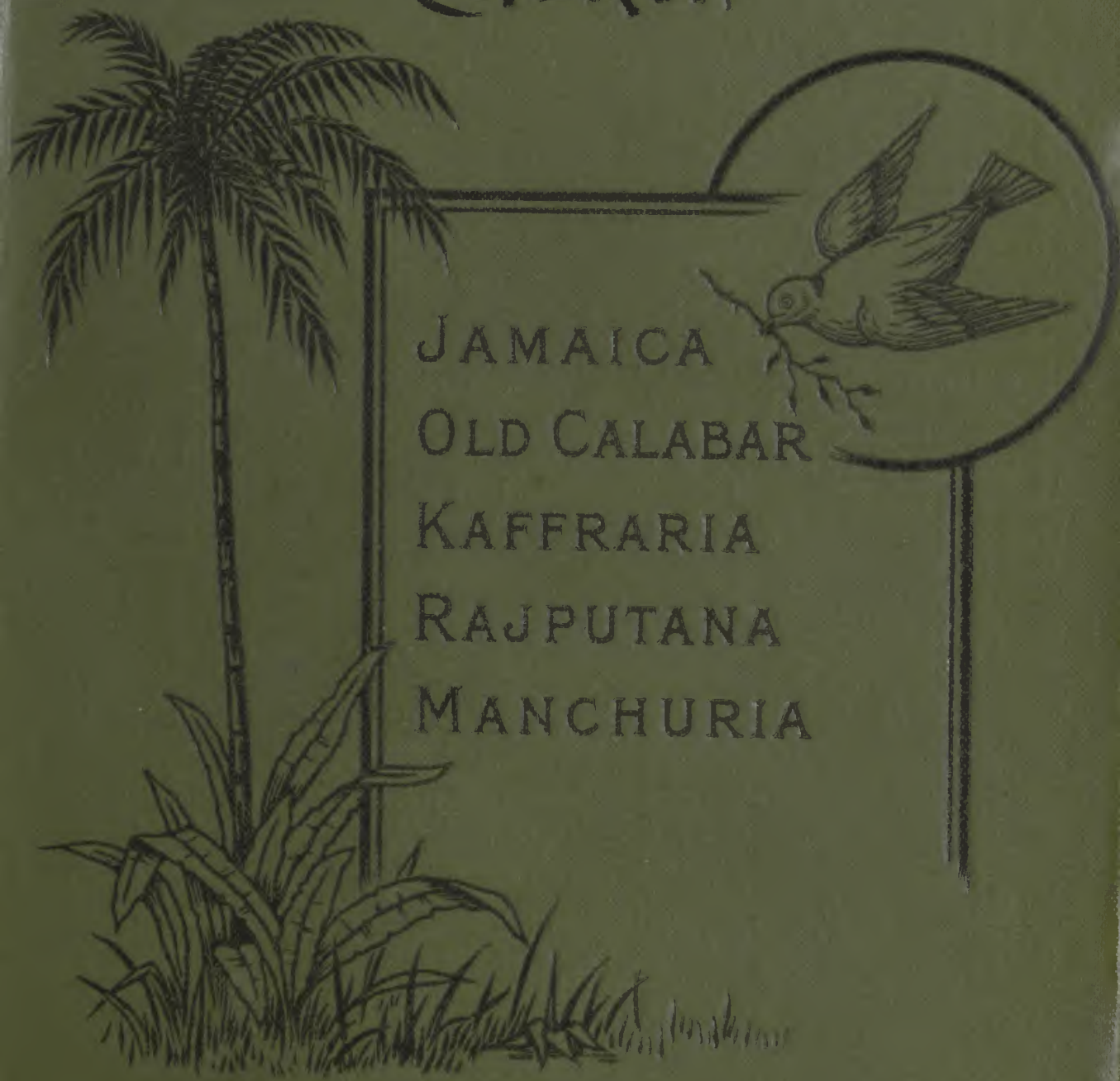
MISSIONS OF THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH



JAMAICA
OLD CALABAR
KAFFRARIA
RAJPUTANA
MANCHURIA

Missions

of the

United Presbyterian Church

described in a

Series of Stories

I. The Story of the Jamaica Mission
With Sketch of the Mission in Trinidad
By GEORGE ROBSON, D.D.

II. The Story of the Old Calabar Mission
By WILLIAM DICKIE, M.A.

III. The Story of the Kaffraria Mission
By WILLIAM J. SLOWAN

IV. The Story of the Rajputana Mission
By JOHN ROBSON, D.D.

V. The Story of the Manchuria Mission
By Mrs. DUNCAN M'LAREN

Edinburgh
OFFICES OF UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
1896

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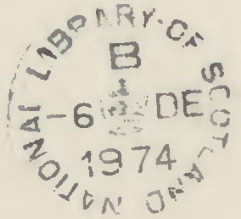


INTRODUCTION.

THERE have now been published by the Foreign Mission Board the Stories of our five principal Missions. Written by different authors, four of whom had a personal acquaintance with the fields they wrote about, these Stories aim at giving in a popular form a sufficiently full account of each Mission. But the history of the missionary enterprise of our Church covers a somewhat wider range.

The movement which gave birth to the Secession Church was essentially a spiritual movement. It sought the vindication and diffusion of the truth of the gospel. When the Associate Presbytery had been constituted at Gairney Bridge on 5th December 1733, earnest calls for a supply of gospel preaching began to pour in from all parts of Scotland, as well as from England and Ireland; and the Fathers of the Secession, while endeavouring to satisfy the requests of their countrymen at home, were also nobly alive to the spiritual needs of their countrymen abroad. Before twenty years had passed, they had begun that missioning of ministers and licentiates to Pennsylvania, New York, Nova Scotia, and Canada, which helped, in the early days of these colonies, to lay

the foundations of the Presbyterian Churches now flourishing there.

The Relief Church had its origin in the noble stand made by Thomas Gillespie for evangelical truth and congregational rights against ecclesiastical intolerance. The "Presbytery of Relief" was constituted at Colinsburgh on 22nd October 1861; and in seeking to carry the gospel into destitute parts of Scotland, in sending ministers to the colonists across the Atlantic, and in furnishing missionaries to the Missionary Societies, the Relief Church, like the Secession, manifested the impulse of a missionary spirit.

The Foreign Mission Revival, which took place in the end of last century, did not at first bear fruit in the way of church action. It gave birth to the Scottish (Edinburgh) and the Glasgow Missionary Societies, and to numerous other missionary societies throughout the country, which were practically auxiliaries to these and to the London Missionary Society. It was through this free operation of the missionary spirit that the people received the training which prepared them for welcoming the principle of a Church mission. Then, when controversy on other questions rendered it difficult for members of different denominations to maintain cordial co-operation in the work of the Missionary Associations, the various Churches found it easy to take over the Missions in which they were specially interested. So the Missionary Societies in Scotland gave place at length to the better order of Missionary Churches.

How our own Church entered on its various missions may here be briefly indicated. The movement for the abolition of slavery awoke concern in Christian hearts for the spiritual needs of the slaves in Jamaica. In 1835

the Secession Church sent its first missionaries to labour amongst them, alongside of the missionaries of the Scottish Missionary Society. So Jamaica became our first foreign mission field. As the emancipated negroes realised the blessings of the gospel, they became desirous of sending it to their kindred in Africa, from whom they had been torn away. Hence arose the Old Calabar Mission, founded by the Secession Church in 1846, with the cordial support of the Relief Church. In the following year the Secession and Relief Churches united under the name of the United Presbyterian Church, and immediately thereafter our Church took over the Jamaica Mission of the Scottish Missionary Society, amalgamating it with our own, and also the Kaffraria Mission of the Glasgow Missionary Society, which had been chiefly supported by the Relief Church. The Indian Mutiny of 1857 awoke the Christians of Britain from their apathy to the spiritual well-being of the heathen millions of that vast dependency; and one result was the inauguration in 1860 of our Rajputana Mission. A remarkable train of providences led to our beginning work in South China in 1862, and in 1872 in the northern province of Manchuria, where our China Mission was ultimately concentrated. The rise and progress of the work in each of these fields is the subject of a separate Story.

But we have representatives also in other fields. The wonderful opening of Japan induced our Church to enter in, in 1873, along with other Churches and Societies, to plant the gospel in that promising land; but the course of events has devolved upon other Churches the leading part in propagating it there. We still maintain our Mission in Japan, but it is in fields more exclusively our

own that we are called to seek the expansion of our missionary efforts. We also bear a limited, but welcome, share in Foreign Missions carried on by other Churches. The Rev. Dr. Laws is our representative in the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland; and our obligation to seek the evangelisation of Israel is recognised by our sustaining the Rev. John Soutar in the Galilee Mission of the Free Church, and one of the staff of the Aleppo Mission of the Presbyterian Church in England. We also provide an annual subsidy to the Irish Presbyterian Church for the carrying on of mission work in Spain, a field where we formerly laboured, but where we deemed it right to terminate our separate organisation.

In each Story will be found the statistics of that particular Mission. Here it need only be said that, in all, "we have a staff of 154 fully trained agents, of whom 70 are ordained European missionaries, 14 medical missionaries, 19 ordained native pastors, 12 European evangelists, and 39 Zenana missionaries; while under the superintendence of these agents there are 170 native evangelists, 383 native teachers, 121 native Zenana workers, and 45 other native helpers. In connection with our various Missions we have 109 congregations, with 175 out-stations at which services are regularly conducted, and at many of which congregations will soon be formed. These 109 congregations have an aggregate membership of 19,949, with 3644 candidates for admission to the fellowship of the Church" (*Annual Report*, April 1896).

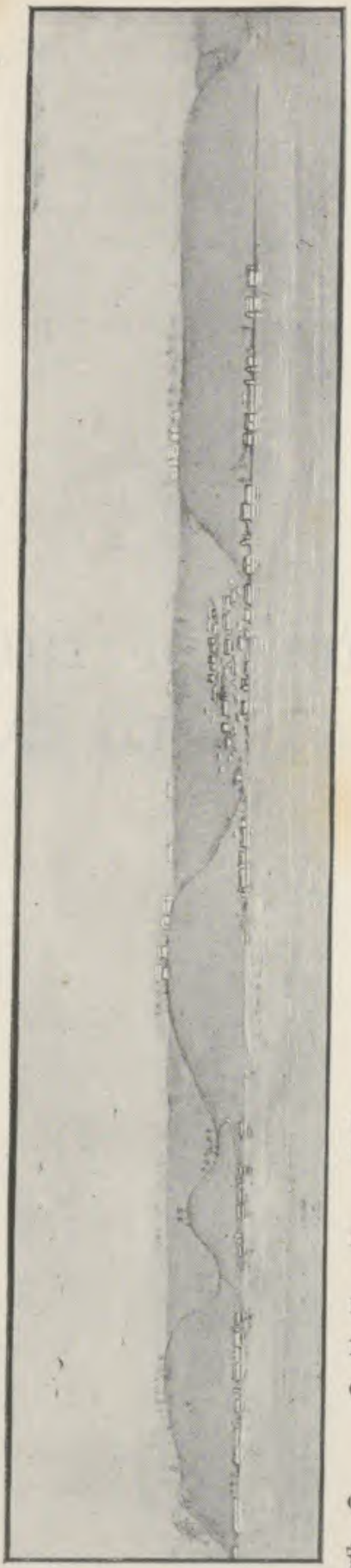
The history of our Foreign Missions furnishes striking evidence of the guidance of the Holy Spirit, as well as numerous illustrations of heroic devotion and noble

service, and of Divine blessing upon the Church's obedience to her Lord's great command. The truth of this will be apparent to the attentive reader of the Story of each Mission. And it is earnestly hoped that the perusal of these Stories will call forth more fervent gratitude to God for what has been wrought in the past, and stimulate to more faithful service in praying and in giving, that the work may go forward from year to year to the greater glory of God.

GEORGE ROBSON,
Convener of the Home Committee of the Foreign Mission Board.

August 1896.

STORY OF THE MISSION IN OLD CALABAR



Steamer Anchorage, Old Calabar River.

2.

Missions of the

United Presbyterian Church

STORY OF THE MISSION IN OLD CALABAR

BY

REV. WILLIAM DICKIE, M.A.

DOWANHILL, GLASGOW

Edinburgh

OFFICES OF UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

1894

MORRISON AND GIBB, PRINTERS, EDINBURGH.

PREFACE

This is not a history of our mission in Old Calabar. It is simply the story of our fifty years' work among the Calabarese, popularly told. Any one who wishes a detailed history must turn to the sources from which this story has been derived—Waddell's *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa*, Goldie's *Calabar and its Mission*, the biographies of Jameson, George Thomson, Campbell, etc.; and, above all, to the file of the *Missionary Record* since its commencement in 1846.

The writing of this story has been a labour of love, and has confirmed the writer's conviction that missions are the life-blood of the Church and the inspiration of every vital ministry.

To many of the older members of the Church this story is known from beginning to end. But there is a generation growing up which knows little or nothing of the strife and heroism and triumphs associated with the

earlier years of our work on the western shores of Africa. We make appeal to the rising generation, in the hope that, by reading this story, their knowledge of the past may stimulate their interest in the present, and lead them, by the grace of God, to attempt greater things in the future.

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THE STORY OF THE MISSION IN OLD CALABAR

CHAPTER I

DAYBREAK IN OLD CALABAR

In July 1841—a few years after the emancipation of the slaves in the West Indian Islands—there met in Goshen a company of ministers and elders called the Presbytery of Jamaica. For two years it had laid upon itself as a burden the evangelisation of Africa, but the design seemed only like a dream, the spell of which was broken each time the company dispersed into the glare of common life. At this meeting, however, an event occurred which ripened the faith and the courage of the brethren, and led to decisive action.

Presbytery of Jamaica.

This event was the arrival of a copy of Sir T. F. Buxton's book on the *Slave Trade and its Remedy.* This book was greedily perused; and so much light did it cast upon the problem, that an express messenger was sent to Kingston to buy up a dozen copies which had just reached there, so that each congregation might have a copy. Buxton, who, along with

Influence of Buxton's "Slave Trade and its Remedy."

Wilberforce, had devoted his life to the abolition of slavery, warmly advocated the capacity of the negro for religious training, and at the same time, with remarkable insight, interpreted the generosity of the freedmen's hearts. He argued that "a race of teachers of their own blood is already in course of active preparation for them; that the providence of God has overruled even slavery and the slave trade for this end; and that from among the settlers of Sierra Leone, the peasantry of the West Indies, and the thousands of their children now receiving a Christian education, may be expected to arise a body of men, who will return to the land of their fathers, carrying divine truth and all its concomitant blessings into the heart of Africa."

The prophecy of the philanthropist assisted its own fulfilment. The dream of a Christianised Africa enchanted and awed each mind. All other business was suspended, and the day was given over to prayer. The Rev. Hope M. Waddell, the William Carey of the movement, introduced the subject. After he sat down all were silent. Then each of the eight ministers present rose in turn and solemnly dedicated himself to Africa, if God should call him. The scene had a moral sublimity of its own—the grandeur of the object; the apparent impotence of the means; the conviction that "all power" would be with them. "Do you ask how I felt?" says Miss Jameson, who was

REV. H. M. WADDELL.

Eight dedicate themselves to Africa.

present; "I was lifted above myself at the noble bravery of the men."

