A History of the Missionary Activities of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in India, 1849-1856

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...there is nothing more heroic in our Church annals than the labors and sufferings of these brethren of the mission to India.

B. H. Roberts

Comp. Hist. Vol. IV, pp 72-73
A HISTORY OF THE MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES OF THE
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY
SAINTS IN INDIA, 1849-1856

A Thesis
Presented to the
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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Ralph Lanier Britsch
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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The continent of Asia is vast and heavily populated. A greater understanding of this important segment of the earth is becoming more necessary as modern science, transportation, and communications diminish the size of the world and make it a smaller sphere. During the past few years institutions of higher learning have placed increased stress on interdepartmental programs with special area emphasis. It was just such a program that developed the author's interest in Asia. This thesis is an outgrowth of his desire for a greater understanding of one part of Asia, the subcontinent of India.

The purpose of this work is to tell the history of the East India Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from its beginning in 1849 to its conclusion in 1856. The missionaries who were sent to India were faced with many problems that were not existant in other L. D. S. mission fields. Some of these problems will be explained in detail, and the thoughts of the missionaries as they wrote them down will be discussed. The social conditions of India are described as the missionaries saw them.

The author believes that this history will give Latter-day Saints a greater appreciation for the great courage their forebears displayed. He also believes it will give students of missionary history, particularly those interested in
developing approaches to teaching the doctrines of the L. D. S. Church, greater insight into the problems that exist when planning the spread of the Gospel to all of the nations of the world.

The author has had access to the Journal History of the East India Mission, which is a daily account of the mission as reported in early newspapers, magazines, and journals. This manuscript is on file in the L. D. S. Church Historian's office. The author expresses his thanks to A. William Lund and the staff of that office for their kind assistance. The most valuable source has been the "Diary" of Amos Milton Musser, one of the missionaries in India. The author enjoyed free use of a copy of this diary and also a number of original letters. Both of these manuscripts, diary and letters, are in the collection of Gertrude Musser Richards of Pleasant Grove, Utah. To Mrs. Richards is extended heartfelt gratitude for her assistance. In addition to the above-mentioned works, many letters sent by the missionaries to the president of the European Mission and later published in the Millennial Star (London) have been used. A book by Conway B. Sonne, Knight of the Kingdom, which contains many quotations from the journals of Richard Ballantyne, another missionary, has also been used quite extensively in the chapter dealing with Madras.

Special thanks is given to Dr. Eugene Campbell, committee chairman, and to Dr. Spencer J. Palmer, minor committeeman, for the many hours they have spent reading the manuscripts of this work and for their many helpful suggestions.
Appreciation is extended to the writer's parents and father-in-law for their encouragement and financial assistance, to the author's father for the many hours he has spent proof-reading and correcting the manuscripts, and to his good wife for her patience, suggestions, and certainly for typing this thesis.

R. Lanier Britsch

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CHAPTER I

A BRIEF SURVEY OF CHRISTIANITY IN INDIA

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sent a group of missionaries to a distant land called Hindustan, "land of the Hindus." The mission that was established was named the East India Mission. The L. D. S. missionaries who were sent there faced many problems. The purpose of this and the following chapters is to tell the story of the mission and to depict, as the narrative progresses, the physical and social circumstances in which the missionaries found themselves. The men the Church sent to India found it necessary to adjust to a different climate and physical setting. They were faced with the necessity of understanding ethnic, religious, social and historical customs that were different from their own. The successes and failures of the mission were in many ways directly connected with how well the missionaries understood the land and people.

Geography.—The boundaries of the mission extended beyond the India of today and included the nations of Burma and Siam (Thailand) to the east, Ceylon to the south, and into East and West Pakistan. India is a large country, designated by geographers a subcontinent. From north to south, India is two thousand miles long and it extends from the eighth to the
thirty-fifth degree of north latitude. When Siam and Burma are included, the width of the land covered by the L.D.S. mission amounted to around two thousand and seven hundred miles.

In this large area lived a teeming mass of people. Even in the first census year, 1872, not far from the time we are concerned with, the population was 206,000,000 people. A population map reveals an intense use of nearly all of the land. In South Asia, which today includes India, Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon, are 600,000,000 people, or one person in every five on the earth. Then, as now, a large majority of the native people lived in rural areas and earned a livelihood from the soil.\(^1\)

The climate of India had a great bearing on the success of the mission. It is essentially tropical and is characterized by three seasons. The coming of the monsoon in June starts the wet season. This is India's spring; it is the time when nature comes to life. The temperatures from June to September average between eighty-two and eighty-four degrees Fahrenheit in Bombay and Calcutta. During the rainy period, it is difficult to dry one's clothing except over a fire. Furniture put together with glue is apt to come apart and books and shoes mildew overnight. During the wet season there is not much movement out of doors. People remain home as much as possible.

It was during this season that the missionaries had the poorest attendance at their meetings. When the rains cease, a second season begins which extends from November through February. This season is cool and dry, and frosts may even occur in the Ganges valley. This is the season that Europeans find most favorable. It was also the period in which the greatest amount of work was accomplished by the missionaries. Then in March the third season begins; it is the hot season. Temperatures rise to one hundred degrees or more in the daytime, but cool off at night. All work is stopped at mid-day because of the intensity of the sun's rays.¹

The monsoon climate is a great factor in the lives of India's millions. The late Professor George Cressey characterizes the monsoon's importance in this way:

Nowhere else are so many people so intimately dependent upon rainfall rhythms; the whole prosperity of India and Pakistan is tied up with the eccentricities of its seasonal winds. Other lands have their climatic personality, but in few is it so prominent or meaningful. Alternately the realm is lush and green, or a dreary brown; supersaturated atmosphere gives way to extreme aridity. Seasonality thus dominates all life.²

The monsoons bring life giving rains, but they also bring winds and high seas. During the mid-eighteen hundreds very little sea travel took place in this season and as a result very little mail came from or went to India while the monsoons continued.

The History of Christianity in India.—The L.D.S. missionaries were by no means the first Christians in this great land.

¹Ibid., p. 398. ²Ibid., p. 396.
Christianity has had a long history in India. Legends are told about the Apostle Thomas and his visit and teaching there. Scholars are still attempting to substantiate the traditional claims of many Indians, that Thomas was there.

Thomas was supposed to have established Christianity on the Malabar Coast in A.D. 52. According to tradition, he was successful among the people of the Chera kingdom. In his later years he traveled to the eastern side of the Tamil peninsula. After having some success here, he was killed by a group of jealous Hindu priests and was buried at a place now called St. Thomas Mount at Mylapore, near Madras. India has been influenced by this tradition. Especially the Indian Christians find a certain grandeur in their claims to a tradition of antiquity.¹

The Syrian Christian Church was established in India in A.D. 345, by a group of immigrants fleeing from persecution in their homeland. Over the years since that time, there have been many changes in the form of Christianity practiced among them. Most of these changes have been due to intra-Christian disagreements in theology and practice. The Roman Catholics, Nestorians, and Monophysites all attempted to establish themselves at one time or another, and sometimes all at once. Even though various sects vied for prominence, the Christians of the Malabar Coast, by the time of the coming of the Europeans to India, had formed a caste of their own

and thus not only fitted into the Christian tradition, but also into the traditional Hindu system of society.

Contacts between Europe and India were few during the medieval period. It was not until the thirteenth century that a western missionary came to India. This missionary was Friar John of Monte Corvino, who was on his way to China, but found time to stop in Mylapore for thirteen months during the years of 1291-92. He preached the gospel to the Hindus and baptized over one hundred persons.  

In the early sixteenth century, when the Portuguese came to India, they found an organized Christian church of around two hundred thousand members. Indian Christianity, however, which was largely of the Syrian variety, differed from that of the Catholics of western Europe. As a result of the differences, various conflicts arose between the two religions, the Catholics taking the offensive. The eventual Catholic victory and the submission of the Malabar church to Portuguese administration was more a result of Portuguese military power than spiritual conversion of the Malabar "St. Thomas Christians."

The first great missionary of the Age of Imperialism was St. Francis Xavier (1506-1552), the "Apostle to the Indies." Xavier, a Jesuit, was initiated during the first years of the existence of the Society of Jesus, by Ignatious Loyola himself. Xavier was extremely enthusiastic and eager to teach the gospel. The Jesuit order required great zeal,

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1Ibid., p. 42.
study and devotion. Francis Xavier fulfilled all of the requirements for preparation to teach and on April 7, 1541, he set forth with the fullest powers from Rome to establish Christianity in the Orient.¹

Landing in Goa on May 6, 1542, he spent three years working with the low castes and fishermen. He had great success among them and according to his own word, baptized ten thousand souls on one day. He didn't stay in India for long; moved by the spirit to go to the Far East, he next worked in the Malaccas and opened Christian missionary work in Japan.² After several years there, he returned to India. Xavier stayed for only a short time on this second visit and then went east again with the intent of opening China to Christianity. But he never set foot on the Chinese mainland, for in 1552 he died, as a true missionary, alone on a small island off the Chinese mainland.

There were other significant Catholic missionaries, such as Robert de Nobili and some Dominicans and Franciscans, but they are outside of our immediate interest.

The Portuguese and Spanish originally went to India because of trade. Missionaries from these countries came later. The English and the Dutch soon offered stiff competition in trade, but did little in the line of missionary work. There was a belief prevalent among the early Protestants that they had no responsibility to spread the Gospel. Furthermore

¹Arnold H. Rowbotham, Missionary and Mandarin: The Jesuits at the Court of China (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942), p. 43.

the settlements of the East India Company were notoriously loose morally and failed in most respects to conform to the principles of Christian life at its best. Drunkenness, immorality, violence, and gambling prevailed. It is not too surprising that in this type of atmosphere, neither the English nor the Dutch were the first to establish a Protestant mission.

Denmark, under the sponsorship of King Fredrick IV, sent the first two Protestant missionaries.¹

Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Plutschau reached India on July 9, 1706. They were not expected, nor were they happily welcomed, by the authorities in Tranquebar, a Danish settlement. They did not have very much success with the native Indians, but they were persistent. According to these missionaries their greatest obstacle was that of unrighteousness among the nominal Christians. Ziegenbalg states the problems in these words:

All our demonstration about the excellency of the Christian constitution make but a very slight impression, while they find Christians so much debauched in their manners, and so given to gluttony, drunkenness, lewdness, cursing, swearing, cheating and cozening, notwithstanding all their precious pretence to the best religion. But more particularly are they offended with that proud and insulting temper which is so obvious in the conduct of our Christians here.²

Notwithstanding these difficulties, enough people were converted to create a need for a chapel. In 1711 the foundation stone was laid for the first Protestant church house in India.

¹Thomas, pp. 151-53.
²Ibid., p. 153.
Of the other Christian missionaries who went to India later, William Carey was especially important. He and his company were the first Englishmen to go to India for the specific purpose of doing missionary work. He arrived in Calcutta on November 10, 1793. Carey's mission was filled with hardship, but he firmly established the Baptist church in India.¹

By 1849, when the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints first made contact with India, the missions of the Protestants and Catholics were extensive. The L. D. S. missionaries who were sent there faced many problems that the other sects did not have to meet, many of which, in fact, were caused by the presence of the other sects.

¹Ibid., pp. 162-67.
CHAPTER II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST INDIA MISSION:
PART I, THE BRITISH MISSIONARIES

The authorities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in England first became aware of the need for a mission in India when they received a letter from Thomas Metcalf, a private of the 98th Regiment of the British Army in India. The letter described how he came in contact with "mormonism" through a tract sent to a fellow soldier. The tract, entitled Divine Authority, had been sent from Scotland. Metcalf said:

It [the tract] struck me with astonishment; its words were so powerful and unquestionable, agreeing with the scriptures, revealing things that have been so long hidden. . . .
There is none of your denomination in India that I am aware of; I have been a member of the Baptist society, but since I read this tract, I cannot think of joining any whose doctrine is questionable.1

Metcalf closed his letter with a request for more information. Further data about Thomas Metcalf is lacking from the historical sources.

The first actual landing of Latter-day Saints upon Indian soil was made in 1849. George Barber and Benjamin Richey were the first Saints there. They had been baptized in England on January 27, 1849, by Elder Henry Savage. A

1Millennial Star (London, England), Vol. XI, p. 252. The Millenial Star was a weekly publication of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It has been used as a major source in this work. The missionaries of the East India mission wrote frequent letters to the president of the European mission. Letters were published under the heading "Foreign Correspondence." Hereafter, these references will be cited as M. S.
few days later, February 8, they embarked as sailors on the barque Sharp. The trip took them to Calcutta, then to the island of Pulo Penang, or "Prince of Wales Island," off the coast of Malaya, and back to Calcutta. They arrived there in December of 1849. Because the ship needed repairs, the crew was dismissed. Barber and Richey thereupon retired to a sailors' home in the "City of Palaces."

It was at this home that Barber and Richey became acquainted with an old gentleman named Maurice White. It was a custom for White to read the scriptures and ask the sailors to join with him in thought and prayer. One morning he read a scripture from Paul. Richey asked him what he thought it meant. Not able to answer, White returned the question. Richey's answer seemed to inspire the old man, and he desired to know the faith of the youth. Richey was then invited to meet that evening with a group called the Plymouth Brethren. Richey and Barber went and were warmly accepted. Their only problem was that of not having enough information concerning Mormonism, but they did lend some tracts and a copy of the Book of Mormon to the Plymouth Brethren. After a few meetings it became apparent that some of the group were becoming more interested, especially one James Patric Meik, but others were becoming unfriendly.

These evening meetings went on regularly until Richey and Barber engaged to set sail for London. By that time Mr. Meik and Mr. White were quite interested in the Church and asked for some literature. Mr. Doyle gave them a box of "nice" cigars to comfort them on their voyage home. Upon their
arrival in London, literature was sent to the brethren in India.\textsuperscript{1}

About this same time a letter appeared in the \textit{Millenial Star} from a man named William A. Sheppard of Calcutta. He asked for tracts, literature, and a "living witness or Elder of the Church." Because of this request Elder Joseph Richards, after being ordained and set apart by G. B. Wallace, was sent to Calcutta. He made his voyage as a sailmaker on the ship \textit{Gloriosa}. He could not find a replacement in Calcutta, however, and was forced by contract to return to England.

Because of poor sailing facilities and the great distance that had to be traveled, Elder Richards did not arrive in India until the middle of 1851. He did not stay there for a long time, but before he left Calcutta he accomplished a certain amount in the establishment of the Church there. He made contact with the Plymouth Brethren, and on June 22, 1851, baptized the first four converts in India. They were James Patric Meik, his wife Mary Ann Meik, Matthew McCune, and Maurice White. The three brethren mentioned were shortly thereafter ordained to the priesthood. It is interesting to note that William A. Sheppard was not among the new converts. Apparently he did not accept the gospel as easily as the other men. He will be mentioned at a later time in this work. Maurice White, who had been ordained an Elder, was made

\textsuperscript{1}Letter from Benjamin Richey to George A. Smith. Nephi, Utah, December 2, 1865. Record on file in Church Historian's Office, and in the Manuscript History of the East India Mission.
the first Branch President of the "Wanderer's Branch" one week after his baptism, June 29, 1851.

The next Sunday, July 6, 1851, four of Brother Meik's children were blessed by Elder Richards. This was the first time anyone had been blessed in India. It is reported that before Elder Richards left Calcutta, he was an instrument in the Lord's hands to perform healings of the sick and "other signs following the believer." Shortly after turning the pastoral care of the little flock over to Elder White, Elder Richards took his leave.

It was not until late December of 1851 that a replacement for Elder Richards arrived in Calcutta. Elder William Willes landed in India on December 25, 1851. When he made contact with the few (six) saints there, he found that Elder Richards and Elder Maurice White had already left for London.

Willes had been called by President Lorenzo Snow, who was president of the Swiss and Italian missions, and who felt it his perogative to include India in his area of authority. Willes was called especially to go to Calcutta. Another Elder, Hugh Findlay, was sent to Bombay at the same time.

When Willes met with the members in Calcutta, he presented this credential:

1Journal History of the East India Mission, Branch Record, p. 1. Friday December 26, 1851. A daily record kept by the L.D.S. Church Historian's Office, Salt Lake City.

2M.S. Vol. XIV, p. 90.
London, August 29, 1851

This is to certify that William Willes is an Elder in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in good standing, and has been duly and legally appointed a missionary to Calcutta to preach the gospel and administer in all the ordinances thereof to the inhabitants of that city and regions round about, and whoever will receive this our beloved brother and administer to his wants shall in no wise lose rewards.

(Signed) Lorenzo Snow, President of the Indian Mission

Lorenzo Snow intended to go to India shortly after sending Elders Willes and Findlay, but because of other church duties and calls he was never able to go. Although he had intended to dedicate the field of labor, the historical records do not reveal any information that would indicate that the India mission was ever dedicated in this early era.¹

As was mentioned, Elder Willes found only six members of the Church, and they were essentially without leadership. He was informed of other happenings that had transpired since Elder Richards had returned to London. Elder White, who had been left in charge of the branch, had not ceased in his love for the Gospel, but acted as a missionary in the absence of higher authority. On October 5, 1851, Elder White baptized a native Christian, previously of the Brahman caste, named Anna. (It is interesting to note that her father was the first native convert of the famous Baptist missionary, Dr. Carey.) Shortly after his arrival, Elder Willes confirmed her. On October 14, White baptized a couple named John and

Maria Grundy, and they were also confirmed by Willes.

Because Elder White had a desire to learn how the Church operated where there were more members, and because he wished to feel the strength of greater numbers, he sailed for London sometime before Willes arrived in Calcutta.

Elder Willes was eager to get to work. He arrived in India with great enthusiasm and was confident that he would have success in teaching the Gospel and converting the people of India. On his second day in Calcutta he set about to organize the members that were there. A meeting was held in which the various responsibilities of the little branch were given to the members. Brother Meik was appointed secretary. He manifested a desire to push the work forward by volunteering his home, (2½ Juan Bazaar Street) for future meetings. Matthew McCune was appointed treasurer of the branch, and John Grundy accepted the office of book agent. It was also decided that the tract entitled Ancient Gospel Restored was to be translated into the Bengalee, Hindu, and Hindustani languages. On this same evening Willes baptized and confirmed a man named Joseph Sutton.¹

Two weeks later, on January 7, 1852, William Willes wrote his first letter home to England. He was well aware that the Saints there were anxious to learn of his success. He felt confident that India would be a great field of labor and that it would produce many converts. His optimism was

¹Journal History, Branch Record, p. 3.
not unfounded because by this time he had received several indications of success. Brother Meik, who was a builder and architect, had nearly completed the building of a lecture hall on land that he had leased for the Church. It was forty-seven feet by seventeen feet in its dimensions. At one end it had a font, a raised platform, and was provided with backed seats on the sides and armchairs in the center. It had folding doors at both ends. Willes states that it was in "a public part of the city."

Not only did Willes have a new lecture hall to look forward to, but he was also having success in the lectures he was already giving.

Already, I have had the pleasure of lecturing several times in a large room, to about one hundred respectable Europeans and half-castes, or Eurasians, among which were some editors, missionaries, and ministers who conducted themselves very respectfully and expressed a desire to attend succeeding lectures, and to have the perusal of the books and pamphlets.¹

Elder Willes also reported that he was having success with William A. Sheppard and his wife. They had been rather unfriendly to Joseph Richards when he had met with them, but Willes felt sure that they would in due time repent and be baptized.

Anna, the native convert, informed Willes that there was a whole church of native Episcopalian Christians who had a desire to be baptized as soon as matters could "be arranged in relation to their social position, etc." These signs of

¹M. S. Vol. XIV, p. 90.
success and the likelihood of baptizing some soldiers all combined to make Willes a very happy man. He described his feelings in these words:

Although I am writing in this cool, businesslike strain, my heart is bounding with grateful emotions of thanksgiving that He has made me and my brethren the instruments in His hand for spreading such glorious tidings in a land filled with "darkness, selfishness and cruel habitations."¹

The next few months brought more success, and the way seemed open to establish the Church. By the middle of January, 1852, four stations for preaching the Gospel had been established. Willes was looking forward to the time when he could distribute tracts to the native people in their own languages. He planned to have Lorenzo Snow's tract, Ancient Gospel Restored, translated into Bengali and Hindustani.² Later he was able to obtain the services of a Brahmin by the name of Frankisto, who was fluent in speaking Bengali, Hindustani, Persian, and English. Frankisto set to work on the tracts and was apparently making good progress on them by mid-March.

When Elder Willes wrote to President Samuel W. Richards in March, he was still happy about the advancement of the mission. He had begun a course of twenty lectures, and they were well attended. The people who were present at these meetings were almost all pleased with what they heard; however, a little bit of opposition was felt, but only on the part of two or three investigators. The Church was constantly growing

¹Ibid., p. 90. ²Ibid., p. 153.
during these early months. By March 24, there were twelve Europeans and twenty native members. On April 6, Willes baptized eleven native men who came from a distant village. One of these men was soon ordained a Priest, one a Teacher, and one a Deacon.¹

During April a certain amount of opposition began to arise from the Protestant ministers in Calcutta. These ministers told the new members of the Church that they would become "Mussulmen [Moslems] and be obliged to have many wives, etc., and that Joe Smith bought three hundred thousand Mormons with the gold that he found in California." These and other rumors were circulated, but even then the Church continued to grow and prosper.

By the beginning of May, 1852, the membership of the Church in and around Calcutta had increased to one hundred and fifty, of whom three were Elders, eight Priests, nine Teachers, eight Deacons, and one hundred and twenty-two lay members. By including the children belonging to the baptized families, there were more than three hundred Indian Saints of all sizes, colors and languages. On the previous Christmas (1851) there were only six members.²

From the first of May to the fifteenth, the Church grew by thirty-nine members. With these new Saints, membership in and around Calcutta totaled 189, of which 170 were ryots, native farmers. Most of these people had already been professing Christians. The Padre Sahib, missionaries of other faiths, of course, became disturbed by this great loss of members.

¹Ibid., p. 315. ²Ibid., p. 413.
Willes believed that there were many more people who were waiting for the Gospel; yet he explained that there were great problems in spreading the word. The people were "scattered over an immense district of ploughed fields and very bad or no regular roads. . . ."¹

Information about the next several months is scant. However, Willes did carry on with the zeal he manifested during his first months in Calcutta. He had arrived in Calcutta at a time when the weather was especially favorable. The monsoon rains, which last from May to October, had just ended when he arrived. The months from November to May vary from the most comfortable period to the hottest period of the year. It is during these months that most of the work is done in India. This was the time of Willes' greatest success. The rains in Calcutta are very heavy during the months from late May to September, and dwindle off to November.² It can easily be seen that during these months work drops off to doing nothing but essentials. However, Willes continued his proselyting of the Gospel.

It may be because of poor sailing conditions during the monsoon season that Willes did not send another letter to President Richards in England until August. When he did write, he reported that several of his investigators had been

¹Ibid.

²Cressey, p. 432. In May there is an average rainfall of five inches, June has eleven, July has twelve, August eleven and a half, September has nine inches and October four.
favored with dreams and appeared close to baptism. Also several new members had been added during the past month. However, by the time of this letter, August 3, the press of Calcutta was beginning to give the Church some opposition. There had also been some opposition at meetings, but at the request of Willes and the members, police had been sent to keep peace.

Willes was beginning to feel the need to branch out in his work area. A few days previous to the writing of this letter, he had traveled to Serampore, twenty miles away. He was also thinking of traveling inland in search of greener pastures. However, it is clear that at this point Willes was still sure of success and the ultimate acceptance of the Gospel by the people of India.

A few days earlier, Willes had been joined by Joseph Richards, who had just arrived from England for the second time. Richards, it will be remembered, was forced to return to England after his first trip to India. His presence no doubt strengthened Elder Willes a great deal. Surely Elder Richards would help with the teaching of the Gospel, and his experience would be very valuable in the work with the new Saints. Shortly after Richards arrived, he baptized William Sheppard and his son. Sheppard's interest, it will be remembered, had been the original reason for opening the mission, but he had not accepted the Gospel on Richards' first visit. The baptism took place at Acra Farm, the home of James P. Meik. Many of the Saints were present on this
happy occasion.\(^1\)

Richards reported that his journey had been long, but the weather had been pleasant. He had sailed from London to the Cape of Good Hope, where the ship stopped for a month. Richards felt that a mission should be established there. He had been active in teaching the Gospel all the way and had convinced the ship's steward of the truth of the work. Richards had re-boarded the Elizabeth for one shilling per month to go on to Madras; this being the only way he could find to get to Calcutta. The trip took seven weeks' travel to Madras, then ten more days to go to Calcutta by another ship, the Lucknow.\(^2\)

Shortly after Richards arrived, he and Willes were pleased with the conversion of a young native of the doctor caste.\(^3\) His name was Unnoda Persad Sen Gooptoy, and he was very fluent in Bengali, and Hindustani. They felt that he would be of assistance in working with the native members in the villages to the south, and they planned to ordain him a Priest. They felt that this young man was sent in answer to the prayers of the brethren, and he was soon put to work teaching his fellow

\(^1\)The word caste has a much broader meaning than is generally supposed. In the traditional Hindu sense the word caste refers to the four varna (colors) or social divisions: Brahmana (priests); Ksatriya (warrior); Vaisya (peasant); and Sudra (serf). But caste also has a much wider meaning in that it refers to the numerous economic divisions of Indian society. There are literally thousands of castes in India, most of which are, however, subdivisions or sub-castes of the four traditional Hindu castes. It was because of this fact that the L.D.S. missionaries referred in their letters to "doctor caste," "writer caste," etc. For further information on caste refer to J. H. Hutton, Caste in India (Bombay: Oxford House, 1961), or Oscar Lewis, Village Life in Northern India (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1958).

\(^2\)M.S., Vol. XIV, p. 542.  \(^3\)Ibid., p. 541.
countrymen. A friend of Gooptoy who belonged to the writer caste was at this time beginning to teach the Elders the native tongue.\footnote{Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 40.}

In November one thousand copies of a ten-page tract were published in English. The rain had let up and as a result meetings were growing in attendance. However, Elders Willes and Richards had by this time decided to set out for the Punjab, a distance of about one thousand miles from Calcutta. They planned to teach the Gospel along the way "at every place which would receive it."\footnote{Ibid., p. 332.}

Having been moved by the "still small voice within\footnote{Ibid.} to leave Calcutta and travel inland, Willes and Richards made the necessary preparations for their journey. After Elder James Patric Meik had been sustained as branch president in the place of William Willes, they set out.

On their first day's travel inland, they walked through Dumdum, Barrackpore and Serampore (the headquarters of the Baptist mission), where they were kindly treated. The next day they went on to Chandernagore, a French settlement, and Chinsura, about thirty miles' walk from Calcutta.

They stayed in Chinsura for seven days, in which period several baptisms and the organization of the Chinsura Branch were accomplished. Two families were baptized, those of John Saukey and Thomas Wells. Two days following their departure from Chinsura the Elders had walked forty-six miles farther up the Hindustan (or Ganges) lowland to Burdwan. Having little

\footnote{Ibid.}
success there, they decided to move on to Banaras, 421 miles from Calcutta.

