

SOME
POST-REFORMATION SAINTS.

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I.

LANCELOT ANDREWES (1555-1626).

SINCE the early days of S. Aidan, S. Oswald, S. Cedd, S. Chad, and S. Cuthbert, the English Church has never produced so rich a crop of saintly material as during the last three centuries. Indeed, the only difficulty in writing these papers will be in making the best selection, for we really suffer from an embarrassment of riches. This is all the more remarkable because the first half century after the break with Rome was not a time propitious to the development of saintliness. The Church was still unsettled; it was feeling its way gradually to its proper position, it was dealing with negatives rather than positives, realising what it was *not*, rather than what it *was*; and obviously such a time was not one in which enthusiasm can be readily kindled. Hence our first specimen belongs to quite the later part of the sixteenth and the earlier part of the seventeenth centuries; and there were

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many circumstances which tended to militate even against *his* saintliness. He was a pioneer, leading the way into a new intellectual and theological region, and such men are rarely appreciated at their full worth. He was drawn into the vortex of controversy; and controversy is apt not only to make enemies, but to dim the moral brightness of him who engages in it. He was a successful man, as the world counts success, rising to high and lucrative posts in the Church; and success tends both to intoxicate its possessor and to raise envy against him. A great part of his life was passed in an atmosphere most uncongenial to saintliness, in the midst of a corrupt Court, and in close attendance upon a Sovereign who was anything but a saint. And, finally, he had as high a reputation for learning as for saintliness; and though the two things, so far from being incompatible, give, each, grace and completeness to the other, yet they belong to different compartments of our complex nature, and therefore they are not always found in combination; but he combined both, as a brief sketch of his life will show.

Lancelot Andrewes was the son of a London merchant, and was himself intended for that line of life. But his two schoolmasters, Mr. Ward, at the Ratcliffe Grammar School, and Mr. Mulcaster, at Merchant Taylors', recognising his extraordinary promise, persuaded his parents to give him an University education, and he became,

first, scholar, and then (1576) Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. In 1580 he received Holy Orders, and was appointed Catechist at Pembroke, where his "Catechistical lectures" * showed what his proper line was. They were largely attended, and he soon became a noted casuist, being, in the quaint language of the day, "deeply seen in cases of conscience." We next find him attending Lord Huntingdon, President of the North, in a progress, during which, "by preaching and conference, he brought over many recusants, priests as well as laity, to the Protestant religion." In 1589 he was appointed to the living of S. Giles', Cripplegate, then to a prebend at S. Paul's; and he was very effective as a preacher or lecturer at both places. Then he was chosen Master of his old college, Pembroke Hall; then he became chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, then chaplain-in-ordinary to Queen Elizabeth, during whose reign he refused two bishoprics, Salisbury and Ely, because he could not conscientiously comply with the condition—only too characteristic of Elizabeth's Church policy—that a part of the revenues of the sees should be alienated. He became, however, in her time, first, Canon, and then (1601) Dean, of Westminster. A pleasing feature of his connection with Westminster is the deep interest he took in the Westminster boys. He used to examine them "particularly in the Hebrew Psalter." He often

* Isaacson's *Life of Bishop Andrewes*.

“supplied the place both of headmaster and usher for the space of a whole week together, and never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without a brace of this young fry,”* and this young fry, like all who came into contact with his fascinating personality, were devoted to him. Among them were Matthew Wren, afterwards Bishop of Ely, who took Andrewes for his model in everything, and John Hacket, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield, who can hardly find language strong enough to express his admiration of him.

On the accession of James I., Andrewes' rise was rapid. In 1605 he reluctantly accepted the bishopric of Chichester, and became the King's almoner: in 1609 he was translated to Ely, and in 1619 to Winchester, and in 1626 “thence to heaven.”† It need scarcely be said that Andrewes was conscientious in the discharge of his episcopal office. He always sought out the best and most capable men for preferment, and never gave anything because the candidate or his friends asked for it. His munificence was so unbounded that Buckeridge, who preached his funeral sermon, could find no more suitable text than, “To do good and to distribute forget not.” His joy was to find out poor, rising scholars, and to help them with his purse and his teaching in their preparation for Holy Orders. His ten years' occupancy of the see

* Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 45.

† Bishop Buckeridge's Funeral Sermon on Andrewes.

of Ely gave him special opportunities of discovering such, from its connection with Cambridge. He certainly could not be reproached with the favourite charge of the Puritans of being an “unpreaching bishop,” for most of his noted sermons were preached when he had reached the Bench. Hence the saying that he was “*Bishop Andrewes* in the pulpit, *Doctor Andrewes* in the schools, *Saint Andrewes* in the closet.” This will be a convenient division to follow:

(1) The sermons of Bishop Andrewes, in spite of their jerky and uncouth style, and their quaint and sometimes far-fetched conceits and word-plays, are perhaps the fullest in our language, and represent better than any others the true mind of the English Church. We must remember that we have only the *sermons*, not the *preacher*; we gather indirectly that they owed much to their delivery, and still more to the irresistible personality of the man. The sermons were all carefully elaborated in the study before they were delivered in the pulpit. And this leads up to the next point.

(2) The controversial writings of Andrewes were the proper complement of Hooker's. As Hooker, by his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, placed the Church on its proper footing, as against the Puritans, so did Andrewes, as against the Romanists. Jewell, indeed, had nobly prepared the way; but (1) Jewell was rather negative than positive; he had not a sufficiently definite theory to put in the place of that

which he demolished ; and (2) since Jewell wrote, the Romans had made far more formidable assaults upon the English Church and far more powerful defences of the Roman than had been made before ; there was, in fact, a "Counter-Reformation." Andrewes wrote at the bidding of his Sovereign, whose word to him was law. James had himself entered the lists ; but though he was no mean theologian for an amateur, he was not strong enough to meet the great Bellarmine, but Andrewes met him on at least equal terms in his *Tortura Torti*, and its sequels. The controversy was nominally limited to the lawfulness of the oath of allegiance, but it really covered the whole question in debate between Rome and England. One of the great merits of Andrewes is that he gives you something very definite in place of what he takes away ; another is that he disentangles what the Romanist was always confounding, viz: that which was really *de fide* from that which was not.