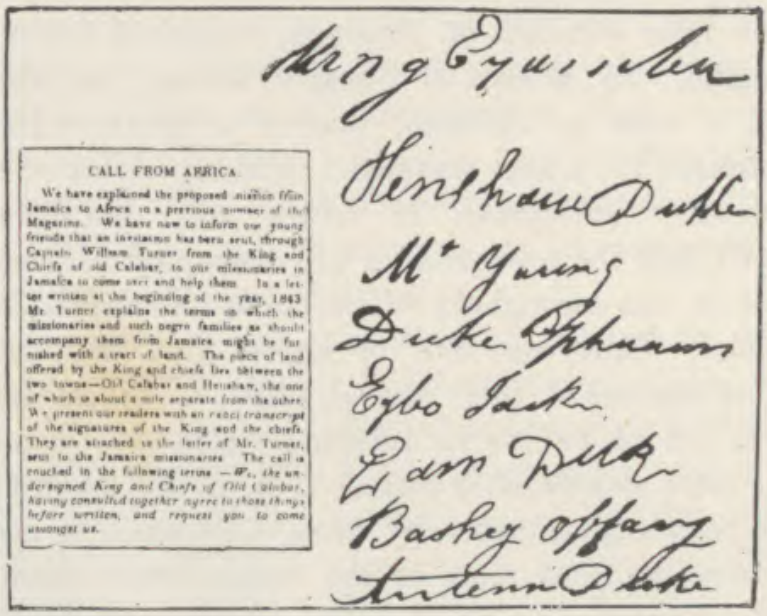
But difficulties here began. The little Jamaica Presbytery, composed of agents of the Scottish Missionary Society, most of them ministers of the United Secession Church, had to educate Christian opinion at home. Messrs. Blyth and Anderson, being home from Jamaica on furlough, awakened interest in Scotland. Dr. Robson of Glasgow, having just returned from a visit to Jamaica, became a hearty advocate. Sentiment for a time wavered. The experience of other missionary enterprises in Africa was disappointing. Nearly half the soldiers who had attempted to scale the walls of the stronghold of darkness had fallen in the trench. Thirty-one out of eighty-nine had, within twelve months of their arrival, fallen in Sierra Leone; seven out of twelve in Liberia; whilst two bands of nine men, shortly after setting foot on the Gold Coast, had been exterminated by fever. To some it seemed madness to send more to the front. But others had that "divine insanity of noble minds," which counts truth more precious than life, and the cause and command of Christ more to be respected than death. Heroism prevailed.

Difficulties.

In 1843 a letter from Old Calabar hastened a decision. King Eyamba and seven of his chiefs offered ground and protection and a welcome to the missionaries who might come to Duke Town. Correspondence was begun. After a year's delay, Eyamba again expressed his wish for the missionaries. But whilst Scotland discussed, Jamaica resolved upon action. The presbytery met in September 1844 specially to consider the situation, and, having determined to go forward, it appointed Mr. Waddell its representative

Correspondence with Old Calabar.

to Scotland and its first agent in Old Calabar. "It will be a sore trial," said his wife, "to leave this place and people, where we have been so long and so happy, and to go with these young children to a new country. But you must go where the Lord calls you, and it is my duty to go with you."



CALL FROM AFRICA.

We have explained the proposed mission from Jamaica to Africa in a previous number of this Magazine. We have now to inform our young friends that an invitation has been sent, through Captain William Turner from the King and Chiefs of old Calabar, to our missionaries in Jamaica to come over and help them. In a letter written at the beginning of the year, 1843 Mr. Turner explains the terms on which the missionaries and such negro families as should accompany them from Jamaica might be furnished with a tract of land. The piece of land offered by the King and chiefs lies between the two towns—Old Calabar and Henshaw, the one of which is about a mile separate from the other. We present our readers with an exact transcript of the signatures of the King and the chiefs. They are attached to the letter of Mr. Turner, sent to the Jamaica missionaries. The call is couched in the following terms:—*We, the undersigned King and Chiefs of Old Calabar, having consulted together agree to those things before written, and request you to come amongst us.*

INVITATION FROM NATIVE CHIEFS.

Men are emboldened by the bold. Waddell set sail for Scotland in January 1845, and, after a tedious voyage, in which he was shipwrecked on Grand Cayman, he reached his destination and began to press the claims of Africa. The United Secession Church adopted the mission which had been born and cradled in Jamaica. In the first year £4000 were raised for its support. Provost Baikie, of Kirkwall, offered a new sloop to the mission. Mr. Jamieson, a Liverpool merchant, gave the use of a brigantine, the "Warree," and £100 a year for working

Waddell sets sail.

expenses. Expectation ran high. The Church throbbed with the joy of a new enterprise. The students caught fire. The Secession and Relief Halls agreed to unite in collecting £100—each student to address six public meetings and to spend an hour on the first Sabbath of each month in prayer for Calabar.

The pioneers.

The "Warree" set sail on 6th January 1846. The missionary party consisted of the Rev. Hope M. Waddell; Mr. Samuel Edgerley, printer and catechist from Jamaica; Mrs. Edgerley, experienced as a teacher; Andrew Chisholm, carpenter, a brown man; Edward Miller, teacher; and George, Mr. Waddell's coloured boy. The band of mercy arrived at Duke Town on the 10th of April, and it was daybreak in Old Calabar.

CHAPTER II

FIRST EXPERIENCES

Among the first to meet the mission band was King Eyo Honesty of Creek Town. He sailed along in a six-oared boat, followed by two canoes of war manned by twenty-eight paddles, and armed with swivel guns in the bows. Eyo, a sagacious, clever, honest, open-faced man, was dressed in native grandeur —a silk loin-cloth, a white beaver hat, strings of beads on neck and arms. Two pages attended him, one carrying his gold snuff-box, the other a pair of pistols and a sword. Eyo welcomed Mr. Waddell and his friends, and proved himself to be one of nature's gentlemen—courteous, sober-living, and just.

Calabar kings.

In the evening of their arrival the missionaries went ashore to pay their respects to King Eyamba of Duke Town. His "palace" was a two-storey iron house, which had been constructed for him in Liverpool. Its furnishings were beautiful, varied, and to a large extent inappropriate. In his yard were to be seen mahogany chests of drawers, puncheons of rum, hogsheads of tobacco, iron pots, bales of Manchester cloth, crates of earthenware, and, although there were neither roads nor horses, two four-wheeled carriages. Eyamba himself was a large, coarse-faced, and coarse-natured man, a keen trader, with a commercial interest in the gospel.

In a few days arrangements were made in regard to the site of the mission station. "I look long time for you," said Eyamba; "glad you come now for live here; look about and choose what place you like for make house . . . I glad you come. That palaver done."

Next Sabbath a Bible from friends in Scotland was presented to the king. He received the missionaries in state in an elegant apartment. Eyamba, in satin hat

DUKE TOWN.

and feathers and waist-cloth, and beads and brass, strutted in front of the large mirrors which hung around the room. Two peacocks did likewise. By-and-by Eyamba sat down on a chair of solid brass under a canopy. Four sofas were provided for the missionaries. The Bible was presented, the object of the mission explained, and Eyamba, proud of his good fortune and vaguely expectant of better fortune, thanked the missionaries and the God who sent them.

The site which was chosen was one of the best around Duke Town. It was on a hill between Duke Town and Henshaw Town, which were separated by the distance of about a mile. But the bush had to be cleared away. Then Waddell discovered something of the inhumanity of heathenism. This well-known haunt of panthers was the receptacle for the corpses of the commonalty. Bodies in all stages of putrefaction were found; and even during clearing operations, the newly dead were brought, tied hands and feet, slung over a pole, to be tossed into the bush. After many protests, Waddell got this stopped, and, having brought trunks of trees from the mangrove swamps seven miles away, the house was at length built, the printing-press set up, and the gospel preached.

The site of mission at Duke Town.

Some strange customs soon came under observation. The Calabar week was found to have eight days. The first was a general holiday, on which the kings entertained. The royal dinners were sumptuous in their own way. Yams and fish and palm oil, yams and goat-flesh, pounded yams or *fufu*, were favourite dishes. A piece of the *fufu* the size of an egg was rolled by the guest between his hands, and, having stuck his middle finger into the savoury ball, he dipped it into the sauce, and bolted it whole. Eyamba was not an abstainer. When he quaffed his potion, one of the "gentlemen" went beneath the table and held his toes—a custom the origin of which is enveloped in obscurity. It may have been an expedient for the preservation of the equilibrium of royalty. Eyo, king of Creek Town, on the other hand, was abstemious. The captain of one of the trading vessels which brought the drink, once asked him, whilst

Some strange customs.

at dinner, "Why do you never drink wine?" "If I begin to drink wine," replied Eyo, "what will become of my trade, and of yours too?"

The inhabitants were found to be keen traders. Their markets were as busy as bee-hives. Their coinage consisted of brass rings and rods—still, to a large extent, the coin of the realm; so that a chief requires a slave to carry his collection to church, and the church plate has to be a box of considerable dimensions. Fish, flesh, yams, plantains, and shrimps meet the eye, and the imagination is awakened by the fact that the butcher meat is sold *with the skin and hair on.* The purchaser thus knows what he is getting. The custom was resorted to in the old slave-trade times, to prevent cannibalism, conscious or unconscious.

Gentility and brass go together. The rings around arms and legs indicate a woman's rank. Indeed, the burden of rank is sometimes unbearable. One of Eyamba's little girls was so weighted with brass that she could not walk to school —she had to be carried on a slave's back. But the anklets were a protection to those who could afford to wear them. Were you to see some women coming along clothed with little else than these ornaments, a native would tell you: "They be gentlewomen. If any man meets them, and want to put hands on them, when he see the brass rings he fear."

Calabarese gentlewomen.

Not long after the house was built, our missionaries were honoured with a royal visit. Eyamba entered his four-wheeler, called in Efik "a white people's cow-house" — horse-house being meant, but as the horse is not native, it is spoken of as the foreign cow. Eight sturdy men pulled like oxen. How it was pulled through the village streets remains a

A State visit.

puzzle almost as great as the building of the Pyramids. Up the hill by a mere foot-track it was dragged, lifted, hurtled through grass and mud-ruts and decayed bush, till the mission-house was reached, and the king paid his respects. The journey home was even more perilous; but his sable majesty, with characteristic pluck and with a becoming sense of his dignity, kept on board even in the roughest tossings of the storm until the palace was reached, and the four-wheeler was safely consigned to its accustomed seclusion.

But the humour of this childish simplicity was of brief enjoyment in face of the pathos of heathenism.

Willy Tom Robins of Old Town.

Soon after the arrival of our missionaries, they resolved to start a school in Old Town, and the task was assigned to Mr. Samuel Edgerley. Old Town is a few miles farther up the Old Calabar river than Duke Town, and commands a stretch of river scenery ten miles long as far as Alligator Island. Here they were met by Willy Tom Robins, the chief, a superstitious, crafty, mischievous, suspicious old man, who remained to the end as hard as flint towards the gospel. Willy took the missionaries into his house. At his doorstep were two human skulls—the skulls of enemies, as charms against enemies. Over his door hung a wasps' nest, the wasps flying about everywhere. Mr. Waddell suggested to break it down. "No, no, no for touch; them my doctor and keep my house." "Better you trust in God and pray to Him to keep you." "Yes, God do everything; He do good; He do bad." The omnipotence of God had no protection for Willy. The wasps at least prevented calamity.

Willy resisted light as if it were fire. Mr. Edgerley laboured there for some years, teaching, preaching, and printing, but old Willy frustrated every effort. It was

found necessary to clear away the bush around a spring, from which the mission drew its drinking water. Willy complained of disturbing his shadow, or soul, which, he said, he kept in that sacred place. "You always tell me that man must mind his soul. Why do you send your men to cut bush that place my soul live, and trouble my soul? Make them go away, and no trouble my soul no more."

The missionaries found the work progressed most rapidly in Creek Town. Here a house had been built. King Eyo acted as interpreter, and his personal influence was exerted in favour of the new cause. He was an enlightened man, and was anxious to see the abolition of many of the heathen and cruel customs of his people, but he was too prudent to compel obedience. At Duke Town, Eyamba's brother, known as Mr. Young, acted as interpreter; but his lack of sympathy with the message weakened its power. Sometimes Mr. Young took more than an interpreter's liberty in rendering the speaker's thoughts. In translating an address on the rich man and Lazarus, he interpolated, for the edification of the hearers, that as for himself, he would prefer to be the rich man. On another occasion, when the missionary imagined that the divine message was being delivered, it was discovered that Mr. Young was improving the occasion by giving the audience instructions regarding some piece of work he had on hand. Difficulties like these do not now occur. Our missionaries speak in the tongue of the natives.

An enlightened king.

In October 1846, after six months of pioneering, Mr. Waddell set sail for Jamaica to report and to bring back reinforcements, whilst the rest of the mission party went to Fernando Po to escape "the smokes," or dry, hazy season.

Reporting progress.

The experience of these few months had deepened his sense of the needs of Old Calabar, as well as inspired him with the hope of winning the land for Christ. A successful beginning had been made. Schools had been opened, the gospel had been preached, the first printed pages in the Efik language had been issued by Mr. Edgerley. But an event happened shortly before their departure, which opened their eyes to the tremendous savagery of heathenism. This event was the death of John Duke, and leads us to speak of some of the superstitions of the people.

CHAPTER III

SOME SUPERSTITIONS

THE death of John Duke revealed the darkest side of Calabar life. This event happened only a few days before Mr. Waddell's departure for Jamaica, but even in June strong suspicions of the prevalence of human sacrifice had been roused. Egbo Jack's principal wife had died, and the mourning husband had sent to the plantation for a number of his slaves. Next day a large alligator floated down the river past the ship in which Waddell was preaching. It seemed helpless with gluttony. The natives, who knew the talk of the town, explained the phenomenon by the fact that Egbo Jack had sacrificed four slaves to express his sorrow and to do his wife honour; whilst Eyamba, Adam Duke, and Archibong had slain one each out of respect for their friend. They had cast the poor victims into the river. When Waddell accused them of this crime, they evaded the charge or were silent. One replied that men were killed in England by law; another made the significant assertion—"Slaves be nothing."

A suspicious alligator.

But when John Duke died in October 1846 the funeral rites were gigantic and ghastly. Slaves were indeed nothing. When they died they were tossed into the bush; but a chief would be nobody if he went into the world of shadows without a retinue. In Calabar

death was not supposed to level social distinctions. "If you have no one with you when you die," said a native, "*Ëkpo* country will say, What poor slave is that coming now? he has not one boy to carry his snuff-box."

John Duke, being the brother of a former king, required a retinue proportionate to his estate. His slaves knew this. Many of them fled on the news of his death. Women and girls especially were slaughtered. Five girls were seen dragged through the town to be sacrificed. The chiefs each slew several domestics, and sent off their canoes to their farms for more. The mother of John Duke is reported to have remarked, "He has left no children; kill the half of the slaves; no use to leave them behind." It is reckoned that one hundred slaves suffered death at this time, in order to satisfy the dignity of this chief.

Ghastly funeral rites.

Waddell made a noble effort to check this vile superstition. He met the king and chiefs of Duke Town, who had clandestinely taken part in the murders, and brought the crime home to them so vividly, that by the fear he created he shook their faith in the barbarous custom. "I declare to you before God," said he, "your God and mine, the great God of heaven and earth, that you have done a great crime, a most monstrous wickedness, and these poor slaves you have killed will rise up in judgment against you at the last day."

Connected with the rites of the dead were some curious customs. It was supposed that the shadows or ghosts of the deceased revisited the haunts with which they were once familiar, and it is a strange commentary on the savage mind, that it never dreams of any spirit returning with a benignant intention. The departed are invariably dreaded, for their power is always baneful.

About four days after burial the face-washing or

Uyeriso takes place. Those engaged in the burial then wash their hands and faces, and supplicate the dead to do them no injury. In order to propitiate the departed, a table, covered with household goods and meat and drink, is erected to supply the needs of the spirit when it returns from the spirit-world.

Uyeriso.

But the *Ikpo* is the principal funeral rite. It is a festival in honour of the dead, and is celebrated any time within a year or so after the decease. It is a time of great rejoicing. Amusements, dancing, games, and rum are freely indulged in. A marriage is a dull business in comparison with an *Ikpo* or devil-making. Until the *Ikpo* is celebrated the widows of a chief are confined to the harem, denied the luxury of personal cleanliness, and are treated as if they were guilty of their husband's death. When the devil-making is finished, the widows are flogged and fined, and either sent back to their own family or retained as the property of the heir of the deceased.

Ikpo.

But the departed do not soon depart. The ghost or shadow still lingers about town, and for its convenience a house is erected and furnished, and stocked with food. But as the living are known to be less honest than the dead, the furniture and dishes are broken. This devil-house, as it is called, is supposed to be visited and used by the devil, or spirit of the deceased, when he revisits his old haunts.

Devil-houses.

HOUSE FOR DEAD MAN'S SPIRIT.