Elder Willes described his impression of Banaras thus:

Benares is the sacred city of the Hindus, of great antiquity, swarming with devotees from all parts of India, having innumerable shrines, temples, idols, sacrifices, Brahmin bulls, painted and besmeared pilgrims, maimed, halt, and blind—in many cases wantonly effected in sacrifice to their idols. The shrines and idols, where they offer small portions of rice, flowers, and other matters mingling and forming a decoction which the strong stomach of a Hindu God, or the sectarian God "without parts," alone could entertain with any degree of comfort—these are certainly choice quarters for the residence of Gods.¹

They felt impressed while in Banaras to go to Chunas, twenty-six miles away. There they were treated kindly by a man named Green. He helped them by giving lodging and arranging to have them preach. While staying there, they traveled the countryside, averaging seventeen miles a day. Apparently it was a very unusual thing for a European to walk and carry his own belongings, for natives often stared in wonderment.

While in this area a number of Europeans were baptized in the Ganges River. The first woman to join the Church alone, a Mrs. Thomas, was among them. On the morning of January 22, 1853, a Brahmin Pundit (doctor) named Peter Perkarse was baptized. He had been a Christian for a number of years. These incidents took place at Mirzapur.

From Mirzapur they walked on through Allahabad, Fatehpur, and Cawnpore, in all 620 miles on foot from Calcutta. Finding they could travel faster and more cheaply by ox-drawn wagon, they took places in one destined for Agra.

¹Ibid.
At Agra, the city at which the Taj Mahal is located, a distant relative of Joseph Richards responded kindly to their presence and rented a hall to stay and preach in for a month. At this point in their journey they had baptized sixteen persons.  

While at Agra Willes decided to go to Dugshai, in the "Himmelahl" mountains to visit an investigator named Edward Jones. Jones, who was a member of the British Army, was later visited and baptized by Elder Willes. Shortly after the baptism, Willes was asked by the colonel of the cantonment to leave. From there Willes planned to go to Simla.  

**Progress of the mission in Bombay.**—At the time when Willes was called by President Snow to go to Calcutta, another Elder, Hugh Findlay, was sent to Bombay. Elder Findlay, who had been president of the Hull Conference in Britain, did not find Bombay very hospitable or warm toward the Church. He seems to have met almost immediate opposition from the established Protestant sects, the press, and military officers and chaplains. Thus it was necessary that Findlay defend his position publicly in Bombay from the beginning.  

Moved by the letters of Hugh Findlay to President Richards in England, the editor of the *Millennial Star* printed the following:

The Bombay papers talk much of a Mormonite missionary, of the name of Findlay, who is attempting to make converts to Joe Smith in that quarter. Lord Falkland in his capacity of Governor of Bombay, and Commandant of the garrison, had forbidden that any room should be allowed to Findlay within the precincts of the barracks, and had prohibited that per-  

1Ibid., pp. 331-34.  
2Ibid., Vol. XIV, p. 463.
son from preaching to soldiers within the military limits of Calaba.—Catholic Tablet

[His Lordship may exert his gubernatorial influences to put down Mormonism in the East, but we beg to assure him that all his endeavours to put out the fire of truth will only cause it to burn the brighter, until every Oriental caste feels its vivifying influence.—Ed.]

Although the editor of the *Millennial Star* believed that Findlay would be able to overcome his opposition, he obviously did not realize the great extent of the influence of either the military or the caste system in the lives of the people. Findlay also believed that the Gospel would spread throughout the world, but he also felt the powers of his adversary marshalled strongly against him. Furthermore, he was alone in a great city and without friends.

By June 23, 1852, some success had come to Findlay in the form of six baptisms. However, he was becoming discouraged and felt that he should go to another area. He selected Poona, about ninety miles from Bombay, and attempted to establish the Church there.2

On the twenty-seventh of June, Elder Findlay reached Poona, after traveling for three days southeast from Bombay. Having arranged for a sleeping room, he set out to find a hall in which he could preach. This turned out to be a difficult task because Poona was a military cantonment and was under martial law. He was also confronted there by what he called "ludicrous" articles in the newspapers. However, "after some difficulty" he was given permission to preach in the cantonment. This permission was given because the officer

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1Ibid., p. 463  
2Ibid., p. 473
in charge felt that "the less these people are opposed the less harm they would do."\(^1\)

Several kinds of trouble broke out, mostly in regard to a rumor that the Mormons would buy the "drafts" of the British soldiers and send them to California; another problem had to do with an anti-Mormon tract that was widely distributed.

Notwithstanding all of his difficulties, Elder Findlay was successful in organizing a branch of twelve members in Poona by mid-September, all of whom he had baptized. They were a "little company . . . of a mixed birth, European, Eurasian, and native. . . ."\(^2\)

Findlay continued to have problems with the military. They were at first under the impression that he was a temporary visitor, but by October, five months after his arrival, it was apparent that he intended to stay, and he was forced to move outside the military cantonment. Findlay described his new quarters in these words:

This house is a little uncouth to the eye, bearing a resemblance to an English store-room, or a Bombay go-down, having a door, six feet by six feet at each end, and two windows, four by six feet, on each side, with iron bars, and the light of day is an apology for glass, indeed, having such an edifice for bedroom, parlour, and sanctuary, it requires considerable faith to convince oneself that imprisonment is not added to banishment. But we "stoop to conquer," and are thankful to the Lord for it.\(^3\)

It was in this little hall that Findlay preached the Gospel and held Church meetings. It was located directly across the street from a site on which Findlay proposed to build

\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 635-36.  
\(^2\)Ibid.  
\(^3\)Ibid., pp. 654-55.
a new meeting hall. In fact, work was soon started on the proposed building.¹

In January, when Findlay had returned to Bombay, he wrote that he was not in the best of spirits with regard to Europeans, but felt encouraged in his work with the natives:

As for Poona, since our extermination from military cantonments, through the influence of hireling priestcraft, I have turned my attention more immediately to the native population, amongst whom I have met with warm reception, so far, as when a few intelligent Brahmins had learned the nature of my mission, and a little of our principles, they first advertised our whereabouts in their weekly paper, published in the Maharatta language, with a few remarks to the effect, that our claims were superior to those of other missionary systems. After this, by considerable exertion on their part, they found me a large room in the center of the city, free of rent or trouble, in which to lecture them. The greatest difficulty to be surmounted in finding such a place, arose from the circumstance that the Brahmins consider their houses defiled by the entrance of a European into them. However, this being overcome, our first lecture was noticed in the same paper, and a hope expressed that such lectures would be continued.²

This group of Brahmins had made it a practice to study religion together. Because of this they had been meeting with a Scottish missionary for some time. The Brahmins asked Findlay to discuss the Gospel with the Protestant missionary. They could not understand how two such opposite poles of religious thought come from one Bible.

Elder Findlay intended to travel back to Poona the next day, January tenth, where he hoped to see the meeting house completed which had been started three months before. Since October he had baptized six new members in Poona and one in

¹Ibid. ²Ibid., pp. 167-68.
Bombay. He demonstrated great courage and stamina in carrying on work in two cities simultaneously. Understandably, Findlay was at this time asking for the aid of another experienced Elder.¹

The Gospel is taken to Burma.--By the first part of 1853, the Gospel was being preached in several parts of India. Because Elder Matthew McCune and William Adams, a Teacher, were affiliated with the British Army, they were sent to Burma in August of 1852, as part of the British force fighting what is now called the Second Burmese War. When they arrived there, they set out to teach the Gospel to all who would listen. They held their first meeting in the open, but later found a Burmese house to meet in. Regular meetings were held Sunday and Thursday evenings. By January, McCune had baptized eight persons, and as a result the new branch numbered ten members.²

¹Ibid. ²Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 236-37.
CHAPTER III

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EAST INDIA MISSION:
PART II, THE AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.

In August of 1852, when the missionary work in India
was beginning to become a little more tiring and less suc-
ess was evident, the leaders of the Church in Salt Lake
City were preparing to send more missionaries into the world.
On August 28th and 29th a special conference was called by
Brigham Young, the President of the Church. This meeting,
called specifically for the purpose of sending out 108
missionaries, was an extra meeting in the yearly schedule of
Church conferences. It was held early so that the mission-
aries could reach their fields with greater ease before
winter. Although this was primarily a missionary confer-
ence, it is remembered today because it was in this con-
ference, on August 29, 1952, that the Church officially
announced the doctrine of Plural Marriage.¹

Nine of the 108 missionaries chosen were to go to
India at Calcutta, and four were to go to Siam. The
missionaries chosen to go to India were Nathanial Vary
Jones, Amos Milton Musser, Samuel Amos Wooley, Richard
Ballantyne, Robert Skelton, William Fotheringham, William

¹Brigham H. Roberts, A Comprehensive History of the
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, (Salt Lake City:
F. Carter, Truman Leonard, and Robert Owens. The missionaries called to Siam were Chauncey Walker West, Elam Luddington, Levi Savage, and Benjamin F. Dewey.

In his book Knight of the Kingdom, Conway B. Sonne portrays the feelings Richard Ballantyne may well have experienced when he received his call:

If a cannonball had been shot from the pulpit, he could not have been more surprised. For his call came without warning. The name Richard Ballantyne was listed among those who were to preach the Gospel in Hindostan, [sic] For a moment he was so stunned that he could hardly believe what he had heard. He glanced quickly at Huldah his wife. Her set jaw, pale face, and clenched white knuckles proved he had heard correctly. Turning back to face the speakers' stand, listening vaguely to the last of the names read by the conference clerk, Thomas Bullock, he began to realize the meaning of the words he doubted as being real.

His call had come at the lowest ebb of his fortunes.1

The next two months found the potential missionaries busy in preparation. Their families were also kept busy. Richard Ballantyne's wife Huldah spent her time mending and sewing for the months ahead when he would have to be without her help and comfort. She remodeled a homespun and woven skirt into a new suit which lasted throughout his mission.2 Amos M. Musser, however, spent his time at the tithing office where he was employed, and did most of his preparing after hours. He sold his cow for thirty dollars and saddle for twenty, and purchased clothes, a watch, a pen, and several

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1 Conway B. Sonne, Knight of the Kingdom: the Story of Richard Ballantyne, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1949), pp. 54-55.

2 Ibid., p. 57.
other items that would be useful in his new assignment. He even had his teeth cleaned by Dr. Hotchkiss, a local dentist. Musser attended the ceremonies in the Endowment Room\textsuperscript{1} a number of times, a privilege granted to all the new missionaries.\textsuperscript{2}

All of the missionaries met several times with the leaders of the church and were given instructions and strengthened in their testimonies. They also discussed problems that had to do with their missions and made several decisions—among them, to travel in wagons, four men cooking together, four horses to a wagon, and each group to carry its own food, bedding, and equipment.

On the sixteenth of October the missionaries were set apart and given blessings. They reported that the spirit of the Lord was strongly felt on this day and on the next few days to follow. Many blessings were given to the brethren by the presiding authorities of the Church.\textsuperscript{3}

Around the nineteenth and twentieth of October, many hearts were filled with anticipation and concern for the years ahead. Several of the brethren left small families. Brother Ballantyne, for instance, left his wife with three children (the oldest still too young for school) a horse, a

\textsuperscript{1}The endowment is a ceremony, performed at that time in the Endowment House and later in all L.D.S. Temples, in which the recipient promises to honor his church, and to maintain high personal standards of life, obedience to which carry the promise of blessings on earth and in eternity." Karl Brooks, "The Life of Amos Milton Musser" (unpublished masters' thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, 1961) p. 20.


\textsuperscript{3}\textit{Ibid.}, pp. 14-16.
cow, and a farm that had not produced well for the past three years. But even with problems such as these, the brethren were ready to leave on their long trip to India. They had faith that they would return to their homes safe and sound, that all would be well at home, and that their missions would be successful in building up the Church in the world.¹

The group that left Salt Lake Valley during those days of late October consisted of thirty-eight missionaries called to Calcutta, Siam, the Sandwich Islands, China, and Australia. All of the groups gathered at Peteetnot Creek (Payson) on October 24 and organized the camp. Hosea Stout was made captain; Jones, chaplain, Burr Frost, sergeant of the guard; and Musser, clerk for the company. As they renewed their journey, the route they followed lay roughly over the present U. S. Highway 91. They traveled through Nephi, Fillmore, Beaver, and Parowan. Up to this point the way had been fairly smooth and well marked, but from there on it was rough but passable. They traveled by the Iron Mines, through Mountain Meadows, which a few years later was to be the stage of the infamous massacre, and on down the steep gully to Santa Clara Creek. For sixteen miles the company bumped down the Santa Clara on road "amazingly rough and sandy."²

They moved ever westward; on November twelfth they were joined by a group of emigrants going to California to dig gold. The

¹Sonne, pp. 57-58.  
²Ibid., p. 61.
next three days they followed the Rio Virgin and then began the ascent to the top of Morman Mesa. They were a full day getting the fourteen wagons up the last steep incline, with twenty men on the lead and four horses behind them, with two men to roll the hind wheels. A slight accident might precipitate wagons and animals into the abyss on either side of the backbone on which part of the ascent was made. Three cheers were given as the last wagon reached the summit of the precipice in safety.\footnote{Ibid., p. 62.}

Ahead of them now lay the fifty-two-mile stretch to Las Vegas. It was during this period of the trip that N. V. Jones became very ill. He did not respond to any of the usual remedies or the blessing of the Elders and it was necessary for the company to lay over for a couple of days at Las Vegas in hope of his recovery. In two days he improved enough for the group to resume movement. Three days after leaving Las Vegas, the company reached Cajon Pass. Because the men and animals were so exhausted, their food was gone, and snow had begun to fall, it was a task to make it across the mountain, but by pushing on they were able to get to San Bernardino in the evening of December 3, 1852.\footnote{For descriptions of the trip to San Bernardino and on to San Francisco in greater detail refer to Conway B. Sonne, Knight of the Kingdom, pp. 57-69 and Karl Brooks' unpublished thesis, "The Life of Amos Milton Musser," pp. 28-33.}

The Elders were happy to see once again a well-organized community of Saints. San Bernardino was a thriving community, surrounded by many acres of rich and fertile farm land. The people of San Bernardino were very kind to them.
and took them into their homes, fed them and gave them every comfort they could afford. For twelve days the group rested and wrote letters home. They also sold their wagons, horses and mules, and all else that was not needed for the journey that lay ahead. On the seventeenth of December the company pushed on toward Los Angeles and San Pedro, where they would embark for San Francisco and hence to their various fields of labor. The Saints in San Bernardino were very generous in giving money to the missionaries. Richard Ballantyne received $60.75. However, he did not keep the money because he had been admonished by Brigham Young to send home whatever he could. So, like Amos M. Musser and others who had sent their last few dollars home from the point of the mountain in south Salt Lake Valley, Ballantyne sent his money home. The group was now literally "without purse or scrip."

They stayed a night in Los Angeles, where they were shocked by the way the lower element lived. They then moved on to San Pedro, where they arrived on the 22nd and waited for passage to San Francisco. On the 29th, fares were arranged at $17.60 a person, a full $37.50 less than the usual fares on steam packets, and the brig Fremont sailed for San Francisco on the thirtieth, with the missionaries aboard. Musser and several others were able to work on board to help defray expenses, for even at such low fares, the cost for the group was around $700.2

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1Musser, Jour. I, pp. 28-29, and Sonne, p. 66.
2Musser, Jour. II, p. 9.
The Elders landed in San Francisco on January 9, 1853.\(^1\) Their next problem was that of raising funds to pay for their passage to the various missions. The approximate cost for transportation for the different missions were listed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Cost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian Mission</td>
<td>$1250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>1800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandwich Islands</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siam</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>$6250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In consultation with the San Francisco Branch of the Church, it was decided that because of especially high recent demands on the Church it would be well if the missionaries tried to solicit funds from outside the Church. So for three weeks the Elders attempted to collect funds, but were able to gather only $150 from non-members. The remainder of the needed money was donated by T. S. Williams, who gave $500, and John M. Horner, a wealthy member, who donated the difference, which must have been between five and six thousand dollars.\(^3\)

It was at this point that the missionaries found it necessary to separate in order to secure ship transportation to their fields of labor. After many inquiries along the wharves, the missionaries to India and Siam finally arranged cabin passage with Captain Zenas Winsor of the clipper Monsoon. In the course of conversation it was discovered

\(^{1}\text{The Alta (San Francisco), January 10, 1853.}\)
\(^{2}\text{Musser, Jour. II, p. 16.}\)
\(^{3}\text{Ibid., Also Andrew Jenson, Church Chronology, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1899), p. 47.}\)
that the **Monsoon** had left Boston harbor the same day the missionaries received their calls, August 28, 1852, and had arrived at San Francisco the same day they did. The Elders concluded that the hand of the Lord had prepared their way.\(^1\) They went on board on the twenty-eighth of January and set sail the following day, leaving San Francisco Bay at dusk. The group of Elders on board the **Monsoon** consisted of the nine men sent to Calcutta and the four sent to Siam. The Siam Elders participated with the Calcutta group and eventually became a part of the same mission.

Captain Winsor gave the missionaries the privilege of meeting in his cabin every evening for songs, speaking, and prayers. This procedure was started on the eve of their embarkation. In the first of these meetings, Richard Ballantyne was elected president of the group, with N. V. Jones and C. W. West as counselors. These positions were held for the duration of the voyage.

On the forth day out of San Francisco, Amos M. Musser recorded in his journal that most of the brethren were still a little seasick, but that Richard Ballantyne and Levi Savage were quite ill. The next day, February 3rd, he wrote:

> This morning 825 miles from San Francisco the Brethren are on the convalesent. The wind still favorable. Brothers Ballantyne and Savage has a breaking out all over their bodies resembling the Small Pox, yet we hope it is nothing very serious.\(^2\)

Although everyone on board naturally hoped that it was not smallpox, it proved to be that serious disease. For the next

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 30 \(^2\)Ibid., p. 21
number of days the whole crew lived in fear that the disease would spread throughout the ship. However, because the Elders were confined to their cabin and few people associated with them, the disease was controlled and did not pass to anyone else. On the 21st of February, Musser noted that the two men were completely recovered. Most of their clothes were thrown overboard, as was their bedding. Robert Skelton, feeling that the Lord would preserve him, spent a great deal of time ministering to the needs of the sick. His close association with Ballantyne resulted in a very close friendship. Later they worked together as companions.¹

During the period of Ballantyne's and Savage's illness, the ship made good progress because of favorable winds. They passed the "Island of Owyhee of the Sandwich Islands," and went on into the south seas. On March 21, 1853 they entered the straits of Malacca, just north of Sumatra, and on the twenty-seventh of March entered the Bay of Bengal. The voyage had been a long one, but by the standards of their day, it was also a rather fast and comfortable one. Ballantyne recorded the following in his journal:

A good cheerful spirit also seems to prevail on the vessel from Captain to crew, and scarce a profane word has been heard since we came on board. The Captain allows us every privilege that we can desire, is sociable and furnishes excellent, healthy diet three times a day. We have fresh bread morning and evening with potatoes, meat, etc., with tea and coffee morning and evening to those who drink it. Many of the brethren don't use it, preferring to observe the Word of Wisdom.²

¹Sonne, p. 76. ²Ibid., p. 78.
Although entry into the Bay of Bengal appears to indicate the near completion of the voyage, it was not finished by any means. The winds that the sails of the Monsoon depended upon for power and movement were not met head-on, and so for many days it was necessary to tack the ship and retack. Some days the vessel sailed as many as 120 miles, but very little progress was made on course. However, after about a month of this kind of sailing, the great ship reached the sandheads. From here it was only forty miles to the mouth of the Hooghly River, and only ninety miles up this distributary of the Ganges River to Calcutta. At the sandheads a pilot and two associates were taken aboard. These men were described by Musser as "all having servants." He said that they were "very circumspect and formal in their talk, walk, and appearance." They informed the brethren that this was Monday the 25th of April instead of the 24th as they had supposed. This change of date occurred because they had sailed half way around the world with the sun and had gained a day.

The Elders were very excited about their arrival and were in good health and spirits. For a number of days they had intensified their study of the Gospel and other matters. Every day they held classes in which Ballantyne and West lectured on English grammar. The Elders delivered sermons to each other and freely gave suggestions on how each Elder could improve. Now as they came even closer to their appointed destination they were thrilled by their first impressions of
India. As they traveled up the Hooghly they were struck by the beauty of the scenery. Elder Musser recorded these words:

Apr. 25 [which should have read 26] p.m. we arrived opposite Ft. Williams about 6 o'clock the beauty of scenery surpasses anything I ever before beheld on both sides of the river as we passed along its shores, about noon we took a customs house official aboard, the tide has been in our favor, its assistance in addition to a smart wind enabled us to make our destined haven before the tide commenced to recede, my feelings while beholding the beautiful scenes as we passes along the muddy channel of the Hoogly, which presented themselves as I stated before is indescribable.¹

Elder Musser also recorded in his journal that they had sailed for eighty-six days from San Francisco and had covered a distance of 10,976 miles.

When the Monsoon docked it was evening and so it was decided among the Elders that Jones and West should go ashore and find Elder Willes and the rest of the members of the Church. Before returning to the ship the Elders visited with Sarah McCune, the wife of Matthew McCune, and found that Willes had gone inland. They later returned to her home and boarded there until the mission was organized. It is not clear in the manuscripts whether the remainder of the missionaries went to the McCune home to stay on the twenty-sixth or the twenty-seventh of April. It is clear, however, that when the Elders were ready to dis-embark from the ship they were met by Henry McCune who was thirteen years old. Young McCune guided the group of Elders through the streets, pointing out things of interest to them. When they reached the McCune residence they were surprised to find a bungalow of forty

¹Musser, Jour. II, p. 51. (The punctuation, etc. are Musser's.)
rooms. Mrs. McCune appointed a servant to each Elder and gave each man a separate room.\(^1\) On the afternoon of the twenty-seventh, the Elders went to the address of the chapel built by James P. Meik (Number 2½ Juan Bazaar Street). While there they were visited by Brother Meik, who was very glad to see them. The group then decided to hold a conference of all the members in Calcutta on Friday, the twenty-ninth of April, two days following. In talking with Elder Meik, the missionaries found matters rather discouraging. They ascertained that "of about 180 members, 170 natives, there were but 6 or 8 left."\(^2\)

During the next two days the brethren made themselves busy by rising at four o'clock in the morning and holding prayer and discussion meetings, by studying, and by buying new clothes that were more suited for the hot and sultry climate.

On Friday the twenty-ninth of April at ten A. M., the

\(^1\)Susa Young Gates, *Memorial to Elizabeth Claireedge McCune*, (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1924), pp. 8-9. A short discussion of Matthew McCune and the arrival of the British and American missionaries is contained in this book. It gives the only description of the circumstances of the arrival of the missionaries. However, it is in some ways a questionable source because it seems to exaggerate some known facts. For instance, it refers to Matthew McCune as Major McCune, whereas, McCune always referred to himself as a sergeant. Also there is reason on these grounds to question Suza Young Gates' statement of the missionaries being taken to a "fourty room bungalow."

\(^2\)Musser, Jour. II, p. 55.
scheduled conference convened. Elder Musser recorded the occasion in this way:

At 10 o'clock our conference commenced. Present were Bros. J. P. Meik, Elder, and Saxton, [sic. Musser's construction] also two Sisters, including the Elders from America. Bro. Jones was unanimously appointed President of this branch of the Church in India. I was appointed clerk for the conference. Had a good time. P. M. Came together again to continue our meeting. The following distributions of the Elders was made, viz Bros. Ballantyne, Skelton, and Owens for Madras, Bros. W. F. Carter and Wm Fotheringham for Dinapore about 260 miles from Calcutta, Bros. T. Leonard and S. A. Woolley from Chinsurah about 30 miles from Calcutta, and Bro. Jones and myself to tarry at Calcutta. The brethren were all satisfied and feel well.¹

The four brethren that had been sent to Siam found that they could not get passage during the next few months, and as a result agreed that two Elders should stay in Calcutta and two go on to Ceylon until fall when they expected passage to open up. They at first planned to go by way of Burma, but that way was not open because of the Second Burmese War.

With the coming of the American missionaries, the "East India Mission was fully organized and established. The following weeks and months found the Elders busy in the work of preaching the Gospel and moving to their various areas of labor.

¹Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

THE ASSIGNMENTS OF THE MISSIONARIES

When the L. D. S. missionaries arrived in Calcutta, the city had a population of one million. Of this number about four thousand were Europeans. Calcutta was founded by the British in the very late seventeenth century, and had become the center of British foreign trade and commerce. Because of the trade of the East India Company there were many English and other Europeans in the country. This population was made up of various governmental officials and directors of the East India Company, and many soldiers who were there for the purpose of defending Britain's commercial interests and maintaining peace among the inhabitants of India. The Indian Army, as it was called, was made up of British officers and British and Indian enlisted men.

At first the missionaries worked primarily with the European population; but they spent a great deal of time among the native population. They found conditions in the city of Calcutta to be crowded, filthy, and noisy. Shortly after his arrival there, Elder Musser went to the bazaar. His description of conditions there follows:

The way all their trading is conducted, the noise and confusion that is there cannot be compared to anything I ever before beheld, the nearest I could come
to making a comparison would be to compare them to about 10,000 geese and ducks all striving to outdo one another in noise.¹

Not only were conditions crowded, they were also very unclean. The missionaries had frequent encounters with native life. On one occasion, after visiting a native village, Musser wrote:

It is enough to sicken the heart of any Saint to see the degradation the natives are in. They can well be numbered with the rest of the world, as their whole study is pice[a form of money] or worldly gain. They will labor hard all day for from 2 to 6 pice, which are valued at ½ cent each. They at the same time board themselves. The gentiles hold them all (very nearly) in bondage.²

Because they had established more or less permanent headquarters at the home of Brother Meik, the Elders traveled up and down the Hoogly river on many occasions. Meik’s home, Acra Farm, was eight miles south of Calcutta. The first few times the Elders made this trip left a distinct impression on their minds. Elder Musser in recalling their travels on the Hoogly wrote:

While going along the Hoogly we saw three or four dead bodies (Native), besides a great number of skulls. It was heartrending to see the vultures, jackels, and dogs gramalling over a corpse and tearing it in pieces, and a few paces distant or a few feet would be several Dingas [small river boat] with native folk speculating and not the least bid concerned. . . .³

Elder Chauncey W. West, who was traveling up the Hoogly at about this same time, observed very nearly the same thing Musser here records.⁴ The conditions as they were seen by

these brethren were probably worse than those of most years in India. At the time of the arrival of the missionaries, there was a cholera epidemic in India. According to Musser, there were "7 to 800 dying daily" in Calcutta alone. The great number of corpses seen in the Hoogly was incident to the fact that there was not enough wood to burn all of the bodies thoroughly. The missionaries were forced to hold their breaths at times because of the filthy conditions that they encountered.\(^1\) This was the India that they were to work in.

The day following the first conference in Calcutta, Elder Jones set the brethren apart to work in their assigned areas, and after the meeting the Elders set out in search of passage to their destinations. Elders Ballantyne and Skelton went to the wharf to find passage to Madras; West and Dewey looked for a vessel that would take them to Ceylon; and Luddington and Savage sought a way to go to Burma. Those that were going to work in the area around Calcutta and those who were going inland, made arrangements to travel to their work areas, and began establishing themselves.

