for prostitution.

10. "I shall encourage and promote, to the best of my power, the re-marriage of widows, and discourage early marriages.

11. "I shall never be guilty of bigamy or polygamy.

12. "I shall grant my aid towards the issue, in the vernaculars, of elementary Prayer-books and religious tracts, and also of a monthly journal, whose chief object shall be to improve the social and moral condition of the community.

13. "I shall advance the cause of general and female education and enlightenment, and particularly in my own family circle.

14. "I shall study the Sanskrit language and its literature (especially theological), and promote the cultivation of it by means not calculated to promote superstition."

"To-day, being the — day of the month of — of the Kalyabda —, I hereby embrace the faith of the Veda Somaj, and in witness whereof I set my hand to this."

Though we may say from all this that the Hindus are generally becoming freed from the fetters of heathenism, yet I do not think they are favourably disposed towards Christianity. Young Madras tries to set up a religion of its own, as young Bengal has done. Theism is its chief feature. Intuition is made the standard of judgment. The idea of an atonement does not enter into their system. Their religious instincts and aspirations being thus satisfied with a semblance of religion, their carnal mind, which is enmity against God, revolts from truth. Hence their opposition to Christianity.

4. "Is there any increasing acquaintance with the Gospel, or respect for it among the middling and lower classes?"

There is a great and increasing acquaintance with the Gospel on the part of the educated natives and the middling and lower classes. The multiplication of Christian schools, the circulation of Christian books and tracts, and the public and open-air preaching of the Missionaries, have all contributed

to produce this result. We cannot address a crowd without meeting with objections founded on a knowledge of Christianity. Only the other day, while I was preaching to a large audience from the steps of the Memorial Hall, one of them asked me the following question—"Well, you say that God was not the author of evil. How, then, is it stated in Genesis that God planted in the midst of the garden the tree of knowledge of good and evil, and that the eating of that fruit had produced evil, which shows clearly that the tree contained the germs and principles of evil?" Another man said, "We find in Scripture that circumcision was enjoined on the Jews as a perpetual ordinance, and that even Jesus Christ was circumcised. Why, then, do you Christians transgress this divine law by a studied neglect of it?" A third individual said, "You say that God has no form, and that He is a spirit: how can this be true in the face of that statement in Genesis, 'Let us make man in our own image,' &c. Frequently we hear people quoting the very chapter and text from a certain book, and making it the ground of their objection. I have often preached to the people in Tinnevelly, but have not observed so much intelligence and knowledge of Christianity as I find possessed by the people here.

While there is this increasing acquaintance with Christianity, I cannot say that there is much respect for it among the middling and lower classes. Very often there is a spirit of apathy and levity among them. They speak flippantly, and turn the most serious matters into ridicule, or into topics for most trivial conversation. Some of them go a step further: they take a hostile attitude, and destroy the tracts they have purchased. Occasionally some show even greater violence than this. A few weeks ago, while the catechist Samuel and I were preaching at the Elephant Gate to a large concourse of people, some of them became very boisterous, and even threatened to ill-treat us, but by God's help we returned home in safety. All this shows a want of respect for Christianity on the part of the people; still I think there is much cause for encouragement and gratitude. When I contrast the present state of public feeling in respect to our holy religion with what it was about nine years ago, there is every reason to thank God and take courage. Nine years since, while I was in Madras studying, I remember preaching to the heathen occasionally, and the opposition I then met with was something awful. The people would not receive Christian books and tracts even when we gave them gratis; but now many people buy them readily, and read them carefully. We

never give away a single tract gratis. Some of them listen most attentively, and argue very fairly and rationally on the subjects which we bring for their consideration and reception.

5. "Any spread of female education, any breaking down of caste prejudices?"

I may safely affirm that female education is spreading, chiefly through the agency of Missionary Societies. Of all the religious bodies, the Church Missionary Society takes a most prominent part in disseminating knowledge among the girls of a lower grade, both Christians and heathen, while the Free Church Mission takes a similar part in extending this blessing to the high-caste girls, chiefly heathen. There is a Society called the Native-Female Education Society, composed of European ladies of rank, who are interested in the spread of female education. This Society co-operates with the Church Missionary Society, and is eminently successful in conferring the boon upon a large number of poor children. There are two central schools, one in Black Town and the other at Chindatrepettah, in connexion with this Society, where there are about 230 children receiving a sound elementary education. The number of girls belonging to poorer classes, chiefly Pariahs, both Christian and heathen, receiving Christian education in schools belonging to all Societies, may be estimated at 800, and the number of high-caste heathen girls in all schools is about 650, of whom about 420 girls belong to the Free-Church Mission. Our Society had no caste-girl school whatever till last year, when my wife, impelled by a desire to do good to her heathen countrywomen, began one of her own accord on a small scale. This is the only school to which our Society can point throughout South India for the education of high-caste girls, if, perhaps, we except a similar school at Chindatrepettah, under the management of the Native-Female Education Ladies' Committee. This is a school started about a year since by Mrs. Winslow, the wife of the late Dr. Winslow, an American Missionary of happy memory in Madras, and was transferred to the Ladies' Committee on Mrs. Winslow leaving India about six months ago.

While the Missionary Societies are thus endeavouring to promote female education, the Hindus are not altogether indifferent about it. Time was when they were perfectly apathetic in the matter, but now the most enlightened of them manifest a desire to educate their female as well as male children. To quote the Baboo again—"In the midst of so much orthodoxy," he says, "it is cheering to notice

the progress which female education is making in Madras, while the comparative liberty which the females enjoy there is something really astonishing. These signs of enlightenment are not, however, the results of English education, nor the upshot of western civilization: they are, on the contrary, the established usages of the country, and indicate the primitive character of Hindu society."