Another curious custom is the *Ndök*, or biennial purgation of the town. Early in December every alternate year, all the devils or ghosts are expelled. This strange ceremony reveals traces of totemism. The spirits are supposed to have a mysterious relation to certain animals. The spirit and the totem are regarded as peculiarly identified with each other. Hence, against the day of the purgation, rude figures of tigers, alligators, cows, elephants, etc., are made. These *Nabïkïm* are distributed throughout the town. At three o'clock in the morning bells are rung, doors slammed and banged and beaten, shrieks and yells and groans fill the streets, cattle stampede through the town, and every one competes in noise-making to terrify the spirits. When the day breaks the houses are brushed down and cleaned out, the totems are cast into the river, and the town is rid of all its ghosts.

Ndŏk and Nabikïm.

Other traces of totemism appear in some of the Calabar superstitions. *Ukpöng* is the word used for a man's shadow or ghost, but it is also applied to his totem, or to the animal with which the man is supposed to be related. The *ukpöng* of the man and the *ukpöng* of the animal mutually affect each other. If his totem dies, the man imagines he shall die also. He is therefore always beneficent towards his totem, and occasionally is known to be kind to an animal in which the *ukpöng* of a friend is supposed to reside.

Ukpŏng.

But the malevolence of heathenism is seen in some of the customs. The spiritual powers are evil continually. Among the Ököyöng people treaties with other tribes were ratified by burying a man alive. His spirit was expected to play the part of avenger to the treaty-breaker. At the mouth

Human sacrifices.

of the river a tribe of fisher-people sacrificed a young woman every year to propitiate the river gods and to secure a good season. Mr. Goldie tells of a chief, who during his sickness was discovered to have a bundle lying at his feet. On the visitor poking this with his staff, there rolled out a human skull. One of his slaves had been beheaded, in the hope that the slave's life might be accepted in lieu of his master's.

CHAPTER IV

REINFORCEMENTS

THE mission party remained in Fernando Po from October till February, in order to avoid "the smokes," or dry season of Old Calabar — a custom which was soon departed from. Mr. Waddell returned to Jamaica, to report regarding the mission venture and to demit his charge at Mount Zion. But he had not long departed when the first blow fell upon the little band of workers, in the death of Edward Miller, the negro assistant—a devoted youth, once a slave, afterwards a true bondsman of Christ. The first in our Calabar list of dead, his testimony struck the note of Christian heroism, which has been echoed and re-echoed so frequently since the feet of Christ's messengers stepped upon that fatal shore. "Thank God, I'm on the rock," he said to good Mrs. Edgerley; and when Dr. Prince, the Baptist missionary at Fernando Po, inquired of him whether he repented having left Jamaica to come to Africa, he replied, "No, I never did," and once again more emphatically, "No, I never did."

The first death.

It was not long till reinforcements arrived. The Rev. William Jameson, of Goshen, Jamaica, a man of saintly and fervent spirit, had long contemplated the privilege of pioneering in Africa. Even in the year

1843, when Waddell and he sat under the Aki tree behind the manse in Mount Zion, musing over the projected mission to the blacks —at that time an uncommon undertaking— the two eager spirits "waiting to strive the happy strife, to war with falsehood to the knife," had covenanted with each other that if either was called to go, the other would be the first to follow. Jameson kept his pledge, and arrived at the scene of his labours in February 1847.

Arrival of Jameson.

REV. W. JAMESON.

Jameson threw himself into the work with characteristic zeal. He found that by the labours of Waddell and Edgerley, from April till October, much had been done in clearing the ground for laying a good foundation for the Church of Christ. Two schools had been opened, a printing-press had been erected, two schoolbooks had been printed, an Efik vocabulary of nearly three thousand words had been lithographed, and the natives had heard the gospel preached and seen it lived at their very doors.

The absence of the mission party during the "smokes," though it had interrupted, had not undone the work. Edgerley resumed the school in Duke Town, Jameson started in Creek Town. Jameson's school had soon about sixty children. Every Sabbath he held a service in the king's yard, the king acting as interpreter. Sometimes Eyo advised the missionary regarding his work. At one time he requested Jameson to tell them

plainly all that was evil in the customs of the people—which Jameson did with eloquence and earnestness. But when he found that Jameson shortened the reading of Scripture, and lengthened his discourse, he shrewdly observed: "I wish you would read more of God's word, for when you don't read plenty, the people think that you *saby* it out of your own head." In this way the king granted the "liberty of prophesying," and announced and upheld the authority of Scripture.

Jameson interested the natives in many ways. His kindliness invented means and opportunities. The mysteries of the microscope amazed the natives; but when he set off the mysteries of the telescope against those of the microscope, they were confounded. To bring the people of Duke Town, six miles away, to his very door in Creek Town, by means of this little instrument, and in less than the twinkling of an eye, was a miracle which filled the natives with amazement at the white man's ingenuity.

Whilst the work was quickly progressing, it was whispered that Eyamba was dead. The king's death was not without some pathos. With that indiscreet bravery often characteristic of the savage, he presided at his table when the death cup was already at his lips. Next day he settled his accounts, visited one of the trading ships, and remained to breakfast. He left the ship, and counted eagerly the number of guns fired as a salute. He had just reached his house as the seventh was discharged, when he sank back and expired, satisfied that he had received the honour due to a king.

Eyamba and his last salute.

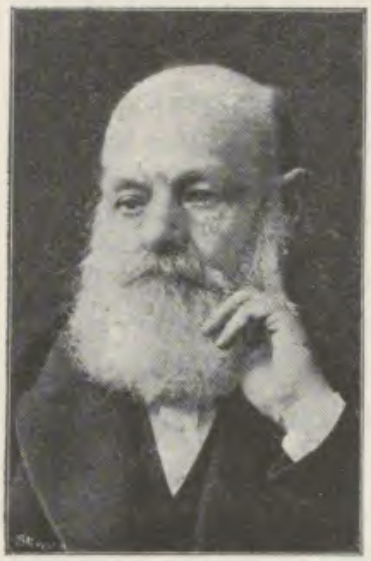
The work of death now began. Slaves fled, and every one who valued his life sought a hiding-place.

The dreaded news was kept back as long as possible, that chiefs might procure sacrifices. Edgerley's man Inga saw the king's brother, Mr. Young, as he was called, enter a house, fasten the doors, seize a poor woman, place a strong copper wire round her neck, and strangle her on the spot. Edgerley hurried to the king's house to stop the massacres. On looking under the door of the room in which Eyamba died, he saw a number of women who were waiting to be sacrificed. Chiefs offered up their slaves. Husbands returned from the fields and found their wives murdered. Boys and girls were not exempted, and the school had to be shut. A pit was dug, and Eyamba was laid in it in state on two sofas. His sword-bearer, snuff-box carrier, and umbrella-holder were taken to the side of the grave, their heads were knocked off, and they were tumbled into the pit, along with numerous other attendants. Eyamba had a hundred wives. Thirty of these were sent into the next world to accompany their master. As each was summoned, the order was given with significant but ghastly courtesy, "The king calls you." The wife then decorated herself with her finest ornaments, drank copiously of rum, and went into the outer yard. Here a piece of fine wire, or a piece of neatly twisted silk (a mark of honour paid to a wife—a piece of cord was good enough for a slave) was put round her neck, and she was strangled.

The brutality of heathenism.

This work went on for days. Jameson and Edgerley were horrified by the bloody practices, and made every effort to save life, but found it difficult to effect much until Waddell arrived upon the scene, accompanied by the Rev. Hugh Goldie and other teachers and artisans. Having heard that more sacrifices were likely

soon to be made at the devil-making for the king, they at once took action, and expostulated with the chiefs, with the result that meanwhile the thirst for blood was appeased.



REV. HUGH GOLDIE.

The arrival of this reinforcement in June 1847 revived the work. Creek Town, Duke Town, and Old Town were now occupied. Peace had been restored, and the little band of workers sat around the Lord's Table for the first time in Old Calabar on the 1st day of August. But, like a bolt from the blue, the first great blow fell upon the mission. The saintly Jameson, a descendant of two of the Secession Fathers, Wilson and Moncrieff, sickened and died, at the early age of thirty-nine. He had exposed himself unduly to the weather, had worked too laboriously, and no doubt had suffered much from the horrors which succeeded Eyamba's death. There were loud lamentations in Jamaica and in Scotland, where he was well known and well beloved; but the heart of Calabar was also touched, and young Eyo uttered the thoughts of the people when he wrote to Waddell these simple sentences:—

Death of Jameson.

"My dear Master and Friend,—I am too sorry about your brother Mr. Jameson died, and I hope you will not go away leave us, because God been give us good friend, and take him away again. We cannot tell why

He do this, but I am very much sorry. I hope God will keep you well to us, to stop and teach we all know Him.—With best compliments, I am your friend,

"Y. Eyo Hty."

Eyo's words confirm the last sentence of an unfinished letter of Jameson's to a friend in Jamaica—"Our work here is full of interest and full of hope."

CHAPTER V

IN THE THICK OF THE FIGHT

The missionary band, though perplexed, were not in despair. The probabilities of death had been faced, and they knew that Jameson had offered his life, like "an alabaster box of ointment of spikenard very precious," at the feet of Jesus. They may have counted, but they did not grudge the cost. There was no time for foolish calculations when so many devils had to be cast out. The new apostles proceeded at once to grapple with the powers of darkness.

In some respects the work was tedious. For a long time no converts appeared. But converts were being made. The first duty was to create social conditions in which it might be possible for converts to live. For that reason the pioneer's work was to drive out of the land the rank superstitions and horrible customs under which the people were held down as under a heel of iron. The sublime aspects of Christian truth could not be fully taught at first. Here, as in Israel, the law had to come before the gospel; idols had to be abolished, the groves of false gods broken down, and the native prophets confounded.

In this pioneer work, Waddell, Goldie, and Anderson, the three veterans of Old Calabar still spared to us, did noble service. They have the singular distinction of

making a people's history, and of adding a brilliant chapter to the story of the conquest of Africa. The first brush-strokes on the canvas, the first blows of mallet and chisel on the marble, are the most significant—they determine all that follows. So in the founding of a mission the future depends upon the prudence and fidelity of the first few years of labour.

The three veterans.

The consecrated ingenuity and hopeful persistence of the missionaries levelled the heathen superstitions and practices bit by bit. Mr. Goldie soon mastered the language, and composed a catechism in Efik and English, four hundred copies of which were printed in Old Calabar within about a year. He also got the Ten Commandments printed in Efik on broad sheets, and hung them up in the houses. The older boys in the schools soon were able to read the Bible, passages of which were translated by Mr. Goldie. The work done within about three years may be indicated by the fact that during that time Mr. Edgerley had thrown off from his printing-press 55,300 pages for the enlightenment of Old Calabar.

Translating and printing.

Other means were taken to educate the people. In 1848 they received their first and much-needed object-lesson in marriage. In Old Calabar the marriage customs are singularly absurd, as well as painfully degrading. Wives are obtained in various ways. They are very frequently bought. Covenants are often ratified by one of the parties gifting one of his daughters to the other party. To refuse such a gift when unacceptable would lead to the rupture of the bargain. King Eyo had to accept more than he wanted, as a matter of inter-tribal policy. The rejected maid would have led to war. Sometimes parents arranged the match. The young girl is sent

Marriage in Old Calabar.

before marriage to one of the farms to be fattened, as fatness is one of the points of female beauty. After she has been brought up to the proper weight, she publicly exhibits herself to her admiring friends, hobbling along still more heavily weighted with her dowry of brass rings around arms and legs and neck. Then she sits down and receives her marriage presents. Her father gives his presents, then rubs some earth on the back of her right hand, and she is removed to the house of her husband.

Marriage, however, is a distinction which is rarely aspired to. Only people of some note marry, and even then it is more regarded as a union of families than of individuals. A few of the chief slaves marry; but most live with whomsoever they like, and only as long or short as they like. He is a poor fellow who has only one wife—he is a man of no standing. The elevation of women was therefore one of the problems which Christianity had to set itself to face in Old Calabar.

In view of this degradation of womanhood, the marriage of Henry Hamilton and Mary Brown, two of the blacks who came from Jamaica with the missionary band, served as a valuable object-lesson on the subject of matrimony. The ceremony was performed in public, to the delight of all. The king and his son were present, together with all the school children. In the evening Eyo explained the marriage ceremony to the chiefs at his table; and what surprised them was that Hamilton, the lucky fellow, had not to pay anything for his wife! "He get such a fine wife for nothing. White man's fashion be very good." Young Eyo, a youth who promised well, learned the lesson of the day, as may be seen from his graphic comparison of the Calabar marriage customs and our own. "The singing men and women," he said, "bring the woman to the man's

house; she sit down on a chair, and all people come look at her, so big and fat, and give her as *dash* plenty things. Then he have to pay so many coppers to them people that bring her, and so much chop and rum. But no one ask them if they like each other, or tell them word how to do everything proper. *Chi!* it be all same thing as bring two monkeys together. If God keep my heart I never will marry Calabar fashion."

First marriage of native Christians.

But about two years afterwards the first advance in this social reform was made by the marriage of two natives, Akpo and Odu—the first regular marriage of natives in Old Calabar. This happened in 1850, and was a cheering result of years of labour. This direct breach of Calabar custom led some to ridicule and some to revile; but the sight of a native and his wife living in Christian wedlock was as sweet and prophetic to the eyes of the missionaries as the tender blade of spring to the husbandman.

Agitation for Sabbath observance.

But another reform had long claimed the attention of the brethren. In the history of missions it has been found that the observance of the Sabbath must be secured before much good can be effected. The commandment to keep the Sabbath holy is a condition of the keeping of the other nine. From the beginning King Eyo had been favourably disposed towards this reform, but it was hard to break the customs of the people. Occasionally a big palaver would interrupt the observance of the holy day; sometimes the market, sometimes the slaves being forced to work. But the preaching, together with the example of the mission household, soon began to tell. In 1849 a young fellow objected to work on the Sabbath, saying he had done plenty bad things already, and that he "wanted to knock off and follow God's

way now." His master threatened him with death, but he quietly replied, "Better to die and be saved than live and be damned."

The fidelity of this youth gave courage to others. Abstinence from Sabbath work soon became a mode of indirect confession of Christ, and led many to identify themselves with the new cause. But the Sabbath markets were still maintained, and proved a hindrance to the gospel. After long and gentle pressure, at the close of 1850, Eyo summoned the chiefs, and it was agreed that the Sabbath market in Creek Town should be abolished. It was a day of victory to the missionaries, and marked the tide of public opinion. The missionaries feasted the king and chiefs and a hundred of the school children, and praised God that henceforth, at least on one day of the week, the poor Calabarese would have time and opportunity for learning more of the gospel of Christ.

Abolition of Sabbath market in Creek Town.

The arrival of the Rev. William Anderson from Jamaica, in February 1849, to take the place of Jameson, added a new force to the mission. Waddell was at this time in Scotland, creating and satisfying a thirst for missionary information. The Church was alive with interest, and vibrated to its remotest parts with his thrilling narrative of strange events. He boldly requested the children to supply £800, in order to replace the "Warree," which had now to be returned

REV. W. ANDERSON.

The first New Year's Children's Offering.

to its generous owner. The children surprised the Church by a New Year's offering (for 1849) of £3180!

In the summer of 1849, Waddell returned to Calabar in the mission ship, and took with him Mr. William C. Thomson, teacher, and a woman who has written her name on the heart of Old Calabar, Euphemia Miller, long known (after a married life of less than six months) as Mrs. or Mammy Sutherland, a rare soul, "divinely touched," who diffused the odour of the gospel wherever she went.

"Mammy" Sutherland.

For some time after the arrival of this missionary party the work progressed quietly and effectively. Some of the most cruel customs were being carefully watched; and although there was silence, conditions were being created favourable to decided and successful action when the hour for action arrived. Nor was it long in coming. On the 5th of February 1850 two of the Duke Town chiefs, Efiöng Bassey and Erem Cuffey, died. Human sacrifices were being offered as profusely as ever, though perhaps with more secrecy. Anderson heard that seven of Bassey's slaves and one of his wives had been offered; and that in Cuffey's household nine slaves had been strangled and buried with their master, whilst twelve or fourteen victims were in the yard bound by a large chain awaiting their death. Waddell was absent in Bonny, but Anderson threw himself into the breach with a persistency and determination which merited the victory which was achieved.