During the ensuing weeks the Elders were very busy holding public meetings. These meetings were not well attended, but the brethren felt that the numbers would increase as the months went by. Elders Jones and Musser spent a major part of their time working on a rebuttle to an anti-Mormon tract, called *Mormonism Unveiled*, which had been very effective in

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\(^1\)Ibid. \(^2\)Brooks, p. 39.
building up antagonism against the Church. For over a month from May into July these Elders spent the better part of nearly every day at the home of Brother Meik "dissecting" the tract. They were also busy writing an article that they called "A Proclamation to the Citizens of Calcutta and Vicinity." It was eventually published under the heading, "The Mormons," in a Calcutta paper named the Citizen. In this article the missionaries presented their side of the story. They explained that they were in India without purse or scrip, and that they had a message for the people. They went on to summarize their beliefs in a concise manner. Their tract in response to Mormonism Unveiled was later published under the title, A Reply to Mormonism Unveiled.¹

On May 7, Elders Leonard and Woolley left Calcutta for Chinsura, about thirty miles away. When they arrived there, they found Elder Richards, who had made the long trip inland with Elder Willes, and then, because of ill health, Richards had returned to Chinsura, leaving Elder Willes at Agra. Since his return he had acted as branch president of the small group at Chinsura. He was now in good spirits and health. It was his intention to leave for Boston, and hence to Salt Lake Valley, as soon as he could obtain passage.²

A few days after the arrival of Elders Leonard and Woolley, Elder Richards departed for Calcutta and on May 14 was greeted by the Elders there.

¹Brooks, p. 39.
The next day, May 15, the Elders in Calcutta said farewell to Chauncey W. West and Benjamin F. Dewey. They had been successful in getting passage on the steamship Queen of the South, under Captain Davis. Because they had been given enough money in San Francisco to go on directly to Siam when they arrived in Calcutta, they were able to pay full fare, which Elder Musser termed "extortionate."

During the few weeks after the conference, Elders Carter and Fotheringham worked in and around Calcutta and then left for Dinapore. On June 15, Levi Savage and Elam Luddington took passage on the Fire Queen bound for Burma, from which place they intended to go on to Siam when the way was open. On June 20, Richard Ballantyne and Robert Skelton sailed for Madras on the ship John Brightman.

It is interesting that each of the three pairs of Elders that embarked from Calcutta in May and June had experiences that involved considerable danger. The first attempted voyage of Elders Luddington and Savage to Burma nearly took the lives of all the persons on board. Because of the severity of the storm, they were forced to turn back. Elder Musser described the return of the Elders to Calcutta in this way:

While at dinner Brother Luddington came in, in an awful predicament, close [dirty] hat reduced to 2/3 the size, etc., etc. The ship they started to Rangoon in, three days after they left here she sprung a leak and they have been bailing and pumping water night and day ever since. They threw all their cargo overboard and gave themselves up to the Lord and resigned themselves for a watery grave.

1Ibid.
They threwed all of the stores overboard, but the Lord delivered them safe. This trial came in exact fulfillment of what Brother Woodruff told us before we left home in the mountains. He said the spirit whispered to him that some of us would have great trials at sea, etc., etc.\(^1\)

The other two pairs of Elders had voyages of equal peril. Their stories will be told in later chapters of this work. However, one point of interest should be mentioned now, and that is that the storm that Luddington and Savage were caught in was the same storm that nearly sent Elders Ballantyne and Skelton to the ocean bottom.\(^2\)

On the eighteenth of June, Elder Joseph Richards completed the packing of his luggage and said farewell to the Saints in and around Calcutta. He had been a great strength to the East India Mission while he labored there. He had arrived first in 1851 and returned in 1852, this time to stay until 1853. He had made one of the great missionary trips in history by walking from Calcutta most of the way to Agra, a distance of nearly eight hundred miles, preaching as he walked.

Now that Ballantyne and Skelton, Luddington and Savage, West and Dewey, and Richards had sailed for their fields of labor or for home, the work in the Calcutta area settled down to a more routine pattern. Elder Jones and his companion spent a major part of their time working on their *Reply to Mormonism Unveiled*, and much time reading and studying. This procedure was carried on until late September, when the monsoon

\(^1\)Musser, Jour. II, p. 71.

\(^2\)Infra, Chapter VI.
rains lifted. In his journal, Elder Musser commented on the
great amount of rain that fell. From the early part of June
until mid-September there were only two or three days that
did not have fairly heavy rainfall.

Elder Leonard and his companion, Elder Woolley, went
to work in Chinsura. They held regular meetings and circu-
lated literature from door to door. However, they did not
accomplish very much because the people (Chinsura had only
30 European families) were cold toward them, and a great
deal of opposition was directed against them by the local
ministry. However, there was a small nucleous of members
left by Elders Willes and Richards and on July 1, a branch
of eight members was organized there. Leonard and Woolley
worked for three months without baptizing anyone.

Elders Fotheringham and Carter were sent to work in
Dinapore, Mirzapore, and the surrounding area. They went
there but returned to Calcutta by June 5 because of the poor
health of Elder Carter: he was not able to adjust to the
tropical climate of India. In an effort to make him more
comfortable and to preserve his life, Elder Jones, who was
president of the mission, released him from his call and
told him to return home. Elder Carter was able to arrange
passage home fairly soon. He was helped a great deal by the
kindness of Mr. Hoffnagle, the American consul, who paid
Carter's fare and helped in arranging his passage. On July 7,
William F. Carter sailed for Boston on board the ship John
Gilpin. After Carter left, Fotheringham worked in Calcutta
with Elders Jones, Musser, and Owens for the next few months.
Perhaps the only thing that made the Elders convinced of their eventual success was the fact that they had baptized Arthur McMahon, his wife, and two little daughters in late May. These conversions, along with a few promising investigators, kept the missionaries' spirits up most of the summer. But opposition was growing against them. The issue of polygamy was the main problem. Elder Musser mentions in his journal that on June 29, the local papers were teeming with trash about Mormonism and polygamy, and this he said, was a rather typical day.

Regular meetings were held in Calcutta on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, and three meetings were held each Sunday. The members of the Church were faithful supporters of these meetings, but the public could not have been less interested. The usual number of investigators was around two or three. The Elders were elated and thrilled when twelve or thirteen strangers would happen to be in attendance.¹

Through consistent labor and re-evaluation, the Elders completed their answer to the anti-Mormon tract, which was a derivative of a tract by a man named Charles Saunders. His tract had been circulated in Europe and America. On July 9, the Reply was taken to the printers. In a few days the proofs were ready on part of it, and the Elders spent a good deal of time reading them very carefully. About a month later, on August 4, the Reply to Mormonism Unveiled, a one-hundred-page pamphlet, was off the press. The cost of printing

¹Musser, Jour. II, p. 63.
two hundred copies was 192$\frac{1}{2}$ rupees, or near $96$. The Elders were sure that their work would go better from this point on, and went to see some of their investigators to begin circulating the new pamphlet. While on their visits they also asked their non-member friends to contribute to the cost of the printing. It was not long before the Elders were able to make a one-hundred-rupee payment on the cost of publication. The remainder was paid later.\(^1\)

Living in India must have been a great trial for all of the Elders. Elder Musser kept a good record of the physical condition of the missionaries in and around Calcutta, and his entries were far from cheerful. From the time the Elders arrived in Calcutta until the end of 1853, there are only a few entries in the journal which do not record someone as being ill. Often the sicknesses of the brethren were so severe that they were completely bedridden for several days. None of the Elders escaped being sick at least part of the time. The common diagnosis was that they were suffering from fever and the chills. However, it was not unusual for them to have boils, blotches, and other maladies.

After Luddington and Savage returned to Calcutta from their first attempt at reaching Burma, they were both very sick for quite some time.\(^2\) However, they recovered sufficiently to make another voyage by July 29, when they once again sailed on the ship Fire Queen, headed for Rangoon.

In August the missionaries had some interesting experiences

and were encouraged in their work. One of their investigators, a man by the name of Charles Booth, was baptized on August 14. His wife did not join the Church, but she was not opposed to it. There was still hope of converting her and some of the other members of the family.1

It was also in August when the Calcutta group started spreading out in their work area. On the eighth, Elder Jones, accompanied by an early convert of Elder Willes named Anna, went to a village called Kishnagur to teach an interested native. Elder Musser tells the experience in this way:

Monday 8th. A. M. Bros. Jones, McMahon, and Sister Anna left for Kishnagur up the river. A native Christian being dissatisfied with sectarian notions resolved to investigate our principles. He says he was sent to this place to see us as there were several villages of natives desirous to know of our doctrine, and on the strength of this evidence, Bro. Jones started to see them.2

A few days later Musser completed the story in his journal:

Bro. McMahon returned from Kishnagur. He left Bro. Jones at Chinsura. Their trip up the country proved altogether unsuccessful, for as soon as they arrived at Kishnagur their native captain or director left them, giving them the slip, proving himself quite dishonest. This portrays the native character to us just as many of the Europeans have told us.3

On August 19, Elder Woolley came into Calcutta from Chinsura. He, along with Elder Fotheringham, who had been working in Calcutta since Elder Carter sailed for home, was going to make a trip up-country to Delhi to teach the Gospel. They were moved to go by the letters of Elder William Willes, who had been laboring around Delhi for some time and requested

1Ibid., p. 25. 2Ibid., pp. 16-17. 3Ibid., pp. 24-25.
assistance.

It will be remembered that Elder Willes had traveled to Agra with Elder Richards some months before and was in that area when the American Elders arrived in Calcutta. Since that time he had written letters to President Jones informing him about his travels and his work. In May Willes wrote about the adversity that he had endured. On June 28, he wrote from Delhi asking for assistance, as he felt that he was having some success there. On June 29, Willes wrote a letter to President Richards in England telling about all of his travels since he separated from Elder Joseph Richards at Agra. Willes had visited and preached at Simla, Dugshai, Sabbatoo, Kussowlie, Calka, Umballa, and Kurnaul, the first five of which are in the Himalaya Mountains. Because of the monsoon rains, and because there was always too much rain in the mountains, Willes went to Delhi, where he met some friendly and helpful people. But he was still not making any converts. By the first part of August his hope for success in Delhi had vanished. Musser recorded part of a letter from Willes who was now at Kurnaul. It reads:

August 4. We just received a letter from Elder Willes. His prospects are not very flattering. The objections that his hearers bring up for not joining our Church is as follows. "You allow polygamy! If we went to the Valley we would have to dress our own food and work for a living. We would have to dispense with our servants; while remaining here we can have them." The above are some of the many objections that are brought up by those who live for this world and its comforts. How true the saying "not many rich, great, noble, or wise, will be saved."²

²Musser, Jour. III, pp. 16-17.
On August 10, the brethren in Calcutta received notice from Willes that he was in Belespore. Musser recorded the news thus:

We have just received a letter from Bro. Willes. Enclosed we found 25 rupees in draft. This Bro. Willes sent down to assist Bro. Fotheringham in getting to his aid. He does not write of having baptized any, but several are inquiring.\textsuperscript{1}

With the help of the rupees that were sent by Elder Willes and twenty rupees that were donated by Brother Meik, Elders Fotheringham and Woolley set out for Delhi. They went with a "Government Bullock Train" costing them nineteen rupees each. They left Calcutta on August 24,\textsuperscript{2} and traveled night and day to Delhi on roads that were "pretty good." The trip was a distance of nine hundred miles, and it took about one month.\textsuperscript{3}

The trip was not very pleasant for Elder Fotheringham because when they had traveled a little over half way and were at Benares, he became very sick with "blotches all over his body,"\textsuperscript{4} He was able, however, to travel on with the Bullock Train. At Sedundrabad which is 850 miles from Calcutta, the Elders left the train. From there they went to Belaspare and met Elder Willes. After discussing the work in the Upper Provinces with him, the two men went to Meerut and Willes returned to Calcutta. On October 11, Woolley and Fotheringham wrote from Meerut that they were well and expecting to have

\textsuperscript{1}Ibid., p. 21
\textsuperscript{2}Jenson, \textit{Church Chronology}, p. 49.
\textsuperscript{3}Musser, \textit{Jour. III}, p. 34.
\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., pp. 55-56.
success. Meerut was the largest location of Europeans in the area of the Upper Provinces, having 250 civilians, many officers, and two or three regiments. Even though there seemed to be a large number of potential converts, the Elders met with poor success. Shortly after they arrived in Meerut they were sent a letter informing them that they would not be allowed to preach until Brigadier Scott had returned from a trip in the mountains. Scott returned and the Elders called on him. He told them that he had been informed of their work by the Bishop of Calcutta and that he would not consider it fair to his own chaplains to have Mormons preaching in the area.

We then asked him if we could lodge in the cantonments. He replied not without his permission and if he granted us two weeks stay in this place, as soon as the time was expired, we would be under necessity of having it renewed again and many other restrictions he laid upon us which would be too numerous to mention. Amongst some of the restrictions was if we should get a place outside of the boundary lines to preach in we were not allowed to send a circular amongst the soldiers to notify our meetings. If we did we should be marched out of the cantonments without a moment's notice. Or if we should be found preaching to the soldiers on the streets we should be marched out. This is like tying a man's hands and feet and throwing him into a river and making him swim.

They then turned to the civilian population, but had no success. At the end of five more weeks they felt that they had done all they could do at Meerut, so they moved to Delhi, thirty-eight miles away. On November 14, 1853,

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1Ibid., p. 85.  
3Letter from William Fotheringham to A. M. Musser, October 19, 1853, in the G. M. R. collection.  
4Ibid., November 3, 1853.
Elder Woolley wrote to Elder Musser about the work in Meerut. Woolley mentioned that "they distributed tracts to all that would accept."¹

Woolley thought some of their investigators "would obey the Gospel if they could go to Heaven on 'flowery beds of ease."² Woolley and Fotheringham left Meerut on the tenth of November and arrived at Delhi the next day.

In Delhi the work seemed to be more successful for a few days. The Elders had twelve people at one of their first meetings. But after seven weeks of work in Delhi nobody was converted and so they moved on to Kurnaul, seventy miles farther up-country. The citizens of Delhi had by this time held a meeting and made an agreement to "cashire every government person that joined the Mormons."³ The Elders had planned to go to Umballa, but they found that there were very few Europeans there who were not with the army (and the army was not allowed to listen).⁴ Because they had very little success in Kurnaul, they decided to go back toward Calcutta, to Agra.

By December 24, they had made the trip to Agra and were making arrangements to teach the gospel there. While there, Elder Woolley wrote: "This station has almost as many civilians in it as all the rest put together, and as to the soldiers, we are not allowed to preach to them, either within or without

¹Musser, Jour. III, p.106. ²Ibid.
³Ibid., p. 115 ⁴Ibid.
the cantonment.¹ The same officers that had caused their troubles in Meerut wrote ahead and told the officers at Agra not to allow any preaching or living on the cantonment there. Woolley was told in a dream that they would be treated unkindly and was shown the exact circumstances of the refusal of the military of their request for permission to preach.

Because they could not preach to the military personnel, the Elders once again turned to the civilian population. After succeeding in obtaining a hall to preach in and trying the civilians again, the Elders preached for four nights. The first evening was successful, having twenty-four hearers. The second, third, and fourth nights dwindled until on the fourth night there was only one investigator present. After this lack of success the brethren felt that they should once again move to a new location.² The Elders were very tired and very discouraged by this time.

It makes me almost sick at heart to read of the Elders in other countries doing such great works, and for me to be tied hand and foot, as it were and told to swim. But I am glad to hear that the work is rolling on in other countries, if it is not in this. I hope the Lord will be pleased to let us go before long to some other place where we can do some good for the cause. But God's will be done, not mine, unless mine in His. It was necessary for somebody to come here, and it might as well be us as any others.³

Woolley and Fotheringham left Agra and worked their way toward Calcutta. They preached the Gospel at Cawnpore, Allahabad, and other towns along the way and then returned

¹M. S., Vol. XVI, PP. 189-90. ²Ibid. ³Ibid.
to Calcutta on the sixth of March, 1854. Their long journey had not produced any success for not a baptism was performed on the entire expedition.\(^1\)

On about the same date that Fotheringham and Woolley started on their trip inland, Elder Musser was able to get away from the mission home at 2½ Juan Bazaar Street and so some tracting. Up to this time the rain had made tracting difficult, but it now became an important part of the daily work. The Saints in England had sent quite a number of tracts, books and other literature to the India missionaries; thus armed with plenty of material, including their own pamphlet, they began the work of going from door to door. Every day except Sunday, Elder Musser went into the city trying to talk with the people about Mormonism. But he found the people very cold and indifferent toward his message. He experienced much the same problems that missionaries of all ages have had to endure: insults, passiveness, jests about his message, ridicule, and meanness. Musser made it a procedure to give tracts to people on one day and then return a few days later to pick up the tracts. On several occasions he was very disgusted with people who had burned his literature or in some other way destroyed it. He could not understand why they would do such things; he could not comprehend why the people did not want to talk about religion as much as he did.

Elder Musser was very much interested in the Hindu people and their religion. He made quite lengthy notes in

\(^1\)Jenson, *Church Chronology*, p. 50.
his journal about the various rituals he observed. He found Hindu rites to be interesting and in some cases beautiful, but he was disturbed by what he saw. He felt sorry for the people and believed them to be ignorant and led astray by their priests. The following are some of his observations of Hindu holidays:

Monday June 20th. This is a native holiday. They have been passing the gate all day going towards the river to bathe. As they consider it holy water, men, women, and children, old and young are passing and repassing. They return from the river ringing wet. Poor creatures.

Friday, July 8th. In the afternoon we witnessed a general native Soaree in worshiping a young Car of Jurganaut and many other singularities, amid the noise and bustle of hundreds; shouting, laughing, singing, etc., etc. The whole scene was sickening and heart-rending.

Tuesday, July 26th. After dark last night quite a number of natives passed the gate with music, bearing on the shoulders of perhaps eight coolies, a hideous [sic] figure the size and appearance of a human being. This figure was painted black and standing upright with one foot on the breast of another figure painted white laying flat on his back. The black idol was decorated with (appearingly) costly wreathes of the appearance of silver, etc. In fact it reminded me of wood cuts (which I have seen) representing the devil, drawn in accordance with the views and imaginations of man.

Another party followed with a white ox, and on it was seated another idol, the size and figure of a man. He had something in his hand resembling an implement of war. He was white and covered with a cap or hat. In this manner, they passed along going towards the river amid singing, shouting, etc., etc. Oh! how awful are the works of the idolators, how long will they, with all the wicked nations of the earth, be allowed to continue their adominations.

1Musser, Jour. II, p. 70.
2Ibid., Jour. III, p. 1
3Ibid., pp. 11-12
The above incidents took place in the public streets and were witnessed by all passers-by. But the curiosity of the brethren made them interested in the inner sanctums of native worship, so on August 18, they decided to see a Baboo's house.

After meeting we visited a large (Baboo's) house. Quite a sublime scene. The whole house was luminated with torches, candles and lamps, and many rich glass chandaliers. The torches were composed of sulphur oil and while burning gave a very offensive smell and as a bystander observed, it put me in mind of the sectarian hell, as they represent it. Many artificial trees with fruit on them were placed around in house. Many were beating on brass pans, tum tums, etc., etc., others were singing, dancing and shouting. All combined made a [sic], heneous noise. Many were bowing at the shrine and going through with their various gestures apparently as candid and honest as the most Christians of modern times.

Musser and his companions were all disturbed to see the manner in which the natives worshipped their gods. From time to time they made comments in their letters home and to one another.

On September 6, Elder Jones and Elder Musser started a new project. They had for some time been considering learning one of the native languages. In some ways this seems strange when considered in light of their feelings toward the native people—their rituals, frequent lack of honesty, and so forth. But nevertheless Jones and Musser started learning Hindustani. For several months they went to the home of a man named Hyder Ally, a monshee (teacher), for lessons. After three months Musser felt that he was

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1Ibid., p. 29.
doing quite well. He recorded the alphabet in his journal and explained the sounds.

Musser and Jones were diligent in teaching the Gospel even when they were taking their language lessons. After a little over a month their monshee was becoming interested in Mormonism. He later told the missionaries that he believed Joseph Smith to be a prophet, but he never joined the Church.¹

Shortly after Jones and Musser started learning Hindustani, an incident occurred that could have turned weaker men away from their ambitions to teach the natives. The morning following their first lesson, Jones and Musser were visited by a native who had been baptized into the Church by Elder Willes. The man came asking for pice and anything else the Elders would give him. Musser explained the man's coming by saying:

This custom [giving support] is practiced by most of the Churches in some way or manner.²

On the twenty-second of Septmeber the brethren in Calcutta were lifted in their spirits by the baptisms of the wife and daughter-in-law of Charles Booth. Mr. Booth had been baptized a couple months previous. The joy of this occasion prevailed for a few days, until Elder Leonard, who had been working in Chinsura, came to Calcutta with the intention of staying because he felt that the work in Chinsura was of no use.

At about the time that Elder Leonard returned from Chinsura, Elder Jones wrote a letter to President Richards in

¹Ibid., p. 76 and p. 81. ²Ibid., p. 46.
England. In his letter he expressed what he felt to be the
great problems of the mission. He also gave a description of
the field of labor and the people the missionaries were called
to work with. After describing the city of Calcutta, Jones
made the following observation about the upper provinces:

The settlements in the upper provinces are chiefly
composed of invalids from the lower provinces and
soldiers, who have, in a manner, worn themselves out
in the service and have settled down upon small pen-
sions. Besides these there are a few public officers
who are engaged in business for the government of
the company (East India), or some military station.
The inhabitants range generally from ten to one
hundred in a place, except Agra, and one or two
other places, which have about two hundred each,
and as to soldiers, it is a hard matter to get ac-
cess to them, although the law does not rule over
the consciences of men, but the discretionary power
of the officers does effectually accomplish it, to
the great satisfaction of the clergy. There are two
kinds of priests who are allowed to be with the sol-
diers, viz, the Church of England and Catholic, and
all others are excluded, and the most rigid measures
are taken to prevent their introduction.¹

Elder Jones had of course gleaned the above information from
the missionaries that were working up-country and around
Calcutta. Jones went on to explain why the Elders had been
having so much trouble with the clergy.

The clergy have the power to shut the mouths
of the people, control the public press and give
tone and drift to public opinion. Every European
is a member of some church, and bound by the most
solemn charge of his pastor, to support their own
particular denomination, and keep away from the
"Mormon," under pain of excommunication.²

Jones then told the Saints in England and all over the
world just what type of people the East India Missionaries
were working with:

¹M. S., Vol XV, p. 811. ²Ibid.
The Europeans of India are generally of the aristocracy at home, and entertain such an exalted opinion of themselves, and of human greatness, that it is impossible for a common man to speak to them. There is scarcely a man in this country whose fate is not linked with either the company or the government, and to come to our meetings, or independently investigate our principles, would jeopardize his office and salary. In fact, that class of people, amongst which the Gospel has been preached with such good success is not in this country.\(^1\)

Perhaps Elder Jones did not feel that he had put his point across well enough, because he went on to explain his feelings towards the aristocracy a little more emphatically. He states:

> If Gabriel from the region of bliss, the presence of God, should come, I do not believe that he would attract any curiosity or create any excitement whatever. They would not stop their carriages or look out of their windows to see him. They are so lost in their own folly that the Holy Ghost and the Bible, is of so little consequence that they have not got time to spend with them. They manifest the greatest indifference of any people that I ever saw; nothing can turn them from their stupid, sluggish, and monotonous course. They are so far behind the spirit of the age in modern Europe, and the Western world, that it will take another probation for them to catch up\(^2\)

It is very clear that Elder Jones was quite discouraged with the aristocracy. He was not alone in his feelings. In his journal Elder Musser recorded several incidents that made him discouraged and disgusted. One of these circumstances grew out of a report of Elders Carter and Fotheringham when they returned on June 25, 1853, from their missions inland. Musser wrote:

> They gave an awful report of the officers, and priests etc., up country. They could not get one chance offering

\(^1\)Ibid. \(^2\)Ibid.
to any. The officers would turn them off and tell them they could not be protected, and would not dare to preach to the soldiers. The brethren have had quite a trying time. They say the soldiers are under the dictations of the officers, the officers under the dictations of the priests, and the priests under the Devil. In going to preach to the inhabitants of India (Europeans), is like going to England and America and selecting none but the aristocracy or upper ten to preach to; as all the European inhabitants of this country are living in the greatest ease, having many servants to wait on them. They care nothing for the servants of God. 1

On another occasion, in late August, Elder Musser had this experience:

In the evening I took a walk with Bro. Bond along the Strand where it was crowded with carriages. The inmates bowing one to another, and at the same time when a native carriage came along he was not allowed to drive on the Strand where the rich were and was obliged to take another road. I saw the police turning 5 carriages off of their course for home. They were obliged to go the distance of as far as \( \frac{1}{2} \) or 1 mile farther round. The rich ride in their fine carriages every day, fitted up in the most costly style, attended with 4 or 5 servants, and on the other hand there are thousands of poor oppressed natives dying off for the want of something to eat. 2

It may seem strange that the Elders were not ready to leave for home by the fall of 1853. They had been unsuccessful in nearly every attempt they had made to teach the Gospel. The Branch at Calcutta was made up almost exclusively of members who were converted by Willes and Richards, and some of these members were not very warm toward the Church by now. As frequently happens within small groups, there was a certain amount of bickering among the members. But these problems were not the serious ones; the big problems came from outside the Church. As has been pointed out, the aristocracy of India was not receptive to the L. D. S. missionaries. This was a

1Musser, Jour. II, p. 72.  
2Ibid.
great problem, but it would have been accepted by the Elders more easily if there had been an alternative group that they could turn to. Unfortunately, the Elders had as little respect for the native peoples as they did for the Europeans.

We have already quoted a letter from President Jones to President Richards in England. In that letter he spoke very coolly about the European group, but he wrote with equal displeasure of the native element:

It appears that they have a great disregard to all principles of honesty and honor, from the highest Rajahs to the meanest Ryot. And the greatest breaches of fidelity and trust are looked upon by the injured party with a degree of complacency, as though it was expected. And in the same light, they look upon all schemes of deliberate, systematic fraud, perjury and all violations of truth, honor, and honesty; these things are indeed not matters of conscience with them. And they are fully competent to do the meanest possible amount, and are not capable of forming any friendship or attachments that can be valued over one pice (which is equivalent to one quarter of a cent). There are many in government and individual employ, who have been for years carrying on a well-regulated system of fraud, and who are known to be such characters by their employers; and to exchange them or turn them off would be only making a bad matter worse. To all human appearance, there is scarcely a redeeming quality in the nation.¹

At the end of this letter Jones explained that he felt induced to give this report of native character so that no more would be expected of the mission than was possible. "I have carefully studied into the character, spirit, and genius of the people, and the account which I now give is from observation and experience." No one would doubt that Elder Jones was honest and forthright in his opinions of the natives of India, but his writings certainly do not take into account the almost

¹M. S., Vol. XV, p. 812.
sub-human conditions under which native life was endured. A more recent account describes rural Indian life in this way:

No outline of rural conditions is complete which does not take into consideration the ever-present possibility (at least in some districts) of famine conditions. (In Jatisgaon there were only nine good agricultural seasons in twenty-four years.) In certain sections of the country, irrigation has proved impossible. This ever-recurring menace accounts surely to some extent for the lack of initiative and seeming idleness of most villagers. What is the use of better ploughs and more manure, of selected seed and well-bred cattle, when the rain may not come and the labor will be without fruit—the seed will be wasted in the ground and there will not be fodder for the cattle! Add to this the traditional religious teaching that all is "maya" or illusion, and it is hard to see how a man—whose vitality is already impaired by poverty and disease—can be expected to rise above present conditions and put vigor and energy into his daily work and have a mind open to new ideas and suggestions.