I concur in the views expressed by the Baboo in regard to the spread of female education in Madras, though I do not agree with him in saying that it is not the result of the labours of European Christians. There are thirteen schools in the city of Madras, established by the Hindus themselves for the education of their female children. The number of girls receiving education in these schools is about 400. This speaks well for the Hindus of Madras, and is an indubitable proof of enlightenment on their part. I do not mean to say that it is as it ought to be. There are still mighty obstacles in the way of female education, arising from inveterate prejudice, caste, and custom, on the part of the majority of people, chiefly women; but what I do say is, that a day of better things is beginning to dawn, and I believe that, before long, the Hindus will feel it their duty to spread female education to the extent of their power. Even in the Mofussil there are signs of improvement in this respect. At Madura, a town noted for its orthodoxy, bigotry, and conservatism, there is a school opened by native officials for the education of females; and it is in reference to this that my brother, Joseph Cornelius, writes as follows in his journal—"Among other things I witnessed in Madura, my attention was particularly drawn to a Hindu female school, altogether conducted by Hindus, with two schoolmistresses from Madras, and a schoolmaster. I was asked to examine the girls. They are taught reading, geography, sewing, arithmetic, &c. This augurs well for India. It will not be long before her daughters are delivered from the thralldom in which they have been hitherto lying. When knowledge prevails, ignorance, the mother of superstition, will fly away. From such facts India's friends may well take courage."

I must now proceed to answer your inquiry regarding caste. The spirit of caste is gradually wearing away, while the form is kept up with great pretensions. Among the educated classes there are many who care very little about caste, and who show a great desire to break its fetters, and yet they retain its form for the sake of conformity with the usages of the country. Purushotam Mudali, who lately visited England, and who con-

ceived the extravagant notion of building a heathen temple in the metropolis of Great Britain, is a type of this class. I have little doubt but that he detests caste from the bottom of his heart, seeing the many evils which it entails on those who are under its influence; but still he does not renounce it *in toto*, simply because he thinks that, if he did so, he would not command the respect of his orthodox countrymen. There are many of his stamp among the educated natives in Madras. They disregard the performance of many of the religious duties belonging to their respective castes, and endeavour to promote the re-marriage of widows, and discourage the early marriages of their children. They sometimes have social meetings, at which they partake of food promiscuously, although they belong to different castes. They sometimes invite even some respectable native Christians to such gatherings. I do not say that the Madrassese are so far advanced in this as their bolder brethren at Calcutta. Compared with Bengal, Madras is still the "benighted Presidency," not only as regards learning and wealth, but also in respect to civilization and social improvement. Still I have reason to believe that the tide of change and advancement has set in here, and that it will, ere long, sweep away the barriers which stand in the way of India's reformation.

I am, however, grieved to say that the Government is not so helpful as it might be in bringing about this state of things. True, it is doing a noble work in educating the people, and thus indirectly helping forward the country's reformation; but by a strange and mistaken policy, it has put its ban upon the Bible. "Every thing but the best thing" seems to be its motto. Education is given in all branches of western science, but the divine science of the Bible has no place whatever in its curriculum. Not only is the Bible thus studiously excluded from the Government system of education, but it seems that no allusion, however remote, can be made to it, and no attack, however feeble, can be made on caste by any individual, in a public manner, with impunity. Mr. Richards, one of the Government Chaplains, and a Fellow of the Madras University, in his address to the graduates who took the degree of B.A. the other day, made a passing allusion to the Bible and caste; and yet the address, though an able and an excellent one, has been condemned by a majority of Fellows in the Senate, all of whom are high in position, and the usual rule has been set aside in refusing to request its publication. Perhaps the insertion of those passages in Mr. Richards' address may not be out of place here. He says—

"Your almost sole benefactor hitherto is the Government; and now what are the ends of Government herein? You have doubtless sufficiently studied the British character to know that there is at the heart of the British nation, in spite of all that may sometimes seem to belie it, a genuine, simple, earnest desire to benefit the races of men with whom the providence of God has brought us in contact, to raise and improve their condition as best we may. You have also been taught clearly to perceive what are the obstacles to improvement on the part of your fellow-countrymen, that they are evils for which education is the only remedy,—ignorance, prejudice, blind submission to custom, and that fearful system of caste which darkens the whole land, holding the masses in the most abject thralldom, and crushing every upward tendency of their nature. I believe the British Government hoped, in giving you a large and liberal education, to enlist your hearty services in making war on these gigantic evils."

In reference to the Bible, he makes the following observations in the last paragraph of the address—

"Gentlemen,—I have just one word more to say. I have intimated that it was the discovery of the records of a former civilization which quickened Europe into intellectual life; but there was one record which contributed more to this grand result than all the rest put together, and that was the Bible. The same dead and forgotten language, in which lay buried treasures of Grecian art and literature, had also entombed the originals of the Bible, and it was its translation into the mother tongues of England and Germany that, beyond all other causes, tended not only to the development of those languages, but the formation of the English mind and the German mind. Hence western civilization in its best aspects; hence also western science; for it was the knowledge of the Bible which set free the human mind, emancipating it from the long thralldom of a false philosophy, and started it upon its new career of discovery. Why should I hesitate to speak to you about the Bible? It is the greatest fact in the world's history. I hesitate not, indeed, to avow my entire concurrence with the policy which determined that it was not to enter into the course of instruction provided in the institutions of Government; but, at the same time, I avow my opinion, that this has been to your loss. Gentlemen, I am constrained to remind you that there has been just one defect in your education—an unavoidable defect, I admit, under the circumstances of the case—it is, that no provision has been made for the development of the higher and nobler

part of your being. Be assured that, after all, literature can do but little, physical science can do less, to satisfy the cravings of your higher nature. I can only express my most earnest and ardent hope that, through some other agency, you may have the want supplied."