(3) But we must now follow Andrewes to the place from which he really derived his true strength and effectiveness, *i.e.* from the pulpit and the study to the closet. It was not until after his death that *Andrewes' Private Devotions* were given to the world. They were originally written partly in Greek, partly in Latin, the Greek being the most valuable. They were probably not intended for publication, but it has been a blessing to thousands of souls that they have been published. It is

astonishing what different types of mind have been touched by them, and also how many men of eminence have taken part in editing, translating, or commenting upon them.* But their chief interest in the present connection is the insight which they give into the inner mind and life of this writer. Andrewes showed his rare gift of composing prayers in other ways, notably in the Service he drew up for the consecration of a church, which is still the basis of all later Services for the occasion ; but the *Preces Privatæ Græce et Latine* are those which bear directly upon our subject. They show whence "Saint Andrewes" derived his strength. It is said that he spent five hours every day upon his knees, and the fruits were seen in his daily life and conversation, in his guilelessness, his unselfishness, his humility—in short, in the reflection of the mind that was in Christ Jesus. One or two illustrations may be given.

Andrewes was, by general confession, one of the most, if not *the* most learned Englishman of his day. But a foreigner came over and made his home in England, who far exceeded him in learning—Isaac Casaubon. Andrewes, instead of being jealous of the stranger, whose acquirements were likely to put his own in the shade, received him with a graciousness and cordiality which soon warmed into a tender friendship only to be dissolved by

* *E.g.* Dean Stanhope, Cardinal Newman, Bishop Horne, Dean Church, Canon Medd.

death. Isaac Casaubon and Lancelot Andrewes were kindred spirits, and they had come, quite independently, to the same conclusion on religious matters. They were most deeply versed in the constitution of the early Church, and the writings of the Primitive Fathers. This knowledge taught them both that neither Mediæval Rome nor Modern Puritanism in any of its forms, at home or abroad, could bear the test of being judged by this standard, but that the English Church could. Casaubon on his part regarded Andrewes with the utmost veneration and love; and *his* testimony to Andrewes' profound learning is really more valuable than that of all others put together, because it was the testimony of a superior.

Let us next take Andrewes' attitude towards the vexed question of ritual. Personally, he loved an ornate ritual; the "five points" and many others besides were "in use" in his private chapels both at Ely and Winchester. But Andrewes was far too considerate to enforce them upon unwilling congregations. He was content with "enjoying without enjoining" * Here came in his favourite principle of only insisting upon what was *de fide*; accessories of worship were not such—however helpful they might be to some worshippers.

Again, to the general amazement, he was passed over, when the primacy was vacant by the death of Archbishop Bancroft, in favour of Abbot. Others

* Fuller.

were indignant, but no word of disappointment escaped Andrewes; and when Abbot met with an unfortunate accident, which in the opinion of many incapacitated him for spiritual functions, Andrewes, above all others, sympathised with and interceded for him.

There were two passages in Andrewes' public career which seem incompatible with his saintly character, viz. the parts which he took in the Essex divorce case, and in the burning of the Arian, Bartholomew Legate. It is not quite clear how far Andrewes was concerned in the latter case, and it should, of course, be remembered that one who lived in the seventeenth century must not be judged by the standard of the twentieth. The case occurred when toleration was little known, and when death was not thought to be too severe a punishment for speculative error.

The other case is more embarrassing. The divorce of Lady Essex was a repulsive business, and Andrewes himself saw it in that light at first, and lifted up his voice against it; but by some means or other he was over persuaded, and at last voted in favour of the divorce. It is a comfort to find that Dr. S. R. Gardiner, who knew more about the times than any other man, and who was certainly not prejudiced in favour of Churchmen *quâ* Churchmen, can yet write thus of Andrewes' conduct in the matter:—

"Against such a man it is impossible to receive

anything short of direct evidence, and it is better to suppose that he was, by some process of reasoning with which we are unacquainted, satisfied with the evidence adduced, though he must have felt that there was that in the conduct of Lady Essex which prevented him from regarding the result of the trial with any degree of satisfaction." *

I am bound, however, to say that I cannot find traces in Andrewes of that iron determination of will which one sometimes finds happily blended with the meekness and gentleness of the true saint, as, for instance, in Thomas Ken, who would certainly have taken a firm and resolute attitude in both cases in favour of mercy and of righteousness.

Perhaps, however, this very weakness of Andrewes may have its use in showing that he was a man of like passions as we are. Take him for all in all, he was worthy of the glowing panegyric of Bishop Hacket, with which this paper may fitly conclude:—

“This is that Andrewes, the ointment of whose name is sweeter than all spices. . . . Indeed, he was the most apostolical and primitive-like divine, in my opinion, that wore a rochet in his age, of a most venerable gravity, and yet most sweet in all commerce; the most devout that ever I saw when he appeared before God; full of alms and charity, of which none knew but his Father in secret. . . . Who could come near the shrine of such a saint

* *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 174.

and not offer up a few grains of glory upon it?" *

* *Life of Williams*, p. 45, quoted by Mr. Ottley in his admirable monograph, *Lancelot Andrewes* (ch. vii., p. 45) in the “Leaders of Religion” series.

II.

GEORGE HERBERT (1593-1633).

GEORGE HERBERT was the fifth among seven sons of Sir Richard Herbert and Magdalen, daughter of Sir Richard Newport, under whose pious care he received his early education at Montgomery Castle, his birthplace. In his twelfth year he was sent to Westminster School, where, to judge by his Latin verses written in his early school days, he must have been a most precocious scholar. In May, 1609, he was elected King's scholar, and in December of the same year matriculated from Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1612-13, and was elected Fellow in 1614. It was probably about this time that he first attracted the attention of Lancelot Andrewes, who was always on the lookout for promising scholars to man the ministry. Herbert was more than promising, he was a highly finished scholar, and was certainly at this time very ambitious of distinction. In 1618 he became instructor in the Rhetoric School, and shortly afterwards Public Orator of the University, an office which brought him under the personal notice of the King. James

I. loved flattery, and was delighted with the Orator's laudations, and also, when he came to know him, with the Orator himself. One side of Herbert's character at this period is thus naïvely described by his incomparable biographer, Izaak Walton : "At this time of being Orator, he had learnt to understand the Italian, Spanish, and Dutch tongues very perfectly : hoping that, as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the King's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court nobility. This, and the love of a Court conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge, to attend the King wheresoever the Court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into His Majesty's disposal . . . worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his college, and of his Oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes and court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed ; and at other times left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend Mr. Herbert Thorndike."