Certainly it is necessary, in fairness to the Indian people, to consider their physical conditions. Moreover, though the Indian people may have been as corrupt as Elder Jones portrayed them to be, it was primarily because they had never been taught to think as he thought. The same thing holds true with the aristocracy which Jones and all the other Elders were so disgusted with. However, in the final evaluation of the problem, the conditions as the Elders saw them did exist, and regardless of why they were as they were, these problems caused the missionaries a great deal of difficulty in accomplishing their purposes.

During the time that much of the foregoing was taking

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1John McKenzie, Ed. The Christian Task in India (London: Macmillan and Co., 1929), p. 69. Although it is unusual to use a recent source to establish a historical or social point, the author has done so in this case on the basis of statements by Indian scholars to the effect that Indian society, culture, and economy has changed very little during the last number of years.
place, Elders Fotheringham and Woolley were up-country around Delhi. It will be remembered that they made contact with Elder Willes at Belespore and were informed as to what had been accomplished in the area; and then Elder Willes started to wend his way back to Calcutta. He arrived in Calcutta on the first of December, 1853. He was tired and had a desire to return home, but he was asked by President Jones to stay and work in Calcutta for a while longer. Willes bowed to Jones's wish and stayed. The day after he returned he contributed 125 rupees to the work, to be used as Elder Jones and the brethren saw fit. He had been able to collect the funds for his voyage home; however, since he was going to stay, he decided to contribute to the cause.

The brethren in Calcutta had from time to time received letters from Elder Hugh Findlay in Bombay. On November 5, a letter was received from him that asked for another Elder to assist in the work in that region. On the sixth of November, Elder Jones, acting in his capacity as president, asked Elders Leonard and Musser to go to Bombay. They accepted the request and started looking for passage.

At the same time Elder Jones announced a series of twenty lectures that were to be presented by him and the other Elders. The papers were kind enough to print the announcement, and as a result about ten strangers attended the first meeting. The attendance at this series was better than at earlier meetings and the Elders were quite excited by the

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1Jenson, *Church Chronology*, p. 49.
possible success that was before them.

On November 23, Elder Jones announced a new series of lectures that were to start on the twenty-ninth. On the twenty-sixth a third series of lectures was announced. There were twenty lectures in each series.

From the time Elder Musser was called to Bombay, he spent every morning going from house to house collecting the tracts he had been distributing. Later in the day he and Leonard would go the wharfs to seek passage to Bombay. They were finally successful, after several days of searching, in making contact with the captain of the ship Niobe. The captain was not sure, on the first encounter with the Elders, whether he would be able to take them, but the Elders called by his office a few days later and found that they could go for one hundred rupees each. This price seemed high to the Elders and so they tried to find a better fare. But it soon became obvious that the fare demanded by the captain of the Niobe was only half what they have to pay on other ships. So final arrangements were made for the voyage, which was to take place in the latter part of December or the first part of January.

Musser recorded in his journal the amount of work that he had done since he started tracting in Calcutta. It is a summary of his accomplishments since coming to India:

In the morning out receiving tracts. We have visited about 130 houses and distributed about 200 tracts in all including those distributed by Bros. Leonard, Saxton, and others. Myself and Bro. Bond has been circulating them (tracts) on Ellists, Park, Wellesley, Royd, and "Circular Road" and streets besides in several lanes. All the houses we visited as often as twice and some as often as four times. But one person of all this number that has attended
our meetings, and he declined coming but once.\(^1\)

About the same time that Musser and Leonard were told to go to Bombay, President Jones decided that it was time that Elder Robert Ownes should go to Madras, where he was originally assigned. Owens was able to arrange passage on a native-owned and operated ship for only twenty-five rupees. He sailed for Madras on December 19.

Elders Musser and Leonard said good-by to the Elders and Saints in Calcutta on December 28, and the next day they went on board ship. On January 2, they sailed down the Hoogly river on their way to Bombay.\(^2\)

Because of the size of India and the problems that arose in regard to communications between the missionaries, it is advantageous to consider various divisions of the mission separately. It was not a well-integrated mission in the sense that England and other missions were at that time. The missionaries could not gather together easily for conferences or even send letters with any assurance that they would arrive very quickly. When they separated and went to their various fields of labor, the East India Mission actually became several missions. In May of 1853, the American missionaries were still in Calcutta, but from this point on until the discontinuance of the mission, they never met as a group. The following chapters of this work are organized on the basis of this division into labor areas. It will be observed, how-

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\(^1\)Musser, Jour. III, pp. 101-2

\(^2\)Ibid., p. 129.
ever, that Calcutta was the headquarters of the mission, and because of this fact the activities of the Calcutta missionaries will be used as a focal point in the concluding chapter.
CHAPTER V

A PROJECTED JOURNEY TO SIAM

Elders Chauncey W. West and Benjamin F. Dewey embarked for Ceylon on May 15, 1853. This island is located off the southeast coast of the Tamil Peninsula, south of India. The trip there took a number of days but was apparently a fairly smooth one. The greatest problem or hardship was that many people died of cholera. Elder West wrote that on the day and night of May 15, "five persons were thrown overboard, who died of cholera; on the 16th, nine more died; a general time of excitement on board. On the 17th, seven died, on the 18th, five died; on the 19th, three died."2

On the morning of the twentieth the ship arrived at Madras. When the Elders went ashore, they were surprised to find a carriage waiting for them. It had been rented for their use by a friend they had made on the voyage from Calcutta. They rode around Madras all day and observed many things of interest, including two Cars of the Juggernaut. They also saw many other "heathen curiosities." In the evening they went back on board and found that during the day three more passengers had died.

The following morning the Queen of the South weighed

1Continued from Chap. IV, p. .

anchor and steamed on to Point Galle, Ceylon, at which place they arrived on the 26th of May. When they left the ship they found a great prejudice existing among the people, and they were ready to reject us. While walking from the wharf into the town, we fell into company with two gentlemen who entered into conversation with us, during which we told them we were missionaries; they seemed very much pleased to hear this and said that they welcomed us to the island, and then commenced to tell us about the great success of the missionary societies in that country; said we must go and see their minister; after which they asked to what missionary society we belonged; we told them to the Lord's; they said they hoped all missionary societies belonged to the Lord, and wished to know what church or faith; we told them the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; at which their countenances fell, and they said, "What! not Mormon?" We told them the world gave us that name.

They said they had heard all about the Mormons, and said they could assure us we would meet with great opposition; that they had a pamphlet that told all about Joe Smith and the Mormons. I will here mention that a large number of tracts had been sent from Europe, and circulated among the people, filled with the most base lies and misrepresentations.\(^1\)

The Elders left the two gentlemen and went for a ride with Captain Carmel, the friend who had paid for their carriage in Madras. They were of course troubled by what they had been told. When they left Captain Carmel who went back on board ship, they were alone on Ceylon and without a friend.

They stayed in Galle overnight and then traveled to Colombo, seventy-two miles away. In Colombo the Elders met with no success. Their first attempt was to obtain a meeting hall, but in this they failed. Each of the three local

\(^1\)Ibid.
papers had published announcements of the Elders' arrival and warned the people to beware of them and their new teachings.

Elder West felt that the people were under the domination of the local priests. If anything was done that did not find accord with the priests' demands, the matter was published in the local papers. Half-castes and natives were especially under the thumbs of the priests, for they always asked their ministers whether anything they heard was right.¹

There were not as many Europeans as the Elders had expected—only about three thousand priests, ministers, speculators, and soldiers.

Elder West came to a hasty conclusion as to the nature of the native people in Ceylon. He believed that they were very lazy and indolent.

The great share of them do not pretend to work at all only four months in the year. That is while they are cultivating their paddy (rice) fields; the balance of the time they lie in their dirt huts and under the trees. They live mostly on the cocoanuts and other fruits that grow spontaneously all over the island. The European settlements are from seventy to one hundred miles apart, which is too far for a man to undertake to walk under the burning sun of this tropical region. The natives would let a man starve to death before they would give him anything to eat, unless he had money to pay them.²

After travelling from place to place teaching the Gospel to those who would listen, but finding no one interested in their message, the Elders decided to go back to Galle and give the people there another opportunity to hear the Gospel. The walk back to Galle was seventy miles

¹Ibid. ²Ibid.
and took them five days. The sun was very hot in the day, and at night the Elders slept on the ground. They ate rice and cocoanuts to keep themselves alive. As they walked, they passed through thirty-five native villages. They did not feel that there was a clean person in any one of them. It is interesting that the Elders were shocked to find that many of the natives practiced polyandry, (or one woman having many husbands.) They called it a "most odious practice."¹

Western culture does not look upon polygamy in the same way that it looks at polyandry, but it is still interesting to see the disgust the Elders had for this practice, when at the same time the practice of polygamy was the biggest objection that others had to their beliefs.

When they reached Galle they were treated as coldly as when they had first arrived there. Feeling that it would be best if they tried to find another place to work, they thought of going to Singapore, from which place they would have easy access to Siam. But finding that they could not arrange passage there, they decided to go to Bombay on a large ship that had docked at Galle to take on water. In talking with the captain of the ship they were able to arrange passage quite easily. Their desire to go to Bombay grew partly out of a dream that West had had a few nights before, in which he was told that he should go to help Elder Findlay in Bombay. But even when the Elders went on board, they found

¹Ibid.
that the people of Ceylon would not stop abusing them. West related the following:

We went on board the Penola and found no trouble in getting passage. We returned on shore and got our trunks and got on board again. The next evening two gentlemen came on board and told Captain Rany that they hoped he was not going to take us to Bombay; that we were Mormons and men not worthy to associate with. Captain Rany, who was an Irishman, told them, "I don't care a damn what their faith is—they have treated me like a gentleman and they have the appearance of such and they are going to Bombay with me if my ship don't sink."

It is interesting that Captain Rany was almost prophetic in his last statement. The voyage was very smooth until the ship was about ten miles from Bombay; then the ship went aground in a storm, and it seemed as though it would be lost. The missionaries, hoping that they would be spared, went to their cabin and prayed that the storm would be calmed. Within a few minutes the storm ended, and the ship was found to be afloat. Their journey was completed safely and the Elders went ashore at Bombay on July 25, 1853.

Findlay was, of course, delighted to see them. He was by this time worn out and not well. He had worked very hard in both Poona and Bombay and had established branches of about twenty members in both places. It was decided that Elder Dewey should go to Poona to labor with Findlay and Elder West would stay in Bombay.

Findlay, it will be remembered, had been in Bombay since

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2M. S., Vol. XV, pp. 714-16.
late 1851. He had been working with the military personnel in cantonments at Bombay and Poona for a number of months, but in January of 1853, he had turned his efforts to the native people in the hope that they would be more receptive to his message than the European population had been.

In April of 1853, Elder Findlay obtained a room for public meetings in Bombay and was expecting to have better success. The Branch at Poona numbered twenty-three by this time, and the chapel that Findlay had constructed there was large enough to hold 150 persons.¹

Elder Findlay had spent his time travelling back and forth between the two cities, but in June he was told to stay off military property. By this time, however, he had sixteen members in Poona and fourteen in Bombay and, as a result, he was not too discouraged. Even though he was no longer allowed on military property, Findlay was persistent and found a place to hold meetings. He also published a syllabus of lectures that he intended to give. Unfortunately he fell ill at this point because of overexertion and the sultry heat, but because of his efforts to convert the people of Bombay, he was able to complete the lectures and convert two native Hindus.

By this time Elder Findlay's faith in the native people was no stronger than his faith in the Europeans. He made this statement about the Hindu people:

India's sons are mentally slaves, bound with superstition's strong cords, whilst they lack in

¹ Ibid., p. 426.
rectitude of character (even when convinced of it,) to burst them asunder.¹

However, he did seem to have some faith in their future:

But an intellectual revolution is apparent, and rapidly progressing in those just stepping into their fathers' shoes to claim a part with the public spirit of free enquiry than there possibly could have been a very few years past, which give us to hope that native India will yet lay down her shackles, and produce her quota to swell the numbers of the redeemed Lord.²

Although he had been put outside of the cantonment in Bombay, Findlay was still having some success with the military. Five members of the 1st Bombay Fusileers had been baptized, and others were interested in the Church. With this growth Elder Findlay had organized the Bombay Branch in mid-July, and it now consisted of twenty members.³

Elders Findlay and Dewey stayed in Bombay to work with Elder West until the first of August, then they left for Poona. Elder West kept himself very busy holding four meetings a week in Bombay and also calling on many houses. When he found the people shy and unwilling to talk to him, he inquired as to the reason. He was told that the local ministers had instructed their people not to talk to the Mormon missionaries because it was very possible that the Elders would lead the people astray.

On one occasion a native came to West and asked for baptism. The man was intelligent and spoke good English, as

¹Ibid., p. 638. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., pp. 638-639.
well as several other languages. West had hope that the man could be of use in building up the branch, but was disappointed when he lost interest in Mormonism after he found that the Church really did not have any money and that the Elders really were without purse or scrip. He returned to the Church of England, where he had been getting two rupees (a piece of money worth 48¢) a week in payment for his membership; now his "salary" was being raised to three rupees.

West stated:

The English and American missionaries who have gone to that country have been furnished with plenty of money by missionary societies at home, and when they found that they could not win the native with their principles, they have hired them to join their churches, and have written back what great things they are doing in converting the poor heathen.

I have had numbers of them come to me and offer to leave the churches whose names they were then acknowledging and come to ours, if I would only give them a few more cents than they were getting. At the same time they knew no more about the principles and faith of the Church to which they professed to belong, than the brute-beast, and these same people will bow down and worship sticks and stones, gods of their own make, when they think there is no Christian seeing them.¹

On September 7, Hugh Findlay's brother Allan arrived from England. After a few days in Bombay, Allan went to Poona to relieve his brother. On October 8, Hugh Findlay and Benjamin F. Dewey returned to Bombay.

Elders West and Dewey were concerned about their call to Siam, and since it was now fall, they thought they should be making an effort to arrange passage to their assigned field

of labor. But because they had no money for passage and because there were very few ships going there at that time, they decided to stay in Bombay and give the people there another trial.

The three missionaries decided to preach in three parts of the city. They made arrangements for halls to meet in and started distributing circulars telling of the whereabouts of their meetings and the topics for discussion. Elder West went to Fort George to leave this information but was very quickly escorted from the cantonment with an armed guard. He was told that he must not return and that no Mormons would be allowed there. Because almost no one came to the scheduled meetings, the brethren decided to leave the people of Bombay with no excuse for not hearing the Gospel, and started canvassing the city from house to house. They found the reception of the people to be "either the European aristocratic sneer or that cold formal orientalism so characteristic" of India.¹

It was during October that the Bombay Branch was broken up because all of the members who were soldiers were sent to Aden, in Arabia. One of the brethren going there was ordained an Elder, and one was ordained a Teacher. They were given tracts and literature and were encouraged to spread the Gospel in Arabia.

The Siam Elders were constantly on the lookout for ships that were going to Singapore. They found, however, that most of the ships headed east were going to China, by way of the

¹Ibid. ²Ibid.
south coast of Java and around Borneo, etc., and through the Sunda Straits, thus avoiding the northeast wind in the China Sea. As a last resort, in late December the Elders decided to try to find a ship that would take them to Batavia, on the Island of Java. There was at that time a great deal of trade carried on between Batavia and Singapore, and the Elders assumed that they could easily find passage on some trading vessel. But after talking to fourteen captains and having no success, the Elders were finally given the opportunity to work as sailors on a ship headed for Batavia.¹

On January 9, 1854, the two Elders gave the parting hand to Elder Hugh Findlay and the few members in Bombay and went on board the ship Cressa, under Captain Bell. The ship sailed down the Malabar Coast and turned east toward Java. When it arrived there, the Elders found that they could not leave the ship without money, there being a law in Batavia that no travelers could stay anywhere but in certain licensed hotels. The owners of these hotels had the right to check the purses of prospective tenants because they were held responsible for the safekeeping of those who stayed with them. There were no ships leaving for Singapore within the next few days, so it was decided between the two Elders and Captain Bell that it would be best if they went on with the Cressa to China.²

From the time the ship sailed from Java on March 1, until it came to anchor at Macao on May 2, the ship and its crew endured nothing but hardship. They sailed in a typhoon,

¹Ibid. ²Ibid., p. 230.
waited for days in a doldrum, were for a time stranded on a
coral reef, ran short of water and food, and, it would seem,
endured every other kind of problem. It was a wonder that the
ship and crew reached land.

West and Dewey spent eight days in Macao and then, on
the tenth of May, sailed for Hong Kong, arriving there on the
twelfth. They went on shore and searched for Elders Stout,
Lewis and Duncan, who had been there to open a mission, but
found that the China Missionaries had already returned to
America.

Elder Dewey had been suffering from some kind of ill-
ness for quite some time, but when the Elders reached Hong
Kong, his disease became worse. Fortunately they came in
contact with a man named James Young, a Chinese man who had
been reared in America. He befriended the Elders and took
them into his hotel. Elder Dewey was able to regain a certain
amount of strength there. While Dewey was convalescing, West
sailed for Wampo in hope of finding passage there in a ship
bound for Singapore.\(^1\) Being unable to arrange passage for the
two men to Singapore, Elder West accepted an invitation given
by a friend he had acquired on the short cruise, to see
Canton. West was very much impressed with the beauty of the
mountains around the city and was fascinated by the way of life
of the people, even though he found conditions there crowded
and dirty.

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 264.
When West returned to Hong Kong, he found Elder Dewey's condition to be about the same; it was therefore decided that it would be best to give up trying to reach Siam. Instead, they reluctantly concluded that they should return home to America. Passage was soon arranged for the trip to California on the ship John Grey, and they sailed on July 15, 1854. The voyage to San Francisco took fifty-four days. From there the brethren traveled the rest of the way back to the Valley.

At about the same time that Elders West and Dewey departed from Bombay, the Findlay brothers received word of the pending arrival of Elders Musser and Leonard. The story of the Bombay mission will be resumed in a later chapter dealing with their work in Bombay and vicinity.

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1Ibid., p. 286.

2"The Valley" refers to Salt Lake Valley. The missionaries used this phrase often in their letters.
CHAPTER VI

THE MISSION TO MADRAS

The mission to Madras began when Elders Richard Ballantyne and Robert Skelton were assigned to that area at the conference held April 29, 1853, in Calcutta. Once the assignments of work districts had been made, the Elders were very eager to set sail or walk to their various areas. Elders Ballantyne and Skelton wanted to go to Madras as soon as possible, not only because they were eager to establish the Church in Madras, but also because they knew that if passage were not soon arranged, they would be forced to wait until after the monsoon rains and their accompanying high seas had passed. This would require a wait of at least three or four months, and they were not going to do that. Every day they went to the wharf and talked to ship captains who could have given them passage but who refused. This procedure went on for several weeks, and as May ended the number of scheduled ships that were going to Madras started to dwindle. Still the Elders carried on their daily search. They were not very desirable passangers because they could pay almost nothing for their fare. They were also not too reputable in the eyes of many people because of their belief in the doctrine of

1Supra., Chapter III, p. 43.
polygamy. The newspapers had done a good job of painting a black picture of Mormonism.

The situation finally came to the point where only two more ships were scheduled to go to Madras before the monsoons. One of these was a British mail steamer, and the other was a small vessel, the John Brightman, captained by Thomas D. Scott. The captain of the mail steamer would not give the men passage, so Captain Scott was the last resort. Ballantyne and Skelton called on him early one morning and asked for passage on his ship. He told them that he could not take them with him because he had no steerage accommodations and he had no room for them in the cabin. Besides that, he had some lady passengers who would be offended if the missionaries were taken along. Jolted by this rebuff but still composed, Ballantyne asked whether there were no price that the two men could pay for passage to Madras. The old captain answered that fare would be 350 rupees, but that he would not take them along at any price. The Elders left but were back again the next morning. The captain did not change his mind. This procedure of visiting the captain early in the morning went on for four days, and then on the fifth, the two Elders, feeling that they needed reinforcement, asked President Nathaniel V. Jones to accompany them and add his pleas to theirs. After talking to the captain for fifteen minutes and not daring to bring the subject of their passage up again because of the captain's dark mood, the Elders returned home. President Jones did not feel that there was any hope that they would be given passage.
On the sixth morning Elder Ballantyne awoke from his sleep with new determination. On this morning he decided to go and see the captain in the name of the Lord. After kneeling in prayer and asking the Lord’s help in their venture, they once again went to see Captain Scott. They found him in conversation with a Parsee merchant whom the captain introduced to the Elders. The merchant, who had read about the Mormon missionaries in the papers, started asking questions about polygamy and other matters pertaining to the Church. Because it soon became evident that the conversation would not end quickly, they all sat down for the duration of the discussion. As the conversation proceeded, it became apparent that the Captain was interested in what the Elders had to say. When the talk came to an end, the men once again asked for passage to Madras, telling the captain that they had about eighty-five rupees each. Of this amount they needed part for supplies, but the rest they offered as fare. Moreover, they promised the captain safe voyage. He finally agreed to accept them as passengers and told them that he planned to sail in about a week.

The next few days were filled with packing and farewells, and soon it was time to sail. Unfortunately, just the day before their scheduled embarkation, Elder Ballantyne became very sick with a disease that, as he described it, seemed to be much like influenza. He was racked with chills, nausea, and pain in his muscles and joints. When sailing time came

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1Sonne, pp. 112-13.
on June 20, it was necessary to carry him onto the ship. Elder Skelton tucked him into bed and hoped for the best. The *John Brightman* hoisted her anchor, and the voyage was under way.

Somehow the movement of the ship and the breeze blowing across the water seemed to revive Elder Ballantyne, and he was soon on deck enjoying the beautiful scenes on the banks of the river.

Since the Hoogly River was very dangerous because of its shifting bed, sand washes, shallows, and so forth, it was necessary for the ship to move very slowly down the river. At night the anchor was dropped and no movement was permitted.¹ At that time of year the wind was blowing from the southwest, and as a result it was necessary for the *John Brightman* to "tack" and "retack" as it moved on its five-day passage down the Hoogly. As the ship was on a tack in one of the most dangerous parts of the river, a very frightening occurrence took place. There was reason for concern because of the "very contrary and precarious winds," and so the captain went to Ballantyne and said, "You promised me a safe voyage." "Yes," Ballantyne replied, "and you shall have it." Ballantyne goes on to tell the story in these words:

> In a few minutes after I had given him this assurance, another ship, that was beating down with us in the narrow channel, tacked suddenly round, and either to run into our vessel, or drift into the quicksand seemed the only alternative. Captain Scott, of our vessel, being much alarmed, exclaimed, "It's

¹The Hoogly River is one hundred and forty miles long from Calcutta to the more open waters, and, on the average, about two miles wide. The movement of the current in this stretch of the river, is very slow.
impossible to avoid a collision." But the hand of the Lord was over us, and just as it was expected that a fearful collision would take place, and the broadside of our vessel be run into, the other ship was suddenly controlled and turned around, so that she passed the side of the John Brightman, within a few paces, to no small joy of the captain and those on board.¹

This incident increased the captain's faith in the Elders, and as a result, the captain was now even willing to listen to the message of the brethren. As the voyage progressed not only the captain, but also one of the lady passengers and Mr. Bolton, the first mate of the ship, became interested in the behalf of the Elders. By the time the ship reached Madras, the first mate had asked for baptism and the captain voiced a belief in the Book of Mormon.²

The voyage was by no means a smooth one. When the ship had been in the Bay of Bengal for several days, great storms arose. The monsoon winds blew in all their fury, and waves buffeted the small vessel. Captain Scott's log describes the storm:


6th. Strong gales and heavy head sea. Lat. 17.13N. Long. 84.24 Lat.

7th. Strong Heavy sea. Took in top gallant sails. Ship pitching very heavy and taking in much water. Surging waves over the vessels. Head knees and rails all washed away. 8 A. M. A tremendous squall from Westward. Down topsails, and hauled up Mainsail.

9th Lightening. Tremendous squall from the N. W. split the fore-top-sail and fore topmast stay-sail tore to pieces. Carried away the fore-sheet. 6 A. M. Blowing a hurricane from the N. W. with a tremendous sea from

¹M. S., Vol. XV, p. 700. ²Ibid., p. 701
the South. Furled the Main Sail, and double reefed the main top-gallant mast. Ship laboring and straining and shipping great quantities of water. Drifting about.


11th. Heavy rain. Sent down foretop gallant mast. Ship pitching very heavy, tearing the Copper off her bottom. Sent in the flying jib-boom. Hauled all the reefs tight. Reefed the square Mainsail and set it. Head sea. Took in the Mainsail and furled it. ¹

So the captain's log read for two weeks, and had the food not been good and the crew kind, Ballantyne and Skelton would have had a hard time making it. When calm seas and clear skies came again, Ballantyne was finally able to make his recovery to full health.

On June 24th the John Brightman cast her anchor into the waters near Madras. Richard Ballantyne wrote an account of what he saw when they were nearly there.

We are in sight of Madras and St. Thomas' Mount. The latter place we look to with feelings of peculiar interest as in it we hope to find two brethren. To the South, as far as Sundras, near the coast, we see a scattering range of hills, which have a very interesting appearance. Immediately along the coast is a continuous forest of timber and jungle. On St. Thomas' Mount we see the British flag hoisted under whose folds we hope for protection and liberty. Here there is a large garrison of British troops. Between St. Thomas' Mount and Madras there appears to be a large forest or jungle. As we sail nearer we see many ships laying anchored in the roads, while still further in the distance we observe the steeples of churches, lighthouse--one of the best in the world--and many houses, obscured however by smoke and sultry

¹Sonne, pp. 119-20.
atmosphere of the climate. Still further in the distance almost obscured in fog we see dimly a range of low mountains or hills. Here there is no harbor for ships which operates materially against the commercial prosperity of the place, as it is very dangerous for ships at certain seasons of the year.  

When the Elders left the ship, they were accompanied by Captain Scott, who had evidently become quite attached to them and wanted to help with their work. He was kind enough to arrange and pay for their hotel room at the Madras House, one of the finest hotels in the city. He also gave Ballantyne a pair of shoes, fifty silver rupees, and enough money to print two thousand tracts. With this aid the young men went to work. Only ten days after they arrived they had printed one thousand copies of Lorenzo Snow's tract, Only Way to be Saved, and one thousand copies of Parley P. Pratt's tract called Proclamation of the Gospel.  

Madras was the third largest city in India at that time. It had been built up by the British as a port city. "The late census estimated the population of Madras at 800,00. Of these 600,000 [were] Hindoos, 90,000 Mahometans and the remainder Europeans and half-castes." The missionaries were impressed by the beautiful buildings that had been built by the British but were soon aware that this seemingly prosperous appearance was nothing but a facade concealing the way the lowly natives lived.  