What is in all this, I ask, which could give offence to a Christian Government or a University chiefly composed of Christian gentlemen? I think that Mr. Richards' allusion to the Bible was very meagre, and his statement, that the Government is right in excluding it is not what I am prepared to admit; and yet the whole address was unceremoniously thrown away, because it contained a few commonplace remarks on the Bible and caste. The policy of Government seems to me to be suicidal. It promotes education on every hand, but "knowledge is power." Like a two-edged sword, it may cut either way. Knowledge unrestrained by moral or religious principle is more likely to become potent for evil than for good. It may lead them to rebel against the lawful Government, and to the commission of such atrocities and brutalities as a Nana alone is capable of perpetrating. But the Government, by a strange infatuation, does not see its own interests and advantages. The knowledge of the Bible will arm the people for war against superstition, custom, and caste, which tend to the prostration of India's mind, and the thralldom of ages to which she has been subject. Even the Hindus see and acknowledge this in terms more decided than Mr. Richards', especially in reference to caste, which, like the deadly Upas, spreads its noxious and blighting influence far and wide over this benighted land, and renders it a waste moral wilderness, where "all life dies, and death itself lives." I beg to introduce a passage from the writings of a learned and an enlightened Hindu, which will show how even the Hindus deplore the evils of caste, and how they devoutly wish for that time when this hydra-headed system of caste shall be swept away from India—

"Though not myself a Christian, in marshalling arguments against the institution of castes, I cannot well overlook the beautiful doctrines of that revelation, which makes no distinction but between the virtuous and the vicious, recognises no uncleanness but that of the heart, and invites the poorest and the proudest to one common heaven. The heaven of the Hindus, like their earth, is made for Brahmins alone, and, before the soul can wing its flight thither, it must, as a general rule, have passed its Brahminical birth. But the religion of the Gospel inculcates doctrines of a different character. Is thy soul athirst for

God? Dost thou pant after Him as the hart panteth after the water-brooks? Have the words of the law been a lamp unto thy feet, and a light unto thy path? If so, be of good cheer, whoever thou art, it matters not if thou art Jew or Gentile—the gates of heaven shall be open to let thee in. Christianity everywhere recognises the equality of mankind. The rich and the poor meet together, it says, for the Lord is the maker of them all; and it tells us to be as brothers to each other, to love our neighbours as we love ourselves, and to do to others as we would be done by. How does all this contrast with the injunctions of caste, which declare to the Brahmin that he is God's vicegerent upon earth, and that he must not pollute himself by coming into too close contact with his neighbours; and to the Sudra that servitude is his portion through life, and that he must invariably look up to the higher classes with reverence and fear." Let this speak for itself.

6. "Are the native Christians becoming bolder, more independent, more feeling themselves to be a distinct body?"

I may answer this question by a "Yes." In thought and feeling they are much more decided and independent than before, but in action they are not so. The majority are poor, consequently they have no social status. They are hardly recognised by Government, nor owned by the Hindus. Their poverty, their fewness in number, and their ignorance are some of the causes why they occupy such a low place in the scale of society. True, there are some Christians who fill respectable positions in Government, such as native judges, collectors, surgeons, &c., but unfortunately these are men who do not present a bold front, nor act as centres of influence and light to their heathen countrymen. However high they may be for official fitness, they do not shine as Christians. Being surrounded by influences hostile to Christianity and the growth of personal piety, their course is marked by declension in spirituality, and even by a want of honesty and integrity in the discharge of their duties. Their temptation is to imitate their fellow-heathen officials, and sacrifice truth and moral probity. There are a few honourable exceptions, but this, I think, is the general rule.

Add to this the influence of caste, to which so many are still subject. I grieve to think that there are a great many who boast more of their caste than of their Christianity. The Jaffna Christians, of whom there are some in Madras in high situations under Government, are emphatically so. Most of them are able men, the graduates of the University, and well versed in mathematics, physics, metw-

physies, &c., but they are ignorant of the A B C of Christianity. Some of them are avowed heathen, and none of them are Christians beyond the bare name and profession. The native Christians belonging to the Leipsic Lutheran Mission are also of this description. It is a melancholy fact, that while the other Societies are waging war against caste, and are striving to uproot it from the church, the Lutheran Society tolerates and fosters it. All caste Christians find an asylum in this caste-tolerating Society, as it may be called. The consequences are obvious. There is no bond of union between these Christians and others who have no caste, or renounced it. No wonder, then, that such Christians fail to manifest a real concern for the salvation of their countrymen, or any feelings of patriotism or philanthropy so essential for the spontaneous outgoings of a loving heart, or for any bold action on the side of humanity and truth. These remarks are applicable only to caste-keeping Christians and others whose religion is not of a high order. There are some Christians in connexion with every Society who have a real desire to benefit their countrymen, and extend the Redeemer's kingdom in this dark land.

7. "Among the native Protestants, is there much sectarian animosity or denominational jealousy, or do they feel themselves to be one body in Christ; and is there any prospect of the rise (in the good sense of the words) of an Indian Catholic church?"