Such worldly ambitions were probably strengthened by the fact that the Herberts, both of the past and of the present, were prominent in State affairs. George's own brothers more or less

distinguished themselves in one way or another, notably the eldest, Edward, created Lord Cherbury. But from the beginning there were influences drawing George Herbert in another direction. First and chief of all was that of his mother, a saintly woman, whose heart's wish was that her son George should become a faithful minister of Christ. His long intimacy with Dr. Donne, his reverence for Bishop Andrewes, his connection with Herbert Thorndike, afterwards one of the great Caroline divines, and his acquaintance, which ripened into a warm friendship, with Nicholas Ferrar would all tend the same way. Herbert appears to have received Deacon's Orders; and Bishop Williams, of Lincoln, offered him in 1626 the prebend of Layton Ecclesia. He accepted the offer, but then seems to have repented; for he offered to transfer it to Nicholas Ferrar, who was at that time head of the so-called Protestant Nunnery at Little Gidding. Ferrar declined the offer, but improved the occasion by impressing upon Herbert a duty which he thought incumbent upon him. Within two miles of Little Gidding was a village called Leighton Bromswold, where there was a dilapidated church. An estate in this parish was attached to Herbert's prebend, and Ferrar urged the new prebendary to set about the restoration of this church. In spite even of the discouragement of his mother, who thought her son too poor to undertake any such work,

Herbert succeeded, with the help of his family, in building a very handsome church at Leighton. In 1630 another offer of preferment came to him, viz. the rectory of Fugglestone, with the chapelry of Bemerton attached, close to Salisbury. The living was in the gift of his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, but as it was vacant through the promotion of its rector to a bishopric, the appointment for this turn fell to the Crown; the Earl, however, petitioned King Charles to offer it to his kinsman, which the King readily consented to do. Herbert was very doubtful about accepting it; but he felt that he must at any rate go to Wilton and thank the Earl for his kind offices in the matter; and in this expedition he met Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, who was in attendance on the King at Salisbury, in the immediate neighbourhood, and who finally resolved his doubts. So he received Priest's Orders, was instituted by Bishop Davenant to Fugglestone with Bemerton, April 26 1630, and became the model parish priest whom we all know.

It adds to, rather than detracts from, the value of Herbert's life as an example of saintliness that it was not until after he had passed through a long and severe spiritual conflict that he determined to devote himself wholly to the service of God. Not that he ever sank into immorality or excess of any sort; there is no evidence of anything of the kind. But he was not the man to become a parish priest

until he had fully made up his mind to give himself heart and soul to his sacred duties ; and his own writings, beside their intrinsic merits, have a special interest as evidence both of his struggle and of his devotion. There is no doubt that the principal of them—viz. *The Temple* in verse, and *A Priest to the Temple, or the Country Parson, His Character and Rule of Holy Life* in prose—are to be regarded as autobiographical. Indeed, we have his own word for it. In commending the former a little before his death to his friend, Mr. Duncon, he said : “ Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Ferrar, and tell him he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master, in Whose service I have now found perfect freedom ; ” and many passages obviously apply to Herbert’s own experience. Take, for, instance, the following stanza from the first of his three poems on “ Affliction : ”—

“ Whereas my birth and spirits rather took
The way that takes the town ;
Thou didst betray me to a lingering book,
And wrap me in a gown.
I was entangled in a world of strife,
Before I had the power to change my life.”

And the address of “ The Author to the Reader,” prefixed to *The Priest to the Temple*, sufficiently shows what the purport of *that* work was : “ Being

desirous, thow the mercy of God, to please Him, for Whom I am and live, and Who giveth mee my desires and performances ; and considering with myself that the way to please Him is to feed my flocke diligently and faithfully, since our Saviour hath made that the argument of a pastour’s love, I have resolved to set down the form and character of a true pastour, that I may have a mark to aim at.”

And throughout the short time—less than three years—during which he was spared to be “ the country parson,” he carefully framed his life according to the model of his ideal “ Country Parson ” in every respect. It is this human interest, this conviction everywhere apparent that what he writes palpitates with the deepest emotions of his his breast, which has caused his words to find their way to the hearts of people of the most varied opinions. He was himself an English Churchman of the stiffest type, as his lines on the “ British Church ” intimate :—

“ I joy, dear Mother, when I view
Thy perfect lineaments, and hue
Both sweet and bright.
Beauty in thee takes up her place ;
And dates her letter from thy face ;
When she doth write.
A fine aspect in fit array,
Neither too mean, nor yet to gay,
Shews who is best.
Outlandish looks may not compare ;
For all they either painted are,
Or else undrest.”

and never can be, such a life of him as Izaak Walton's ; there is no appreciation of him like that of Isaac Gregory Smith in *The Christian Remembrancer*, 1862, and no sketch of him can quite have the interest of that of Barnabas Oley, who knew him personally, which even Izaak Walton did not. If pilgrimages were in fashion, there is no place which true English Churchmen should sooner make a point of visiting than Bemerton, where they will find still standing and reverently cared for, the house which Herbert built and the little church where Herbert worshipped daily.

III.

ROBERT SANDERSON (1587-1663).

IN the old palace at Lincoln there is a series of portraits representing the different occupants of that great historical bishopric. They form, of course, a most varied group. Here you have one in the magnificent scarlet robes of a cardinal ; here one in a more Protestant but equally elaborate vestment of the early nineteenth century ; here is a portrait in the huge, full-bottomed wig of the Georgian era, there one in the flowing locks of the Stuart period ; they are, most of them, in handsome frames, and look bishops, every inch of them. But there is one who is rather dingy in comparison with the rest ; his frame is mean and shabby, and you have to look close at him to see what he is like. And, in one sense, it is in accordance with the fitness of things that he should thus, as it were, take a back seat ; for while some of the rest only took Lincoln in their triumphal progress towards Canterbury or York, London or Winchester, and others ruled with great *éclat* for many years the vast diocese, when it extended from the Humber to the Thames, and when the Chancellor of the great University of

Oxford was only the Bishop of Lincoln's official, this one only just attained the mitre at the fag end of his life, and died, an old man, within two and a half years of his acceptance of it. And yet this is the one to whom the present bishop has given the place of honour, over the fireplace, where he would attract the most notice, thinking that *he* was the best model for a Christian prelate. "The learned and humble Dr. Sanderson" is the title which his biographer Izaak Walton gives him; and the two epithets are those which best describe this fine specimen of a post-Reformation saint.