When the Elders had been in Madras for only two weeks, Ballantyne wrote, "I hear no important public news. Mormonism

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1Ibid., pp. 121-22.  
2M.S., Vol.XV, p. 701.  
3Ibid.
seems to be the engrossing question here."¹ The newspapers carried the story of the missionaries' arrival, and they were met with almost immediate assaults from the local ministers and missionaries. Soon the attacks had an affect, and the brethren were asked to leave the hotel. Fortunately they had a friend in John Charles, a member from England now living at St. Thomas' Mount. He offered to give them a hall to preach in if they would stay at his home. This offer was, of course, accepted.

The Elders went to the house of John Charles and lived for a time. While they were staying there they organized the Church in the Madras area.

Yesterday afternoon[August 8] we met in our room and organized the Church here. Present—one High Priest, one Seventy, and one Elder. With a nucleus of the Church of God in this cantonment, we mutually covenanted by an uplifted hand to sustain each other in our respective offices, in all righteousness before the Lord.²

Shortly after the organization of the Church at St. Thomas' Mount, John Charles rented a home for the brethren. This home was also to be used as a meeting hall. When the Elders were settled, they received a note from Captain Scott in which he mentioned that he desired to be baptized, but he wanted to wait until he returned from a trip to Calcutta. He told the missionaries to call at his financial agents, Hall and Towle, and they would be given sixty rupees left in the captain's name.

The missionaries made application to Brigadier Winyatt,

¹Ibid. ²Ibid., p. 702.
commander of artillery in the British cantonment, for the privilege of holding public meetings. He said that he could not grant it but would put the request to the council in Madras. After a few days the request was granted by the council whose members treated the Elders with due respect and kindness.

But even at this time, when the work was seemingly being established so well, the press was busy publishing material that was calculated to destroy the spreading of the Gospel. The following attack, printed in the *Madras Christian Herald*, is quoted in length because it is a good example of the type of article that was being used against the L.D.S. missionaries all over India:

We would call the attention of our readers to the extract from an address by two clergymen to their flocks on the errors of the Mormonites, for we regret to say that two of those deluded persons calling themselves Latter-day Saints have arrived in Madras and have commenced circulating their tracts, and have published an address dated from the MADRAS TEMPERANCE HALL. We would suggest the propriety of the guardians of charitable institutions refusing to admit such bold teachers of error as these men are, when hotels are open to them, and we are glad to learn they have left the Sailor's Home. The blasphemous nature of their doctrines is very evident from the extract alluded to, and we have always heard that the practices of the Mormonites are as immoral as their teachings are unscriptural.

Many of our readers will no doubt at first glance consider that the delusion of these Mormonites is so palpably Satanic as to require no warning voice to be raised against it; but we believe this to be a device of Satan's and foretold as a sign of the last days in 1st Timothy 4:1 and 2d Timothy 3:13 so we know that many unstable souls have been led away by it in England as well as in America.

We would entreat our readers to beware of what is still an evil among us, the desire of hearing and telling something new. The safest course is to avoid all curiosity about this error as far as we can. Surely it is enough to know that, like all Satan's cunningly devised fables, the one which has now been introduced into Madras, had proved peculiarly dangerous, and so
no doubt the devil calculated when he planned, it has
drawn away many souls from the revealed word of God.
The duty of every Christian is to destroy and in
every way impede the circulation of the tracts and
publications of these Mormonites, and in all truth and
charity hold to the Bible as containing the knowledge
of all things necessary to salvation. For the poor
teachers of these false doctrines we would earnestly
pray that their eyes may be opened to gospel truths,
and that zeal with which they do the work of Satan,
may be devoted to the service of their Savior and Mas-
ter Jesus Christ; that, washed in his blood and clothes
with his merits, they may be numbered among his saints
in everlasting glory.\textsuperscript{1}

Ballantyne answered this rebuke in a local paper, and
the result was greater attendance at the next meeting. But
the success was short-lived. The enemy grew in numbers and
the work became steadily more difficult. In an effort to
contact more people, the two men split up, Skelton staying
at St. Thomas' Mount and Ballantyne finding a place in Madras.

St. Thomas' Mount was a much smaller place than Madras,
and as a result it was easier for the priests and ministers
to build a wall around Elder Skelton. They did not allow
their members even to hear what he had to say. On many
occasions ministers attended Skelton's meetings for the
sole purpose of causing trouble. On one occasion a group
of Catholics tried to mob him, but he was spirited away by
some friendly soldiers. The opposition became so serious
that Skelton could not buy food, and only through the kind-
ness of a few friends was he able to obtain food. Finally
the opposition became too great, and Robert Skelton "shook
the dust off his feet" and went to Madras to be with Richard
Ballantyne.\textsuperscript{2}

\textsuperscript{1}Sonne, pp. 126-27. \textsuperscript{2}Ibid., p. 128.
Ballantyne had not done well either. He was by this time on a diet of bread and water. Every morning he had to go to the bazaar to buy his bread. He received impudent stares from the natives, who were disgusted at seeing a European buying in the market; it was a thing unheard of. Not only was such an action below his caste, but it also kept a low-caste native from performing the job.

At any rate, the missionaries were happy to be together again; hardship is more easily borne in others' company. Now that they were reunited, they attacked their work with new energy and ambition. They branched out in their work area and went outside of Madras to Vepery, Poonymalle, Rioparum, and Black Town. At Black Town they spoke to a small group of natives that were quite well taught in English. The natives were interested at first but nothing came of it.

The Elders had been working so hard that it started to tell on their health. The following entry in Ballantyne's journal indicates why:

My health has been feeble for two days, partly from exposure to the hot sun, walking from the Mount without an umbrella, and partly through overexertion and lack of nourishment. I have been living (and still am), mostly on bread and water for nearly three weeks, and that rather sparingly.\(^1\)

This was only the first of many such entries, the culmination of which recorded the complete loss of health and return home.

The visit of the Elders to the villages of the natives gave Elder Skelton an interest in the Tamil language. He made arrangements with a teacher and started studying in the

\(^1\)Sonne, p. 131.
language with the thought in mind of teaching the native people. He studied the Tamil language because in his travels around Madras he had been able to become friends with a number of Tamil men. They were much more primitive-looking than the Brahmins that the Elders usually met with. Their features were sharp, and their hair was black and gathered on top of their heads. Their teeth were black and their lips were red as a result of chewing betal nut. Skelton recognized their spiritual needs and wanted to be able to converse with them.¹

When it became apparent that the public press was almost solidly lined up in opposition to the Church, the Elders decided that they would be able to fight the slander that was being published against them and the Church if they were to print a weekly or monthly periodical. They decided that the pattern of the Milennial Star should be followed. In cooperation with their few friends, the brethren published the first issue of The Latter-day Saints Milennial Star and Monthly Visitor in March of 1854, with Richard Ballantyne as editor.²

The hardships which Richard Ballantyne and Robert Skelton bore during their first six months in Madras were great, but they were determined to establish the Gospel in that city. They had baptized only three new members into the Church since their arrival in Madras. These three converts consisted of two Tamil men and an East Indian. Elder Ballantyne explained in a letter to S. W. Richards that the few people of Madras

¹M. S., Vol. XVI, p. 239.
²Church Chronology, p. 50.
who were investigating the Gospel were doing so in a very deliberate and thorough manner. Ballantyne felt that the slowness was characteristic of the people of Madras. Even though progress was slow, the Elders felt that there was a need to establish a good foundation so that future work would be more successful.

On January 2, Elder Robert Owens had arrived in Madras from Calcutta, where he had been laboring. He was appointed to labor at Chinaderaput, a suburb of Madras. He moved in and lived with Ballantyne, who was staying with a friend named Mr. Brown. Elder Owens brought a number of tracts and books with him from Calcutta. This material helped the work somewhat.\(^1\)

It was pointed out in the first chapter of this work that the people of India are very dependent upon the yearly monsoon rains for the prosperity of their crops. While the Elders were in Madras, they witnessed the heartache and dismal life of the people as they waited and hoped for rain. Elder Ballantyne described conditions in February of 1854, in this way:

> The warm weather is beginning to set in. Sometimes the heat is so excessive here, that men and horses are struck dead in the streets. This Presidency is threatened with a famine. There has been little rain during the last six months. Where no reservoir or tank exists to supply the crops by irrigation, they have withered and perished. The ports are open to receive rice from other places, free of duty. The importation from other quarters will no doubt relieve much of that distress which otherwise would press upon the people. Yet even with this relief, the suffering must be great.

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\(^1\)M. S., Vol XVI, p. 239.
The ryot or farmer, is generally poor, relying entirely on his small patch of land for supplies; and while those following other pursuits have money to purchase from abroad, he has no such means to supply his wants. When a famine visits the country, the poor ryot and his family are therefore exposed to suffering and starvation.1

Elder Ballantyne was concerned with the condition of the native farmers that were round about, but he was also forced, along with his companions, to be concerned about his own condition. The situation of the Elders grew steadily worse. They had very few friends and almost no financial support. On one occasion Brother Ballantyne let his feelings flow a little as he wrote his daily entry in his journal:

It is but just to remark here that hitherto a very singular penuriousness had been manifested to us. Neither Europeans, half castes, or natives seem to care how we live, or in what way we meet expenses. . . . This has sometimes made me angry at their extreme meanness but then I consider and bear with it. But every person is not under this condemnation, at least to an unqualified extent. Some few have helped us among whom I may name Mr. Dawson, who boarded us for a few days, Mr. Mills, who has several times sent us money and twice some food. Also, with Mr. McCarthy, has assumed the responsibility of paying for the printing of my second Reply to Mr. Richards. Mr. Brown, and his father-in-law Mr. Crow has shown us considerable kindness. A Mr. Thomas also has several times given us a rupee. Others have given a little at different times, but all that in this way has been given would have done but little in sustaining the Cause, had not the Lord raised up for us a friend in Captain T. D. Scott.2

Captain Scott, it will be remembered, was going to be baptized into the Church when he returned to Madras from Calcutta. It was a real disappointment for Ballantyne and the others to discover, when Scott returned, that his feelings

1Ibid.  2Sonne, pp. 135-36.
toward the Church had cooled considerably.

The brethren were sad to see the change that had come over Captain Scott, but they were even more saddened when two of the native members, Charles and Williams,¹ left the Church. The Elders had planned to build the Madras Branch around these two men.

But even with all of these disappointments the brethren did manage to baptize a few people. In all, the Madras branch of the East India Mission produced eleven persons who joined the Church. Among these people were John McCarthy, a member of the Revenue Board and a former Baptist minister and his wife. There was also Samuel Pascal, a Protestant missionary among the natives.²

As they went about their missionary work, the Elders were somewhat amazed when they observed Hindu festivals. Elder Ballantyne recorded in his journal the proceedings of a great festival. He was not at all impressed by the pomp and ceremony of the priests as they carried on their ritual and incantations; he felt that the great images and gawdy displays of the ceremony were nothing but a cheap means of gaining the attention of the untutored minds of the poor natives. Ballantyne felt that the people had been held by gross error for many generations. He said that the Hindu priests were a filthy, black, ignorant looking class of men, whose faces and bodies are generally disfigured with blotches of paint and chains of beads hanging round their necks,

¹Charles and William were Anglicized names given the natives. This seems to have been a common practice.

²Sonne, p. 137.
and are generally more degraded in their appearance than their followers.

Generation after generation have been so long sunk in this trifling and debasing idolatry that they have but little stable relish for sound religious instruction. Anything that is externally attractive is more greedily followed after. . . . The Latter-day Saints, having neither pomp and show, nor worldly riches to confer have less influence than others.1

Ballantyne was convinced that the Indians were suffering spiritually, but he also realized that it was because of their poor economic conditions. He believed that if he could benefit the temporal conditions of the natives, it would be much easier for him to also help them spiritually.2

When Elders Ballantyne and Skelton had been in Madras for just about a year, circumstances took a turn for the worse. One of the members, Samuel Pascal, who had been considered a very good convert, fell away because of the pressures exerted upon him from the outside. Also it was necessary for Ballantyne and Skelton to discipline Robert Owens for continued disobedience.3

The Madras mission was given an even greater blow when Elder Ballantyne's health gave way and he was no longer able to work.4

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1Ibid., p. 140.  
2Ibid.  
3Robert Owens was a problem to the rest of the American missionaries from the time they reached San Francisco. He told the others that they were treating him unfairly and unkindly. On the voyage he was very cool toward the brethren and was not willing to cooperate with them. (Musser, Jour. II, p. 38) When the group arrived in Calcutta, Owens continued to cause problems and was disfellowshipped for a short time. He soon manifested a repentant attitude, however, and was reinstated. Later he was sent to Madras, where he labored for some time and then had disagreements with Elder Ballantyne. (Musser Jour. II, pp. 62-64, 66, 67, 68.)  
4Letter from Skelton to Musser, May 17, 1854. Original in
He had been losing his appetite for some time, and, because of his diet of bread and water, had lost most of his strength. Fever, kidney pains, muscular aches, and obstructed breathing due to congested lungs left him too weak to even speak. John Mills, who was a doctor, told Ballantyne that he must leave India as soon as possible. President Jones was notified of Ballantyne's condition, and Ballantyne was told to return home. Jones and the rest of the missionaries had great respect for him and were sad to see him go.¹

Elder Richard Ballantyne closed his mission in India on the 25th of July, one year and a day from when he arrived in Madras. He sailed for England on board the ship Royal Thistle.² It is interesting that Robert Owens sailed for Australia on this same date, on his way home to Salt Lake Valley.

Robert Skelton stayed on in Madras and the land round about. At the time of Ballantyne's and Owen's departure, it was Skelton's intention to travel inland, working with some cantonments and "proving the natives." He was going to work with a man whom he had baptized and ordained.³

¹M. S., Vol XVI, pp. 650-51.
²Church Chronology, p. 51
CHAPTER VII

THE MISSION TO BURMA

In August of 1852, Matthew McCune, an Elder in the Church, was sent to Rangoon, Burma, as a soldier in the British Army. Elder McCune traveled with a man named William Adams, who was also a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and held the office of Teacher in the priesthood. These two men arrived in Rangoon on the seventeenth of August. Because they were devoted to their religious beliefs, they were eager to teach Mormonism to the other members of their military unit. They decided to hold lecture meetings each week on Tuesday and Thursday evenings. The first lecture was held on August 23, and twenty people attended. The brethren were delighted; they looked forward to future meetings and hoped some of the people in attendance would become converted.

They did not limit themselves to the Tuesday and Thursday meetings, but also held regular Sunday meetings and distributed tracts and literature during their off-duty hours. They kept themselves busy trying to make conditions more conducive for teaching the Gospel. The two men held their first lecture meeting in McCune's tent, but soon were able to arrange for a Burmese house in which to live and teach.
At first they devoted most of their energy to teaching military personnel but soon became interested in the indigenous people. Elder McCune felt that the Gospel should be preached to all people, but he knew that he could not teach the Burmese without a knowledge of their language. He therefore made arrangements with a native teacher and started learning the Burmese language. McCune also hoped the Gospel could soon be preached to a group of hill people called the Karens. He reported that the Karens were

a people held in great bondage by the Burmese; but who seem to be prepared for the Gospel, having never been given up to idolatry, though surrounded with it on all sides. They have amongst them many principles of truth, handed down from father to son, in their traditions; and are worshippers of God.

McCune's desire that the Karens should be taught the Gospel was later fulfilled but without the success that he expected.

From August of 1852 until January of 1853, McCune and Adams worked very diligently at teaching the Gospel. They found that the excellent attendance at their first lecture did not prove to be a good forecast of things to come, and they were soon happy to have any investigators, no matter how small the number. They placed hand bills and announcements in public places but found their signs torn down and their hand-bills destroyed. Many of their investigators stopped meeting with them because of persecution and criticism. Nevertheless, by January of 1853, eight soldiers had been converted and baptized into the Church.

1M. S., Vol. XV, p. 44.
One problem that arose was that of not having books and information to give to investigators and converts. McCune wrote to Calcutta and requested copies of the Book of Mormon and other literature but it was slow in coming. This same problem arose from time to time in other parts of the mission. It grew out of the fact that the cost of sending books from England and the time it took in sailing from one point to another, were expensive and time-consuming.

Elder McCune was transferred by his military superiors from Rangoon to Martaban in late 1852, and by the first part of 1853, he was scheduled to move into the field of combat. He was a supply sergeant and had to move with his outfit.\footnote{Ibid., p. 53.}

From January to August of 1853, McCune had moved into the field and was not able to write about his doings until he returned to Rangoon in August. When he did return, he reported his work as a missionary while in the field with his company.

After his company left Martaban, it marched for six weeks through the Sitang Valley. During this time McCune was diligent in teaching the Gospel, but although he taught many people, he felt that most of them would not accept the Gospel because they were afraid of the criticism they would receive. Even though the obstacles were great, Elder McCune was able to convert one man while on the six-week trek.

At the end of the movement the "Martaban column"
stopped for two months at a town called Showaygheen. While there McCune was

fortunate enough to obtain use of a phonghee-house, that is, the house of the Buddhist priests, to live in, and I made a chapel of it, continuing our meetings for preaching, the same as on the march.

However, in a short time McCune was turned out of this place by the military authorities, on the pretext of their needing the lumber to build barracks for the troops. Elder McCune set up chapels three times, and he was told three times to leave. The following is his description of the third displacement:

I then obtained permission of the engineering officer to take possession of an image-house on the top of a hill, beside a pagoda. This house was filled at one end with large gilt images—the gods of the poor Burmese. This I walled in with mats, and I had a floor of wood put in it for me, by the kind engineer officer, and here I again commenced preaching the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. But I had not held possession more than a fortnight, when I was again warned to turn out, as the authorities required to build a magazine for powder round the pagoda, the wall of which magazine, they said, would have to run through my chapel. They commenced pulling down just sufficient of the roof to render the building uninhabitable, and then stopped. I moved into my tent, with the feeling deeply impressed on my mind that my work was done at Showaygheen.¹

During the time that McCune was able to hold meetings in the various houses in Showaygheen he converted and baptized two more men, but he was soon ordered to return to Rangoon and his "work was done at Showaygheen."

When he arrived at Rnagoon, he found the little branch there to be inactive. The persecution had been too great for the new convert who had been left in charge. He had

¹Ibid., p. 78
held meetings for a little while, but the pressure had become too great for him to carry on. McCune was, of course, disappointed to find affairs in this state, but he was soon given hope by the arrival of the two American missionaries, Elders Luddington and Savage.

It will be remembered that Elders Luddington and Savage had taken passage on the ship Fire Queen on the fifteenth of June. When the ship was three days into the Bay of Bengal, it started taking in water. The seas were very rough, and conditions seemed to indicate sure deaths for the three hundred passengers, but with great exertion on the part of the passengers and crew, the ship was able to sail back to Calcutta.

After a little over a month in dry-dock, the Fire Queen was once again ready to sail. The Elders had been very sick during this interval in Calcutta but were quite well by the twenty-ninth of July, the sailing date. On their second voyage aboard the Fire Queen, they sailed safely to Rangoon.¹

When Luddington and Savage arrived there, they started holding meetings at the same times that they had been held originally by McCune and Adams. The location of the meetings was changed, however, to a place within the military stockade, "near the great Shirah-dong Pagoda."² The meetings were well attended.

In a letter to President Richards in England, Elder

¹Musser, Jour. III, p. 13.
²M. S., Vol XVI, pp. 190-91.
Luddington told of the success he was having in preaching on the government wharf in Rangoon. He must have felt somewhat like Peter on the day of Pentecost, for he said that many nationalities were reached by the words he preached. He told of one meeting in which he spoke "to Burmese, Bengalese, Malays, Brahmins of different castes, Mussulmen, Armenians, Jews, and gentiles."¹ The main difference between Luddington and Peter was that Peter had the "gift of tongues."

Shortly after his arrival in Rangoon, Elder Luddington was made branch president. He acted in this capacity for a number of months until he decided to try to go on to Siam (present day Thailand).

Elder Savage apparently did not get along very well with Luddington and McCune. Sources do not reveal the exact differences that they had, but the effects of their disagreements have been recorded in the journal of Elder Musser. On October 16, 1853, Elder Musser transcribed part of a letter from Elder Savage. In brief, it said that when he had arrived in Rangoon, there was immediately a clash of personalities between him and Elder McCune. Savage felt that someone had written ahead and prejudiced McCune against him. In an effort to overcome the problem, Savage said that he had tried to get along with McCune but that everything he did seemed to make matters worse. Elder

¹Ibid.
Luddington took the side of Elder McCune and before long suggested that Savage should not partake of the sacrament with the rest of the branch. The next Sunday after this occurrence, Elder Luddington arose and said, according to Musser's journal, that it was his painful duty to propose that

Bro. Savage should be cut off from the Rangoon Branch, which was seconded by Bro. McCune, and carried unanimous, without ever asking me to say a single word in any way. A singular move tho' t I as there had not been any trial, nor even a charge.¹

Elder Savage wrote again a few weeks later and told the brethren in Calcutta that he would give a full oral report on everything that happened incident to this event when he met with all of them again. From all that can be ascertained from the historical records, this oral report was never written down, and thus we do not know what really happened in Rangoon.

On September 28, 1853, Elder Savage left Rangoon and went to Moulmein, across the Gulf of Martaban. He remained there for some months and spent a great part of his time attempting to learn the Burmese language.²

By January of 1854, Elder Luddington had been able, with the assistance of Elder McCune, to baptize two more soldiers into the Church. But the work was moving slowly, for in the year and a half that McCune had been in Rangoon, only ten persons had been brought into the Church. Because

¹Musser, Jour. III, pp. 81-84.
²Ibid.
of the lack of progress in Rangoon and because Luddington still had a desire to fulfill his mission call to Siam, he sailed from Rangoon for Singapore on February 3, 1854. For the next twenty-one days he sailed, once again, upon a "sinking ship," and arrived at Pulo Penang or Prince of Wales Island in late February. After a stay there of five days, during which Luddington preached the Gospel, he sailed once again, this time to Singapore. From there he took passage on a ship bound for Bangkok and after a thirteen day voyage, he arrived there on April 6, 1854. A few weeks later Luddington wrote to the Saints in England and reported: "I am following my calling at this time in the jungles of Siam, far from a civilized nation, and surrounded on the one hand by wild savages, and by wild beasts on the other."1

In Bangkok, Elder Luddington held meetings whenever possible. He held his first meeting at the home of Captain James Trail, the skipper of the ship in which Luddington sailed to Bangkok. This meeting took place on the evening of April 9. After hearing the words of Elder Luddington, the captain and his wife asked for baptism and were baptized into the Church that night. Captain Trail was a very kind man. For years he had carried the expense of a hospital for the native peoples, and he also supported other charitable causes.

Unfortunately, the remainder of Luddington's mission to Siam did not yield such rich rewards as the conversion

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1M. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 540-41.
of the Trail family. Captain Trail and his wife were, in fact, the only converts in Bangkok. Luddington, however, did have some experiences that were rather unusual. He called upon the Siamese Minister of Foreign Affairs and spent an hour with him. At the conclusion of the conversation the minister asked Elder Luddington whether the prophet of God would come to Bangkok. On another occasion Luddington was requested to write a letter to the king of Siam. Luddington related the incident as follows:

I have written a long letter to the king--To His Most Gracious Majesty Phrabat Somdet Pra Chom Klaw Chao yu hud, Sovereign of Laos, at his request. He being desirous to know something about the gold plates, I gave him a brief synopsis of the same. He is about fifty years old, and has a family of several hundred wives, and children without number. Luddington stayed in Bangkok for several months.

It will be remembered from Chapter IV that when Elder Willes returned from his trip up-country, he had decided to stay in Calcutta and work with President Jones. In March of 1854, Willes, who had by this time been given a free choice to stay in India or go home, decided to go to Rangoon and help Elder McCune, who was now working alone in that city. Elder Willes added a great deal of enthusiasm to the Burma mission during the six months he stayed there. According to Musser he was able to baptize twenty persons, and at the same time he opened a school to teach the English language. He used the money that he earned in teaching English to pay for his passage home to England.

\[1\]Tbid.
In August of 1854, when Elder Willes had been in Rangoon for six months, he wrote that the work had slowed down a great deal. At that time President Jones once again invited Willes to take his leave whenever he felt so inclined.\(^1\) Apparently the work had also slowed down to a standstill in Calcutta, for President Jones decided to go to Burma for a while. His trip there was admittedly at least in part for the purpose of getting away from Calcutta. He left there on the eighteenth of August and when he arrived in Rangoon found a "flourishing branch under the direction of Elders Willes and McCune. President Jones worked with the Elders in Rangoon for a few days and then sailed across the Gulf of Martaban to Moulmein to see Elder Savage. Savage had by this time been in Moulmein for about a year and had devoted his efforts to the native people. He was becoming quite fluent in the Burmese language; however, he had not made any conversions to the Church. Because he felt that Savage could be helpful to him, Elder Jones took him back to Rangoon.

Jones had gone to Burma for three reasons, one of which has already been mentioned, that of desiring to get away from Calcutta. He was also interested in supervising the Rangoon Branch and seeing whether he could give the Elders encouragement in their work there. His third reason was to visit a people that have been mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Karens. After returning to Rangoon from Moulmein, Elder Jones stated:

\(^1\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 650.}\)
We then began to make preparations for our trip amongst the Karens. We tried to get some conveyance by land, but soon learned that in consequence of the incessant rains that prevail here six months of the year, an overland trip was no way practicable, having to cross mullahs (ravines), and low strips of land which were in all probability inundated. As a last resort, we came to the conclusion to hire a boat which we did for four English shillings per day. We then provided ourselves with the needful for the campaign, and set off buoyant with desires and anticipations that we should find a people that would receive our testimony. The first night set us far beyond the reach of the European population, in the midst of the swarming multitudes that inhabit this country. That night we stopped in a Karen village, which we reached some time after nightfall, in not a very agreeable condition, for I had the misfortune just before night to get an overturn, by which I was enabled to judge correctly the depth of the water, which I found to be several feet. We, however, made the best of it for the night, and by morning my clothes were partly dry. But with the daylight came a strange and magic view, to American eyes—a whole community of villages upon posts from six to ten feet above the water. They looked like the inhabitants of Neptune, that had just emerged from the watery element. An old adage came to mind with much force, which was, that "one half of the world do not know how the other half live." This is literally true.

The whole country, for miles around, is submerged in water from two to five feet, in depth, though at the superficial view it presents quite a different appearance. Here is a kind of coarse cane grass and water weed, that grow up from the earth, and float upon the surface of the water until they have formed a body, in some places a foot in thickness. Upon this is a kind of short grass growing, which gives it the appearance of one continuous plain. All through this are channels in which the people travel with their boats. These channels are to the Karens what public roads are to us—a thoroughfare of business, boats going to and from market.

This district of the country is settled principally by Karens, who have come down from the hills for the purpose of raising rice, to which it is peculiarly adapted, being some thirty miles in width; its length I did not learn. Every few miles are villages, with from fifteen to thirty houses in each, and with sometimes two and three families in a house, besides 1 hogs, dogs, and fowls, living upon the same platform.