I am very happy to be able to state that among the native Christians there is no such thing as sectarian animosity or denominational jealousy. The Lord has graciously preserved his infant church in India from this evil; for I consider it an evil, inasmuch as it has an injurious effect upon others. There is too much of this spirit among many European Christians, which unfortunately tends to mar that union, sympathy, and co-operation which ought to exist among the disciples of the Lord Jesus. However faulty the character of the native Christians may be in other respects, in this matter I may thankfully mention they are free from blame. Most of them being converts to Christianity, their sympathies and views run in the same direction. I think a good deal of sectarian spirit is the result of education and early association, but the education which the native Christians receive, being of a general character, this result is absent. Consequently they feel to be one body in Christ, and manifest a common interest in the cause of their common Master and Redeemer. Of course I am now speaking only of real native Christians. This is the place for me to introduce a brief account of the Satthia Veda Somajam, or the

true Veda Society. This is an Association formed by the leading native Christians of Madras, belonging to almost all religious Societies, whose object is to "help forward the religious, moral, and social progress of the Hindus, by means of lectures, discussions, and occasional tracts, in English and the vernaculars, based on sound Bible principles." This was got up principally with a view to counteract the influence of the Veda Somajam, already alluded to, and to place the truths of Christianity before the mind of the educated natives. Several leading European gentlemen take a real interest in the Somajam, of whom the Lord Bishop and his able and excellent chaplain, Mr. Smith, and the venerable the Archdeacon, are the most prominent. They have delivered lectures on behalf of this Somajam, adapted to the mind of the educated Hindus. Mr. Smith has delivered a course of lectures on the Bible, and conducted the "Satthia Dwajam," or "Banner of Truth," the organ of the Somajam, in an efficient and admirable manner, but he leaves for England next month, and it will be a loss to the Somajam, and, indeed, to the whole country. All this will show that there is a real union among native Christians of different Societies, and that they endeavour to exercise an influence for good among their countrymen. This is certainly a hopeful sign; but nevertheless I am not in a position to give an affirmative answer to your question regarding the Indian Catholic church. My feeling is that the prospect is yet far distant in the future. Neither the numerical strength nor the social importance of the native Christians is such as to warrant a speedy realization of this desired object. The native Christians, as a rule, are still in a state of pupilage and dependence. Those elements are wanting in their education which will advance them socially and intellectually among their countrymen, and ultimately end in their freedom and independence.

The Hindus are making rapid progress in intellectual attainments, and if the native Christians do not keep pace with them, they will be left in the back-ground. I think that friend is right, to whom Mr. Thomas alludes in his report, as having made the following remark—"If you keep back your people from a knowledge of English, they will be found, some years hence, infinitely distanced by their fellow-countrymen in knowledge, status, and influence." This has always been my view of the case. India is in a transition state. Western science and western civilization affect the whole current of public thought and feeling. Inveterate prejudices are removed, time-honoured institutions fall before

the march of intellect and civilization. Every thing indicates progress and improvement. If the native Christians do not, by their knowledge and attainments, rise to the exigencies of the age, they will not only sink in the estimation of their heathen countrymen, but will also fail to exercise that moral influence over them which, as Christians, they ought to do. You will think that I am a strong advocate for English education. And so I am. I feel persuaded that nothing short of a thorough sound English education, combined with a complete knowledge of the vernacular, will answer the objects contemplated by the church. At present there is not a superior educational institution in the Madras Presidency: the Government schools and colleges impart superior secular education; but I mean an institution which combines this education with a sound biblical instruction, similar, perhaps, to the college which has just been opened by our Society at Calcutta. Such an institution will answer two important purposes: it will be the means of giving a liberal education to native Christians, which is a great *desideratum*, and scriptural education to the Hindus. Such an education to Hindus is a crying want of India. The secular education they receive from Government reacts injuriously, not only on their own minds, but on the country in general, and unless counteracted by a Christian institution of superior pretensions, it may ultimately lead to dangerous results.

I fear my letter has run to a great and tedious length, and must therefore draw it to

No one, we think, can rise from the perusal of this paper without feeling persuaded that the present condition of India is one of the deepest interest. The development of that great country under western influences is decisive and rapid; and the convictions which we gather from this document are strengthened by the fact, that it is not from Calcutta, where the process of assimilation is strongest, but from Madras, where it is weakest, that the survey has been made. Material improvements are progressing. The great Trunk Road from Calcutta to the north-west, and the use of horses instead of bearers, were welcomed as evidences of advancing civilization; but now the railway, with its inflexible regulations, has come into action, and caste is found to be an incubance and discomfort. Native intellect, roused up from the torpor of ages, is thoroughly awake, and, with remarkable acuteness, is applying itself to the acquisition of western knowledge. What need is there not of Christianity to regulate the national movement, and teach men how to use aright the new powers they have attained? The danger is, lest secular knowledge so far outstrips the onward movement of Christianity as to work mischief before overtaken by the higher influence; and the danger is increased by the fact, that while Government applies all its power to the acceleration of the one, it stands aloof from the efforts which are promotive of the other. There is the more need, then, for private enterprises of the true Christian character. Christianity has gained a footing in India, that country of strong prejudices and ancient superstitions. It has won the attention of the natives, and, commending itself to their esteem, is being increasingly and respectfully regarded. The present moment is opportune for work

a close. On taking a calm and dispassionate view of the subject of the letter, I think that the one word by which it may be characterized is *progress* — progress in material prosperity, progress in railway and telegraphic communications, progress in intellectual attainments, and progress in Christian institutions. The view that may be taken of all this may be different in different cases. The statesman may be satisfied with improvements in the administration of the country; the philosopher may be satisfied with the progress of arts and sciences; the patriot may be satisfied with the outward freedom and prosperity of his country; but the Christian views every thing from a peculiar stand-point and in the light of eternity. He sees in the progress of knowledge a fulfilment of prophecy. "Many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased." He rejoices in every change which tends to the elevation of his race; he hails every improvement and every upward and onward movement; but never will he be satisfied until he sees his dear Redeemer's kingdom stretch from pole to pole, and until all the nations of the earth are brought to know Him, and crown Him Lord of all. This is the consummation that he is devoutly wishing for, praying for, labouring for. May the Lord pour down his Holy Spirit upon his church and the heathen world, and make his arm bare in the sight of nations, so that they may all know Him, from the least to the greatest, and find pardon, peace, light, and life in Him!