Sacrifice of slaves.

Anderson at once set out to the king, Archibong, who, on his appointment as Eyamba's successor, had promised to "be good friend" with Queen Victoria, and to "ring big bell in market-place every God day." He told the

king that white men would hold him responsible for the murders. The king was silent in respect to the charge, but promised there should be no more killing that day. Anderson followed up this partial success by calling upon Ephraim Duke, the brother of Cuffey, and frankly accusing him of murder. Then he visited the chief known as "Mr." Young, who at first pretended ignorance, but who, on finding that Anderson was not to be trifled with, said with some energy: "If God spare me, two years don't pass before this bad fashion break off; but we can't do things all in a day."

Anti-human Sacrifice Society formed.

But Anderson was not content with scaring the chiefs, nor with passing over these horrible enormities with an ineffective protest. He summoned all the captains in the river and workers in the mission. They requested the king and chiefs to meet them in the church palaver-house. This combined and energetic action led to results long prayed for. The king and chiefs agreed to pass a law that human sacrifices should be abolished, and that life should not be taken but for crime. Next day the friends of humanity met, and formed themselves into a "Society for the Suppression of Human Sacrifices in Old Calabar." Thereafter they visited Creek Town, and made a similar firm representation to Eyo and his chiefs, and intimated that all intercourse should cease unless the law abolishing sacrifices were passed within a month.

Law abolishing sacrifice passed.

The 15th February 1850 must always be a red-letter day in the calendar of Old Calabar. At four o'clock, when the law was passed, the mission flag was hoisted, the news was passed to the trading ships, on which flags were run up and guns fired in honour of the day on which the right of living was granted to the slaves.

It was not easy, however, to enforce the law in the villages around the two principal towns. The chiefs of Adiabo especially resisted the innovation, pleading that many of their old fathers and mothers were scandalised by the change, and that the law should not be enforced till they died off. Eyo told them that these old people should have died sooner; they should not have lived till the world changed. But the chiefs were not convinced by such logic. "If you have no will for the new fashion," said Eyo, "would you like to see a man-of-war go up your river to make you will?" When they still expostulated, Cameroons, a chief not without some humour, suggested that, as the law would be put in force within a week, they should not talk so much, but hurry home and despatch their revered fathers and mothers at once, so that they might enjoy the luxury of a burial after the old fashion. This atrocity shocked them; but Cameroons added with force: "Oh, very good, if you don't like to kill your own parents, why do you wish to kill those of others?"

The humour of Cameroons.

CHAPTER VI

FRESH STRUGGLES AND VICTORIES

During the next few years the mission made rapid strides. Superstition after superstition began to fade before the strong light of the gospel; and at last, when it was possible for converts to live in fidelity to Christ amidst the social conditions of the country, converts were granted, to the great joy of our missionaries.

Twin-mothers and twin-murder.

The abolition of human sacrifices marked an epoch in the history of Old Calabar. From that date life assumed a new value. It was soon found necessary, however, to follow up that victory with other struggles for the sanctity of human life. One brutal custom had caused much anxiety to the missionaries—that, namely, of expelling twin-mothers from town, and of murdering the twins. It was supposed that twins were monsters, who had no limbs, that their bodily senses were not like those of other children, and that to look on them or touch them meant to become like them. No free man would take a drink of water from such a monster mother. The fact that twins were put to death at their very birth, and consequently rarely ever seen by any one, helped to foster the belief in their monstrosities. Even mothers lost all their natural affection for their own offspring, and willingly pleaded for their death, or murdered them

themselves, at the same time that they accepted their own banishment as a just disgrace.

It was resolved to attack this barbarous usage with vigorous and decided action. A native woman in Old Town fled to the mission-house, and gave birth to twins. She was almost distracted with shame, and pleaded to be allowed to murder them. Mrs. Edgerley soothed her,

MRS. CRUICKSHANK. MISS HOGG.
TWIN-MOTHERS AND TWINS.

and tended the infants, and it was decided to stand by them at all hazards. Old Willy Tom Robins was in a fury. Anansa, the god of the town, who resided in the well at the bottom of the hill, would destroy the town. Every evil was threatened; but Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley refused to give up the children. At last Willy blew *Egbo* upon the mission, and retired to his farm.

The blowing of *Egbo* boycotted the school and mission. But public opinion was already changing. It was discovered that the times were ripe for this protest

against infanticide, and the prohibition was not respected. The twins became the objects of wonder. They actually had arms and legs like other children! They cried like others, and like others smiled! Cameroons went from Creek Town and saw them. Young Eyo visited them, and even took them in his arms! The school children from Creek Town and Duke Town made pilgrimages and presented offerings; and the belief in the monstrosity of twins was in this way shaken.

Soon after this a similar case occurred in Creek Town. It was feared lest Eyo, whilst encouraging such a reform in the town of a neighbour, should shrink from breaking the native custom in his own. To the relief of the missionaries, provision was made by him for the protection of mother and children, and Mrs. Waddell and Miss Miller shielded and guided the poor woman in the time of her distress. Such object-lessons in humaneness, for which the preaching had prepared the people, did much to prepare the people for the further preaching of the gospel of Jesus, which had so much to offer to women and to little children.

Substitutionary punishment.

The heathenism of Old Calabar was like the hydra which Hercules was commissioned to kill; so soon as one head of the monster was cut off, others appeared. It was not long till the subject of substitutionary punishment had to be considered. By the custom of Old Calabar, when a town offended against Egbo law, and was thereby judged guilty of treason, it was no uncommon occurrence to purchase a slave, and slay him publicly as a substitute for the town that was doomed. It was also a common practice to substitute a slave for a freeman when the latter was condemned to death. A case of this kind happened in 1849, and Mr. Waddell at once took action

in behalf of the rights of slaves. A freeman had stolen and sold one of the king's slaves—a crime which, according to Egbo law, is punished by death. But a freeman may escape by substituting a slave to "take his death and die." George Eyo, being a relative of the thief, gave one of his slaves as a substitutionary victim. The poor fellow was hurried along to execution, crying: "What have I done that my master sends me to die? He sends me to kill for nothing." The poor fellow's head was knocked off and publicly exhibited in Creek Town and Duke Town as a terror to evildoers.

Waddell's opportunity came in a curious way. The headless trunk of the victim was, according to custom, left unburied at the place of execution, in the vicinity of the mission premises. Mrs. Waddell demanded that the victim should be buried. This she could only accomplish by hiring men from George Eyo himself. After the interment was over, George came to Mr. Waddell, demanding payment for burying the slave whom he had murdered! Waddell paid him, and then lectured him, whilst he sat cowed and dumb. Under the lash of Waddell's invective, the culprit's conscience received such a chastisement as might have made him tremble to do the like again. Ultimately the vile law was broken through, and practically annulled, and thus another victory was secured.

But early in the year 1852 the mission cause at Duke Town suffered a severe strain at the death of Archibong.

Difficulties in Duke Town.

The work had never prospered so much here as in Creek Town, for the reason that its kings were less favourable to Christianity, and had not the universal respect of the freemen of the town. A meeting in the king's yard in Duke Town was not attended as a meeting in Eyo's; many of the

chiefs felt that their dignity was compromised by going to the house of a rival. Still, by the vigorous administration of Goldie and Anderson amidst many discouragements, the work of preaching and teaching soon began to tell.

Archibong kept by his superstitions to the end. His mother, Obuma, was beside him during his last illness, and stuck to her heathen superstition as obstinately as Jezebel to Baal. When Mr. Goldie visited him, the room was polluted with sacrifices; here a goat's head, there a leg, yonder another, and by his bedside a putrefying fowl, hanging to a stick on which it had been suspended when alive, as was the custom.

A king's deathbed.

When the king died, of course human sacrifices were forbidden; but by other means many were sent into eternity to accompany the king. Obuma at once set herself to discover the cause of the king's sickness. Four of the relatives were charged with *Iföt*, which they curiously enough termed "freemason in the belly." They had bewitched the king, and caused his death. These were at once subjected to the ordeal, which was to *chop-nut*, or drink the powdered esere-bean, on the supposition that, if guilty, they would retain it and die; if innocent, put it up and live. All died.

Iföt and chop-nut.

Obuma, having determined to be revenged on some of the leading families, summoned a number of armed men from the plantation. Several batches of women publicly drank the nut, and the majority of them died. Then Obuma accused an old lady of the Ephraim family, who boldly nominated Mr. Young to chop-nut with her. Mr. Young, who had often made others chop-nut, notwith-

Caught in their own snare.

standing his faith in the doctrine that it could never injure the innocent, quietly decamped to Creek Town. His brother, who helped to slaughter fifteen of Eyamba's wives, exhibited the same discretion. But the climax was reached when the blood-men whom Obuma had called in from the country demanded that she herself should chop-nut. The lady declined the trial, and, believing they would compel her, laid a train to a large number of barrels of gunpowder, determined to blow up herself and the town if they made the attempt. The Nemesis was complete. The wicked were snared in the pit which they themselves digged. Retribution had visited the chiefs themselves, and their faith in the trial by ordeal was broken when they found that public opinion demanded that freemen should get the same *justice* as slaves.

The early fifties were formative years in the history of the mission. The policy of the Church in strange and untried circumstances was being determined, and the Church was fortunate in having men so qualified for the task. Waddell with his zeal and spirituality, Goldie with his scholarly tastes and calm perseverance, Anderson with his courage and dash, made a strong triumvirate, and were excellently assisted by Edgerley, W. C. Thomson, and Miss Miller. Signs of progress soon appeared. When Eyo's house was burned down, and property to the value of some thousands of pounds destroyed, it was a distinct victory to the cause of Christ that no one was accused and no esere-nut employed to discover the culprit, as would inevitably have been the case but for the influence of the gospel upon the king. It was also significant that one of the school children saved Eyo's Bible, as being among the most precious of his treasures.

Signs of progress.

The activity in translating and printing continued unabated. Mr. Goldie wrote several schoolbooks, Mr. Anderson translated Jonah, Mr. Waddell wrote the Life of Joseph. An epitome of New Testament history was compiled, and these all entered the homes of the people as silent missionaries.

But in 1853 the first sheaves of the harvest were gathered from the three stations. The first convert, Esien Esien Ukpabio, who became also our first native teacher and our first native pastor, was baptized publicly in the king's yard at Creek Town by Mr. Goldie on the 16th October. Young Eyo, the king's son, was baptized on the 30th; and on that day the native Church began its history by these two converts sitting down at the Lord's table.

First converts.

At Duke Town, in the month following, two converts, and two children who had been redeemed from slavery, were baptized by Mr. Anderson; and even in Old Town, where "Satan's seat" was, the heart of good Mr. Edgerley was uplifted by the baptism of a youth called Edungikan, who took the name of Joseph Edgerley. Young men in all the stations were looking forward to making a profession of their faith, and the hearts of the missionaries, though cheered, were apprehensive, not knowing how their converts might adjust their lives to the social conditions under which they had to live. The tyranny of custom was still the binding force in society.

CHAPTER VII

IN CHRIST JESUS NEITHER BOND NOR FREE

THE fortunes of the mission in Old Town had for a long time been a cause of anxiety. Willy Tom was wedded to his foul superstitions, and in his last sickness displayed all the cunning and suspicion incidental to the savage. He put his sons and chiefs in prison, and subjected many to the ordeal of the esere-nut, on the charge of causing his sickness by *Iföt*, or witchcraft. On his death, in February 1854, his two eldest sons, five or six wives, and a large number of slaves, were shot, hanged, or poisoned, contrary to the law recently passed. Several people fled to the mission as to a sanctuary, and were rescued. One woman, who had been saved a year before, when she was to have been presented as an offering to Egbo by having her jaws cut open from ear to ear, and by having other enormities perpetrated upon her, was rescued once again, on the banks of the Quö river, by Mr. Edgerley. She had had a ghastly experience. She had seen her husband shot and his head cut off, had passed eighteen headless trunks in her flight through the woods, and finally had had to swim for her life.

Cruelties at Willy Tom's death.

In the midst of such trouble the work of Christ could not prosper. Mr. Edgerley was laid down with

fever, and delirious with excitement. Mrs. Edgerley and Mr. Thomson fought against the horrid cruelties, but in vain. All they could do was to report the breach of the law to the Duke Town authorities, and await results. Not long after this a British gunboat appeared upon the scene, and blew up the town for breaking the law against human sacrifice, and forbade the rebuilding of it.

Natives suffering for the gospel.

But whilst these strange scenes, which we can only touch upon, were being enacted at Old Town, Creek Town was passing through a crisis of a different kind. Five young men had been baptized on the 5th of March, all of them slaves of King Eyo. These young fellows, together with the other converts, were subjected to much persecution, and were called to account before the king on the charge of disobedience. One of them had been ordered to *lace*, or torture, a thief in order to extort a confession from her, but had declined. Others had refused to work upon the Sabbath. Eyo lectured them hotly before a large audience, professed his interest in the new religion, but was irritated and chagrined that his slaves should be in Christ before him. The audience soon took up the fight. Enau, one of the chiefs, on hearing young Eyo declare that no one could do the converts any real harm, shouted, "What! can I not do what I like with such contemptible little slaves?" "No," cried young Eyo. Then Nameti, one of the newly baptized, added: "Here I stand, and by the grace of God I shall abide by my profession. Light your fires and burn me if you like." Another chief cried to Esien, the king's second son: "Let these fellows and young Eyo go over to the white men —remain you on our side." The reply of Esien was

noble. "What!" he said, "shall I see life and choose death?"

When some taunted Ukpabio and the others that they were only slaves, this first of our converts replied:

Ukpabio.

"True; but surely you have heard of Joseph, who was a slave in Egypt, as I am here this day." When Eyo ordered the sympathisers with the new cause to leave his yard, he was surprised to see that all his house boys, with the exception of one, rose to go. "Ha! ha!" cried some of the chiefs, on observing a big ignorant slave among them, "what a fine God's man you'll be, that can't read a line!" "But I can learn," said Efanga. Then Eyo came to himself, and interposed with the words: "It is not necessary that a man be able to read in order to his being a God's man; people may learn by hearing as well as by reading."

Had Eyo been an ignorant man and unjust, his anger might have driven some of these youths to death. They had the martyr's spirit; he lacked the cruel spirit of the persecutor. But although no blood was shed, the noble stand which these few young Christians took gave Christianity a firmer and higher position in Calabar. That even Eyo respected them for their courage, is witnessed by the fact that, not long after this, when he was at one of his farms, he kept the Sabbath sacred, and asked Ukpabio to read to him and his people the word of God.

In the year 1854 no fewer than thirteen young men and two young women were admitted into the fellowship of the Church. Several of these were persons of good position and members of influential families. Twenty-three others were preparing for admission. But the position taken by many of them excited opposition and hatred, for old

Fifteen converts.

customs were being shaken and new habits were being formed.

The relation of the Christian to the conditions of Calabarese society had to be defined. And, seeing that freemen were now among the converts, the question was raised—Can slaveholders be admitted into the fellowship of the Church? The matter was keenly canvassed and carefully weighed, in view of the future of the native Church. Those freemen who had been admitted had signed articles affecting their relations to their slaves, so that the hands of the Church might be clean, but as the question inevitably arose in each of the stations, a deliverance was demanded.

Can slaveholders be Church members.

The case was very complicated. Calabarese society was divided into two classes—slaveholders and slaves. There was not such a thing known as a free labouring class. The slaveholders or freemen were about one to every twenty slaves. Every owner had absolute power over his slave, but it was considered disreputable to sell a slave for anything but crime. To manumit a slave was also unknown to Calabar law. Once a slave, always a slave. Not only so, but, supposing a master put away a worthless slave, he would still be held responsible for every crime or misdeed the slave committed. This was property of which he could not divest himself. It was rarely that an owner sold his slave out of the country, and only for very serious crime. The only way to get rid of superfluous slaves was by death; and this was not unfrequently resorted to on very slender pretexts.