Robert Sanderson was of gentle birth on both sides. His early home was at Rotherham, and he was educated at the grammar school in that town until his thirteenth year, when his father "designed to improve his grammar learning by removing him to one of the more noted schools of Eton or Westminster," and took his son southwards with that intent. But on their way he called "on an old friend, a minister of noted learning," who examined the lad, and found him so forward that he advised the father to shorten his journey and leave him at Oxford. The advice was followed, and Robert Sanderson was left at Oxford under the special care of Dr. Gilbie, Rector of Lincoln College, who entered him at Lincoln, and in 1603 matriculated him there. In 1606 he graduated and was elected Fellow, and in 1608 was appointed "Reader of Logic." In this capacity he delivered

his famous Logic Lectures, which he was subsequently with great difficulty persuaded to methodise and publish. They became the standard manual at Oxford until they were superseded by the far inferior treatise of Dean Aldrich, so painfully familiar to many generations of Oxford men. He had been ordained on the title of his Fellowship, and in 1618 was presented by his kinsman Sir Nicholas Sanderson, Viscount Castleton, to the living of Wyberton, near Boston, in Lincolnshire; but he found the climate too damp for his health, and, being far too conscientious to follow the common but evil habit of holding a benefice without residing upon it, he resigned it within a year. He was, however, soon (1619) presented to another living in the same county, more pleasantly and healthily situated, Boothby Pagnell, near Grantham, and here he quietly lived for more than forty years. He was an excellent parish priest, a true father in God to his humble parishioners, while he maintained a relationship with his resident squire, Mr. Harrington, which was a model of what such relationship should be. He was most at home in his own little parish and in his study, and would fain have escaped outside notice. But this was not to be. He was made a prebendary, first of Southwell and then of Lincoln; and in 1631, at the urgent desire of Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, Charles I. made him his Chaplain in Ordinary. In 1642 he was appointed Regius Professor of

Divinity at Oxford; but partly through his own nervousness, partly through the breaking out of the Civil War, he appears to have done little in that capacity. He was in request as a preacher, but this, again, was not quite in his line; for there was a prejudice against written sermons, and he was far too diffident to preach without a book. On one occasion when he attempted it he broke down so lamentably that his friend, the great Hammond, who was present, begged him not to do so again; but his written sermons were so good that it was said that "the best sermons that ever were read were never preached." By a sort of happy chance, Sanderson was enabled to remain in his country parish all through the troubles. It was brought about in this wise. A Mr. Clark, a Puritan minister, was taken prisoner by the King's forces at Newark, and, by way of retaliation, Sanderson was taken prisoner by the Parliamentarians and sent to Lincoln. An exchange of prisoners took place, and each was sent back to his parish, on the understanding that he was to be unmolested there so long as he did not interfere with political affairs. Sanderson therefore remained at Boothby Pagnell without any regular interference, but not without *irregular*. Troops of soldiers used to come to his church; and his mode of conducting the service—which was, so far as possible without breaking the law, the mode of the Church of England—did not please these amateur theologians. Sanderson

suffered much annoyance, and, indeed, some actual danger, from their violence, but he was one of those men who combine great bashfulness and humility with great courage, physical and moral; and, as he had absolutely refused the Covenant, so he would not yield one inch to the wishes of the military divines. It was at Boothby Pagnell that he wrote his valuable sermons, one volume of which was published in 1627, another in 1632, and another in 1657; and, more valuable still, his casuistical works. Casuistry is a word which has acquired an evil meaning as almost equivalent to sophistry, "making the worse appear the better meaning," but it was not so in the seventeenth century. Skill in dealing with cases of conscience was then part of the equipment of the well-armed divine, and to be called a "a good casuist" was high praise. No one deserved this praise better than Robert Sanderson. It was for purely practical, not speculative, purposes that he devoted himself to the study. He was consulted by all sorts of persons, from the King downwards, who were really troubled in conscience, and it was probably a consciousness of the reality of the question with which he was dealing, no less than the clearness of his judgment, the dignity of his style, and his long logical training, which made his writings on casuistical divinity, short though they are, the most valuable which we possess in that department. The Stuarts, with all their faults, were singularly capable of appreciating such merits,

and none more so than Charles I., who highly valued Sanderson as a casuist. "I take," he said, "my ears to other preachers, but I take my conscience to Mr. Sanderson," and at one of the last interviews between the King and his chaplain, in the Isle of Wight, Charles begged him to apply himself to the writing of cases of conscience. On Sanderson's replying that he was now grown too old, the King said it was the simplest thing he had ever heard from him, for no young man was fit to be a judge or write cases of conscience. Sanderson could at that time not have been above sixty.

When the Restoration came, Sanderson really *was* an old man, considerably over seventy, but his ability and piety were too great to allow his services to be dispensed with. He was forced to take a leading part both in the Savoy Conference and in the very important sessions of Convocation which followed. He was a good liturgical scholar,—indeed the best, at any rate next to Cosin, of all who helped to arrange the Book of Common Prayer as it now stands. How much was actually his handiwork it is not easy to determine; but it is quite certain that he was the writer of the Preface beginning, "It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England"—a model of stately and luminous English; and there is little doubt that he had a hand in the Services which were added, and the slight alterations which were made. Though firm as a rock in his own Church principles, he was

characteristically fair and kind towards those who were necessarily brought into collision with such principles. Both Neal and Baxter, though they differed from him *in toto*, pay a worthy tribute to his general excellence and piety. Baxter, indeed, complains that he showed "the peevishness of old age" in his conduct as Moderator at the Savoy Conference; but one can well understand how hopelessly at variance the two good men must have been when liturgical subjects were being discussed; and Baxter's remark must be taken *cum grano*.

On the recommendation of Gilbert Sheldon, Sanderson was at once appointed Bishop of Lincoln; and though he was seventy-three years of age, and held the see for little more than two years, he made his mark upon it, and left behind him a reputation of having been not only a pious and learned, but also an active bishop. He was lenient to Nonconformists, so far as the law allowed—and indeed rather farther—thinking it wiser to draw them by kindness and argument than to force them into the Church; he augmented small benefices, and nearly rebuilt the episcopal residence at Buckden, where he died in January, 1663.