1M. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 92-94.
Elder Jones was interested in the way the Karen people lived, but he was most concerned with their religious views. He had a desire to convert this people and hoped that the reports about them to the effect that the Karens had a belief in God that was very similar to his would prove to be true. Jones reported the religious beliefs of the Karens in this way:

In their religious views we did not find the people as represented. They do not worship the "Great Spirit," as the missionaries have stated. Very many of them are Buddhists, and those who are not do not worship anything—they have no correct idea of God at all. Brother Savage told them who we were, and the nature of our message. It was a new train of thought, and such a burst of new ideas upon their contracted minds, that they could not comprehend it at all. They will not understand that we know anything of the God whom we worship, only in the same manner that they do—that is, by some fabulous legend or tradition like their own. They know nothing of the past, only by tradition; which forms the leading feature in their character, and I think it is more firmly reveted upon their minds than any other people's in the world; in fact all Asiatics partake more or less of this spirit, it is interwoven with their very existence, and it is almost a thing impossible to make any inroad upon them. They are indeed a strange sect, and it is like commencing with the raw material to do anything with them, for they must be remodeled throughout, and there seems so little to commence upon that it is difficult to begin the work of creation.¹

Elders Jones and Savage traveled from village to village but found the Karen people to be uniform in their beliefs and reactions to the Gospel. Although they were disappointed by their lack of success, the Elders still felt that the Burmese and Karen people were the finest Asiatics they had worked with.²

¹Ibid.
They returned to Rangoon and Jones then returned to Calcutta. Elder Savage, who was working on the translation of *The Vision of Joseph Smith* into the Burmese language, decided to stay in Rangoon for a while longer.

It will be remembered that when Elder Jones arrived in Burma, Elder Willes was still there but was becoming very discouraged with the work. Because Elder Jones had, on his arrival in Rangoon, told Elder Willes that he was free to return home whenever he desired, Willes made arrangements and sailed on a ship that was bound for Pulo Penang. From there Willes had planned to find a ship that was going to the west coast of America, but in this he was not successful. A kind captain then gave him the opportunity to go to Singapore. He later found that he had been offered passage "that he might assist him in defending them from the piratical Malays, who infest the Straits of Malacca."¹ Fortunately there was not an attack from the Malays, and Willes enjoyed a journey of six days to Singapore.

When he reached Singapore, he was surprised to find Elder Luddington there. Luddington had been working in Bangkok, but was "about the same as mobbed out."² When Elder Willes arrived in Singapore, Elder Luddington had been there almost a month. Luddington wrote the following about their meeting: "Brother Willes spent four days with me, which was like balm to a wounded spirit, or water to

¹M. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 189-90.
²Ibid., p. 94.
a thirsty man. When I was hungry, he took me to the bazaar, and bought me a loaf of bread and a bowl of soup with a few vegetables and China fixings."¹ Willes mentioned in a letter to Franklin D. Richards that Elder Luddington was very discouraged.² Even though the Elders would have preferred staying together for a little longer, Willes made arrangements to sail to Liverpool, England, on the ship Gazelle, and so they parted on October 14, 1854. Willes arrived in England four and a half months later. His voyage had been a smooth one, and the captain and crew had treated them kindly.

Luddington soon sailed from Singapore, but his voyage was much less pleasant than Willes's had been. On December 10, 1854, Elder Luddington wrote a letter to President Richards, from Hong Kong, in which he told of his experiences at sea. The account is interesting and significant enough to warrant a long quotation:

I arrived in this place on the morning of the first instant, after a long and sickening voyage of 35 days from the Straits of Malacca, or Singapore. We put in here in distress. I was a passenger on board the Prince Woronzoff from Edinburgh, Scotland, Captain Harris. This unfortunate brig is three years old, clipper built, and as fine a vessel as sails the ocean.

On the ninth day out, 15 miles to the westward of Paliwon Island. . . just before dawn of day, on Saturday the 4th of November, in a heavy fog and rain, our clipper struck with great violence on a coral reef, or sunken rock. The captain ordered port helm, and all on board was as silent as the charnel house of death. We struck three or four times on those rough and pointed rocks, and our hopes were almost gone, and death stared us in the

¹Ibid., p. 141. ²Ibid., p. 190.
face; but thank the Lord, He sent to our relief an unusually large wave, which carried us over the rock into deep water. We manned the pumps, and sounded the water in the hold, and found that the vessel made one inch of water every three minutes, or 20 inches per hour. Our spirits groaned within us. It was a time of deepest distress. I felt that my mission had been according to the will of heaven, and I could not but ask, "Father, must I leave my body here?" But I felt, "Thy will, 0 Lord, be done."

I had a little hope that we might save ourselves in our boats, but to our terror the captain informed us that the inhabitants of Paliwon Island were all cannibals. The island is not far from Borneo, where live probably the most cruel race of beings on the earth, being both land and sea pirates.

Our gallant brig was bound for Shanghai, and the captain was determined to run her into that port, if possible to save expense, otherwise we might have put into Manilla, which would have been far better.

Here commenced the epoch--trouble, sorrow, sickness, pain, vituperation, and abuse. I was sick and had to stand in the water at the brake of the pump morning and night, to keep us afloat, and save our lives, with however little hopes. We were for 15 days in a gale of wind, almost a tiffon. Our sails were torn to ribands and new ones bent. Our yards were carried away, the rigging was chafed and much injured, and we were in momentary expectation of seeing the masts go by the board. The ring-bolts were torn from the decks, and spars, boats, and lumber were adrift, being torn from their fastenings. Sometimes we carried on mountain waves, and then again thrust down into the great abyss of waters, in the troughs of the sea, expecting at times to be buried, as the vessel often shipped seas which swept the decks fore and aft. I was sick, and my body was borne down with pain from costiveness and the general disorganized state of my system.

All this was but trifling. Said the captain, "Ah! you are the Judas, your religion is of the devil, you ought to be put to death, and if Jesus was now on the earth, you would put him to death."

"No," I replied, "we are his friends, and not his enemies." The persecution came hotter and hotter. After reading Elder Spencer's letters, the captain said that he was a liar, for he condemned everybody and everything but his own order. I told the captain that the man, kingdom, or nation that fought against the Saints of Latter-days, should go backward and not forward, should sink and not swim.

We passed Formosa Island two days out in the Pacific Ocean. The leak increased, and caused alarm, and we turned our course and stood for Amoy. The storm came on again, accompanied with thunder and lightning
the clouds gathered blackness, the elements became furious, and the seas again swept our decks; we then put into Hong Kong. After running within three days' sail of Shanghai, we were driven back 700 miles to the very place where I wanted to land 35 days before.

When Elder Luddington landed in Hong Kong he spent a few days recovering from his seasickness and then started looking for a free passage to California. In mid-December he was able to arrange to sail on the ship Lucas, for San Francisco, and he embarked shortly after.

In Rangoon, Elder Savage continued to preach the Gospel until late in 1855; then he traveled to Calcutta, and from there he embarked for Boston. Elder McCune and his family remained in Rangoon until 1856, when he was discharged from the army.

\[1\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 140-141}\]
\[2\text{Ibid.}, \text{Vol. XVIII, p. 143}\]
CHAPTER VIII

THE MISSION TO WESTERN INDIA

On January 2, 1854, Elders Truman Leonard and Amos M. Musser sailed from Calcutta, bound for Bombay. They were on the ship Niobe and were working as sailors to help pay for their fare. They had a pleasant voyage to Bombay but were a little annoyed by the great length of time the trip took. They had sailed into a calm along the Malabar Coast, and because of the slow movement of the vessel, they did not reach Bombay until February 9, 1854, forty days after leaving Calcutta.

When they disembarked they were met by Brother D. M. Davis, who took them to his home. There they were introduced to Elder Hugh Findlay, who was sick in bed with a fever. Elder Musser was impressed with Findlay and commented in his journal: "Brother Findlay, I think, is a very good man, and has tried to do the best he could. . . ."¹ Findlay had worn himself out, but was being nursed back to health by the Davis's. With the exception of the missionaries, Brother and Sister Davis were the only Mormons in Bombay.

Shortly after their arrival Musser and Leonard were asked to go to Karachi by Hugh Findlay who acted as president

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¹Musser, Jour. IV, p. 29.
of that part of the mission. He felt that there was no point in doing more work in Bombay. From the time that the army had been transferred to Aden, Findlay had not been able to accomplish anything. He planned to leave Bombay soon and go south-east about three hundred miles to the city of Belgaum. Findlay had a desire to teach the native people there in their own language, Maratha, which he had learned.

Besides Hugh Findlay and Leonard and Musser, there was one other missionary in the Bombay area, Allan Findlay, who was working at Poona. He was notified of the arrival of Musser and Leonard, but he remained in Poona because he still had hopes of success there.¹

Before Elders Musser and Leonard left Calcutta on their way to Bombay, they were given a letter of recommendation from a friend. When in Bombay, they decided to go to Karachi, which is nine hundred miles northeast of Bombay along the coast of the Arabian Sea. They felt that they could use some help in arranging their passage; therefore, they went to see Mr. H. St. Armour, whom they were referred to. He treated them kindly and helped them obtain passage on a steamship, the Bombay, which was leaving that afternoon. Fare for the voyage was usually thirty rupees per person, but the captain lowered it to twenty-four rupees for the pair of Elders. Elder Musser sold his watch for twenty-five rupees, and they went on board. The Bombay sailed on the twenty-second of February, 1854, and arrived in Karachi five days later.²

¹Ibid., pp. 35-38. ²Ibid.
The morning following their arrival in port, the Elders walked seven miles into town and looked for a room to stay in. After walking around the city for quite some time, they met a man named Joseph M. Anderson, who offered them a room that was connected onto his house. It was very small, six by twelve feet, and had a dirt floor, but it was offered to them free of charge, and they were glad to have it. They walked back to the port (a total distance of eighteen miles for the day,) and stayed on the steamer that night.

While walking along the roads in and around Karachi that first day there, Elder Musser saw a number of camels. He was fascinated by them and wrote:

We passed quite a number of camels or dromedarians, which were quite a curiosity to me. They are the homeliest animal I ever did see, but very useful, setting upon the knees or laying on their abdomen while the load was being adjusted, and the rider on, and then up they will raise with a loud groan and trot off at a fine pace.1

The next morning, February 28, the two men went into Karachi to stay. When they arrived at Anderson's house, they found that their room had been cleaned and "a new coat of cow's excrement, reduced by water to a mortar, covered... the floor. This, they say, is an improvement on dirt floors in this country."2 When they had moved in they had little or no money, and so they started living on bread and water. This menu was to serve them for quite some time.

The Elders started meeting with military people almost as soon as they arrived in Karachi. They sold some copies of

1Ibid., p. 38. 2Ibid., p. 39.
the *Book of Mormon* and circulated many tracts. For a while there were a few people who seemed interested in their message; then affairs seemed to take a turn for the worse. Mr. and Mrs. Anderson moved from their home, and the Elders were forced to look for a new place in which to live and preach. On the twenty-first of March, they made arrangements to rent a house from a Parsee merchant. This place was much larger than their previous home, but also cost a great deal more.

Incidentally, the day following this move, Elder Musser decided to resume his study of the Hindustani language. He had put it aside for quite a while but was now determined to develop a mastery of it.

Then a second problem arose. On March 24, the brethren were visited by "one of the police." He had called by to get their names, which they gave him on paper. In the afternoon the following order was delivered to them:

*The attendance of Truman Leonard and Amos M. Musser is required at the police office immediately.*

(signed) Geo. E. Ashburner
Capt. &c. of Police

Bazaar and Police Office
24 March 1854

Elder Musser related the following:

On our arrival at the police office he was not in, keeping us waiting for over one hour for his return, after which he called us and on appearing he asked, "by what authority are you in camp." Before an explanation could be given, he ordered us out of the cantonments forthwith, refusing to give any satisfaction whatever concerning his stern and rigid orders, not letting us know what law (if any) we had transgressed, or wherein we had wronged in the least.

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1Musser, Jour. IV, p. 50.
so as to bring upon ourselves such cruel, uncourteous, and unkind treatment. He ordered Police to see that we were outside the cantonments immediately.\(^1\) They were escorted out of the cantonments and taken to a native village three miles away. There they rented a small room for two rupees a month and stayed for a time. Two days after their expulsion from the cantonment, the Elders wrote a letter to the camp commander, asking for a reprieve of the orders of Captain Ashburner. They received no reply.

It was not long before the local press picked up the story of the Elders' ejection from the camp. The papers also found the issue of polygamy to be newsworthy, and they put much into print against the Elders. Elder Musser spent a great deal of time writing answers to the criticisms that were printed against them, but he was not ever able to get his writings into print. On one occasion he was told by an editor to send in a reply to an anti-Mormon article, but even this reply was rejected, on the grounds that it was too long to print. Musser went to see the editor and told him that he would be glad to write a shorter article, but this offer was turned down.

The conditions in which the Elders lived were very bad. Musser and Leonard seldom had anything but bread and water to eat for the first few weeks they were in the native village. Later they were able to arrange to have a native woman do some cooking for them, but after this had been going on for a few weeks, the Elders started getting sick regularly and had severe cases of diarrhea. On one occasion they found "ten small bugs

\(^1\)Ibid.
and some rice worms" in their rice and curry.\(^1\) In addition to this the weather was growing steadily hotter as the seasons moved into summer. Karachi has long been noted for the great heat and dry conditions there. Moreover, the native city was not clean. In his journal Musser wrote:

> I went through the native part of the town before I found the place\([a hospital]\). Words are inadequate to describe the way and manner in which these Natives live—the filth &c. in their narrow lanes and in their huts. In fact I have seen Hog cotes in America which would be considered a palace by the side of some of these Native huts.\(^2\)

There were, however, two factors that made life bearable for the Elders. One was the kind way in which their native neighbors treated them. On several occasions food was brought to them. One of these events was recorded by Elder Musser:

> A native woman brot\([sic]\] us de Basin cha (2 cups of tea). When we very respectfully declined drinking and told her we did not make a practice of using it, she could talk a little English and offered us some fish &c. But having just bought some bread we thanked her very kindly for her kindness. The natives are very hospitable to Europeans who will converse with and use familiarity, and not consider them beneath their notice. They are very kind one to another also.\(^3\)

Another circumstance that gave the two men some hope for the future was that of having two very good investigators, who were in all likelihood going to join the Church. These men were named Mr. Thomas Hines and Mr. Thomas Williard. They were devoted to the study of the Gospel and were helpful to the Elders by giving them financial support from time to time.\(^4\)

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1Musser, Jour. IV, p. 139.  
2Ibid., p. 55.  
3Ibid.  
4Ibid., pp. 78-80.
On May 17, the Elders moved to a new location. They had been paying two rupees a month, but now they were going to pay only one. Their new room was nine by twelve feet. Two days following their move a native came to see them with two chairs and a table. They were very grateful for this kindness, for it seemed a luxury to them after having no chairs at all. Their benefactor, a man named Noorbhoy Abronpee, asked Musser to teach him to read and write English. Elder Musser gave him two lessons and then, pondering his actions, wrote:

This I believe is the best course an Elder can pursue in a country where the people are so unconcerned for the truth, i.e., to instruct a native or two, an hour or two each day for his food and washing &c, until the way is opened for the better. The balance of the day he can spend in instructing, preaching &c, to the people or studying languages as the case requires.¹

In June a number of articles appeared in the local papers concerning the evils of Mormonism. The Elders once again attempted to get a reply in print but were not successful. They did, however, develop a scheme that may well have worked. While Musser was sitting at his study of Hindustani, this thought entered his mind:

It struck me very forcibly [sic] that as the Editors of the "Kossid" and "Sindian" were at "loggerheads" with one another that perhaps the latter would insert our reply to the article "Mormonism and Polygamy" which the "Kossid" circulated and afterwards refused to insert our reply.²

Consequently, Elder Musser wrote to the editor of the Sindian and attempted to get a reply published. Unfor-

¹Musser, Jour. IV, pp. 74-75. ²Ibid., p. 127.
tunately the editor was more concerned with the fact that he could be called a sympathizer with the Mormons than the possible competition that such an article would bring. The Elders were disappointed but felt that their attempt had been worth the time they spent at it.

In July a new camp commander was appointed, a man by the name of Parr. Feeling that they would perhaps be listened to if a new petition were entered, the Elders wrote a lengthy letter to Brigadier General Parr. In their letter they explained the circumstances of their expulsion from the cantonments. They also made reference to the fact that Allan Findlay was allowed to preach on the cantonments at Poona. They sent the letter and waited for a reply. The reply, however, was not quick in coming. Leonard and Musser waited about twenty days and then on August 10, wrote another letter, re-explaining their position. An answer came from Brigadier Parr quite quickly this time. However, the reply was not helpful to the missionary cause. It read in part as follows:

I would on no account whatever permit you to come within the limits of the cantonments. 
No reprobation of your pestilent doctrines that I have seen exceeds the condemnation I think they deserve. 
I hope you are not willingly and knowingly propagating falsehood and deceit, but that you are laboring under a delusion. I pray that this might be removed, and that you may return to the way of truth and see your errors, and repent and obtain pardon.¹

Elder Musser commented thus:

¹Letter from Brigadier Parr to A. M. Musser, August 12, 1852, in the G. M. R. collection. Also Musser, Jour. IV, p. 144.
He knows about as much concerning our "pestalant doctrines" as the Jews did about our Savior and His principles. . . . 1

Several days following this rebuke, the Elders were lifted in their spirits by the baptism of Thomas Williard. The Elders had hopes of Williard's becoming a good member of the Church. The son of an English father and a native mother, he was poor, but humble and honest. 2

On August 21, Leonard and Musser decided that one of them should go to Hyderabad and Kotri and see whether anything could be done with the people there. These two cities are located on the Indus River, about 120 miles from Karachi by land. It was decided that Elder Leonard would go. The following day, Thomas Hines visited them and gave 4½ rupees to Elder Leonard to help pay for his passage to Kotri. Hines then presented himself for baptism and later that day was baptized and confirmed a member of the Church. Brother Hines, an Irishman, was a soldier in the British Army. After his baptism, Hines told the Elders that he believed the Gospel the first time he met them. He had held back in joining because his friends had "made light" of polygamy and other principles of the Gospel. 3

The following day, August 23, Elder Leonard went on board the steamer Chenab, which was to sail for Kotri the next morning. 4

After Leonard left for Kotri, Musser continued in trying to obtain permission to preach on the cantonments at

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1Musser, Jour. IV, p. 144
2Ibid., p. 143.
3Ibid., p. 145.
4Ibid.
Karachi. In late August, he wrote a letter to "His Honor Major General Henry Somerset," commander of the Sind division of the British Army. General Somerset, however, saw no reason to over-rule the decision of his inferior, Brigadier General Parr, and so in this attempt Musser failed. ¹

In late September Elder Musser decided that he would try to obtain a large tent and pitch it at the gate of the camp. He wrote to an acquaintance of his by the name of Dinshaw and asked for his help. Dinshaw, a Parsee, had been kind to Musser. In his letter, Musser asked for any old tent, just so it was large, would keep out the elements, and was "cheap." ² While Musser was waiting for a reply from Dinshaw, he made arrangements to move into another room fifteen feet square, that was at Garra Kotta and much closer to the cantonments. ³ After he had been there for eight days, on October 10, he wrote a letter to Mr. Amos, chief clerk for the India Footilla for Karachi, asking for employment as a clerk or amanuensis. He explained his circumstances and told Mr. Amos that he would be happy to work for three or four hours a day, and thus earn enough money to take care of his expenses. ⁴ His new room was costing him two rupees a month, and in addition to this he would be needing some money to pay for the tent he had requested, and for the benches to go in it. Musser soon came to the conclusion, after writing a second letter to Dinshaw, that a tent was not forthcoming.

but he decided that he would still need money to furnish his room for meetings. Unfortunately, Elder Musser's request for employment was not granted. Mr. Amos, however, was kind in his return letter, stating that there was not a job open at the time.1

Elder Musser carried on a daily routine of preaching to anyone that would listen. He also regularly disregarded the orders of Brigadier General Parr and the police captain, and went into camp under cover of darkness—Musser was young and apparently adventurous. Musser's diet did not improve a great deal; it was made up of foods that were brought to him by the native people whom he had befriended. For a while an old lady whom Musser called "my old native nanee (grandmother)," brought food to him almost every day. She could not speak English, nor could she speak Hindustani, for she was from another part of the country, but she and Musser communicated with their gestures and expressions, and Musser was grateful for her kindness.2 Besides preaching and visiting, Musser also spent part of each day studying Hindustani, and by the first week in November, he completed reading the New Testament in that language.

After being turned down by Mr. Amos, Elder Musser wrote to other "Christians" and asked for work. Then on November 17, he wrote to Mr. Mr. R. Taback of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company. Mr. Taback asked him to come to his office because he was impressed with Musser's hand-

1Ibid., p. 164. 2Ibid., p. 167.
writing. The two men talked for a while, and it was decided that Musser would go to work for thirty-five rupees a month. Taback gave Musser ten rupees in advance. Elder Musser was to report for work at ten o'clock each morning except Sunday, and stay until four. These hours were very good because they allowed him time in the morning and evening to teach the Gospel. All Europeans were working during these hours anyhow, and were not available to be taught. Musser's intentions in thus going to work were only to build up the Kingdom of God: he felt that he could do a more adequate work in preaching if he had some financial help.\footnote{Ibid., p. 173} Conditions did improve, for shortly after he started working, Musser had some butter with his bread, "the first I have tasted for months."\footnote{Ibid., Vol. V, p. 6.}

On the twenty-fourth of November, he received a letter from Elder Leonard, informing him that Elder Woolley had sailed for home on November 1.

On December 15, Elder Musser called on Brigadier General Wilson, who had replaced Brigadier General Parr as commander of Camp Karachi. Musser's purpose in going was the same as it had been ever since he had been expelled from the camp some months before. General Wilson said that he would have to refer the request to the head chaplain, Rev. Trywhite, and so Elder Musser wrote to him and asked for permission to preach. Rev. Trywhite sent the following reply:

\begin{flushright}
Sir:

It appears by your letter received yesterday that
\end{flushright}
before he will sanction what I refuse to join you in calling religious meetings within the cantonment's limits, the General requires my approbation of the scheme. Such approbation I will never give. Among persons speaking the English language, as a rule, I approve of no public teachings on the matter of revelation, except by men, who, in the first place, have been consecrated to act by some Anglican Bishop either of the British Empire or of the United States of America, and who, in the second place, possess the license of the Bishop of the diocese where they teach. This general rule I would certainly not allow to be infringed in your case at Karachi. You describe yourself as an Elder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; but this is no branch of the Church of Christ. This is some self-constituted body, and its members are self-constituted saints; deceivers or deceived or both. To permit one of your saints to preach within the limits of my charge would be for a sheep dog to admit a wolf into the fold.

    (signed) I am your obedient servant

R. E. Trywhite
Senior Chaplain at Karachi

After Elder Musser returned to Utah from his mission to India, he recalled the letter above and wrote:

I saw at a glance that this charming epistle afforded me a splendid opportunity to administer a rebuke which I felt he richly deserved. It may be said that my reply was a little too robust, but when it is remembered that at the time I was living on black bread and water; the first I was forced to secure from the cantonment after nightfall, running the risk of police detection and imprisonment, and that in every possible manner these Pharisees employed every device and intrigue known to the craft, to hedge up my way, even going so far as to send a beautiful Cyprian to my room to destroy me, and a blind Hindoo to be restored to sight; I felt that I would be wholly justified in grilling this Anglo-Indian hypocrite to a finish.

Sir:

Referring to your snappy answer to my respectful note to General Wilson, it is very kind of you to attempt a description of the people and Church I have the honor of representing in this distant land, but

whom you seem to know as little about, as you appear to be ignorant, inferentially at least of the origin and headship of your own church, whose local lambs you seem to be anxious to fortify against the truths of the Gospel as taught by myself and brethren. Your self-confessed personal relation to your church as a "sheep dog" not a shepherd or flockmaster, is at least suggestive of mutton-chops and fleece-taking, and in view of your arbitrary treatment in barring me out of the cantonment, it inspires the thought that you are also "a dog in the manger," and one of the sort of dogs, no doubt, Jesus excoriates in the following blister:

"Woe unto ye Scribes and Pharisees, Hyprocrites! for you neither go in yourselves, neither suffer ye them that are entering to go in." And as Isaiah puts it, "his watchmen are blind, dumb and greedy dogs, shepherds that cannot understand, which can never have enough. They all look to their own way, every one for his gain from his quarter."

The contemptible efforts of yourself and con-
feres, Parsons, Seal, Matchett, and others, to hedge up my way here in Karachi, is in exact fulfillment of these trenchant references by the Great Master to your ancient prototypes, the Pharisees. . . I will not sub-
scribe myself "your obedient servant," especially in the empty manner you closed your letter to me, until you repent of your sins and apply for baptism to one divinely authorized to immerse you. Then I will be glad to serve you and other self-confessed sinners who may be induced to follow your wholesome example.

Respectfully,

Amos M. Musser

Elder Musser was never granted permission to preach in the cantonment at Karachi.

Although he failed to gain entrance to Camp Karachi, failed to arrange for a tent in which to hold meetings, and failed to obtain benches to place in his room, Elder Musser did not stop trying to find a way to preach the Gospel to the Europeans. Only ten days after the above-mentioned incident with Rev. Trywhite, Musser was formulating plans for a meeting hall. On January 3, 1855, he went to see

\[Letter\ from\ A.\ M.\ Musser\ to\ Rev.\ Trywhite,\ n.\ d.,\ in\ the\ G.\ M.\ R.\ collection.\]
Captain J. B. Dunsterville, a friend, concerning a piece of property on which to build a chapel. A few days later Dunsterville notified Musser that the land would be given to him, and his only obligation would be to pay a yearly tax of one rupee. The property was sixty-five by sixty-five feet.\(^1\) The following day Musser closed an agreement with a builder for the construction of the chapel. Musser wrote in his journal:

This morning I closed the bargain for a house, with a Musulman by the name of Dawood Sair Mohumad. The house is to be 20 by 26 feet in size, one story, 10 feet high. (The sides from the foundation to the roof, and the ends 15 feet high.) The whole roof is to be properly covered with good white tile. There is to be 3 doors and 4 windows in the house. The latter with shutters on the outside, and the walls over the doors and windows are to be arching. The walls are to be made of good dried brick, and are to be 1 1/2 foot thick, with a good foundation and the whole will be plastered out and inside and then whitewashed. He is to complete the whole, even to a new mat by the first of Feb./55, for the sum of rupees one-hundred, for every day after the above specified time, he forfeits one rupee. (Hundred rupees is exactly $48.)\(^2\)

At about the same time that Musser started his chapel, he received word that President Jones and Elder Fotheringham were planning to sail from Calcutta for California just as soon as possible. Then, on the twenty-fifth of January, he received a letter from Hugh Findlay, informing him that Findlay was intending to leave Belgaum, where he had been laboring, return to Bombay, and then go to California and "the valley" as soon as the way was opened.

\(^1\)Musser, Jour. V., pp. 11-12.  
\(^2\)Ibid., p. 12.
Elder Hugh Findlay's mission.—Findlay, it will be remembered, had decided to go to Belgaum at the same time that Musser and Leonard went to Karachi. Findlay had traveled a great deal since that time. On March 27, 1854, he had left Bombay on board a patamar (small native craft) and had sailed south, skirted along the Portuguese territory and landed at Vengurla. He then traveled inland about eighty miles to the city of Belgaum. The trip was made by "bullock-bandy," over rough and uneven roads but through beautiful country.¹

When Findlay arrived at Belgaum, he wanted to avoid the military as much as possible; however, he was not able to find a place to stay in the village. He went to the cantonment and there he stayed in a small hut that was full of holes in the roof and had no windows. He was soon asked by the police to account for himself, because his abode was reserved for peddlers. However, much to his surprise, he was treated very kindly by the local commander, General Wilson, and was invited to stay in a place that the General had arranged for him. He was also given permission to preach in the cantonment.