Under Calabarese law a free servant had no place. Two kinds of law existed. There was *Egbo* law. Egbo is a secret society or combination, initiation into which

is purchased at a large cost (about £100), the members of which form a kind of polyarchy. This society passes and enforces the laws of the country. But Egbo law is for the benefit of its own members only. If a freeman who is not in Egbo wishes his case considered, he must hire an Egbo man at an exorbitant sum; or, as is frequently done, sell himself to some rich member, whose protection he will thus secure.

The other form of law is patriarchal. The freeman is absolute master of his household. Wife, children, slaves may be disposed of as he likes. Now, if a slave were set free, he would be under no law. Egbo could not take account of him. No master would be responsible for him. Emancipation, then, meant to throw men and women upon society without protection. In Calabar it would have been, therefore, a great calamity for two reasons. First, there was no opportunity for a liberated slave to hire his labour and support himself; and, secondly, he had no rights to protection under any form of law. This being the case, and the Church not being able at once to change society and its customs, if members were to be added to the Church, it was necessary to adjust the relations of the freeman to his slave in such a way as not to injure the slave nor prevent the freeman from enjoying his inheritance in Christ.

Emancipation inexpedient.

For these reasons it was resolved to ask every owner of slaves to sign the following declaration on being admitted into the fellowship of the Church: "Believing that all men are equal in the sight of God, and that, under the gospel, there is in Christ Jesus neither bond nor free, I hereby, as a servant of Christ, bound to obey the commands of God's word, promise, in the sight of the

Declaration by Christian slaveowners.

great God, my divine Master, that I shall regard those persons placed under my care, and formerly held by me as slaves, as *servants* and not as *property;* that I shall give them what is just and equal for their work; that I shall encourage them to obtain education for themselves and their children, and to attend on such means of religious instruction as the Church may be able to afford them; that I shall dispose of none of them for the mere purposes of gain; that I shall do so only in the case of those who, being chargeable with criminal offences, would be liable to be put to death were they to remain in Calabar, and who can be legally banished in no other way; that I shall endeavour as far as I can to secure the making of laws to promote personal freedom; that, as soon as it can be done, I shall legally set free all those under my care; and that, in the meantime, I shall treat them with kindness and equity, it being my constant aim to act upon the command of the Lord Jesus Christ, to do unto others as I would wish them to do unto me."

CHAPTER VIII

FRESH FIELDS AND NEW WORKERS

New workers began now to appear upon the scene, and new fields of labour to be broken up. In March 1854, Mr. Alexander Sutherland joined the mission as a teacher in Duke Town. In the following year he married Miss Miller, and, after the British Government gave permission to rebuild Old Town, these two devoted souls undertook to re-establish the cause of Christ in that place. Mr. Sutherland died a few months after (April 1856), but Mrs. Sutherland continued for about seven years in Old Town, preaching and teaching and organising with much energy and success, till her transference to Duke Town, with which her memory is tenderly associated.

MRS. SUTHERLAND.

In 1855 there arrived Mr. John Wylie, teacher, who remained but a year; Dr. Hewan, a medical missionary, who remained eleven years; also Miss E. Johnstone and Miss Barty. The work now went on apace, and was

again blessed with a taste of persecution. This time it was in Duke Town. In November, a son of Oko Odiong had died, and, as usual, friends were suspected of *Ifŏt*, or witchcraft. A half-brother, a half-sister, and an aunt were doomed to undergo the ordeal of the esere-nut. They fled for safety to the mission-house, and Mr. Anderson declined to give them up. Duke Ephraim summoned hundreds of the blood-men, and surrounded the mission. Anderson, however, would not be intimidated, and took means to transfer the refugees to one of the ships in the river. Egbo was blown on the mission, which cut off the mission from all social intercourse, from marketing, and preaching. The right of the mission to its property was questioned, and threats of destruction were freely uttered.

Esere-nut in Duke Town.

After much anxiety and hardship, Anderson summoned the consul from Fernando Po, who adjudicated upon the subject, and strongly condemned the ordeal. The results of the consul's interference were favourable to the mission. The validity of the Church's tenure of the mission property was established; the mission was no more to be put under the boycott of Egbo; and the premises were publicly advertised as a sanctuary to refugees who were not guilty of any crime.

The time for extension had now arrived. After some exploring, it was arranged to open a new station at Ikoneto, a small town about twenty-five miles up the river from Creek Town. This was a delicate matter to arrange, on account of the jealousy of the towns in which the mission already existed. There was jealousy lest these up-river villages should begin to trade with the white men after learning to read and write, and a fear lest the missionary should lead the way to white men who might wish to

Ikoneto.

possess the land. Matters, however, were soon adjusted, and Mr. and Mrs. Goldie, along with Miss E. Johnstone, opened the station in July 1856. The success of the work was almost immediate. Soon ninety children attended school. The people, who were for the most part engaged in farming, were attentive to the gospel, gave up twin murder and human sacrifices, and showed more tractableness of disposition than those further down the river. A church was built of native material in 1857, a year after the station was opened. The people began to dress decently; and so fond of long gowns did the women become, that when it was found that some of those of lower rank displayed them too ostentatiously of a Sabbath, to the annoyance and chagrin of those of higher rank who had none, a sumptuary law was passed that none but ladies of the highest rank should wear long gowns. The poor were condemned to short ones.

The arrival of the Rev. Zerub Baillie in 1856 did much to brighten the prospects of the mission. His knowledge of medicine, his buoyancy of nature, and his untiring zeal seemed to mark him out for pioneering work up the river. Shortly after his arrival, another of the first missionaries, the Rev. Samuel Edgerley, senior, died, after a laborious life of teaching, printing, and preaching. But other labourers thrust in their sickles. Mr. Samuel Edgerley, junior, and Mr. William Timson began to teach in Creek Town, whilst Jamaica contributed another of its best workers to Calabar, in the person of the Rev. Alexander Robb of Goshen, who gave to Africa seventeen years of fruitful service.

Zerub Baillie.

But another important change took place in the year of Mr. Robb's arrival (1858). After sixteen years of arduous labour in Jamaica, and twelve years of pioneer

work in Africa, the Rev. H. M. Waddell was compelled by the state of his health to withdraw from Old Calabar. He was the founder of the mission, and during these years, by his statesmanlike sagacity and philanthropic purpose, he shaped the destiny of our African mission at a time when mission work in Africa was little known. His book on *Twenty-nine Years in the West Indies and Central Africa* is a worthy monument of his indefatigable labour—a brilliant and first-hand record of his interesting experiences in Old Calabar, which will take its place beside the works of Livingstone, Moffat, and Stanley.

Mr. Waddell retires.

Mr. Waddell had the rare pleasure of seeing the work of his hands established. The membership of the church at Creek Town had increased to twenty-one, with twenty-four catechumens. These were all bound to him with filial affection, and on his departure sent with him a gift of £71 to the home Church, the first contribution which Calabar ever sent for the Lord's sake and for the Lord's work. His converts and friends bade him adieu at the steamer, from which Waddell spoke his last words of farewell. "Now we are off! Farewell, Calabar! We leave you without shame for the past, and without fear for the future. We thank God that He counted us worthy to send us with His gospel here, and that He sent us not in vain. To His name be the glory!"

Mr. Goldie now took charge of Creek Town, and Mr. Thomson of Ikoneto, whilst Mr. Zerub Baillie left Duke Town and pressed on to found the new station at Ikörófiöng. Here, at the close of 1858, he received a most gratifying reception from the chiefs. A site was cheerfully given, on a hill over-

Ikörófiöng.

looking the town. It commanded a view of about eight miles of the river, of a wide territory covered with forest, and, in clear weather, of the blue mountains in the far distance. The people at once began to cut down the bush, to level the ground, to clear a road to the town, and a road to the well, and showed great eagerness to learn to read, as well as much devoutness at times of worship.

Here Zerub Baillie laboured with rare energy, and was joined by his brother John in 1861. Soon Ikörófiông formed an important centre, from which the light radiated upon the surrounding villages. The Baillies plied upon the river with their boat, carrying the gospel wherever they went, and establishing such friendly relations with the natives, as did much to smooth the path of the workers who succeeded them.

CHAPTER IX

AN INTERLUDE—GLIMPSES OF CALABARESE LIFE

WHEN we speak of a king in Old Calabar, it is only an accommodation of that august title. In the Egbo fraternity he is only one of their high officers. He is a convenient medium through which to conduct the intercourse with foreigners in trading. His election is to a large extent influenced by the traders. He, of course, assumes many of the innocent airs of what he considers royalty, and if he be a good man his power for good is great.

Kings.

EKPRI ABANA VILLAGE.

The towns over which the kings preside are not populous. Duke Town has about 6000 inhabitants, and is the Glasgow of Old Calabar. Creek Town is smaller, but it claims to be the Edinburgh. The towns are miniature republics, bound in a sort of rude federation by Egbo, which secures for the freemen who are members of the fraternity more

Towns.

than their freedom, and which, with its mysteries and inexorable cruelties, keeps the slaves in abeyance.

Family life.

Family life is of the patriarchal order. The freeman is absolute master of his household. His slaves are "things," or property; so too his wives, and sons and daughters. He finds it difficult to keep his house in order, and hence resorts to terror. Where marriage has taken place, dissolution of marriage is easily obtained. Polygamy prevails, and girls are gifted to influential friends, so that it is sometimes difficult for young men of humbler position to find suitable wives. Involuntary spinsters are unknown.

The relation of slave and master is much mitigated by custom. They are of the same race. Their children play together and sit together at school. There is not the hostility between white and black which exists, for instance, in the West Indies. The slave may own property, may even possess slaves and grow rich. He is subject, however, to be called upon to work for his master at the master's pleasure. Sometimes he is treated with great cruelty. Sand-papering the lips with a rough leaf, used for polishing furniture, was the punishment of one for speaking unadvisedly. A runaway woman was compelled to run up and down the street for a whole day. Those who harboured secrets had holes bored in their ears with hot irons to make them divulge. Pepper thrown into the eyes, cutting off one ear or both, breaking legs, and binding arms with tight cords, were some of the refinements of the punitive art in which the savage mind displayed its marvellous ingenuity.

Other arts were not so assiduously cultivated. When the missionaries introduced flowers into the mission garden, they were laughed at for bringing more weeds into Calabar, as if there were not already enough, and

of sufficient variety. The Calabarese music consisted of a low monotonous murmur or wail. Expressions of joy could not be given by voice; but in the dance the feet atoned for this defect. Their carving and pottery were of a very rude description, but the women were somewhat adept in decoration. They spent much time in ornamenting with pleasing designs the banks of beaten earth which formed the seats round the interior of their houses. The art of dress was foreign to Calabar. Some savages dress in the skins of animals, the Calabarese were

Arts in general.

NATIVES.

content with their own. But when they learned from us to clothe themselves, they far outstripped us in variety of combination and colour. The vanity of the men often exceeded that of the women, probably because their opportunities of gratifying it were greater. It was no uncommon thing to see a chief, arrayed in a green satin hat, a waistcoat, a fathom of Manchester cloth around him like a petticoat, and profuse bracelets on his wrists, airing his grandeur barefooted under a large coloured umbrella.

The natives are hospitable and courteous, seldom insult a white man, and never lay hands of violence upon

him. The kings give sumptuous dinners, and willingly accept invitations in return. If they cannot be present, they respect your hospitable feelings by sending a slave for the dinner which they were prevented from partaking of at your table.

Native courtesy.

The Calabarese are keen traders and good farmers. They bring the palm oil from the interior, and dispose of it to our traders, whose vessels lie in the river opposite Duke Town, and whose warehouses are now on the beach. They do not display any liking for continuous labour at handicrafts, though there are a few smiths and weavers. There are no masons, because there are no stones.

Trades.

They have no beasts of burden. The horse is known as the white man's cow. The goat supplies animal food. There is little or no pasture land. Mangrove trees line the river banks for miles, as far as the tide flows. There are some elevations, but no hills until you go far into the interior. Every town has its farms, where yams, bananas, and plantains are grown for food.

Peculiarities.

The religious ideas of the people are very crude. They have a dim conception of a supreme Being, whom they called Abasi. Their belief in spirits, or shadows, is great, but the spirits are all malevolent. *Idems* reside in trees, and in the river, and sacrifices are made to them. In the corner of the yard is a small mound of clay, called *Iso Ëkpo*, upon which the head of the household offers the goat or the fowl as a sacrifice to the shadow of his ancestor.

Religious ideas.

The country is now under British protection, as the Niger Coast Protectorate, and the resident consul, Sir Claude MacDonald, displays much helpful sympathy towards the mission.

CHAPTER X

IN THE SHADOW

MR. WADDELL'S withdrawal from the mission marks an epoch in its history. The clearing and quarrying work had, to a large extent, been accomplished, the lines of the building had been determined, and the foundation laid. The quieter work of building stone upon stone in the rearing of the Calabarese Church had now to be undertaken. Many of the grosser forms of superstition had received their death-blow, and were dead or dying, and the general principles of Christianity had been vindicated, amidst scenes thrilling with incident. But these victories had to be followed up and secured by the patient routine of teaching, preaching, and evangelising, which, although they may not yield so much material for the pen of the chronicler, are not less important nor less heroic.

Quiet times.

A few months after Mr. Waddell's departure, Eyo Honesty died. He will always remain as a landmark in the history of Calabar. He gave the first welcome to the mission band, and, for the most part, aided the mission till death withdrew him from the scene. Although he never identified himself with the cause which he did much to favour, yet by his tact, prudence, common sense, and charitableness

Death of Eyo.

he allowed Christianity to make for itself a place in Creek Town which it has never lost. His sympathies were with the truth. The Sabbath before his death he was lying in his bed with Brown's Bible before him, diligently searching the Scriptures. Ever since the time when he threatened to persecute the young Christians he had given them full liberty; and so much did he respect their conscience, that, if he wished to offer a visitor a glass of rum, he would not call one of his Christian attendants to serve, but one who had no scruples.

When Eyo died, on 3rd December 1858, a striking testimony was borne to the success of the mission. There was not a drop of blood shed. Many of the slaves took to flight; but his Christian retainers remained, and, without fear, performed the last offices to the dead. His sons refrained from the old customs, and declined even to take the *Mbiam*, or blood-oath, which is resorted to for mutual safety, and took instead of this, and to the satisfaction of all, an oath upon the Bible. Only twelve years before this, the death of a king would have implied the slaughter of hundreds.

Whilst Creek Town thus manifested the power of Christ, Duke Town, which had not hitherto been favoured with such regal wisdom, displayed also a gratifying advance. In September of the same year a new church was opened, which had been built entirely of native material, and at the expense of the natives. The building was characterised by simplicity, its cost being only about £40; but this first exercise in generosity argued that the gospel had laid hold of the hearts of many who, a few years before, were steeped in fear and superstition.

New church at Duke Town.

But the Duke Town authorities took a decided step

in advance when Archibong II. was elected king in the following year. For a long time the Sabbath market had been a great hindrance to the gospel. He signalised his *coronation* by abolishing it — an enactment which cheered the missionaries and facilitated their work.

Abolition of Sabbath market in Duke Town.

This, however, was the concession of a reform which had been often urged, and with which the natives had become familiar; but as each native custom was first encroached upon, the old-time party winced and remonstrated. The right of women to wear modest apparel was contested for several years. Christian women, when they desired to dress becomingly, were forbidden to put on gowns. This sumptuary law, which had been passed by the chiefs, was the result of feminine jealousy. The Christian women were generally slaves, and the wives of the chiefs could not tolerate being outrun in the race of fashion by their inferiors. But the Christian women determined to defy the law, and did appear in gowns. All the terrors of Egbo were "blown" upon the transgressors, and severe penalties were threatened. But the women still persisted, believing that the propriety of their action would render it a violation of public sentiment to punish them. After two years of contention, women were freed from compulsory semi-nakedness, and won the right of clothing themselves according to the dictates of modesty.

Women's rights.

The death of Eyo Honesty, known as Eyo Honesty II., had occurred in December 1858. Two and a half years afterwards, Eyo III. passed away. He was long known as young Eyo, and had begun his career with great promise. But the temptations of his position were too great for him, and

Death of young Eyo.

he became a backslider. Yet it is an indication of the power the gospel had over him, that an enlightened conscience brought him to repentance. Before he died, he committed his children to the care of the missionaries, who had been the light and guide of his happy boyhood.