IV.

THOMAS KEN (1637-1711).

THOMAS KEN was one who attracted by his sheer goodness the admiration of men who differed from him most widely. Lord Macaulay, whose views, ecclesiastical and political, were the opposite of Ken's, writes: "His character approaches, as near as human infirmity permits, to the ideal perfection of Christian virtue," and it really would be difficult to find any discordant note in the chorus of praise which has been generally awarded to him. This is all the more remarkable because Ken was so far from being one of those men who *try* to please everybody that he erred, if anything, in the opposite extreme. Never was there a man who was so utterly independent, so ready to rush into the breach when there was difficult and dangerous work to be done, who could so boldly rebuke vice, and set his face as a flint against what he regarded as error, either in theory or practice. Moreover, his "human infirmity" showed itself in a naturally warm temper, which it required much grace to subdue, and which led him at times to write very sharply. But everybody felt

that his heart was in the right place, and he was not only esteemed but loved in his lifetime, while a special charm lingers still around his memory.

He was born at Berkhamstead in 1637; but he lost both his parents early, and after their death his home was with his half-sister Anna, twenty years his senior, who was married to the noted Izaak Walton, and lived in London. In 1651 he was elected scholar at Winchester, and in 1656 at New College, Oxford, but, as there was not a vacancy then, he was for a year at Hart Hall, now Hertford College. Having graduated in 1661, he was ordained on the title of his fellowship, and was for a short time a college tutor. But parochial work was his proper sphere, and in 1663 Lord Maynard presented him to the living of Little Easton in Essex. Lady Maynard took him as her spiritual director, and among the very few sermons of Ken which are extant is the *Funeral Sermon for Lady Maynard*, preached in 1682. We gather from it incidentally that he introduced daily prayers, morning and evening, in the parish church of Little Easton. He resigned Easton in 1665 to become domestic chaplain to Bishop Morley, at Winchester, and to undertake the gratuitous charge of the poverty-stricken parish of St. John-in-the-Soke in that city. In 1666 he was elected Fellow of Winchester, and resigned his Oxford fellowship. In 1667 Bishop Morley gave him the living of Brighthelmston, in the Isle of Wight, which he held until

1669, when the Bishop gave him a prebend at Winchester and the rectory of East Woodhay ; but in 1672 he resigned East Woodhay in order to make room for his college friend, George Hooper, with whom he was curiously connected in many ways through life, and returned to Winchester, resuming the gratuitous charge of St. John-in-the-Soke. Ken was always what would now be called a High Churchman, but he gloried also in being a Protestant, and a tour to Rome in 1675 with his nephew, Izaak Walton the younger, only confirmed his Protestantism, as he afterwards distinctly told King James II. In 1679 he was appointed domestic chaplain at the Hague to the Princess Mary, whose husband, William, Prince of Orange, he offended, partly by his strong Churchmanship and partly by his "boldly rebuking vice" in one of the courtiers. He returned to Winchester in 1680, and was appointed chaplain to King Charles II., and it is to the credit of both parties that his faithful dealing with that careless, pleasure-loving monarch was the cause of his advancement. He was—as, indeed, he always was—most outspoken in his sermons before his royal master, who used to say, "I must go and hear little Ken tell me of my faults." When Charles visited Winchester in 1683, Ken was asked (probably as royal chaplain) to give up his prebendal house for the accommodation of the King's mistress, Eleanor Gwyn. Ken replied, "Not for half his kingdom," and the answer was, of

course, reported to the King, but with a different result from what was expected. In 1684 the bishopric of Bath and Wells fell vacant, and by the King's special wish it was given "to the little black man who would not give poor Nelly a lodging," and Charles desired it to be regarded as his own peculiar appointment. Ken had one more opportunity of dealing faithfully with King Charles ; he was summoned to that memorable death scene in 1685, when he absolutely refused to minister to the dying King until the notorious Duchess of Portsmouth left the room ; then, on the testimony of Burnet, who had no sympathy with Ken's Church views, "he spoke like one inspired."

Ken was a most active and efficient bishop. He travelled about his diocese, encouraging and stimulating his clergy, promoting daily services, preaching in different churches, almost lavish in his charities, and always putting in a word of counsel or warning to the recipients. When he was at home at Wells on Sundays he made a point of having twelve poor people to dine with him at his own table, and after he had supplied them with material, supplied them also with spiritual, food. It was, in the first instance, for the benefit of his own diocese that he wrote his *Practice of Divine Love* (1685), in which, as his latest biographer says, he "turned the Church Catechism into a Manual of Devotion ;" and the very titles of his next works, *Directions for Prayer for the Diocese of*

Bath and Wells, Prayers for the Use of all Resorting to the Baths at Bath, and A Pastoral Letter to his Clergy concerning their Behaviour during Lent, sufficiently show that these were primarily written for the same purpose. On no occasion did the Bishop's conduct appear in a more noble light than when his diocese became the scene of the Monmouth rebellion, culminating in the battle of Sedgemoor. He had no sympathy either with the political or the ecclesiastical views of the rebels, and they had desecrated and ravaged his beloved Cathedral and done other damage which he deeply lamented. But he was the first to return good for evil; he visited the prisoners "day and night," relieved their wants himself, and encouraged others to do so: he thought most justly that they were treated with great cruelty, and he interceded for them perseveringly and not without success with their savage conquerors; and he was with the unhappy Monmouth during his last night on earth. It was the same with the French Protestants who were driven to England in their distress after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Some Churchmen were rather shy about assisting them, because they were more like English Dissenters than English Churchmen, but Ken preached, says Evelyn, "a most excellent and pathetic discourse" on their behalf at Whitehall, and in response to the Brief for their relief in his own diocese gave personally the enormous sum of £4000.