—a time not to slacken but to intensify our efforts. Yet at such a crisis pecuniary means are wanting, and the Church Missionary Society, its Indian fund exhausted, and its ordinary income unequal to the existing expenditure, is compelled to stay the extension of its operations.

That, if we had the means, the men would not be wanting, is evident from the paper which we have just submitted to our readers. Addressing ourselves on a point like this to influenced Christians exclusively, we must remind them that the gifts which are needful to qualify a church for usefulness, are not produced by the force of intellect, but the gifts of the administrating Spirit, in answer to prayer and the diligent use of appointed means. "There are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh in all." When, in the midst of a heathen nation, a Christian church has been raised up, He who formed it will not fail to furnish it with all the gifts and appliances which may be needful to render it, in the midst of that nation, an evangelizing church.

Only let us not hinder its growth by undue caution, and render it weak and dependent by affording it no scope for the exercise of its powers. Complete the organization of the native churches, and, by the blessing of God, they will do their work. Give them not only the native pastorate, but the native episcopate. As the proper juncture arrives, let them be set free, as the native church in Western Africa has been set free, and we shall soon see them in healthful evangelizing action.

Recent Intelligence.

NEW ZEALAND.

THE following extracts from various letters and journals will place before our readers the details of intelligence from this distracted Mission.

First, we introduce some from the correspondence of the Bishop of Waiapu, in which he describes the proceedings of the Pai Marire after Mr. Volkner's death, and the position in which he found himself—

Turanga, March 25, 1865.

The accompanying notes will give you some idea of our present position. Our three families all sleep under my roof, and the house is guarded through the night by men under arms. The cause for apprehension is the near position of Mr. Volkner's murderers; and so long as they are in the neighbourhood, we shall feel it necessary to watch. But a sad feature of this case is, that the natives who ought to be rallying around us are those who are led away by these fanatics. We are, therefore, left to ourselves, and, with two exceptions, there are only the men belonging to the school who are with us. It might be supposed that perhaps there had been a long-existing alienation of these natives from among us, but the contrary is the case: there has existed a most friendly feeling. I believe, too, that the Whakatohea had a very kindly regard for poor Mr. Volkner up to the time of the arrival of these Pai Marire. This fa-

natical delusion is clearly a device of Satan. The form which they have prepared for worship is a most miserable attempt—a few sacred words, which are blasphemously mixed up with a large amount of nonsense. There is no attempt at system, no doctrine, no deliverance from sin, no salvation; but these forms are put together, and are repeated for the present with an amount of earnestness which works wonderfully upon the feelings. There is also the practice of, I fancy, a mesmeric influence, or of electro-biology, which, upon weak and superstitious minds, leads to a belief of something supernatural. They have trifled with things sacred, and God seems to have sent among them strong delusion that they should believe a lie. But it is not here only that these extravagances are rife. When you have in Protestant England, and among those who have been instructed with great care, a disposition to fall into the abominable superstition of Popery,

we need not wonder at what happens in New Zealand. The great moving principle of Pai Marire is, that it is a scheme which promises a successful termination of the war with which we are afflicted; and it is mixed up with an amount of abomination which is meant to draw out the vilest passions of our sinful nature. Happily the time is short. He who said, "Lo, I come quickly," is nigh at hand. He has given us the sign of his coming, and we may almost, now in the time of trouble, lift up our heads; our deliverance is nigh.

Journal of proceedings relative to the Taranaki fanatics who visited Opotiki.

March 1—Harawhira Te Nahu came early to my house to say that a messenger had come from Opotiki, bringing letters from Mohi Tamate, a Turanga native, and from Henare Parekura: two of these were for me, and stated that Pai Marire, from Taranaki were at Opotiki; that Mr. Grace's house at Taupo, and Mr. Volkner's at Opotiki, had been plundered, and all the property sold by auction; also that these natives were on their way to this place for the purpose of making Hirini Te Kani king. There was some excitement through the day, and in the evening the runanga met at Pohoo Mahaki. There was a good assemblage, but the people from Waikato were not present, owing to the want of early information. The character of the speaking was very good; all against the proceedings of these people. Manihera, the messenger, was called upon to give his statement, and confirmed all that the letters contained, and intimates that all the Whakatohea had joined this delusion. Addressing me, he said, "We received our Christianity from you formerly, and now we give it you back again, having found some better way, by which we may be able to keep possession of our country." As he had made no mention of what they proposed to do with the white people, I said, "Now don't be afraid of speaking openly before me. Whether it is good or bad, let us hear what you think of doing with the Pakeha." He replied, "The orders of Horopapera are, that all the Pakeha shall be killed, whether they are clergymen or laymen." "Very good," I said; "we now have a clear understanding of the matter."

March 6—It was near ten o'clock at night when Wi Pere came to tell me that Aperahama Tutoko had just arrived from Opotiki, and stated that "Mr. Volkner and Mr. Grace had arrived at Opotiki; that Mr. Volkner, and one hundred persons from on board the vessel, had been killed; and that the Tiu of Horopapera were on their way to this place,

bringing with them the head of Mr. Volkner, and also that Mr. Grace was being brought as a prisoner with another white man." Messengers were despatched immediately to Whakato and to Turanganui, to call the people together. It was also said that Aperahama had a special charge from Mohi Tamatia of this place, who is at Opotiki, to tell Horomona secretly what had happened, and recommend that all the white inhabitants should get out of the way for the time, until these Tiu are off the ground.