The tendency to fall back to heathenism spasmodically asserted itself. The body of Eyo III. was laid in a large box, filled with watches, plate, etc., and that box was put into another, which was decorated with feathers, ribbons, and looking-glasses. About two hundred women moved around the boxes, wailing over them and fanning them. Every newcomer threw herself down in the mud, and cried *Ëte mi O!* (O my father!)

Trial demanded by slaves.

But the occasion brought out in an interesting way the influence which the gospel was exerting upon society in Calabar. Although slavery was not directly attacked by the missionaries, it being in the warp and woof of Calabarese society, yet the doctrine of the equal rights of man began to tell. The farm slaves poured into the town, and demanded that the ordeal should be applied to the suspected. To make such a proposal was hitherto regarded as the prerogative of freemen; but the slaves took the initiative, and singled out two, who on former occasions had distinguished themselves by their cruelty. These were Egbo Eyo, the king's uncle, and Inyang, the king's half-sister.

The story of the trial, as told by Mr. Timson, who was then in charge, is of thrilling interest. Mr. Timson did all he could to save the victims, but Nemesis had come to the cruel. Egbo apparently knew he must die, for he killed one of his wives before he left his home, that she might be waiting for him in the land of shadows

One of his slaves suffered with him. The principal proof of guilt lay in this slave's confession, that Egbo and he had put a spear into a pot, and called upon the spirit of Eyo the king to enter that vessel! The king had died by witchcraft!

On the morning after Egbo suffered, Inyang was accused. Her own sister Ansa called upon her to take the bean, and was determined to hunt her to death. The slaves gave no heed to Inyang's remonstrances and threats. At last she consented to take the esere-nut, provided that all her share of her father's property would be buried with her, so that her sister Ansa might not put a finger upon it. In a few hours she was a corpse.

These proceedings at Creek Town had their influence on Duke Town. The vested rights of murder were now being attacked by the slaves themselves. Anderson had pointed the moral of the Creek Town events—the slayer had been slain. Archibong and his chiefs resented this, and threatened Anderson with violence if he would assert that the killing of slaves was murder, and by way of retaliation subjected several slaves to death by means of the still legal processes of substitutionary punishment and ordeal. But in spite of this Anderson held on his way, assured that these cruel customs were doomed so soon as the chiefs and freemen themselves had a taste of their cruelty.

Influence on Duke Town.

Meanwhile the work was being vigorously prosecuted in the newer stations. Zerub Baillie was laying the foundation of a strong church at Ikŏröfiŏng, and, with the assistance of his brother John, was planting out-stations in the surrounding Ibibio villages. Zerub and his wife, and John, so

The Baillies at Ikŏröfiŏng.

happily associated in their labours, had a pathetic history. Their work here promised great results. The natives were taught to make bricks; and in 1863 Zerub built a house, and in 1864 a neat little church, which became the architectural wonder of the neighbourhood. An Ibibio chief at Oku, three or four miles from Ikörófiöng, built a church of native construction at his own expense — a new departure among the blacks, who usually do nothing for nothing. On the first Sabbath of 1864, the mission party, together with the first three converts, sat down at the Lord's table, and a church was thus founded.

MISSION HOUSE, IKÖRÖFIÖNG.

But blow after blow fell upon this happy family. In 1862, Mrs. Baillie passed away. "Look forward," she said to Zerub, "and come on, and be sure and bring Willie with you, and as many people as you can." When Zerub told her he could give her unreservedly to God, she said, "Thank you for these words: I am now happy." Her last message breathed the true love for missions: "Nothing would be more unjust than to attribute my death to the climate."

Willie, their little child, followed two weeks after. John sickened, and came home, to die in Edinburgh in 1864, in his thirtieth year. Zerub held on, and worked with great purpose till 1865, when he also returned from Old Calabar. He had to be lifted out of the vessel at Liverpool, and never reached his native Scotland. Friends hurried to his bedside, for he was a loveable man and greatly beloved. Dr. Hewan, a kindred spirit, who was home

Death of John and Zerub Baillie.

to recruit after valiant service in the same field, came from Paris to be with him. Throwing his arms around Hewan's neck, when he felt the pangs of death getting hold upon him, he cried, "O doctor, doctor, the last scene is now to be finished between you and me. O Africa, Africa, I have wished to spend and be spent for thee. It is a big work there. You know my plans. I told them to you. You can tell them what they are. Could you not go and carry them out? It is a big work there—a big work."

REV. ZERUB BAILLIE.

The work at Ikoneto and Old Town showed remarkable signs of progress. At the former station, Mr. Timson and Asuquö Ekanem, a native teacher, and afterwards an ordained minister, visited the farms in regular rotation, and familiarised the native mind with gospel truths. At the latter station, Mrs. Sutherland laboured with much acceptance till 1863, when she was transferred to Duke Town. Her successor, the Rev. S. H. Edgerley, was happy in witnessing the results of her years of patient Christian instruction. Ekpenyöng Etïm, the king, died in 1864; but what a change from the time when his predecessor, Willy Tom Robins, died! No blood was shed; the blood-men, who wished to apply the esere-nut to Etïm's wives, were resisted by the chiefs, and the usual accompaniments of death were absent. There is no doubt that Etïm was under the influence of the truth. Not long before his death he refused to allow an Egbo celebration on the Sabbath;

Mrs. Sutherland at Old Town.

and when fined £60 for this insult to Egbo, he paid it without in the least reflecting upon the mission, in whose interest he made the sacrifice.

But the customs associated with death were gradually undergoing change wherever the light was penetrating.

Grievances of widows.

Women were snapping the links in the chain of fashion which bound them. It was the unwritten law of the country that the widows of chiefs should mourn until their husbands' Ikpo, or devil-making, was celebrated. The husband was supposed only to be sick till these funeral ceremonies were engaged in, and sometimes they were delayed for a year, sometimes for two or three years. During this time the widows were never allowed to appear in public, nor to wash, and often suffered not only from want of cleanliness, but from want of food. Christianity was silently leavening society. These women began to realise their grievances, and in 1868, both at Duke Town and Creek Town, the widows began to rebel, and some of them boldly broke through Calabarese custom and washed themselves! This assertion of rights filled the towns with consternation, but in Creek Town the reasonableness of their demand appealed to one of the clans. In the Eyo clan orders were given for the liberation of all widows, and immediately there was a stampede of forty-one widows towards the river, into which they plunged, and enjoyed the long-denied luxury of a bath.

In this work of breaking up old customs there is no doubt the perusal of the Scriptures was playing an important part. Large portions had for some time been in circulation among the natives. In the year 1862 the New Testament was put through the press by Mr. Goldie. Six

Influence of the Bible.

years afterwards, the results of eight years of toil were produced in the printing of the Old Testament, and the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, by the Rev. Alexander Robb, D.D. He conferred an inestimable blessing upon Old Calabar by his scholarly translations, for the printing of the Bible in the language of a people is the sending of many missionaries to appeal to a people's heart.

DR. ROBB.

But the shadows again came over the mission. Broken health compelled Dr. Hewan to resign in 1866, after eleven years of faithful and energetic service, and Rev. W. C. Thomson quitted the field in 1867, having spent eighteen years of his life as teacher and preacher.

Sickness and death.

But the year 1870 brought the mission into deeper shadow. After twelve years' devoted labour, Mr. Timson died of pleurisy, at Ikoneto, in June. In August, Mr. Lewis expired at Old Town. His wife and child, who went out to join him, arrived a few days after his death, saw his grave, and returned. In December, the Rev. John Granger, who had only been a few months in the country, passed away at Ikoneto, where he had filled the breach caused by the death of Mr. Timson. These events cast a gloom over the workers in Old Calabar, but the work went on; whether men sleep or wake, the seed grows.

CHAPTER XI

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

The losses of 1870 created a crisis in the history of the mission. The Church staggered under the repeated blows. The lack of volunteers crippled the work which had been so much blessed. Men were wanted—everything was awaiting them. A new house in Ikoneto had scarcely been tenanted. That at Old Town was similarly circumstanced. One of the houses in Duke Town stood vacant. The fields were ripe unto harvest, bearing the precious fruits of seed sown by labourers whom sickness or death had called away. Yet during ten years the home Church had only furnished one ordained missionary, one medical missionary, and two teachers. Whilst in 1864 there were eight ordained missionaries in the field, there were now only four; and these had all been labouring for periods of between twelve and twenty-four years—Mr. Goldie and Mr. Edgerley at Creek Town, Mr. Anderson at Duke Town, and Dr. Robb at Ikörófiŏng. These, with Mr. Lawson, who won the hearts of the children at Ikörófiŏng, and Mr. Ashworth, who laboured so devotedly at teaching and temperance work in Creek Town, composed the male staff of European agents. The consequence was that the burden of work pressed too heavily upon the workers.

The labourers are few.

Yet the work was not unblessed. Indeed, the Calabar mission might be pointed to as one of the triumphs of missionary enterprise. Cruel superstitions had one by one disappeared before the forces of Christian truth, the social life of the people had been considerably elevated and sweetened, whilst many had passed from death into life through faith in Jesus Christ. The progress which the mission had made within twenty-four years of its existence was marvellous, considering the heathenism of the people and the sufferings of the missionaries. There were now five principal stations and fifteen out-stations, with a membership of one hundred and ten. At four stations over seven hundred people attended divine service, and at two stations there were forty-five candidates. There were twelve day schools and over four hundred scholars.

The harvest great.

In this work our European ladies took a noble share. By their devotedness, courage, and physical endurance, some of them left the stamp of their character upon the native Church. The wives of the missionaries, and such female teachers as Miss E. Johnstone, Mrs. Sutherland, Mrs. Timson, Miss Edgerley, and Miss Diboll (afterwards Mrs. Swan), lived a life of quiet and humble heroism, performing ministrations which shall only find a record in the book of life.

Another feature of the mission which was full of promise was the extent to which native help was being developed and utilised. There were in this year (1870) fifteen agents at work. A few years before this, these teachers were all either slaves or half-free, and steeped in heathenism; but now their irreproachable and useful lives were a daily testimony to their fellow-countrymen of the power of Christ. Mr. Goldie could even at that

time say that "fully the half of the work of the mission is now done by our native agents, at the cost of little more than the salary of one European."

Death of Mr. Ashworth.

Mr. Ashworth's death on August 8, 1871, the first anniversary of the death of Mr. Lewis, intensified the crisis to which the recent losses had brought the band of workers. There is a touch of pathos in the thought of this ardent spirit lying upon his deathbed singing himself into heaven. Dr. Robertson tells us that his last song was, "Who is this that comes from Edom?" He reached the end of the second verse—

> "Jesus now is strong to save,
> Mighty to redeem the slave,"

when he raised himself, and exclaimed, "O yes! we have a great Saviour! Blessed Jesus!" Then his voice joined another choir.

The climatic difficulty.

The recurrence of death in Old Calabar induced many to consider the question of the selection of agents, and of facilities for recruiting in cases of sickness. Three answers were given. A Dr. J. W. Healy, from America, undertook to overcome the climatic difficulty, by educating in American colleges eighty young men, negroes of the Southern States, to be sent as missionaries to their brethren in Africa. This brilliant idea dazzled the imagination and opened the purses of the Church, but it soon vanished, leaving little else than unpleasant recollections.

George Thomson's sanatorium.

Another answer was proposed. The hardships of our brethren in Old Calabar revealed the heroism latent in the bosom of our Church, in the courageous proposal of Mr. George Thomson, who has given romance to the history of this mission by his self-sacrifice and daring. Mr. Thomson

had long cherished the hope that, at no great distance from Old Calabar, a sanatorium might be formed, to which our agents might repair for health and rest, and have a chance of recruiting, without the long journey home, which they naturally hesitated to undertake except in cases of grave danger. Mr. Thomson, who left his business as an architect in Glasgow, set out for Old Calabar, swept along the coast, explored the rivers, roamed through the country, ascended the mountains. He believed he had found the object of his heroic endeavours in the Cameroon mountains, and for several years, with enthusiastic perseverance, he gave himself to the furtherance of his philanthropic scheme. His efforts for the regeneration of Africa were, however, frustrated by the mysterious hand of death. In 1878 he passed away. Though his dream was not realised, his unselfish quest has given inspiration to many of Christ's servants, and his life has added a romantic chapter to the history of the conquest of the Dark Continent.

Third and better solution.

But the careful observation of facts connected with the history of the mission suggested two things in the line of the solution of the climatic difficulty. First, that the principal agents should be recruited as much as possible from brethren who had been for some time resident in Jamaica; and, second, that instead of aiming at sending a half-educated negro ministry from the West Indies, or from the Southern States, a native Efik ministry should be reared from the converts in Old Calabar.

Dr. Robb's statement of facts.

Dr. Robb, who gave this matter much attention, brought forward these suggestive facts—that there had been connected with the Calabar mission nineteen persons who had previously been domiciled in the tropics, only three of

whom had died; and that of fifteen who came direct from Europe, ten had died, the surviving five being females. These facts are certainly startling; but the undetermined point is, how far the workers have succumbed to climatic influences, and how far to the strain of work which the Church has laid upon them, by keeping the field constantly under-manned. The probability is that residence in Old Calabar would not prove so fatal, if each station were equipped in such a way as to render the amount of work expected suitable to the exigencies of the climate. The Church should be more generous in her provision, and less exacting in her demands.

And again, from the fact that several native converts were proving to be zealous and efficient teachers, it was justly argued that, after a few years, this system of employing Calabarese agents might be indefinitely extended, and would prove preferable to the importation from Jamaica of half-educated negroes, who did not know the Efik language. This supposition has proved correct, for now the native ministry is full of promise, and not without signs of development.

The work at the various stations, though crippled, was not without some cheering signs. In 1873, Mr. Lawson (now minister in Edenshead), to his own regret and to the sorrow of Ikörófiöng, withdrew disabled from the field, and returned home along with Dr. Robb, whose health greatly needed recruiting. Ikörófiöng was left without a European agent for about a year; yet the native agents and the six native converts were faithful, and "adorned the doctrine." A severe epidemic of smallpox broke out, and terror reigned throughout the district. Miss E. Johnstone (sister of Mrs. Goldie),

Cheering signs.

stepped fearlessly into the fever-stricken village, and even defied the laws of Egbo, which augmented the disease by forbidding the burial of the dead. After teaching them how to vaccinate, and seeing the epidemic decrease, she returned to Old Town, to die a short time after (June 1873). Miss Mary Johnstone, now the last remaining of three noble sisters, whose names will ever be associated with the Christianisation of Old Calabar, offered herself for service soon after, and went out to help in the work of the Lord.

Other workers appeared upon the scene. Mr. Beedie went with Dr. Robb to Ikörófiöng, Mr. Thomas Campbell went to Creek Town, Mr. Alexander Morton to Duke Town, all as teachers. Then, after the resignation of Dr. Robb and the Rev. Dugald Campbell on account of ill health, there arrived upon the field, in 1875, the Rev. Alexander Ross and Mr. James Swan, and in 1876 Miss Slessor, whose name has been and is so memorably associated with the station at Ököyöng, which she started in 1888.

New workers.

A period of remarkable activity set in. The work of exploration was vigorously taken up, with the hope of extending the mission. Waddell, Goldie, Robb, and especially Samuel H. Edgerley, had done much in exploring the surrounding country. Thomas W. Campbell broke up the region around the Oban hills, the Quö river, and the Calabar river. Mr. Ross with great energy penetrated among the tribes in Efut. The hope of occupying these places inspired the courage of the brethren ; but though Ethiopia stretched out her hands, the Church was not prepared to send out the messengers.

Death again visited the brethren. In 1879, Mr. Alexander Morton passed away, after a career which was brief but full of promise. He had been married

only a few months to Miss Timson, who returned home, leaving behind her, awaiting the resurrection, her father and mother, who sleep side by side at Ikoneto, and her husband at Duke Town. That same year Mr. Thomas W. Campbell resigned in broken health, and repaired to Queensland, where he died shortly afterwards.

But the remaining workers were full of hope, and received much encouragement from the progress which took place in the church and in the social condition of the people. The rearing of a native ministry had long been before the mind of the presbytery. The first ordination of a native pastor took place in 1872, when Esien Ukpabio, who was the first convert and the first native teacher, became the first native minister of the Efik church. On July 5, 1879, another native, Asuquö Ekanem, was ordained in the new church, built by the voluntary offerings of the people, which was opened that same day in Creek Town.