It was a sad pity that such an episcopate was so soon closed for what seems to many, though it did not to Ken, a political reason. The unhappy James II. was rushing on to his ruin, and no one withstood him more courageously than Bishop Ken. As Ken was now one of the most effective and eloquent of English preachers, he could make his influence felt. King's chaplain as he was, he had no fear of preaching in the King's own chapel against the King's religion; and when James accused him (unjustly, as the event proved) of disloyalty, Ken replied, with a two-edged reproof, that "if His Majesty had not neglected his duty of being present, his enemies had missed this opportunity of accusing him." He strongly objected to James's "Declarations of Indulgence," knowing that they were really part of the persistent endeavour to establish Romanism; and he was one of the famous Seven Bishops who drew up the petition against forcing the clergy to read the second Declaration, and who were imprisoned in the Tower—the event which was really the proximate cause of the Revolution of 1688. But when that Revolution actually occurred Ken was for some time in doubt what he ought to do. He would gladly have welcomed a Regency, but this plan proved abortive. He was torn both ways; his two most intimate friends took different sides. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, was an uncompromising Jacobite; George Hooper, rector of

Lambeth, was a Williamite. Both tried their best to make Ken take their own course; but he decided at last to become a Nonjuror, because he felt that it was safer for him, when in doubt, to take the course which involved him in penury than that which continued him in affluence. He found a happy retreat at Longleat, the noble seat of another old friend, Viscount Weymouth, who made an arrangement by which Ken would have enough for his very simple wants; and the chief trouble which he met with during the last twenty years of his peaceful life arose rather from his friends than his enemies. He was brought into collision with Dr. Hickee in reference to the new consecrations of Nonjuring bishops, with Dr. Lloyd about recognising the claims of Dr. Hooper as Bishop of Bath and Wells, and with the thorough-paced Jacobites and Nonjurors generally for resigning all claims to allegiance after the death of Bishop Lloyd. The general sympathy of Churchmen has certainly been with Ken in all these points; there is, however, another side of the question, and the arguments of those who met Ken on his own ground are difficult to answer. But there is not the least doubt that Ken from first to last only meant to do what was right.

“Let all thy converse be sincere,
Thy conscience as the noon-day clear.”

No one ever acted more consistently on the

principle of these lines than the writer of them; and it is a satisfaction, as one sings Ken's hymns, or uses Ken's prayers (which are very good), to feel that the composer of them was a veritable saint.

V.

ROBERT NELSON (1656-1715).*

IT is high time to remember that there were saintly men among the laity as well as among the clergy; and it would be difficult to find a better specimen than "the pious Robert Nelson," to use the epithet which was often given him by contemporaries, and which Mr. Secretan has adopted in the title-page of his admirable biography.

Robert Nelson was a Londoner by birth, his father being a "Turkey Merchant," who died in Robert's childhood, leaving his family in easy circumstances. Nelson was for a short time at St. Paul's School; but his mother soon removed to Dryfield, near Cirencester, and he was placed under the tuition of the famous George Bull, at that time rector of the neighbouring parish of Suddington, or Siddington. In 1678 he entered as a fellow-commoner at Trinity College, Cambridge, but for some reason never resided. Besides Bull, he had among his early friends John Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Edmund

* *The Life and Times of the Pious Robert Nelson*, pub. 1860.

Halley, the famous astronomer; and when he was only twenty-four years of age, was chosen Fellow of the Royal Society; one can therefore well understand the culture which he shows, in spite of the lack of a university education. In 1683 he married Theophila, widow of Sir Kingsmill Lucy and daughter of the Earl of Berkeley, whom he met at Rome, and who, to his great grief, became a Roman Catholic. It is not easy to determine the time of her conversion—not an uncommon case with converts to Rome; but at any rate, the circumstance affected neither Nelson's own religious views nor his wedded happiness. His very first work was against the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation and was written *after* his marriage; and he lived most amicably with his wife until her death in 1706. This was highly characteristic of Nelson, who, while holding tenaciously very definite opinions of his own, maintained not only amicable but intimate relations with people who widely differed from him. "You can," wrote Hickee to him, "discourse with all sorts of men, with whom you differ in matters of religion, in the same easy and obliging manner as with those with whom you agree." Nelson was indeed a man of many friends, including in the list men of such divergent views as Sancroft, Ken, Frampton, Kettlewell, Cherry, Dodwell, Hickee and Lee on the one side, and Tillotson, Smalridge, Bray, Thoresby, Mapletoft, Bull and Sharp on the other. The epithet "pious,"

already noted, partly explains this happy facility ; men were attracted by his piety who were repelled by his views—political and religious. No doubt, also, his native courtesy and amiability contributed to the result. Moreover, people respect a man who honestly takes an independent line of his own ; and Nelson took a *very* independent line. At the crisis of the Revolution he was quite convinced as to what was called “the State point,” but doubtful as to “the Church point ;” in other words, he was a stout Jacobite ; but was it necessary that he should therefore become a Nonjuror ? His friend Tillotson, of all men in the world, convinced him that it *was*, on the ground that if he thought any of the prayers were wrong, as he certainly thought the prayers for “the usurper” and his family were, he should not join in the national worship. Of course, as a layman who held no office which required him to take the oaths, he might have evaded the difficulty ; but Nelson was not the man to evade any difficulty. So he joined the Nonjurors, and found among them kindred spirits, who probably raised his Church views, notably, John Kettlewell, George Hickes, and Thomas Ken. But he was never quite comfortable in his position. His strong sense of the Unity of the Church made him very reluctant to take part in any division ; and his desire to do practical good in the best way he could made him see that he could do it more effectively in connection with a

large than with a small body. So he joined, on every possible occasion when he could do so without sacrifice of principle, with his friends who had not seceded ; and he gladly embraced the first opportunity of returning to the National Church. That opportunity occurred in 1710, when the last but one of “the invalidly deprived fathers,” Bishop Lloyd, died, and the sole survivor, Bishop Ken, distinctly replied, in answer to his inquiry, that he no longer claimed his allegiance. Nelson was so greatly and universally respected that his loss was a grievous blow to the Nonjuring cause ; and his most intimate friend Hickes implored him to wait until he (Hickes) should finish a work which would put the Nonjurors’ case fully before him. Nelson agreed to wait until Easter ; but illness prevented Hickes from finishing his work in time, and Nelson rejoined the National Church, receiving the Holy Communion at St. Mildred’s, Poultry, from his old friend, Archbishop Sharp on Easter Day, 1711. The political question, however, still remained. Nelson was as ardent a Jacobite as ever ; he held correspondence with Lord Melfort, the agent of the exiled Stuarts ; and he actually corrected for the press a work which was condemned as treasonable, *The Hereditary Right to the Crown asserted*—a work whose title tells its own tale. Many who rejoined the National Church at this time stumbled at the State prayers, and showed their disapproval in various rather embarrassing

ways. Nelson's way, it is said, was to rise from his knees and feel in his pocket for his snuff-box ; this explains two lines in a severe and racy epigram written on these Jacobite Churchmen—

“To join in one part, and take snuff at the rest,
Is basely dissembling with God at the best.”