March 7—At nine o'clock I was talking with two of our friends from the coast, who came last night, when a party of twelve, nearly all leading men from Whakato, came up to the back of the house. While they were there having breakfast, others were collecting rapidly on the lawn in front, and soon there was a large assemblage. They were come to give expression to their feelings, and to take counsel. The first speaker was *Paraone Te Hinake*.—His opinion was, that the strangers should not be allowed to come nearer than Taureka, which is about two miles off. That if they were persons we could approve of, we should treat them with hospitality; but that now they should return from thence to Opotiki.

Rev. Hare Tawhaa said if these people had gone to Waiapu, or to Lokomaru, they would have found natives of like mind with themselves; but that they had no business at Turanga.

Renatu Te Atopaki.—"If we reject this new superstition, these our Pakehas, and ourselves, will be safe; but if we trifle with it, and give it any countenance, we shall then destroy them and ourselves."

Kerehona Pirraka.—"The object of these people is evident: they have been trying for a long period to induce Turanga to take up the quarrel with the Pakeha; but having failed, they wish now to persuade us to join them in murder, and to elect Kirini as king, in order that we may be involved in one common trouble."

Anaru Matete.—"There is no reason for the bishop to move: let him and all the Pakeha remain quiet. We will, in the mean time, go up to Taureka, and hear further particulars from this messenger."

Tamiti Ta Rangi.—"Let the bishop remain quiet where he is; and as for the proposal to elect a king, we will not hear of it: it would only be a cause of evil."

Whiteriki Oikau, a person of inferior importance, spoke of the great power of the Tiu, and that, though there were 500 here to protect me, it would be of no avail against the thirty Tiu.

This sentiment met with no favour from the meeting: they looked upon him as a man under a delusion. There were a few others who volunteered their advice that I should move out of the way. To this I replied that we had abundant proof that Tius are subject to all the casualties of flesh and blood, like other people; that, some months ago, a party of one hundred, under one of their leaders, went to Wanganui to cut off the white people; that they were met by Wanganui natives, and were all killed; and that, a few weeks ago, at Waitotara, some of the same parties rushed madly on the soldiers, believing themselves to be invulnerable, when seventy-seven of their number were killed. I added, that the assurance of the natives of this place was quite sufficient to remove any grounds of uneasiness on my part.

March 11—After three days of suspense, during which we had serious misgivings whether these fanatics would come at all into this district, and consequently whether Mr. Grace might not be left indefinitely to their tender mercies, news was brought at sunset that this party is at Waikohu, up the valley, and that they may be here to-morrow. Messengers were at once sent off to bring the natives together. Raharuhi was hesitating about bringing the people upon Sunday; but I wrote decidedly to them to leave at daybreak. It is reported that Mr. Grace is left behind.

March 12: Lord's-day—I went out at day-break, but all was very quiet; but presently a woman came into the yard for water, who told me that a number of the older people had come up in the night, and that the body of the natives were to leave at daylight. Went after breakfast to Te Pohoo Mahaki, to see those who had arrived, and settled that we would wait till the rest of the people had come up. At about half-past eight a cloud of dust announced their near approach, and presently about 250 armed men marched up in the greatest order. It was a new sight for Turanga, which had not been seen for five-and-twenty years—men under arms, and that, too, on the Sabbath-day. Preparations had been made for our friends, and, with the help of 200 lbs. of bread from the school, they were soon refreshed. We then had service under the trees, and all was as quiet as though there had been no excitement. On the 11th of March, last year, our friend Volker arrived from Opotiki, to attend the Synod. He came through the forest by the same road which his murderers have now traversed. He interested us much by his lively account of the natives at Opotiki, and of the painful excitement through which he had passed on occasion of their determining to go off to Wai-

kato to join Tamihana. Now, at our English service, I had the painful circumstances of his cruel death to allude to. But he has joined the company of those who, having come out of great tribulation, have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, and are now before the throne of God. Heard in the evening that this party is to be at Taureka to breakfast, which is distant about two miles.

March 14—The whole body of our natives, perhaps about 600, went to Taureka. It was understood that, when they had an interview, the chief Hirini was to require their return from this place. After the usual ceremony of speaking had been gone through, the meeting was broken up in confusion, and, by a preconcerted plan, these fanatics were invited to go to other villages, to be there treated with hospitality. I was also told that the tribe Te Whanau Kai are intending to receive this new abomination, and that there is a general disposition to fraternize with these wretches. I wrote a very strong letter to the runanga, and my son wrote another, which I committed to Tamihana Rutapa, one of the leading men. I told them that if they follow out this course, and unite themselves with murderers, I will at once leave them. Went to the runanga's house, which is close by, and found the people much cast down by the aspect of affairs. Poor old Raharuhi said, "You will not go: I will send these people away myself."

March 16—These fanatics having said much about their power to work miracles, and, among other things, being able to draw ships on shore, a native went to them this morning and gave them a fair challenge to drag on shore a steamer now at anchor. This led to a thorough discomfiture of the party, and they decamped in great anger to the village they slept at the preceding night, where they have met with more favour. It is said they wait there until they are joined by a party of their friends, who are daily expected by way of Wairoa.

April 1—These Pai Marire are still here, and have done an immense amount of evil. They have worked upon the minds of many weak natives, and some of those in whom we placed the greatest confidence have been led away.

The Government have most kindly responded to our call. First H.M.S. "Eclipse" came with Bishop Selwyn. Then the steamer "Lady Bird" followed, to render any assistance that might be required. But at that time there was a better prospect.

We then concluded that the children and the females should be sent away, so as to leave those who remain less embarrassed.

This was about to have been done to-day, by a sailing vessel belonging to this place. In the mean time the Government have sent the steamer "St. Kilda," and the party will go off in her to Napier. There will then remain Mrs. Williams and myself, my son Leonard, and Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, and two of my daughters. If then there should be a sudden alarm from a distance, we shall be in a position to move from our present residence to a part of the bay where natives can be relied on.