Findlay had supposed that when he was in the interior of the country that he would find the native people less corrupt and more willing to listen to his message. But he stated in a letter to Franklin D. Richards that "their superstitions are more unbroken, and as a consequence, a

¹M. S., Vol. XVI, p. 701.
greater amount of ignorance prevails."

Findlay went on to report that

Coupled with a strong traditional superstition, there is a preponderating avaricious principle wound up in all the calculations and movements of this people, that ill suits a Gospel requiring the sacrifice of all things, which is literally requisite in their case. Upon a profession of Christianity the parental roof no longer shelters the delinquent; the affectionate father or mother knows him no more; and, if married, the wife of his bosom may be, by consent of law, torn from him, and again adopted into her father's family; even public opinion denies him former associations common to all, in truth, his kindred, caste, and the Hindoo law declare him virtually dead.  

Findlay goes on to say that because of these reasons the Protestants started helping their converts when they left their castes. But he also says that they, as Mormon missionaries had not found a single instance where they could baptize one of the Protestant converts without paying him more than the previous church was doing, and this practice, of course, they refused to adopt.

By the second of July, Elder Findlay had baptized two men into the Church. He was hopeful of establishing a good sized branch at Belgaum; he had rented a bungalow for eight rupees a month and had furnished it with benches for holding meetings. He was paying for the room and the benches by teaching native scholars to read and write English.  

In a letter to F. D. Richards, written in late July, Elder Findlay expressed a positive attitude toward the work in Belgaum. But when he wrote to President Richards again

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1Ibid.

2Letter from Hugh Findlay to Amos M. Musser, July 2, 1854, in the G. M. R. collection.
in October he was much more pessimistic. The military, which
for a time seemed to be favorable to the missionary cause,
turned hostile. Findlay described what he believed was an
"inquisition." An order had been given by an adjutant to
search the entire cantonment and burn any Mormon books and
tracts (whether public or private property) found in the
barracks.

Several other disheartening incidents also occurred.
But even though opposition was carried on strongly against
him, Findlay had by October 22, 1854, baptized eighteen
people into the Church.\footnote{M. S., Vol. XVII, pp. 42-43.}

By January, Elder Findlay was completely discouraged
with the work in Belgaum and left that place on the thirteenth.
From there he planned to go to Bombay and on to Zion.\footnote{Letter from Hugh Findlay to Amos M. Musser, January 13, 1855, in the G. M. R. collection.}
On leaving Belgaum, Findlay made a trip through the Portu-
guese territory of which Goa the capital. He visited the
Governor-General and was promised safekeeping, but was told
that any preaching or leaving of literature would not be
tolerated. Goa and the territory around were "strictly
Catholic, viz.—Goa Catholic, as the bishop of that diocese
had turned pope supreme, disclaiming all affinity with that
of Rome."\footnote{M. S., Vol. XVII, p. 281.} A short time before, two English missionaries had
distributed some Protestant literature, and the government
had ordered it all to be burned. In short, the inquisition
was still in progress. Furthermore, Findlay felt the emotional atmosphere to be about the same as he had just turned his back on.¹

Elder Findlay made the following observation about the Hindu and Christian ways of life in Goa:

In Hindu families, I had seen the household idol, a Vishnu, or a Gunputte, according with the familie’s caste; and, on visiting a Goanese, who boasted himself of being "De Christo," I could find richly bedecked with flowers, Hindoo fashion, a St. Ann, the Virgin Mary, a St. Francis—whichever Saint the Church they attended might be dedicated to. The difference of the two systems seemed only in name, and the latter the more disgusting, associating as it does the name of the Savior with such heathenism.²

Findlay went on to describe what sounded like a typical Catholic cathedral. He found it "idolatrous." Upon witnessing a mass for a saintly martyr, Findlay wrote:

I could not perceive one whit of difference between the feelings of this people and the spirit that runs through their ceremonies, and those possessed by the admirers and worshippers of Siva, Rama, or Indra, and manifested in the rites and oblations of the Pagoda.³

After seeing the way in which the various Catholic orders conducted themselves in Goa, and particularly disliking the Jesuits, he obtained his passport and "with an easy conscience" made up his mind "to close accounts, for the present at least, with India."⁴

After Elder Findlay returned to Bombay and was preparing to sail for California, he wrote home to England and

¹Ibid.  ²Ibid., p. 282.  ³Ibid.  ⁴Ibid.
told President Richards that he was tired and sad. He had spent three years in India and he had been careful not to become discouraged. However, when other missionaries came to Bombay and reported their difficulties, it became clear to him that he and they were fighting a hopeless battle. As he put it, "I never dared let slip, though it had come to hoping against hope, till others followed and unmistakably proved their (the native and English) mental imbecility." He went on to express his views concerning the people and their possible salvation:

Not only have historians (Marshall's Epitome of Ancient History) intimated the Egyptian extraction of her Brahminical or priestly castes, but the sacred "bull" of the Hindus; their serpent adoration, worship of good and evil demons; their necromancy, in all its phases, the amalgamation of the animal with the human, as in their Gumputte and other Gods; the various animal forms ascribed by their "puranas" to the members of their trinity, as the incarnations of Brama, or the supreme mind; in fact, their aptitude to deify and worship almost any object in the heavens on earth, or under the earth--practices so strictly allied to Egyptian mythology, and so demonstrative of an impotent intellect, very strongly indicated their origin.

The reflection is, however, pleasing under this dark picture, that in the economy of God there is an appointed place even for such. When the children of the household require servants, this people may honor such a position; but celestial honors seem far beyond their reach. Were the Elders of Israel to visit them with high-sounding titles, and well-lined pockets, they would experience no difficulty in converting formally their thousands, who, from the lowest to the highest caste, would come becking and bowing as servants, yea even the "servant of servants," and feel most comfortable at home as such. Servility is in their very bones, whilst they have no perception of the exalting principles. And from the last remark neither the followers of Zoroaster nor the Arabian prophet may be exempted. It is a land of idols and of usury, and Mammon presides in every heart. I have

1Tbid.
no objections that future days shall tell a better tale of India, but the above are plain deductions from the experience of her present position.1

Even though Elder Findlay had arrived at such a definite conclusion, he had, during his years in India, tried to do something with the native people. He had studied their customs and their language and had published a sixteen-page tract in the Maratha language. He had done his best to derive examples from Indian traditions that could be applied in teaching a Mormon lesson. Findlay hoped that his tract would remain as a witness for the truth, as he understood it, after he left India.2

On the fifteenth of March, 1855, Hugh Findlay, D. M. Davis and his wife and child, and a Brother Tait (from Poona) and child sailed from Bombay on board the ship Mary Spencer for China, and from there they obtained passage to California.

During the time from January until March 1855, when Elder Findlay departed from India, Elder Musser had been working toward getting his chapel completed. The agreements that he had made with the Moslem builder were of no meaning, for by February 1, the contracted completion date, the chapel had not been started. Finally, on February 23, Musser was happy when the masons commenced work on the job. By the first week of March the little chapel was coming along well, but it was larger than he had agreed in the original contract, and was costing more. In April and May the work moved slowly. By June 2, Elder Musser was getting very discouraged with the

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1 Ibid.  
2 Ibid.
It is with deep and sore regret I am obliged to note that my chapel is not yet finished. The contractor is certainly a lying dog and a short time ago he decamped between two days, but now I hear that he is coming back. I could put him in jail, but I would have to pay his boarding during the time I kept him there. The security by the name of John Mahomed, is a poor man, else I should have him pay the damages. The doors, windows, and part of the tiles for the roof are yet lacking.

Three days later on June 5, Elder Leonard arrived in Karachi from Hyderabad to give some help. Finally on June 20, the chapel was sufficiently completed so that a meeting was held in it.

Elder Leonard's mission to Kotri and Hyderabad.—Elder Leonard had been in Kotri and Hyderabad for nearly a year. He departed from Karachi in late August of 1854. When he arrived in Kotri he wrote to Elder Musser as follows:

Dear Brother Musser,

Agreeable to promise I now improve the opportunity to address a few lines that you may know that I am in the enjoyment of tolerable health through the blessing of the Lord, and hope that you and the other brethren and friends enjoy the same.

I am at the house of Mr. Smith, who received me kindly, for which I feel thankful; where I arrived Tuesday the 22, being five days from the time we left. ...a distance by water of 230 miles, steamer running on during the day against a stiff current. The Indus resembles the Missouri in almost every particular. ...

Kotri is quite a small, but pretty place. The European inhabitants are of the higher class, with the exception of the sailors, who are a transient crowd and rather reckless. I think I shall go to Hyderabad and gain a footing if possible first leaving this place as a reserve; at the same time giving Mr. Smith a chance to become more confirmed as it is his policy on account of his business, and circumstances to remain apparently neutral for the present.

Musser, Jour. IV, p. 33.
The weather here is extremely hot, and much sickness is anticipated, in fact it has already commenced, the evident reason, is because a vast amount of land has been overflown, which is now drying up, and the poisonous vapour is beginning to rise. . . .

My sincere respects
Truman Leonard

Soon after writing the above letter, Elder Leonard went to Hyderabad, but he found that the troops that he had expected to find there had not arrived yet and so he went back to Kotri. Between September and November, he made several trips back and forth between the two cities. He found, after staying in Kotri for a while, that the city was under the "Flotilla Naval Limits," and was as strictly under martial law as Karachi and the other places where he had worked. He was forced to do his teaching in secret and was waiting anxiously for the arrival of the soldiers in Hyderabad. In January of 1855, the 2nd Bombay Regiment arrived in Hyderabad, and Elder Leonard went there to work with them. He was able to obtain a house to live and preach in outside the cantonments. He had first tried to obtain permission to preach on the post, but this was not granted. He exerted a great deal of effort to get the soldiers to attend his meetings, but only from five to fifteen men went to them. By January 30, he had held five meetings and hoped to hold two or three others, by which time, if there was not a change for the better, he intended to go to Bombay and leave for Zion with Elder Hugh Findlay.

1Letter from T. Leonard to A. M. Musser, September 1, 1854, in the G. M. R. collection.

2Letter from T. Leonard to A. M. Musser, November 23, 1854, in the G. M. R. collection.
A few days later he decided that he would try to get some baptisms in Hyderabad before he left, and so he did not attempt to meet Findlay. In late January, however, he did not know whether he would be able to make any conversions in that area or not; he had faint hopes for only one or two. By this time he had met some good people, but none of them seemed to have the courage to join the Church. 1

On the twenty-sixth of January, Elder Musser received a letter from T. W. Ellerbeck in Salt Lake City. He read it and sent the information on to Elder Leonard. The letter read as follows:

G. S. L. City Sept. 1/54

Bro Musser
I asked the President this morning, if he had anything to say to you, or those Elders in East India. One thing he said was, 'I will dismiss them from there, just as quick as they like to come. Enough—in a hurry—no time. Above acceptable.' Written by request of Pres. Brigham Young.

Yours &c.
T. W. Ellerbeck 2

On January 27, Elder Musser received a package of "Stars" and read in one of the issues that "The First Presidency say to the Elders in this country [[East India]], in the Cape of Good Hope, and Austrailia, 'You can tarry where you are, or go home, as the Spirit may dictate.'" 3

When Elder Leonard received this news, he wrote the following to Elder Musser:

I cannot say that I am sorry to hear that it is the privilege of the Elders of this Mission to return

1Letter from T. Leonard to A. M. Musser, January 30, 1855, in the G. M. R. collection.
3Ibid.
if they think best. I will say if things were not so discouraging, I would not consent to leave India yet, but I declare I think my time is too precious to spend to so little advantage as has been the case in this country.¹

By the last part of March, while Elder Musser was having trouble completing his chapel, Elder Leonard was becoming very worn out, and his health failed him. On April 7, he wrote to Musser and reported that he had been sick for two weeks. Fortunately Leonard's friend, Mr. Smith, had come to see him when he was very ill. Smith took Leonard back to Kotri with him on his camel for a few days. At Kotri, Elder Leonard was treated kindly and recovered his strength quite quickly. However, by this time he was becoming eager to return to Karachi and on home to the Valley.² In May, the work in Hyderabad and Kotri was concluded, and on June 5, Elder Leonard arrived back in Karachi. He had devoted nine full months to the work in these cities, and although he had been treated kindly by many people, he was not successful in baptizing a single person.³

The closing of the mission to Karachi.—As has been mentioned, Elders Musser and Leonard were able to hold their first meeting in the new chapel on June 20, 1855, however, very few people were in attendance. For the next few weeks they continued to hold meetings, but the congregations did not grow. In early July, Elder Musser commented in his journal that they were ready to leave for the Valley, but

¹Letter from T. Leonard to A. M. Musser, January 30, 1855, in the G. M. R. collection.

²Letter from T. Leonard to A. M. Musser, April 7, 1855, in the G. M. R. collection

³Musser, Jour. V, p. 34.
were "monsoon bound."  

One factor that made the Elders discouraged was that they believed every European in Karachi to be aware of their meetings. Many notices had been posted in different parts of the city, and handbills had been circulated. Beyond this there had been a number of derogatory notices in the newspapers that should have been useful in informing the public of their meetings. But still the work did not improve.

July and August were spent trying to increase attendance at their meetings and also trying to arrange passage to Bombay. Another problem was that of disposing of the little chapel. On September 15, Musser was able to sell his chapel for eighty rupees, sixty rupees under its original cost. On September 20, the final deed was signed, and the Elders were free to leave for Bombay.  

Before sailing the Elders ordained Brother Thomas Hines to the office of Elder. He remained in Karachi, along with a few other members who had recently arrived with the army from Aden. The other convert, Brother Thomas Williard, had left Karachi some months before, seeking employment and had not been heard from since.

On September 21, the Elders made arrangements to go to Bombay on a steamship. Because of the kindness of the captain, the fare was only ten rupees each for first-class passage, the usual fare being sixty-five rupees. At three o'clock the next morning they went to the wharf to go on board, but because the trip from Karachi to the wharf was so long, they arrived late and were left behind when the vessel sailed.

\[1\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 37.}\] \[2\text{Ibid.}, \text{p. 50.}\]
However, what seemed at first to be bad luck turned out to be to their advantage. They were able to find another ship that was leaving within a few minutes, and obtained second-class cabin passage for eight rupees each, a saving of four rupees between the two men. The Sindian sailed on the twenty-second of September and arrived at Bombay on the twenty-fifth.¹

When Leonard and Musser arrived in Bombay, they made contact with Elder Allan Findlay, who had been working in Poona at the time of their departure for Karachi. After they had found a room, they started looking for passage to England or California.

Elder Allan Findlay's missionary journey.--Elders Musser and Leonard developed a great respect for Elder Allan Findlay. He had been very devoted to the missionary cause since his arrival in September of 1853. He first worked in Poona, but after laboring there for fourteen months, he came to the conclusion that Poona had yielded all the baptisms that it would. In the first part of November, 1854, he bade the members there good-by and traveled seventy-six miles northeast of Poona to Ahmadnagar, a military cantonment. Because he could not find a house to live in, he was forced to rent "a small hut, with an entrance something under four feet high, and it the only medium of lighting the interior, excluding the crevices in the roof, through which heaven's bright luminary darted his thousand golden beams."² Upon

¹Ibid.

seeking permission from the military to preach and live in the cantonments, he was subjected to a great deal of interrogation, and letters were sent to his past locations, such as Poona, for references as precedent. It finally turned out that he was not permitted to live or preach at Ahmadnagar.

From there he traveled to Jaulnah, a distance of one hundred miles northeast. Findlay wrote the following account of the trip: "To accomplish this short journey, took about six days with a pair of bullocks and cart—what can be done in England before dinner; but here most everything advances at a very slow pace, so we have to exercise patience, and make the best of it."¹ It was necessary to travel through jungle most of the way. After arriving at Jaulnah, he went up and down the bazaar looking for a place to stay, which he finally found. It was a very small room which was to serve him temporarily until he could arrange for a better one.²

Jaulnah was located in the Madras Presidency, a political area different from that of Poona and Ahmadnagar. As a result he found the laws and precedents to be different. The captain who was in charge of the cantonment was very kind to Findlay and even offered to give him ten rupees for support each month for the next twelve months. Findlay was elated and set out to find a house and to furnish it for meetings. He distributed tracts, invitations, and literature, posted bills and for a short period of time appeared to be having success. But because he was not treated well by some of the

¹Ibid.  ²Ibid.
officers, he was able to hold only two meetings; four men attended the first and five the second. From there he was invited to stay with a sergeant and his family of fourteen children. Findlay taught them the Gospel but they could not accept the doctrine of polygamy. After five weeks there he felt that he had done his best and decided to move on.\(^1\)

From Jaulnarah, Findlay went to Secundrabad, in the Madras Presidency, about 260 miles southeast of Jaulnarah. He found traveling in this country to be different:

While travelling in the Nizan's territory, one or two things attracted my attention, viz.,--to see every traveller armed to the teeth with sword and buckler, and pistols, or match-lock; from the young urchin of twelve or fourteen years, to the hoary-headed old man. Also the walls around the villages are here kept in repair; whereas in the Marathee country, they are dilapidated and mouldering to ruin; showing the latter people are living under a feeling of security, to a certain degree, which is not so much the case in the territories of the Nizam.\(^2\)

Findlay arrived at Secundrabad on the twelfth of February. After trying to institute a series of lectures that were not successful and having no one come to his aid, Elder Findlay had a very interesting dream. He told this experience in these words:

A few nights ago, I had the pleasure, in a dream, of conversing with President Heber C. Kimball. He had come to the place where I was laboring; when I first saw him, he was sitting apparently in a deep meditative mood, reflecting, as I thought, on the regardlessness of the people around him. After a short time, I went up to him and sat down beside him, then putting my right hand on his knee, said--"Brother Heber, there seems to be little likelihood of much good being done in this place?" "No," answered he, "Matters are nearly sealed up here." This part of my dream was most firmly

\(^1\text{Ibid.}\) \(^2\text{Ibid.}\)
impressed on my mind, and while reflecting on it, I
instinctively, as it were, asked myself, "Is this
also to be an unfruitful place?"1

Elder Findlay's dream proved to be an accurate forecast
of things to come. He did not have success in Secunderbad
and as a result decided to go to Belgaum, where his brother
Hugh had labored.2

Shortly after Elder Allan Findlay arrived in Belgaum,
Brother George Gordon, who had acted as Branch president
since Hugh departed, wrote a letter to Elders Leonard and
Musser. This letter, which is quoted in part, is one of
the few references that deal with Alan Findlay's work in
Belgaum:

Beloved Brethren,

I duly received your respective letters for
which I tender you my humble gratitude. I delivered
Bro. Leonard's note to Bro. Allan Findlay, he arrived
here on the 14th May, the same day I wrote to Bro.
Musser, however, my letter was posted before I knew
of his arrival and I could not recall it. When he
arrived in Belgaum the Brigadier General was absent
on a tour of inspection; and Col. LeMeisurc was in
temporary command of the station. Bro. Findlay
applied for leave to reside and perform the functions
of his office, which was granted him on the 16th, so
he issued notice of his arrival and that preaching
would be on Sundays, Tuesdays, and Thursdays at ½
past 6 o'clock. A few strangers came, and some of the
backsliders and there appeared to be a revival, and
I am happy to inform you that such has been the case,
for Bro. Perrins that had left off attending our
meetings not only begun again to attend, but took
Bro. Findlay into his house to live with him, and
Bro. Daly got rebaptized. But lo and behold it is
not all gold that glitters, the same day I received
Bro. Musser's letter, Bro. Findlay received notice
to leave the cantonment. The officer that was in
temporary command was ordered off to Sholapoor
to take command of that station on the 3rd of June, and

1 Ibid.

on the 4th Bro. Findlay's leave was cancelled; on the 5th he made application with the General for permission to remain in Camp as a private individual and today received an official thro the Apt. Quarter Ms. General intimating the general non compliance with his request and likewise threatening any authorized camp resident that should be known to harbor him. So you see poor Bro. F's in a fix and the monsoons on. . .Bro. Perrins and Faye are off this morning to try and get some place in the native town for Bro. F. and I have no fear they will succeed. He will remain at Belgaum until after the rains then proceed to Bombay. We are forbidden to hold meetings of any description in camp by the General, but we are bid to hold meetings whenever we can by our Heavenly Father whom we mean to obey. . . .

Your brother in the covenant of Peace,

George Gordon. 1

A place was found in the native town, and Findlay stayed there. In August he wrote that he believed that there were three good converts that he had made in Belgaum, one of whom was planning to go to another part of India. Findlay felt that the Belgaum Branch was nearly "extinguished." 2 A short time later Elder Findlay returned to Bombay and was waiting for Leonard and Musser when they arrived there.

The Elders sail from Bombay.—During the next two months the three Elders spent their time trying to arrange passage. Finally, on November 22, Elder Leonard went on board the ship Yrca, bound for Liverpool, and Elder Findlay boarded the ship Henry Moore, bound for the same port.

Elder Leonard was sailing as a carpenter and Elder Findlay as an assistant baker. Elder Leonard sailed on November 25,

1Letter from George Gordon to Musser and Leonard, June 8, 1855, in the G. M. R. collection.

2Letter from Allan Findlay to A. M. Musser, August 10, 1855, in the G. M. R. collection.
and Elder Findlay on November 30. On November 28, Elder Musser went on the ship Lancaster, which was going to Calcutta. Musser had been offered cabin passage to that port, through the kindness of Mr. A. H. Moor, Consul pro tem and the willingness of the ship's captain, Mr. Roundy. On December 4, 1855, Elder Musser sailed from Bombay. He was the last of six Elders to leave that city and that part of India. He and the other missionaries left behind them twenty-two members of the Church, scattered from Karachi to Belgaum.1

Elder Musser's voyage to Calcutta took many days; he arrived there on January 22, 1856.

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1Musser, Jour. V, pp. 55-57 and Jenson, Church Chronology, p. 55.
CHAPTER IX

THE CLOSING OF THE EAST INDIA MISSION

The end of 1853 brought some changes to the Calcutta mission. On December 1, Elder Willes returned from his trip up-country; and in late December, Elders Leonard and Musser went on board the ship Niobe and sailed to Bombay. Therefore, during the early months of 1854 Elder Willes and Elder Jones worked together in Calcutta. The work seemed to be going well among the higher class of natives, but this did not last very long. Jones and Willes found that even the higher classes were not interested in the Gospel as much as they were interested in rupees. The early months of 1854 also brought some more responses to the polygamy question. The newspaper, The Citizen, published three articles on the subject, but permitted Elder Jones to reply to two of them in later editions of the paper. Jones felt that the issue of polygamy had come to the attention of the people and that good results would come from the articles.

In March, Elder Willes went to Rangoon, Burma, to assist Elder McCune. On the sixth of March Elders Woolley and Fotheringham returned from their trip up-country to the

\[1\text{This Chapter is a continuation of Chapter IV, in that it is concerned with the work in and around Calcutta.}\]

\[2\text{M. S., Vol. XVI, p. 143.}\]
Upper Provinces.\textsuperscript{1} They reported a very unsuccessful journey and were on the verge of going home to the Valley. Because of the discouragement that Woolley and Fotheringham had endured, and because the interest Jones had expected to be kindled from the articles on polygamy did not rise, Elder Jones became quite discouraged with affairs in Calcutta and the mission in general. On March 17, 1854, Elder Jones wrote: "I am making calculations to emigrate the Saints from here as soon as I can, which will not be before the next cold weather. I cannot tell at present, whether we shall build a vessel or buy, or charter one; but as soon as we get our plans matured, I will let you know."\textsuperscript{2} Jones did not realize the scope of the problem of organizing the Saints of India into a band of emigrants. He spent a great amount of time during the coming months trying to arrange passage and encourage the members to go to the Valley. On March 20, Elder Jones wrote a letter to Musser in Karachi and told him of his plans to move the Saints. Then in closing the letter he said: "Calcutta remains much as usual, dull!"\textsuperscript{3}

In April, Elder Jones wrote to S. W. Richards and told him a number of facts concerning the way in which the mission was carrying on its work. He mentioned that the missionaries were distributing tracts from house to house and preaching and bearing their testimonies. They were also

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1}Jenson, \textit{Church Chronology}, p. 50.
\item \textsuperscript{2}Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{3}Letter from N. V. Jones to A. M. Musser, March 20, 1854, in the G.M.R. collection.
\end{itemize}
holding meetings regularly, but they were poorly attended. Brother James P. Meik and a native professor were working on a translation of the Book of Mormon and a tract explaining the organization of the Church and giving a summary of its first principles, the latter of which was nearly ready for publication. The two works were being put into the Hindustani language. Jones was overly optimistic about the time that would be required to translate the Book of Mormon when he wrote: "We have commenced the translation of the Book of Mormon, which will take several months to complete." In this letter Jones also reported some negative aspects of the mission. He mentioned that the opposing ministers of the area had written to all of the military camps and had been successful in closing off all work in those places. Also, the press was continuing its fight against Mormonism. In closing he mentioned that eight members had been added to the Church in Calcutta in the last six months.

The Elders evidently sent few letters or reports during the period between April and August. Finally, in August Elders Jones and Woolley wrote to President Franklin D. Richards, who had just replaced Samuel W. Richards as president of the European Mission. He mentioned that when he had returned from his trip up-country, he had gone to Chinsura. He had been able to baptize a few people there, but by August 1, he was very discouraged. Opposition had built

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1M. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 382-83.  
2Ibid.  
3Jenson, Church Chronology, p. 51.
up against the Church to the point of attempted violence.

Woolley wrote that

the last two times we preached, the soldiers tried to break up our meetings, but did not succeed. The last night I preached there (Chinsura) that time, they set a jug of powder and saltpetre on fire right in the midst of the congregation, and adopted some other means to try and stop the meeting, but did not succeed, as I went on with my discourse as soon as the people got over their fright of the powder. It did not injure anyone, but came near to setting the house of fire.¹

After this incident, Woolley spent nine days in Calcutta, at the request of Elder Jones. When he returned to Chinsura, he commenced to hold meetings as usual. At first the opposition did little, but as days went by, troubles and threats mounted. The next few days saw great opposition grow in the form of mob violence. Woolley attempted to hold his meetings, but he was forced to close them because of too much noise from the crowds that gathered. At one point the feelings of the mob became so intense that they wanted to take Woolley and one of the members to the river and drown them. Fortunately nothing came of the incident. However, because of the opposition that was present in the area, the colonel of the local cantonment would not allow any of the soldiers to attend meetings of the Church even if they were members.