First native pastor.

CREEK TOWN CHURCH.

This forward step of the Presbytery of Biafra gave vitality to the native Church. It seemed to start upon a new era of its history. The churches in Old Calabar then took into consideration what they might do in relation to the native agency, and they heartily agreed to aim at supporting the native agency without seeking aid from the Church

Proposal by Presbytery of Biafra.

at home. Such cheering news was welcomed at home, not so much on account of the money it saved, but because of the promise which this assumption of responsibility indicated.

But perhaps the most signal proof of the influence of the mission upon Old Calabar is to be seen in the agreement which was drawn up between Her Britannic Majesty's consul, David Hopkins, and the leading men of the country, dated September 6, 1878. Consul Hopkins acknowledged that such an agreement would have been impossible but for the long-continued residence and teaching of our missionaries. It shows how Christian truth had, in thirty-four years, transformed the texture of Calabarese society, and answers the question of the ignorant caviller—"Who will show us any good?"

Consul Hopkins' testimony.

There are fifteen articles in the agreement, only six of which we quote, as they are the notes of triumph of our mission.

"ARTICLE 1. *Twin Children and Twin Mothers.*—Whoever wilfully takes the life of a twin child or children shall be adjudged liable to the penalty of death. Any persons wilfully concealing any fact that may come to their knowledge of the murder of twins, shall be considered accessories of the fact, and shall be liable to such punishment as the consul shall direct. Twin mothers in future shall have full liberty to visit the town, and buy and sell in the markets, the same as any other women of the town, and they shall not be molested in any way.

The agreement.

"ARTICLE 2. *Human Sacrifices.*—Any one wilfully causing the death of another, by violent flogging or by any other means, except in the case of a culprit sentenced to death by the law, shall be considered guilty of

murder, and shall suffer the penalty of death by hanging, provided the king and his chiefs, with the consent of the consul, find no extenuating circumstances which would warrant mercy being extended.

"ARTICLE 3. *Esere-Bean.*—Any person administering the esere-bean, whether the person taking it dies or not, shall be considered guilty of murder, and shall suffer death.

"ARTICLE 4. — Any person taking the esere-bean wilfully, either for the purpose of committing suicide, or for the purpose of attempting to prove their innocence of any crime of which they may have been accused, shall be considered guilty of attempted murder, and shall be fined as heavily as their circumstances will permit, and shall be banished from the country.

"ARTICLE 5. *Egbo Iquö*, or the stripping of helpless women in the public streets.—This abominable, disgraceful, and barbarous custom of allowing the young men of the town to take an Egbo out, and seize, strip, and indecently assault any woman wearing a dress or cloth in the street, then exhibiting such dress or cloth hung upon a pole, or the tree in front of the Egbo palaver-house, being so disgusting and revolting, is now and for ever abolished.

"ARTICLE 6. *Widows.* — The custom of compelling widows to remain in their houses, in filth and in wretchedness, after the death of their husband, until his devil-making is over (they having been sometimes kept for seven years in this state of misery), is abolished. The widows are to remain mourning for one month after the death of their husbands, and after that no further restraint will be put upon them."

CHAPTER XII

FORWARD!

1881 AND 1882 were years of trial to the mission. One of our respected missionaries—the Rev. Alexander Ross of Duke Town—had assumed an attitude towards his brethren which rendered it necessary to send a deputation from the home Church to investigate and settle the dispute. The Rev. David Williamson of Queensferry, and the Rev. David Marshall of East Calder, at the request of the Foreign Mission Board, undertook the task, and set sail on October 29, 1881.

Deputation to Old Calabar.

On their arrival they found that the only remedy to the dispute was that Mr. Ross should no longer labour in that field. Unfortunately Mr. Ross did not acquiesce in this decision, but left the mission and started a rival church in Duke Town, which led to much heartburning and no little confusion.

The visit of the deputies was greatly blessed, as it cheered the native converts, and brought the native Church into sympathetic contact with the Church at home. King Eyo VII. and the other elders rendered many kindnesses to the visitors, and received in return much stimulus and encouragement in their work. The

presence of Mr. Williamson and Mr. Marshall was regarded as an epoch in the history of the mission.

Mr. Williamson dies at sea.

But the mission was again put under the cloud by the unexpected death of Mr. Williamson, at sea, on his way home to Scotland. This friend of the missionary cause, after fulfilling his commission with characteristic impartiality, went on board in apparently good health, but soon developed symptoms which led to his death on January 30.

KING EYO VII.

Death of Mrs. Sutherland.

Shortly before this deputation arrived, there had fallen in the service one whose name must ever be held in honour—Mrs. Sutherland. The story of her life shows the possibilities of quiet heroism which thorough consecration to Christ may develop in the midst of the most unpromising circumstances. After thirty-two years' labour, characterised by homely piety, sound sense, and rare enthusiasm for the cause of Christ, "Mammy" Sutherland entered into her rest on October 19, 1881.

Death of Mrs. Anderson.

But the cause suffered by the death of another lady—Mrs. Anderson, a woman of great energy and of strong character, who with her husband had lived through the stormy scenes of the early days, when the heathen raged and imagined vain things. She, like Mrs. Sutherland, was

the friend of widows and orphans, and, as a native woman said, "she has saved many a head from being cut off, and many an ear too."

Death of Mr. Edgerley.

In little more than a year after Mrs. Anderson had entered into her rest, the Rev. Samuel H. Edgerley was called away, in February 1883. For twenty years he had served as an ordained missionary. He was the David Livingstone of the missionary band. Possessed of great courage and endurance, he explored many regions never visited before by a European, and always displayed that subtle tact and Christian sympathy which made him a welcome visitor. His journals in connection with his pioneering tours are still living with interest to the student of ethnology as well as to the student of missions. What he did for Old Calabar in preaching and teaching, in exploring and building, in dispensing and personal pleading, is known only to the Master, in whose service he spent himself without stint.

REV. S. H. EDGERLEY.

More labourers.

But new figures were appearing upon the mission field. In 1881, Mr. Peebles, teacher, was settled at Duke Town, and Mr. Alexander Cruickshank at Ikörófiöng; and in the following year the staff was reinforced from Jamaica, by the settlement of the Rev. Hopetoun Gillies Clerk at Creek Town, and the Rev. E. W. Jarrett at Duke Town. Artisan missionaries were represented by Mr.

John Morrison and Mr. Carl Ludwig; whilst Miss M'Phun in 1882, Miss Hogg in 1884, and Mrs. Lyall in 1885, filled the blanks among the female workers.

The "David Williamson."

Shortly before his death, Mr. Edgerley had strongly urged the necessity of procuring a steamer of light draught, which might be suitable for plying upon the upper reaches of the river. To this appeal the children of the Church gave a hearty response, by sending out the "David

THE "DAVID WILLIAMSON."

Williamson." The arrival of the steamer enabled the missionaries to take advantage of the river-way, and to penetrate to the "regions beyond." Though many journeys of exploration had been made inland, and pressing requests for preachers and teachers had been received from some of the tribes, yet the difficulty of transit in a country in which there are no beasts of burden, pointed to the rivers as the lines along which extension was to be carried out.

To the waterway of the Cross river attention was

now definitely turned, and a period of great activity set in. In 1885 the Rev. E. W. Jarrett opened Ikötana, a town on the left bank of the river, over one hundred miles above Duke Town, with about three hundred inhabitants. He soon made an impression upon the people. Six of the children of the town lived with him, for the sake of the influence of a Christian home; one of the boys, his interpreter, being able to speak eight languages. In times of war Mr. Jarrett found church and school emptied, yet he was taught not to be discouraged. "Had I known," he said to one of the natives on one of these occasions, "they were not going to come out better than that, I should have gone to another town." "If it had not been for the good word you are always teaching us," replied the man, "you would see our town filled with heads." In view of the harvest it is something to see the weeds destroyed, though no grain has yet been gathered in.

Pressing up the Cross river, Ikötana.

Two years after this, the Rev. J. F. Gartshore pressed up the river beyond Ikötana, and began work at Ungwana. The work of a pioneer missionary in Old Calabar is no easy task. For the first six months, as Mr. Gartshore declared, he was more a contractor than a missionary, more a backwoodsman than a cleric. He built outhouses, children's rooms, store, dispensary, cut down the bush, made roads, rooted up trees, healed the sick, taught school, preached the gospel, and reduced the language of the people to writing! It is to be regretted that Mr. Gartshore has been compelled, on account of ill-health, to relinquish, after such short but brilliant service, a sphere of labour which lay so much to his heart.

Ungwana.

The companion of many of Mr. Gartshore's journeys,

the Rev. James Luke, with all the dash of an explorer, with all the zeal, versatility, and tact of a pioneer, settled in 1889 in the midst of a large population midway between Ikötana and Ungwana, at a village called Emuremura. Here he met with a hearty reception from the chief, Ebök, a mild and gentlemanly native. Ebök at once cleared out a native house for Mr. Luke as a temporary residence. Then the work of building, road-making, etc., began; language had to be conquered, and all the manual labour and mental worry which we impose upon our upriver agents had to be undergone. Why do we not send an artisan with each missionary who opens up new ground?

Emuremura.

EBÖK.

Within eighteen months, spite of many indications of dense ignorance and superstition, Mr. Luke was able to point to signs of the dawn. Children were given him to be trained under Christian influences; chiefs came secretly, like Nicodemus, to inquire the way of life; the common people gladly heard a gospel which is destined to lead them into a liberty not yet dreamt of by them; and the chiefs and slaves of one part of the town combined in subscribing £6, 5s. to help in erecting a building to serve as church and school. In this way Mr. Luke is preparing the way of the Lord in Emuremura.

Mr. Luke.

But another way is being prepared among these native tribes—not the way of the Lord. "As far into

The curse of gin.

the interior as we have yet penetrated, we found the gin bottle had preceded us"—is the testimony of Mr. Goldie of Creek Town, whose life has been spent in works of Christian philanthropy. From Ikörófiöng we have the same testimony from Mr. Cruickshank: "Strong drink is a very great hindrance to our work. A chief (not a Christian) said to me the other day, 'If you would stop the drink from coming to Calabar for one single year, you would see what a difference there would be.'" The same cry comes from Emuremura. "I regret to write," says Mr.

MR. M'KENZIE, MR. LUKE, EKÕT THE TEACHER, AND NATIVES OF UNGWANA.

Luke, "that the Lord's work is and will be much hindered by the sale to the natives by British traders of the accursed strong drink. If it were good, honest stuff, we would still regret the natives coming under its power; but when it is the vile fluid called 'trade gin,' which a trader would not allow his dog to touch, and which wrecks and ruins the ignorant, emotional negro, no language can be too strong in protest." So keenly, indeed, have our workers in that field felt the inconsistency and antagonism of the drink traffic, that the Presbytery of Biafra made a statement and appeal to

the Church on the subject, in which the following sentence occurs:—"The Presbytery, brought face to face with this curse, is convinced that to put an end to it would do more for Christ's cause in Africa than to double the number of her missionaries." It is deeply to be regretted that the traders should pursue a policy which is as shortsighted for their own interests as it is debasing to the natives. The more the natives are debauched and degraded with gin, the less labour can they bestow upon cultivating and procuring the goods in which they trade, and consequently the less are they able to purchase from our markets. Were there a quickened sense of the cruelty and injustice of this trade on the part of the merchants who control it, they would at once remove this great obstacle to civilisation and Christianity from the shores of Africa, and erase from our foreign trade one of its blackest blots.

Death again busy.

The latest events connected with the mission need only be briefly touched upon, as they are still green in the memory of the Church. Within the last three years death has again been busy among our workers, and yet never were there so many volunteers for this sphere of missionary activity. In 1890, Mr. Jarrett passed away at Ikötana, where he was succeeded by Mr. Porteous. In 1891, Mrs. Lyall, after a few years of notable work, died at Edinburgh when home on furlough; whilst in the same year, Mrs. Goldie, whose life was synonymous with patient perseverance in well-doing, rested from her abundant labours in Creek Town.

In the following year the Church was shocked by the news that the Rev. A. M. Porteous, who had only gone out in 1889, had fallen a victim to fever. Stationed

at Ikötana, he had undertaken the superintendence of Ungwana, from which Mr. Gartshore had withdrawn in broken health, and of Emuremura, from which Mr. Luke had had to retire for a short time, baffled by fever. The work seems to have told upon his ardent temperament. Fever struck him, and he had to flee to Ikörófiöng, sixty miles down the river, to find help from Mr. Cruickshank. The weary pathetic journey for thirteen hours in the canoe, his triumphant death, and his last message, "May they come, more and more, and of the right kind!" cannot be erased from the memory of the Church. A humble man, yet a profound scholar, a saint, yet on his death-bed crying, "I am a poor vile sinner, trusting in the blood of Jesus"—he has enriched the Church by a beautiful life, from which, as from a tree in blossom, the Church has inhaled a fragrance by which she may be as greatly blessed as by the plucking of much fruit.

Rev. A. M. Porteous.

REV. A. M. PORTEOUS.

But ere the first pangs of sorrow were past, the news came that another servant had been called away. Dr. William Rae, with his courageous wife, on hearing of Mr. Porteous's death, at once pressed up the river to the help of the native teachers, who were left without European aid in the young up-river stations. After two days' journey he reached Ikötana, where he examined the school, encouraged the native teacher, and interviewed the chief. Next

Dr. Rae.

day he rowed up to Emuremura under the influence of fever, and was assisted to the mission-house, where two days afterwards he died —a loveable man, who loved much, and whose love of men made his labour incessant but full of joy.

DR. RAE.

Filling up the breach.

New men and women, however, came forward to fill the blanks, and to augment the staff of workers, among others the Rev. John T. Dean, the Rev. Ebenezer Deas, the Rev. J. W. M'Kenzie (who was permitted to labour only a few months when summoned by the Master), the Rev. George M'Donald, and the Rev. William Marwick.

New departure: Educational and Industrial Institution.

A promising feature of our later policy in connection with Old Calabar is the development of the industrial side of the mission. The Calabarese know little of handicraft, and are almost entirely engaged as sort of middlemen between the traders and the tribes in the interior. In this way they are too exclusively dependent upon the foreigner for everything which requires skilled labour. By creating and fostering native industries, much would be done to civilise and elevate the people, and to provide a means of support for many of our converts. Already several artisans interested in missionary work have gone out in connection with the mission, but the latest movement of the Church is calculated to place this department upon a more satisfactory basis. It has been arranged to found an Educa-

tional and Industrial Institution, somewhat on the lines of those at Lovedale and Blythswood, and the Foreign Mission Board has appointed as first missionary-superintendent, the Rev. W. Risk Thomson, who has been acclimatised by eight years' service in Jamaica, and whose career marks him out as eminently fitted for this work, by his scholarly attainments, his mechanical skill, his business ability and force of character.

Looking back.

The outlook for Old Calabar was never so bright. The work is breaking forth on the right hand and on the left. The workers are enthusiastic and hopeful. Looking back over the history of the mission since its commencement, less than fifty years ago, we cannot but thank God for the changes which His gospel has wrought. The abolition of human sacrifices, of substitutionary punishment, of trial by the esere-bean, and of twin murder; the amelioration in the lot of twin mothers and widows, and women in general; the respect created for the person of the slave; the destruction of cruel practices and degrading superstitions; the creation of reverence for the Sabbath; the new hopes and ideals which have elevated the lives of many hitherto in degrading darkness; the sweetening of society with Christian influences and aspirations; the bringing of many souls into the presence and under the power of the Redeemer—are among the blessings which our Church has conferred upon that people by the instrumentality of the gospel of Christ. But there are other results which cannot be valued nor tabulated—those subtle and far-reaching social and spiritual consequences, which, for the betterment of humanity, flow like virtue from the garments of Christ, wherever His blessed feet have trod. These are results felt by those

who have lived through the vicissitudes of the mission; *felt*, but as evasive of tabulation as the change from a stifling atmosphere into an atmosphere which braces mind and body and gives rejuvenescence to the spirit. The history of our mission in Old Calabar may be one of suffering and heroism, but it is also a history of miracle and triumph—a proof, on a grand scale, that the gospel is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

"PORTEOUS-RAE."