In the mean time the Lord of Hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge. He will, I doubt not, overrule all that is now passing to the furtherance of the Gospel.

This Pai Marire is a deeply-laid scheme of the devil, whom God will bruise under our feet shortly.

The object they had in coming over to this side of the island is this—They have been beaten in Waikato; they had before them the prospect of being beaten between Taranaki and Wanganui; and they were anxious to look out for a convenient retreat. They fancy they can find this here, and they talk of coming back with 600 men shortly; but should they do so, they will find themselves met by stout opposition from the Government. The natives are much to be pitied; but they have allowed themselves to be brought under this delusion in the face of the clearest warning.

April 5—Napier. On the 1st, we were under serious apprehension. These fanatics were living within two miles of us, under the countenance of the natives. The murderer of Mr. Volkner had made no scruple to avow his wishes respecting myself. The principal natives, who had stood up boldly in opposition at first, were now being drawn under the evil influence. Patara, a most designing, artful man, who professed to disapprove of the murder, but was most undoubtedly privy to, and approving the whole transaction, had contrived to insinuate himself into the good opinion of those leading men; and a few days ago he called at the stores of some of the settlers, under the escort of those chiefs, professedly

for the purpose of assuring them that there was no reason for apprehension on their part; but on this occasion he made use of most insulting language, which amounted to a threat to treat them with violence on the return of these fanatics. This he did in the presence of the chief, and therefore with their sanction. This proceeding was sufficient to alarm the settlers generally, and several families were leaving on the 1st. On the 2nd, which was Sunday, we received a further intimation, which arose out of the arrival of a party from Otaki, who had been long expected as visitors here. The chief man of the party is Wi Tako, a man well disposed to the Government, and taking a strong view against these Pai Marire. He reprobated strongly the vacillating policy of the Tauranga natives. This expression aroused the worst feelings of the fanatics, and they prepared at once to act on the defensive, and threatened to make a general raid upon the white inhabitants. The friendly natives advised that we should at once remove out of the way. I was prepared to leave our home, and go and occupy our old station, among natives more to be depended upon, and there to watch proceedings. It was finally concluded that all the females should be removed, and that only my son Leonard, with Mr. Samuel Williams, and one of my nephews, should remain and watch the course of events. On the afternoon of the next day, the 3rd, I left in the steamer "St. Kilda," which had been kindly sent by the Government to look after the refugees. Our party consisted of nineteen, including Mr. and Mrs. E. Clarke. The prospect for the natives is very gloomy. If they persist in following the blind course which they now have taken up, they must come into collision with the Government. A meeting was to have been held yesterday, and I hope that the influence of the chief Wi Tako may induce them to retrace their steps. It is a sad conclusion, after twenty-five years of labour, to be obliged then to leave; but God has his own design to accomplish, and we know that the end will be his glory. We start for Auckland on Friday.

We add to these an account of the proceedings in the Turanga district, written by the Rev. S. Williams, and addressed to the Superintendent of Hawke's Bay—

Turanga, April 20, 1865.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the Hau-hau, which, up to the 31st ult., were fast gaining ground, and, only a week since, were making use of very insolent and defiant language, have, to say the least, received a most decided check.

Their arguments have been thoroughly confuted, and the falsehood of their statements with reference to the success of their party, as

well as their unfounded claim to supernatural power, have been completely exposed.

Kereopa had been so well received that he was expected at Makaraka, in company with some of the Turanga chiefs, to have his likeness taken, when the news of our arrival induced him to keep in the back ground; and after threatening to gratify his cannibal appetite upon Wi Tako, as well as upon the clergy, he left the district on the 5th inst., much dis-

couraged and alarmed. Patara, who found it convenient to disclaim any connexion with the Opotiki murder, and pretended to condemn Kereopa's proceedings, was using every means in his power to establish himself in the district, and to push his way to the Ngatiparou at Waiapu and the Kauakaua.

The Taitanga-a-Mahaki Hau-hau were determined, in defiance of all that was said in opposition, to bring Patara forward at the Waerengaahika runanga; but, upon reaching the spot on the 10th inst., and finding that the friendly natives would not meet him, they made use of most violent threats against all strangers and sympathizers with the Government, and then retired. Most of them, however, returned on the following morning, without Patara and the rest of the Taranaki party; and, at the termination of the meeting, it was evident that what had been said had made a most decided impression, for there was a marked change in their tone and manner. Several of them have since left the Hau-hau, among whom is Henare Ruru, one of their most influential men, and who has openly denounced their proceedings. The manner in which they ran from Whakato when challenged to draw the "Lady Bird" on shore; their failure in attempting to get the "Eclipse" ashore at Opotiki; as well as the failure of the Urewera and Wairoa party in attempting to draw the "St. Kilda" ashore at Whareongeongo, have been constantly cast in their teeth in not very complimentary language. Patara evidently found the ground breaking from under him, and he left Taureka on Sunday last for the Bay of Plenty.

At the Whakato runanga the constant cry of the natives was, "Stop the war, or every corner of the island will soon be in arms." The reply was, "How can you speak of peace when you have been encouraging people in your district who are not only Hau-haus, but murderers of innocent Europeans? Had you apprehended these murderers upon their reaching this place, and handed them up to the authorities, you would have distinguished yourselves, and might have obtained a hearing." The residents again said, "Stop the war, and the Hau-hau may soon die out. It is only supported by sympathy for the people who are being slain, and for the land which is being taken from them. As for the murder, let the Governor arrange that at Opotiki." To this it was replied, "You are putting the cart before the horse. First give up the murderers and put down the Hau-hau, and then talk of peace."