These semi-political, semi-theological matters, however, never interfered in the least with Nelson's activity in all good, practical work, nor yet with his pen, which was constantly employed in writing works which were most valuable in the general interests of religion, and kept quite free from politics. And we may now turn, with a sigh of relief, to Nelson the worker and the writer. No clergyman ever threw himself more heartily and vigorously into every scheme for ameliorating the spiritual and moral state of the world, or suggested more new ones, than this layman did. The Religious Societies (in the technical sense of the term), the Society for the Reformation of Manners, the Charity Schools, which merged in the S.P.C.K. the S.P.G. which took its origin from the latter, Dr. Bray's scheme for providing parochial libraries, the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, the Commission for Building Fifty New Churches in and about London, were not only liberally supported, but also helped by the personal and self-denying labours of Robert Nelson. He also projected new schemes, such as theological colleges, hospitals

for incurables, and schools for “blackguard boys,” which have all been adopted in later times. And Nelson was quite as active and effective with his pen in the service of religion as he was with his personal labours. His friend, John Kettlewell, whom he perhaps respected more than any one, advised him “especially to write for the honour of religion, which, he thought, might do more good as coming from a lay gentleman than it would from a professed clergyman,” and Nelson faithfully followed the advice. After his first on “Transubstantiation” already noticed, he devoted himself to strictly practical, rather than controversial, works, though he had no scruple about giving his opinion most plainly on controverted points. His writings were deservedly most popular ; for his style is pure and simple, and there is an air of simplicity and reality about them, reflecting the spirit of the man, which render them very attractive. In 1698 he published anonymously *The Practice of True Devotion*, in which he carefully avoided controversy, because he thought the prevalence of religious controversies drew men away from “the solid and substantial part of religion, the spirit and life of devotion.” This book did not catch hold of the public at first, but it subsequently became very popular, and passed through many editions. In 1704 appeared the work by which his name is best known, *A Companion for the Festivals and Fasts of the Church of England, with Collects and Prayers*

for each Solemnity. It would not be too much to say that this book has not even yet been superseded, and it does not deserve to be. It had the advantage of the supervision of one of the most learned divines in the English Church, William Cave; so the reader may thoroughly trust its facts. Its immediate sale was exceptionally large for a work of that nature, and it may be used with the greatest advantage at the present day. Passing over several minor works—all, however, very useful practically—it may suffice to mention three others, viz.: *The Great Duty of frequenting the Christian Sacrifice* (1707), in which, though it is far more devotional than controversial, Nelson shows his colours fearlessly; for the sacrificial character of the Holy Eucharist was then being rather fiercely discussed, and that character he strongly insists upon; *The Life of Dr. George Bull* (1713), his old tutor, which is a model of what such a biography should be; and *An Address to Persons of Quality and Estate* (1715), to which is added a sort of supplement, a *Representation of the Ways and Means of Doing Good*. This is a dying appeal to all who, like himself, were blessed with this world's goods, to use them as talents for which they would have to give account, and suggesting numerous means by which they might do so. In the same year the saintly layman died; and nothing illustrates more forcibly his reputation for sanctity than a curious incident connected with his funeral.

He lived in the neighbourhood of a new cemetery in Lamb's Conduit Fields, against which, for some unaccountable reason, a strong prejudice existed; and people would not be buried in it. But Nelson gave direction that there his bones should be laid; and when that was done, the spell was broken; others felt that they might safely follow, where so holy a man led the way.

VI.

THOMAS BRAY (1656-1730).

IF true and unselfish devotion to the Church of Christ, indefatigable and most successful labour in its behalf, and a long and blameless life spent, with scant recognition, in the interests of religion, constitute a title to be ranked amongst our post-reformation saints, no one deserves that title better than Thomas Bray; for no man did more for the Church at home and abroad, and no man received less from her in the way of earthly recompense. It is necessary to insist strongly upon these points, because Thomas Bray is not a name to conjure with, like those of the three who have preceded him in these papers. Though we can trace all the details of his life from first to last, though he was a diligent and effective writer, though his practical work will bear comparison for extent, variety and permanent value, with that of any man in any age of the Church, it is astonishing how little he is now known. He is, perhaps, hardly more than a name even to many really well-informed Churchmen. He did not *seek* his reward on earth, and he certainly did not *find* it,

either in advancement during his lifetime or in fame after his death. It is difficult to find a reason, but the fact is patent. Hence, there is not one among the twelve who have come, or will come before us in these papers, to whom it is more important that *some* little justice should be done.

Thomas Bray was born at Marton, a village in Shropshire, and was educated at the Grammar School of Oswestry, whence he proceeded to Hart Hall, Oxford. Having graduated and received holy orders, he held for a short time a curacy in his native county, and then became domestic chaplain in the family of Sir Thomas Price, of Park Hall, in Warwickshire. Considering how contemptuously domestic chaplains were spoken of, and how badly they were said to be treated, it is surprising how many good and able men seem to have served in that office. Sir Thomas Price gave Bray the donative of Marston Lee or Lee Marston, and his diligence and efficiency in that cure attracted the notice of a neighbouring clergyman, the saintly John Kettlewell, who, by the way, had also been a domestic chaplain, and was then vicar of Coleshill. It was probably through Kettlewell that Bray became known to Simon, Lord Digby, upon whom also he made a very favourable impression by an assize sermon which he had preached, when a very young man, at Warwick. This Lord Digby always