APPENDIX

I

ANNALS OF OLD CALABAR

1841.	Sept.	Jamaica Presbytery resolves to begin mission work in Central Africa.
1843.	Jan.	Letter received from chiefs in Old Calabar, offering ground for mission settlement.
1844.	May.	Sanction given to proposal by United Secession Synod.
,,	Dec.	Jamaica Presbytery appoints Rev. H. M. Waddell to begin Old Calabar mission.
1845.		Students' Missionary Society adopt mission to West Africa as their first scheme.
1846.	April 10.	Arrival of Rev. H. M. Waddell, Mr. and Mrs. Edgerley, Edward Miller, and others, in "Warree," at Duke Town.
,,	May 6.	School opened at Duke Town.
,,	July 26.	First sermon preached at Creek Town by Rev. H. M. Waddell.
,,	Aug. 21.	First printed page (Bible lesson) in Efik published at Old Calabar.
,,	Dec. 1.	Death of E. Miller at Fernando Po.
1846–47.		Rev. H. M. Waddell visits Jamaica: his transference from Scottish Missionary Society to United Secession Mission.
1847.	Jan.	Arrival of Rev. William Jameson (Jamaica) at Duke Town.
,,	May 13.	Union of Secession and Relief Churches: Old Calabar mission adopted as mission of United Presbyterian Church.

1847. June. Return of Rev. H. M. Waddell, and arrival of Messrs. Hugh Goldie, Newhall, H. Hamilton, and others, in "Warree," at Duke Town.
,, Aug. 1. First observance of Lord's Supper at Duke Town.
,, Aug. 5. Death of Rev. William Jameson at Creek Town.
1849. Juvenile offering for mission ship (over £3180).
,, Feb. Arrival of Rev. William Anderson from Jamaica.
,, Aug. Arrival of Rev. H. M. Waddell, Mr. William C. Thomson, teacher, Miss Miller, etc., in mission ship "Jane."
1850. Feb. Human sacrifices for the dead abolished by law at Duke Town and Creek Town.
,, April. First marriage of Calabar natives according to Christian custom at Creek Town.
,, Dec. Abolition of Sabbath market at Creek Town.
1851. Ordination of Mr. S. Edgerley, teacher, at Glasgow: arrival in Old Calabar.
1853. Oct. 16. Baptism of Esien Esien Ukpabio, first convert at Creek Town.
,, Oct. 30. Baptism of young Eyo, and first observance of Lord's Supper by natives at Creek Town.
,, Oct. 30. Baptism of Mary Taylor Anderson, first convert at Duke Town.
,, Nov. 6 Baptism of Sarah Anderson and three children, and first observance of Lord's Supper by natives at Duke Town.
,, Dec. 4. Baptism of Joseph Edgerley (Edungikan), first convert at Old Town.
1854. Feb. 22. First marriage of natives according to Christian custom, at Duke Town.
,, March. Arrival of Mr. Alexander Sutherland, teacher.
1855. Arrival of Mr. John Wylie, teacher.
,, Jan. 19. Bombardment and destruction of Old Town by H.M.S. "Antelope."
,, Feb. 25. Opening of church at Duke Town.
,, Aug. Arrival of Dr. Archibald Hewan and Misses E. Johnstone and M. Barty.
,, Sept. 9. Opening of church at Creek Town.
1856. Jan. Permission granted by British Government to rebuild Old Town.
,, April 20. Death of Mr. A. Sutherland at Old Town.
,, June. Arrival of Rev. Zerub Baillie.
,, July. Opening of station at Ikoneto.
1857. March. Arrival of Mr. S. H. Edgerley, jun., teacher.

1857.	May	28.	Death of Rev. S. Edgerley at Duke Town.
1858.			Arrival of Rev. Alexander Robb (Jamaica), and Mr. William Timson, teacher.
,,	May.		Resignation of Rev. H. M. Waddell.
,,	May.		Ordinatiou of Mr. William C. Thomson, teacher; settlement at Ikoneto.
,,			First collection by native church.
,,	Sept.	1.	Formation of Presbytery of Biafra.
,,	Sept.	11.	Death of Mrs. Timson at Creek Town.
,,	Sept.	26.	Death of Mrs. Thomson at Old Town.
,,	Nov.		Opening of station at Ikörŏfiŏng by Rev. Z. Baillie.
,,	Dec.	3.	Death of King Eyo Honesty II. at Creek Town.
1859.	Aug.		Abolition of Sabbath market in Duke Town.
1861.			Abolition of substitutiouary capital punishment at Creek Town.
,,	July	21.	Baptism of Egbo Angwan, first convert at Ikoneto.
,,	July.		Arrival of Rev. John Baillie.
1862.	Sept.	13.	Death of Mrs. Z. Baillie at Ikörŏfiŏng.
,,			Publication of Efik New Testament, translated by Rev. H. Goldie.
1863.	July	24.	Ordinatiou of Mr. William Timson, teacher.
,,	Nov.	24.	Ordination of Mr. Samuel H. Edgerley, teacher.
,,	Dec.	27.	Baptism of first three converts at Ikörŏfiŏng.
1864.	May	7.	Death of Rev. John Baillie at Edinburgh.
,,	Oct.	30.	Opening of church at Ikörŏfiŏng.
1865.			Arrival of Mr. D. E. Lewis, teacher.
,,	Aug.	4.	Death of Rev. Z. Baillie (Ikörŏfiŏng) at Liverpool.
1866.			Resignation of Dr. A. Hewan.
,,			Resignation of Rev. William C. Thomson.
1868.	Nov.		Arrival of Dr. J. Robertson, medical missionary, and Mr. J. Lawson.
,,			Publication of Efik Old Testament and *Pilgrim's Progress*, translated by Dr. Robb.
1869.			Arrival of Mr. G. Ashworth, teacher.
1870.	April.		Arrival of Rev. J. Granger.
,,	June	10.	Death of Rev. W. Timson at Ikoneto.
,,	Aug.	8.	Death of Mr. Lewis at Creek Town.
,,	Dec.	9.	Death of Rev. J. Granger at Ikoneto.
1871.	Aug.	8.	Death of Mr. G. Ashworth at Creek Town.
1872.	April	9.	Ordination of Esien Esien Ukpabio at Creek Town.
,,	July.		Arrival of Rev. D. Campbell.
1873.	Mar.	15.	Abolition of Sabbath market at Duke Town.
,,			Resignation of Mr. J. Lawson.
,,	June	5.	Death of Miss E. Johnstone at Creek Town.

1873.	Aug.	Arrival of Mr. R. Beedie, Mr. T. Campbell, and Mr. A. S. Morton, teachers.
,,	Sept. 21.	Opening of church at Ikoneto.
1874.		Arrival of Miss M. Johnstone, teacher.
,,		Settlement of Miss Diboll (afterwards Mrs. Swan).
,,		Election of King Eyo Honesty VII. at Creek Town.
,,	Sept. 27.	Death of Mrs. Edgerley, sen., at Creek Town.
,,		Resignation of Dr. J. Robertson.
1875.		Resignation of Rev. Alexander Robb, D.D., and of Rev. D. Campbell.
,,		Arrival of Rev. A. Ross and of Mr. J. D. Swan, teacher.
1876.		Arrival of Miss Slessor, teacher.
1878.	Mar. 20.	Ordination of Mr. R. M. Beedie.
1879.	Jan. 3.	Death of Mr. A. Morton at Duke Town.
,,	July 5.	Ordination of Asuquö Ekanem.
1880.	July 10.	Death of Mr. T. Campbell at Bowen, Queensland.
,,		Formation of congregation at Adiabo, under Rev. E. E. Ukpabio.
1881.		Opening of church at Adiabo.
,,		Arrival of Mr. W. S. Peebles and Mr. A. Cruickshank, teachers.
,,	Oct. 19.	Death of Mrs. Sutherland at Duke Town.
1881–82.		Visit of Revs. David Williamson and David Marshall to Old Calabar mission.
,,		Deposition of Rev. Alexander Ross (Duke Town).
1882.	Jan. 26.	Death of Mrs. Anderson at Duke Town.
,,	Jan. 30.	Death of Rev. David Williamson on return voyage from Old Calabar.
,,	Sept.	Arrival of Rev. H. G. Clerk (from Jamaica).
,,	Oct.	Arrival of Rev. E. W. Jarrett (from Jamaica), Mr. J. Morrison, artisan, and Miss E. M. M'Phun, teacher.
1883.	Feb. 24.	Death of Rev. S. H. Edgerley at Duke Town.
,,		Arrival of Mr. C. Ludwig, artisan.
,,		Resignation of Mr. J. Swan, teacher.
1884.	April 13.	Ordination of Mr. Alexander Cruickshank.
,,		Arrival of Miss Jessie F. Hogg, teacher.
,,		Resignation of Mr. W. S. Peebles, teacher.
,,		Arrival of river steamer "David Williamson" (provided by the children of the Church).
1885.		Arrival of Mrs. Lyall.
,,		Opening of station at Ikötaua by Rev. E. W. Jarrett.
,,	Sept.	Arrival of Rev. James Luke.

1886.			Old Calabar Female mission incorporated with the Zenana mission.
1887.			Arrival of Miss I. W. Johnstone, Rev. J. F. Gartshore, and Mr. J. Bishop, printer and evangelist.
,,			Resignation of Mr. Carl Ludwig.
1888.	Aug.		Opening of station at Ököyöng by Miss Slessor.
,,	Oct.		Opening of station at Ungwana by Rev. J. F. Gartshore.
,,			Resignation of Rev. H. G. Clerk, and marriage of Miss M'Phun (Mrs. Beedie).
1889.			Arrival of Mr. Charles Ovens, artisan.
,,	May.		Opening of station at Emuremura by Rev. Jas. Luke.
,,	Sept.		Arrival of Miss M. Dunlop and Rev. A. M. Porteous, B.D.
,,			Retiral of Rev. William Anderson (Duke Town).
1890.			Arrival of Mr. Charles W. Morrison, teacher, and Miss Helen B. Hay (now Mrs. M'Donald).
,,	Mar.	30.	Death of Rev. E. W. Jarrett at Ikötana.
,,			Resignation of Rev. J. F. Gartshore.
,,	Oct.		Arrival of William Rae, L.R.C.P. and S.E.
,,	Mar.	28.	Arrival of Miss Elizabeth J. Hutton (uow Mrs. Marwick).
1891.	May	16.	Death of Mrs. Lyall (Duke Town) at Edinburgh.
,,	Aug.	20.	Death of Mrs. Goldie at Creek Town.
,,			Arrival of Rev. John T. Dean, M.A., and Mr. H. B. Alexander, artisan.
1892.	Jan.	26.	Death of Rev. A. M. Porteous, B.D., at Ikörofiöng.
,,	Feb.		Arrival of Mr. John Manson, artisan.
,,	Feb.	22.	Death of Dr. William Rae at Emuremura.
,,	Mar.	16.	Arrival of Rev. Ebenezer Deas.
,,	Mar.	24.	Death of King Eyo Honesty VII. at Creek Town.
,,	May.	20.	Arrival of Mr. Peter M'Omish, artisan, aud Dr. Friederich A. W. Fischer.
,,	Aug.	30.	Arrival of Miss Agnes Stewart and Miss Chalmers (Mrs. Dean).
,,	Sept.	17.	Arrival of Revs. Jas. W. M'Kenzie, George M'Donald, and William Marwick, and Miss Isabella M. Budge.
			"Porteous-Rae" steam launch provided at cost of £400.
,,	Dec.	16.	Death of Rev. James W. M'Kenzie at Ungwana.
1893.	Jan.	5.	Death of Mrs. Dean at Creek Town.
,,	Feb.		Mr. J. Murdoch Ross, artisan missionary, arrived.
,,			Resignation of Mr. C. W. Morrison, teacher.
,,	May.	13.	Death of Mr. J. Murdoch Ross at Ikörofiöng.

1893. May 20. Death of Mrs. Cruickshank at Ikörófiöng.
,, July. Revs. Dr. Laws and W. Risk Thomson visit Old Calabar in connection with proposed Industrial Institution.
,, July. Appointment of George B. Thompson, L.R.C.P.S. Edin. and Glasgow.
,, Aug. 11. Ordination of Rev. Itam Okpo Itam at Ikoneto.
,, Sept. 5. Death of Mr. John Bishop, missionary printer.
,, 11. Arrival of Mr. W. T. Weir.
,, Oct. 11. Departure of Mrs. Rae (widow of Dr. Rae) for Old Calabar.
,, Oct. Appointment of Mr. James Lindsay as missionary engineer.
,, Nov. Appointment of Mr. William A. Paton as missionary printer.

II

STATIONS AND AGENTS, 1894

	Formation of Station.	Missionaries.	Native Agents.
Creek Town	1846	Rev. Hugh Goldie.	Eyo Ekanem, Aye Eyo Okon, Okpo Jack, Esien Oku Oboko.
		,, Wm. Marwick.	
		Mr. John Manson.	
		,, Wm. A. Paton.	
Duke Town	1846	Rev. William Anderson.	William Cobham, James Ekanem.
		,, Robt. M. Beedie.	
		,, W. Risk Thomson.	
		,, J. T. Dean, M.A.	
		Dr. F. A. W. Fischer.	
		Mr. W. T. Weir.	
		,, Charles Ovens.	
		,, H. B. Alexander.	
		,, Peter M'Omish.	
		,, James Lindsay.	
Ikörófiöng .	1858	Rev. A. Cruickshank.	Efiöng Abiyak, Akpan Utïp, Eyo Inyang.
Ikoneto .	1856	Rev. Itam Okpo Itam.	
Adiabo .	1880	,, Esien E. Ukpabio.	
Ikötana .	1883	,, E. Deas.	Uwa Akpan Esien.
Ungwana .	1888	,, Geo. M'Donald.	Eköt Esien.
Emuremura	1889	,, James Luke.	Okon Esien
		Dr. Geo. B. Thompson.	Location not yet fixed.

III

ZENANA MISSIONARIES

Creek Town	Miss M. Johnstone,	appointed	*1873
Creek Town	Miss M. Dunlop	,,	1889
Okŏyŏng	Miss M. M. Slessor	,,	*1876
Duke Town	Miss M. W. Edgerley	,,	*1854
Duke Town	Miss A. Stewart	,,	1892
Duke Town	Miss J. M. Budge	,,	1892
Ikŏrŏfiŏng	Miss J. F. Hogg	,,	*1883
Emuremura	Mrs. Rae	,,	1893

* Placed on Zenana staff, 1886.

IV

PERSONAL STATISTICS.

Congregations.	Church and Congregation.								Meetings and Classes.											
	Members, Nov. 1, 1891.	Admissions.	Removals.	Members, Oct. 31, 1892.	Gain.	Loss.	Candidates.	Baptisms.	Out-Stations.	Attendance.	Prayer-Meetings.	Attendance.	Ministers' Week-day Classes.	Attendance.	Sabbath Schools.	Classes.	Teachers.	Attendance of Adults.	Children.
OLD CALABAR.																				
Creek Town, . . .	191	34	9	216	25	..	92	40	4	340	5	100	7	50	5	17	17	120	300
Duke Town, . . .	116	35	..	151	35	..	7	1	2	200	2	150	..	..	1	14	15	..	253
Ikörofiöng, . . .	15	1	..	16	1	..	15	3	3	180	1	50	..	..	1	7	7	..	92
Ikoneto, ...	23	..	1	22	..	1	30	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	4	4	60
Adiabo, ...	20	..	1	19	..	1	19	13	..	..	1	15	1	14	2	2	2	49	34
Ikötana, ...	5	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	2	10	5	30	..	..	1	3	3	30	30
Ungwana, ...	1	2	..	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	20	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Emuremura, . . .	4	..	1	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	12	1	7	2	..	2	5	20
	375	72	12	435	63	3	163	57	11	730	18	377	9	71	14	47	50	248	789

OLD CALABAR MISSION MAP

John Bartholomew & Co.

OLD CALABAR MISSION MAP

The Edinburgh Geographical Institute

John Bartholomew & Co.