The extraordinary amount of suspicion which was exhibited by many towards every thing that had been said or done by the English, and as to their ultimate intentions with re-

gard to the native race, was most painful to witness; but the testimony borne by the Otaki and Ahuriri chiefs to the truth of the statement, that it was not the wish of the English to exterminate the Maoris and deprive them of their land, but that, on the contrary, a very kindly feeling had all along been manifested towards them (murderers excluded), and that the Government would rejoice at the prospect of peace if it could be secured on a satisfactory basis, appeared to have a very great effect in restoring confidence and allaying irritation of feeling. After considerable discussion, it was arranged that if the Hau-hau were expelled from the district, a general meeting should be called at Ahuriri, as being the most central spot, to which the leaders of the tribes now in arms against the Government should be invited to discuss the terms of peace.

I cannot speak too highly of the valuable assistance which has been rendered by Wi Tako, Matene te Whiwhi, and their party, who came up with me in the "St. Kilda," in checking the advance of the Hau-hau, and in keeping the peace of the district during the recent crisis; for there is little doubt that, but for their presence, and the exertions they have made, Kereopa and Patara would by this time have had the whole district under their command.

Since the departure of the Taranaki party I have visited Taureka and Oatutahi, the head-quarters of the Hau-hau, in company with Archdeacon W. L. Williams and some of the friendly chiefs, where we were treated with great civility. The people generally appeared ashamed of their late conduct; and from the way in which the principal men expressed themselves, I am led to the conclusion that their attachment to the Hau-hau religion is not very deeply rooted, but that, on the contrary, its influence is already declining. From these considerations I am encouraged to hope that there need be no apprehension of any immediate disturbance in this district.

It is only just to state that there were some of the Taitanga-a-Mahaki tribe who were deeply grieved at the conduct of their own people, and who would, I believe, have been ready, if it had been necessary, to risk their own lives in defence of the bishop and his family.

In conclusion, I would remark that the fact of the bishop having left the district, as he did under such trying circumstances, had a most salutary effect in inducing the natives to reconsider the position in which they were placing themselves, and was a powerful lever in the hands of those who were trying to expel the murderers from the district, and to put down the Hau-hau.

The following suggestions are from the pen of one of our correspondents—

Auckland, May 5, 1865.

The political aspect of the country is deplorable. The real cause of nearly all our troubles appears to be our having had a constitutional Government at least thirty years too soon. It looks very doubtful whether any thing but an absolute Government will be able to extricate us from our present difficulties. The natives have lost all confidence, and are worked up to desperation, while Europeans appear equally desperate and most unreasonable. Our basis of Government, since 1854, has been, in a great measure, unsound and unjust, and we are now reaping the consequence of our doings.

The prospect before the natives appears to be extermination. If this be the case, can any thing be done to prevent it? I feel that something may even yet be done. The first step should be an *absolute Government*, which many, even here, are beginning to feel will have to be resorted to.

Next, if the home Government would determine to try separation, and give up the idea of amalgamation, and determine that certain native districts should be proclaimed, in which no land should be sold to Europeans, and in which no Europeans or traders would be allowed to settle, there would still be hope, and every reason to believe that we should save and civilize and christianize a large remnant of this race.

The first district thus proclaimed might take in the whole of the Waiapu diocese, with a little more. I would carry the boundary-line from where it now starts to the north-east of Tauranga to a mountainous range on the west side of Taupo, a principal point of which is called Titiraupinga; from thence along the summit of the range to Ruapaha; and then, turning eastward, strike the north bank of the Mohaka river at Tarawera; and from thence follow the east bank of the river to the sea. If Tauranga should fall into the hands of Europeans, I would commence the line half-way between Tauranga and Maketu.

There might also be two other smaller native districts, one from the heads of the Wanganui, down the west side of the river to Pipiriki, and from thence to Mount Egmont, and another to the north of Wellington. One also in the north of the island. I quite believe that if the natives now living in the first-named district felt sure that their lands would not be touched, but be secured to them and their children, they would at once draw off from the war; and it should be remembered

that they comprise full one half of the native inhabitants of this island, and are so compactly situated, and in such an inaccessible country, that it will take many years and a vast amount of blood and treasure to exterminate them.

Could these districts be proclaimed, natives living out of them might be encouraged to sell their lands and buy into the native districts, and so live amongst their countrymen. Those who would prefer to live amongst the Europeans would for a certainty die out in a few years. For the purposes of trade the natives are quite able to sail their own vessels, and so take their produce to the towns, and procure what they want in the way of European supplies. An absolute Government would also be able to make arrangements for the protection of natives trading in the towns, and effectually to prevent contraband traffic in spirits, arms, &c.

The impossibility of the two races living together struck me very forcibly after I had been a short time here. On my journey to Taupo in January last, I met with a highly respectable gentleman, who has travelled much amongst aborigines, and spent many years amongst the Indians of America. The result of all his observations and experience is, that he lays it down as a settled point, that it is quite impossible for the civilized and the uncivilized man to live together, and that separation is the only hope for aborigines. This he considers has been done in America with some success.

There is no doubt but that the natives of this country are the finest race of aborigines that have been met with in modern times; and though in the case of Mr. Volkner's murder they have been verily guilty, yet they ought not to be judged too severely. They were in a state of desperation at the time; they were thirsting for revenge for their own chief, murdered on our side near Matata, which we have allowed to pass over for more than a year without taking any notice of.

There has been a good deal of clamour here for the Governor to take immediate steps at Opotiki to avenge the murder. His Excellency has very wisely not given way. Had he done so, in all probability the whole of the eastern coast, from the Wairoa to Maketu, would now be in arms, and the murderers further from our reach than ever. As it is, there is a change at Turanga for the better, and there is a report that the natives themselves have made Kereopa a prisoner.