After having these experiences, Elder Woolley expressed his desire to return home. He considered his efforts to be a waste, even though he had done his best.²

¹M. S., Vol. XVI, p. 651. ²Ibid.
Elder Jones was also very discouraged with the way affairs had transpired. The last four months had brought only four new members into the Church. Meetings were poorly attended. Once in a while a person or two would drop in, but then the Elders would be left to themselves again. Elder Jones wrote:

The people have rejected the Gospel, and the Lord has withdrawn his Spirit from them. They are left to follow the imaginations of their own corrupt hearts. The people of India are a strange set. The state of society is different from that of any other country. They live in luxury and ease, and nothing can divert their minds from the unrestrained indulgence of every appetite and passion that an indolent mode of life and a sumptuous living are the parent of. [Jones is no doubt speaking here about the Europeans in India] They are bent on serving the god of this world, and there is no help for it. I cannot get the Spirit of the Lord to assist me in making another effort to enlighten their be-nighted minds.¹

Jones was sad that he had not been able to make more progress in India but said that he would gladly leave as soon as he could if he were not concerned with the few people that he hoped to "save." He would have liked very much to "go to the remotest corner of the earth to find a people that would receive [his] testimony," but it seems that he was already there and no one would listen.²

Jones reported that Elder Fotheringham had gone down the coast to help Brother Meik. Also he mentioned that all of the Saints in Calcutta were getting ready to emigrate, but no mode of transportation had as yet been arranged. Brother Meik was gathering funds for the voyage. Elder Willes

¹Ibid., p. 650. ²Ibid.
who had been in Burma for six months, was reported to be getting ready to leave for home.

Elder Jones went to Burma on the eighteenth of August intending to investigate the group of people called the Kar-ens.\(^1\) He expected to return back to Calcutta in late September.

Two months later, on November 1, Elder Woolley embarked for Boston. He had been a devoted worker and had endured a great deal of hardship while in India.\(^2\)

On February 15, 1855, Elder Jones wrote a letter to Elder Musser, in which he mentioned his plans for leaving India, within the next eight days. He and Elder Fotheringham had made arrangements to sail on the ship Beverly, via China to California. Jones also reported that affairs in Calcutta were "twice dead" and that the members were nearly all becoming very cold toward the Church. The prospects of more than a few ever emigrating seemed very dim. Jones went on to give his opinion of the native peoples:

> The natives are a God-forsaken race. I have not seen one in India worthy of the blessings of the Gospel. Without any exceptions they are a nation of thieves and liars. It is a waste of time to have anything to do with them for I do not believe that one full-blooded native will ever see the valley. Such is my faith and I think I am guided by the Spirit of the Lord.\(^3\)

Elder Jones considered the work of preaching to be done. He felt that the people had set their hearts against the Church and that there was no hope of success in Calcutta.

Elder Skelton had just arrived there from Madras and would

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\(^1\)Ibid., pp. 750-51. \(^2\)Ibid., Vol XVII, p. 94. \(^3\)Letter from N. V. Jones to A. M. Musser, February 15, 1855, now in the G. M. R. collection.
remain in charge of the mission until the remainder of the
Elders and Saints emigrated to the Valley.¹

On March 3, two days before Jones and Fotheringham
sailed, Elder Jones wrote his final letter to President
Franklin D. Richards. In it he summarized and closed his
mission:

During my residence in the East, it was my
pleasing lot to visit upwards of twenty places, in
all of which, many Europeans and Eurasians received
me with kindness, fed, clothed, and blessed me with
means for travelling through that wide-extended and
broiling climate, chiefly out of kindness to a coun-
tryman, partly out of curiosity, and but slightly
out of love for the truth, for which at present,
there seems to be little space. No less than nine
different newspapers contained articles, philippics,
and letters, pro and con; so that it may reasonably
be concluded, that nearly all the Europeans and
also the educated natives have been fully appraised
of "Mormonism."²

The remaining members felt very sad to see Jones and
Fotheringham sail for home. Elder Skelton recorded his
feelings on the matter in a letter to Elder Musser:

I felt very much cast down I can assure you;
when they went aboard and I just felt as the[5ic]
this city has lost its savior and nothing left to
screen the inhabitants thereof from the judgements
decreed; which shall fall upon the heads of the
wicked for rejecting the last message of truth sent
unto them; and except they speedily repent, Wo, Wo,
is their doom, for President Jones and Elder Fother-
ingham have both washed their feet as a testimony
and, witness against this nation for rejecting their
message... .

Sister Meik wept bitterly at their departure...³

Elder Skelton closed his letter by stating that he was
ready to return to Zion

¹Ibid.


³Letter from Robert Skelton to A. M. Musser, March 7,
1855, in the G. M. R. collection.
Elder Skelton had remained in Madras after Elders Ballantyne and Owens had departed for home. Skelton worked for the remaining time that he was there with the military people at Ft. St. George. He made it a regular practice to visit the fort, and the officers there made it a regular practice to march him off the post. He had been able to accomplish one important baptism after Ballantyne left: that was the baptism of James Mill, the doctor who had told Ballantyne to return home. Before his baptism Mill had been the superintendent of the Baptist religious tract society depository. Because of his avowal of Mormonism he lost his position as a medical missionary and was forced to take a position as a ship's doctor. After sailing to Australia and back in that capacity, he returned to Madras and started learning Tamil and Telegoo, the two native languages of the area. After Skelton returned to Calcutta, Mills, who had been ordained an Elder, continued working with the few Saints there, and in November of 1855, he baptized two new members into the Church at Madras. James Mill was assisted in the work in Madras by an early convert named John McCarthy.  

Affairs in Calcutta did not improve after Skelton took over there. He found that only two families were still active in the Church; they were the Meiks and the Arratoons. Skelton had brought the Booth family with him from Madras, and so this small group made up the Church. One other sister, Mrs. McMahon was still warm toward the Church, but her husband

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had apostatized and made her activity in the Church very difficult.\(^1\) In May it was necessary for Skelton and Meik to meet in council and excommunicate Brother Saxton and his family and the Bond sisters. This left seven members in Calcutta. Skelton continued the work but was very discouraged. About this time the chapel that Brother Meik had been renting for the branch was taken away from them because Meik was forced by financial difficulties to go to Cuttack, over two hundred miles down the coast.\(^2\)

On the 25th of May, Elder Skelton had a happy experience. He had been trying to arrange passage for Brother and Sister Booth and family to go to the Valley, and he was finally successful in sending them on their way. They sailed on the ship Frank Johnson, bound directly for San Francisco.\(^3\)

At about this same time Skelton estimated that there were about thirty-one members of the Church on the east side of India, many of whom he had never met because they were living inland and in Burma. Skelton was planning to go to Cuttack to be with the Meik family.\(^4\)

In June, just before the monsoons, Elder Skelton traveled from Calcutta to Cuttack by ox-cart. The trip took seventeen days, in temperatures that ranged from 100 to 112 degrees in the shade of the banyan tree. In the direct heat of the sun the temperatures were as high as 135 degrees.

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\(^1\)Letter from Robert Skelton to A. M. Musser, April 7, 1855, in the G. M. R. collection.

\(^2\)M. S., Vol. XVII, p. 478. \(^3\)Ibid., pp. 574-75.

\(^4\)Ibid.
Skelton labored in Cuttack for three months, then went to Berhampore and several other towns along the way, and soon returned to Cuttack, where he lived with the Meik family.¹

The Meiks had carried a major part of the financial burden in the Calcutta side of the mission. Skelton estimated that they had contributed at least four hundred pounds to the work, most of which was by direct contribution.²

Elder Savage, who had labored primarily among the native Burmese people and had spent most of his time learning their language, returned to Calcutta for a short time and then left for Boston in the middle part of October. For a year he had tried to get some Mormon tracts put into Burmese, but had been unsuccessful. He left Elder Matthew McCune and his family in charge of the Rangoon Branch. McCune intended to wait for his obligation to the army to expire and then go to the Salt Lake Valley.³

When Elder Musser arrived in Calcutta in January 1856, he found that Skelton was still in Cuttack. Skelton was helping Brother Meik to get established in a small manufacturing business, by means of which Meik intended to overcome some debts and emigrate to the Valley. Skelton wrote to Musser and told him to take charge of the book agency in Calcutta. Skelton expected to return there in about a month.⁴

Musser and Skelton corresponded for the next few weeks as

¹Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 142-43. ²Ibid. ³Ibid. ⁴Letter from Robert Skelton to A. M. Musser, January 24, 1856, in the G. M. R. collection.
Elder Skelton worked his way back to Calcutta.

Meanwhile, Elder Musser was busy arranging for a passage home. When he arrived in Calcutta, he had gone to the home of Sister McMahon. There he came in contact with Brother William Adams, who had recently returned from the Burma war. Adams, it will be remembered, had been very devoted to the missionary cause in Rangoon. When he returned to Calcutta, he was ill with dysentery and other diseases that he had contacted while in Burma. Fortunately, however, he was on government pension and had a certain amount of money. Adams and Musser became good friends, and before long Adams offered to pay Musser's passage to England if he would accompany him as a nurse. Musser accepted this offer and started looking for passage for the two of them. On February 5, Musser was able to arrange for cabin passage on the ship *Viking*, Zenos Winsor, captain. The fare was very reasonable, being only six hundred rupees for both men, whereas a regular fare would have been twice that amount.¹

For the next few days Musser spent his time visiting old members of the Church. Then, on February 18, Musser was surprised to learn that Adams had died. Musser stated in his journal that he had not been aware of the severity of Adam's illness.² Musser went to the captain of the ship and told him of the misfortune and to Musser's surprise and delight, Captain Winsor offered him free first-class passage to London.

On March 3, Elder Musser wrote a number of letters, one

¹Musser, Jour. V, p. 87. ²Ibid., p. 89.
of which was to his mother. It read as follows:

My Dear Mother,
    In haste I drop you a line to inform you that I
am well and expect to sail from this tomorrow A. M.
on the fine American clipper ship "Viking," [sic]
Captain Winsor, the old Captain we all came to this
country with. I sail for London. The Captain without solicitation offered me free first class passage. . . .
Your affectionate son,
Amos M. Musser.1

On the same day, Elder Musser welcomed the arrival of
Elder Skelton. Musser mentioned in his journal that Skelton
looked much older than the last time he had seen him. The two
men went on board the ship Viking and stayed there that night.
They spent the next couple of days in sight-seeing and visit-
ing. Then, on the sixth of March, Musser accompanied Skelton
ashore and bade him an affectionate farewell; he went back on
board, and the Viking sailed shortly thereafter.2

Elder Skelton, who was now the only missionary remaining
in India, had preached the Gospel to the people he met on his
way to and from Cuttack. He found the aristocracy to be
"above the word" and the lowly to be afraid to accept for
fear of losing their means of livelihood. Skelton felt that
the Christians had been an extremely bad influence on the
native people of India:

The tender sex will follow us through the avenues of
their cities and villages, offering themselves for
money in broad daylight without a blush of shame. So
much for Christian civilization! Yet in the face of
this, when I announce myself as a minister of the
Gospel, as taught by us, these introducers of cur-
ruption are all ready to exclaim, "Polygamy! Licen-

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1 Letter from A. M. Musser to his mother, March 3, 1856, original in possession of Burton Musser.

tiousness! Beastliness! Away with him!" Now these vices and inconsistencies are palpable facts, which look sectarian Christians right in the face, and they cannot get away from them.¹

This observation was common among the Elders. As a group they felt that immorality was much greater in cities where Christians were more plentiful than in the native villages. In the same letter, quoted above, Elder Skelton expressed his dislike for the slow way in which affairs were carried on in India. He said:

I will especially make endeavours to gather up to this place, between now and the month of June, and leave the country for good. I shall have much to do if I accomplish it, owing to the never-ending time it takes to do a little in this country. In this respect it is the worst country, I am quite sure, under the sun; it takes the people so long to move, and the Saints to a great degree are dependent upon their usages, customs, &c.²

In a subsequent letter, Skelton explained some of the reasons why it took so long to do anything in India. He wrote:

The manners and customs of the people are entirely different from those of European extraction. The English however, do not differ materially saving in habit, their dress being chiefly the same. Labor is almost unknown among them, it being performed by the native community. An ordinary family cannot do without three servants at the very least, and for the most part vary from eight to twelve, not including domestic servants. Each native has his own trade: cook, kidmager, mater, the man who cleans the furniture, gate keeper, groom &c., &c.; and the whole posse of them will not do the smallest chore out of their line and caste, no matter how urgent the case may be.³

Even though caste conditions were such that things

moved slowly in India, Elder Skelton was able to leave India in the time he had set for himself. It was unfortunate that because of poverty, financial obligations, and business commitments of the members, Skelton was obliged to leave Calcutta alone. He sailed from India on May 2, 1856, bound for China and from there to San Francisco. He had labored in India for three years and seven days. Because of the heat and adverse conditions, he had lost twenty-four pounds, and his health was poor. He reported that to his knowledge there were sixty-one members in all of India and Burma. Eleven others had emigrated. Although he was disappointed and sad about the reception the Gospel had received, he did not condemn the native population in the way that Jones and others had done. He felt that the natives were not responsible for their state and that they had not heard a true witness of Christ. In his opinion, however, the natives were in their proper status in this life, that of servants. They were not the wickedest people on the earth. Skelton felt that the Christians of the world were greatly responsible for the sad state of the natives.¹

With the departure of Elder Skelton, the first mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to India was closed.

¹M. S., Vol. XVIII, p. 523 and Jenson, Church Chronology, p. 56.
Summary and conclusion.--The East India Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was officially opened in 1851, with the arrival of Elder Joseph Richards from England. He baptized several people, the most important of whom were James Patric Meik and his family, Maurice White, and Matthew McCune and his family. The Meiks and the McCunes contributed a great deal of service to the Church in Calcutta and Rangoon. Both of these families eventually immigrated to Utah. Elder Richards left Calcutta after a few months there and before his return some months later, was preceded by Elder William Willes. Willes labored in Calcutta and then on the return of Elder Richards from England, the two men carried the Gospel to Agra and the Upper Provinces.

In April of 1853, these two men were joined by thirteen Elders from American, four of whom were sent to Siam. Thus the total number of official missionaries that were sent to the East India Mission was fifteen. Elders Meik and McCune were local converts, but did act as missionaries.

The mission was most fully staffed from April, 1853, to July of 1854. The fall of 1854, brought a great deal of discouragement and the Elders started thinking more of going home from this point on. The year of greatest success was 1852. Elder Willes made the most converts. It is almost impossible to quote a figure stating the total number of converts made in the mission. Elder Skelton stated that he thought there were around sixty-one members in India and Burma at the time of his departure from India. There were also
eleven members that had immigrated to the Valley. It will be recalled from Chapter II that Elder Willes established a branch of about three hundred members, most of whom were native people. This number dwindled when it was discerned by these people that they were not going to be paid for their membership in the Church. The problem of apostacy was also a common problem among the European converts.

There were several inhibiting factors that caused the great lack of success of the mission. The fact that the missionaries went first to the European population held several problems. The Europeans were of two groups socially; the aristocracy (officials in the government, directors of the East India Company, and military officers); and enlisted military people and civil service workers. The aristocracy were not willing to listen to the Gospel because of their rigid membership in the Church of England; neither were they willing to allow those who were under them to listen to the missionaries. All of the Christian churches in India were against the Mormon movement. This prejudice grew out of the fact that Joseph Smith claimed to restore the Gospel of Jesus Christ; but more out of their dislike for the practice of polygamy. This was the major point of contention in all the cities of India where the Elders preached.

The native culture was an inhibiting factor for several reasons. The first major problem was that of lack of communication. The missionaries attempted to learn some of the native languages: Burmese, Hindustani, Tamil, Telegoo, and Maratha, but were not able to gain a useful mastery in any
Beyond the problem of talking with the natives was the lack of many similar concepts of a religious nature. Whereas the Elders carried a message having to do with one God (an anthromorphic being), the natives of India, with the exception of the Moslems, believed in many gods (polytheism). The missionaries did not understand Hindu, Parsee, or Buddhist concepts any better than natives believing in these religions understood Mormonism. It would seem that something could have been done with the Moslem people, because they believe in one god, and many of the Old Testament prophets. They also believe in polygamy, but there is not a hint of any success with these people.

Another problem was that of having no clear-cut program or approach to teaching the Gospel. The missionaries distributed tracts, pamphlets, and other literature; held lecture meetings and visited homes, but these approaches were not well organized. After a year or so the Elders were free to change their stations and go to work anywhere they felt they could have some success.

Because the European population would not listen to their message, the Elders turned to the native people. Then because the native people would not listen or could not understand, the Elders returned home.
APPENDIX A

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES

CARTER, William F., arrived in India with the American missionaries (April, 1853). He labored with Elder Fotheringham, traveling to Mirzapur and the surrounding area. He was released because of poor health. He sailed from Calcutta on July 7, 1853, two months after his arrival in India.

BALLANTYNE, Richard (1817-1898), was born in Scotland. His family was converted there and immigrated to Nauvoo in 1843. They went with the Saints when they were driven out of Nauvoo, and in 1848 went to Salt Lake Valley with Brigham Young's company. In 1849, Ballantyne founded the first L. D. S. Sunday School. In 1852, he received a mission call to India. He arrived there in April of 1853. His area of labor was Madras. After working there for one year his health became very poor and he was forced to return home. He sailed from Madras for Liverpool in July of 1854. From England he lead a group of Saints to St. Louis; and then a group of five hundred, with fifty wagons, the rest of the way to Salt Lake City.1

DEWEY, Benjamin Franklin (1829-1904), was born in Massachusetts. He was one of the original pioneers of Utah. He was called to do missionary work in Siam in 1852, and arrived in Calcutta in April of 1853. With Chauncey W. West as companion, he worked in Ceylon and Bombay, and in 1854 attempted to go to Siam. Because they were not able to arrange passage to Siam, they returned home.2

FINDLAY, Allan, was born in Scotland. He went to India to assist his brother Hugh. He labored at Bombay, Poona, Ahmadnagar, Jaulnah, Secunderabad, and Belgaum. He arrived in Bombay in September of 1853, and departed for home in November of 1855.

1Andrew Jenson, LDS Biographical Encyclopedia (Salt Lake City: The Andrew Jenson Company, 1936), Vol. I, pp. 703-06.

2Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 498.
FINDLAY, Hugh (1822-1900), was born in Scotland. While still there, he served as President of the Hull Conference. He was called to India by Lorenzo Snow. He arrived in Bombay in either late 1851 or early 1852. For two years he worked in Bombay and Poona, and then he went to Belgaum for a year. He sailed for America via Hong Kong in March of 1855.  

FOTHERINGHAM, William (1826-unknown), was born in Scotland. He was called to go to India in 1852, and arrived there with the American Elders in April of 1853. He took a long missionary journey from Calcutta to Delhi. He departed from India in March of 1855. He later served the Church as Bishop, Patriarch, and Mission President (South Africa, 1863). During his later years he was a temple worker at St. George, Utah. 

JONES, Nathanial Vary (1822-1863), was born in New York. He has been called "one of the most satisfactory characters in Latter-day Saint Church History." He was a member of the Mormon Battalion; was among the first settlers of Utah; and was active in community development. At the time of his call to India, he was Bishop of the Salt Lake Fifteenth Ward. He arrived in India with the American Elders in April of 1853, and officiated as president of the East India Mission. During his mission he worked primarily in Calcutta, but spent some time in Burma. He sailed for America in March of 1855. Following his mission to India he was called on another mission, this time to England. He was only forty years old at the time of his death. 

LEONARD, Truman (1820-unknown) went to India with the Elders from America, arriving there in April of 1853. He labored in Chinsura and Calcutta until the end of 1853, and was then sent to Karachi. He worked there until September of 1854, and then went to Hyderabad and Kotri for nearly a year. He returned to America via England, departing from Bombay in November of 1855. 

LUDDINGTON, Elam (1806-unknown), was called to go to Siam. After arriving in Calcutta in April, 1853, and working there until July, he departed for Burma. He worked in Rangoon for six months and then went to Singapore and Bangkok. He had no success in Bangkok and therefore sailed for America in late 1854. 

3Roberts, Vol. IV, p. 73. 
4Ibid.
McCUNE, Matthew (1811-1889), although converted to the Church in Calcutta, acted as a missionary. He was born on the Isle of Man, and was a supply sergeant in the Indian Army. While stationed in Rangoon, Burma, he established missionary work there. He, with his family, immigrated to Utah in 1857, crossing the plains with the Delaware company.\(^1\)

MEIK, James Patric, was converted to the Gospel in Calcutta, in 1851. He built a chapel for the Calcutta Branch and gave much financial support to the missionaries. He and his family later immigrated to Utah.

MUSSER, Amos Milton (1830-1909), was born in Pennsylvania. His mother joined the Church and took her family to Nauvoo in 1846, only to find it deserted. They were driven across the Mississippi River by a mob. Musser did not join the Church until 1851, the same year he went to Salt Lake Valley. In 1852, he was called to India. While there he labored in Calcutta, and Karachi. He departed from India in March of 1856. Shortly after his return home he was appointed Traveling Bishop of the Church, in which capacity he served until 1876. During his late years he was treasurer and then vice-president of the Genealogical Society of Utah.\(^2\)

OWENS, Robert, went to India with the American missionaries. He served in Calcutta and Madras. In July of 1854, he returned to America via Australia.

RICHARDS, Joseph, went to Calcutta from England. He arrived there in 1851, being the first L. D. S. missionary in India. Because he worked his way to India as a sailmaker and could not find a replacement, he was forced to return to England. He returned to stay permanently in August of 1852. Richards and his companion, Elder Willes, walked from Calcutta to Agra, a distance of eight hundred miles, preaching as they went. He sailed for home in June of 1853.

SAVAGE, Levi (1790-1874), was born in Hebron, New York. He came to Utah in 1848. He went to India with the American Elders and arrived there in April, 1853. His call, however, was to Siam. He went to Burma in July of 1853, but did not make an attempt to go to Siam. He worked in Moulmein and Rangoon, Burma. He departed for home in October of 1855.\(^3\)

\(^1\)Esshon, p. 1056.  \(^2\)Jenson, Vol. I, p. 381.  \(^3\)Esshon, p. 1147.
SKELTON, Robert (1824-1895), came to Utah in 1849, with the Ezra T. Benson company. In India he worked in Madras and Calcutta. He departed to the United States in May of 1856, being the last missionary to return home. At home he later served in a bishopric. In 1856-57 he was a member of the territorial legislature. He later served as councilman and mayor of Tooele, Utah.

WEST, Chauncey Walker (1827-1870), was born in Pennsylvania. He joined the Church at age sixteen and was ordained a Seventy in the priesthood a year later. He, with his father's family, was among the first settlers in Salt Lake Valley, arriving in 1847. West was called to open the Siam mission in 1852. He arrived in Calcutta with the American Elders in April of 1853. After serving in Ceylon and Bombay, he with Elder Dewey attempted to sail to Bangkok, Siam, but being unsuccessful in their sailing connections to Bangkok, they returned home to America. In 1862, West was called to act in the place of President Cannon (who was on leave), as president of the European Mission.

WILLES, William, was the second L. D. S. missionary to go to India. He arrived in December of 1851. Willes was instrumental in establishing the Church in Calcutta. He, along with Elder Richards, took a very long journey up the Ganges lowland. Willes went on to Delhi, after Richards returned to Calcutta. He also spent a few months in Rangoon, Burma. He sailed for England in August of 1854.

WOOLLEY, Samuel Amos (1825-1900), was born in Pennsylvania. He crossed the plains with Brigham Young's company in 1848. In 1852, he was sent to India. While there he served in Calcutta, Chinsura, and up-country. He went home in November of 1854. At home in Salt Lake City he later served as a Bishop.

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APPENDIX B

The poem on the following two pages is a reproduction of the original, in the handwriting of Amos M. Musser. The poem is his reaction to the city of Karachi and the Province of Sind, where he labored with so little success.
Most to Strachey's friend, and all men.
Three months! We live amid tumultuous winds,
Endearing my spirit, and light for revenge.
Eating the furnaces in the one.

3) Farewell dear solemnity, thou who artjoinned,
Impassioned prayers, woe be thine, whom
Melancholy in death with repose nor all,
With no more of it, which till cause you dare feel.

5) You are to depart from me you will hear,
The son of Adoniram, high all mighted, friends,
To be a true preacher and himself, but
Not in your blind, but tall the else light.

7) Cursèd race, beloved which Saint, etc.
And so mucrduct, if I did any child, etc.
You think a devilish, owing or joined
They, the few, who have already believed.

3) Exceedingly, exhorted to heaven, Column, etc.
Pointed out by the sign post during the fray.
For many days you seek nothing the like.
My ford being cold water head.

6) To the ladies are all related together, assisted.
By all men of free, humble, etc.
And from the least to the greatest, and faith.
All joined of falsehood, whic, Hegg's, etc.

7) Like the mastership, you jumped through the end.
By acting a sign showing the end.
Your opinion which is in all, of all, of all thing.
And indeed, on hand, a third, to those blind.
I

My 1st attempt at poem

A

* could my diary for details - Annm.
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A HISTORY OF THE MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES OF THE
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY
SAINTS IN INDIA, 1849-1856

An Abstract
Presented to the
Department of History
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Ralph Lanier Britsch
July, 1964
ABSTRACT

The East India Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was officially opened in 1851, with the arrival of Elder Joseph Richards from England. He baptized several people, the most important of whom were James Patric Meik and his family, Maurice White, and Matthew McCune and his family. The Meiks and the McCunes contributed a great deal of service to the Church in Calcutta and Rangoon. Both of these families eventaully immigrated to Utah. Elder Richards left Calcutta after a few months there and before his return some months later, was preceded by Elder William Willes. Willes labored in Calcutta and then on the return of Elder Richards from England, the two men carried the Gospel to Agra and the Upper Provinces.

In April of 1853, these two men were joined by thirteen Elders from America, four of whom were sent to Siam. Thus the total number of official missionaries that were sent to the East India Mission was fifteen. Elders Meik and McCune were local converts, but did act as missionaries.

The mission was most fully staffed from April, 1853, to July of 1854. The fall of 1854 brought a great deal of discouragement and the Elders started thinking more of home and going home from this point on. The year of greatest success was 1852. Elder Willes made the most converts. In 1852, he
established a branch of about three hundred members, most of whom were native people. This number dwindled when it was discerned by these people that they were not going to be paid for their membership in the Church as was the custom in other Christian churches. The problem of apostacy was also common among the European converts. It is almost impossible to quote a figure stating the total number of converts made in the mission. Elder Skelton stated that he thought there were around sixty-one members in India and Burma at the time of his departure from India in 1856. There were also eleven members who had immigrated to Salt Lake Valley.

There were several inhibiting factors that caused the great lack of success of the mission: The Europeans were either of the aristocracy and would not listen to the missionaries because of their strict social code and membership in the Church of England; or they were civil servants or soldiers and were not permitted to listen because of the instructions of their aristocratic superiors. The Protestant and Catholic churches and the press of India were almost uniformly against the Mormon movement. They objected to it on the grounds that Joseph Smith claimed to be a Prophet who restored the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But the greatest objections were incident to the L. D. S. belief in polygamy. Polygamy was the major point of contention in all the cities of India where the Elders preached.

The culture of the indigenous peoples presented many problems. The missionaries and the native people did not
understand each other. The Elders attempted to learn some of the native languages: Burmese, Hindustani, Tamil, Telegoo, and Maratha, but in only two cases were able to develop a useful mastery of the languages. Most of the natives were illiterate and could not read if they had been presented literature. The Elders taught Hindus, Moslems, Parsees (or Zoroastrians), Jains, Sikhs, and Buddhists, but had little or no success with any of them.

In 1855, the majority of the missionaries returned to their homes. In 1856, the last two Elders departed from India and the first mission to India of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was closed.

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