sought out the best clergymen for preferment to the livings in his gift, but he died too soon to have any vacancy for Bray. He commended him, however, before his death to William, Lord Digby, his brother and successor, who gave him the vicarage of Over-Whitacre, and soon after (1690), the rectory of Sheldon. At Sheldon, Bray wrote his first work, *Catechetical Lectures*, which was intended to fill four volumes. The first volume, however, alone was published, his time being soon fully occupied otherwise. It was published at the instance of his diocesan, Bishop Lloyd, who had the highest opinion of Bray. It sold rapidly, and attracted much attention in London, as well as in the country. Among others the then Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, was much impressed by it, and finding upon inquiry that Bray was as good a man as he was writer, made a proposal to him which affected the whole course of his life. The colony of Maryland determined to have an endowed and established Church with a division of parishes like those in England. It also wished to have as near an approach to a bishop, who should superintend all the parishes, as it could find. By an absurd arrangement, the Bishop of London was considered Diocesan of all the colonies. Application, therefore, was made to Dr. Compton to send out as his Commissary some experienced, unexceptionable clergyman. The bishop at once selected Bray, who accepted the

office on condition that funds could be raised for supplying the Maryland clergy with books; for he found that only "the poorest sort" of clergy, who were quite unable to supply themselves with the books necessary for the equipment of efficient ministers, would go abroad. This was in the Spring of 1696, but matters could not be quickly settled, owing to legal difficulties concerning the powers of Maryland and England respectively. The delay was utilised by Bray, in himself collecting subscriptions for books for the clergy. He was well supported by some of the bishops, but he was often met elsewhere by the objection that there were too many poor clergy at home in a like plight, and that these must be helped first, because charity should begin at home. Bray saw the force of the objection, but instead of its leading him to abandon his scheme it only led him to extend it. He aimed at nothing less than establishing parochial libraries in every deanery in England and Wales, which were to answer more purposes than one. They were to supply an ample store of theological books, which were to be lent out to the clergy; they were to be convenient centres where the clergy might meet to discuss Church matters, instead of meeting at public-houses, which would cause a scandal, or at their own private houses, which would be inconvenient and expensive; and, finally, they were to be made the means of reviving the ancient office of Rural Dean, which

had become practically obsolete. By dint of continual perseverance he met with a considerable measure of success, but meanwhile he never forgot his first intention to supply the colonial clergy with books, and he was at least equally successful in this attempt. His heart was still in America, and he refused two advantageous offers of preferment in England, the office of sub-almoner and the living of S. Botolph Without Aldgate, determining to go to Maryland. There was, however, a delay of two years before matters could be at all settled, and Bray employed the interval in planting the germ of what was the greatest work of his life. It was but a step from the promotion of Christian knowledge by means of libraries for the clergy, its authorised teachers, to the promotion of Christian knowledge generally; and in 1698 Bray became the *primum mobile* of the great society now so well-known under the initials S.P.C.K. He strove in vain to obtain public aid from various quarters; he could not even procure a charter for the society; so, with what was then a great venture of faith, he established, with a few able coadjutors, a purely voluntary society, the first objects of which were to promote the education of the poor, chiefly through charity schools, to extend the library scheme by the dissemination generally of religious books, and to convert the negroes in the West Indies and America, and help missionary work generally. Having set the ball a-rolling, Bray in

1699 went to Maryland, set things in order in the Church there, founded many libraries, held a general visitation, and drew up an exhaustive and interesting memorial of the state of the Church abroad for the benefit of English readers. On his return home he found the work of his society so extended that it was necessary to make the propagation of the Gospel in the Plantations a separate department. Hence arose the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for which a charter was obtained from King William III., dated June, 1701. Again Bray was the leading spirit. He it was who started the idea of the new society, or rather the new offshoot of the old one, drew up the scheme, and obtained the charter. His work now lay at home; so in 1706 he accepted the living he had previously declined, and became a most active and efficient parish priest at S. Boltoph Without Aldgate, for nearly a quarter of a century. He was so energetic, and so good an economiser of his time that his work in his own parish did not interfere with his work for the Church at large, nor *vice versa*. He took a leading part in all the many schemes for good which flourished in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He was one of the mainstays of the religious societies founded in 1678; an ardent and very valuable supporter of the charity schools; never abated in his zeal and practical labours for the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G.; and

was so anxious for the progress of his original scheme for parochial libraries and the conversion of the negroes that when, in 1723, he was attacked by an illness which threatened to be fatal, he associated with himself other kindred spirits, who might carry on the work when he was gone. These were called "The Associates of Dr. Bray," and they included some of the most pious and prominent churchmen throughout the eighteenth century. They issued an annual report of the work they had done during the year, always prefacing it with a short memoir of Dr. Bray, and thus acknowledging that that good man was the founder whose memory should ever be kept green. As if these varied labours were not sufficient for him, Bray in his old age started, or heartily threw himself into new schemes for doing good. Having heard sad accounts of the state of the prisoners in our gaols, he anticipated Howard in endeavouring to better the condition and elevate the characters of that unhappy class; he cordially joined in the scheme of General Oglethorpe for founding a colony for those who could not find work at home. The pains which "so aged a man" took in catechising the children and doing other work in his own parish surprised no less than it delighted Ralph Thoresby, who speaks in rapturous terms of it in his Diary. And finally, he never ceased to handle the pen of a ready writer; all his works tended to piety, his last, written not long

before his death, being a brief memoir of one who might well occupy a space in these papers, Richard Rawlet, of Newcastle, the trusted friend of Kettlewell from whom Bray had doubtless derived the first impression of him. Thomas Bray died in 1730, without having received any adequate recognition, save in the many good works with which his name is connected.

VII.

THOMAS WILSON (1663-1755).

IT will be impossible to do more within the limits of this paper than give the briefest sketch of the long career, crowded with incident, of this apostolic man.

Thomas Wilson was born at Burton, in Cheshire, December 20, 1663, and was educated at the King's School, Chester. Thence he proceeded to Trinity College, Dublin, where he was elected scholar in 1683. He studied medicine, but was, happily, persuaded by his friend and fellow-student at Trinity College, Dublin, Michael Hewetson, to enter the clerical rather than the medical profession; and, having received Holy Orders in Ireland, became in 1687 assistant-curate to his maternal uncle, Richard Sherlock, rector of Winwick, in Lancashire. No better trainer for a young clergyman could have been found; for Sherlock was an exemplary parish priest, and a man of great ability and culture. In 1692 Wilson was appointed domestic chaplain to the ninth Earl of Derby, tutor to his only son, and Master of the Almshouse at Lathom. His total stipend only amounted to

£50 a year; but the Earl also offered him the valuable rectory of Badsworth, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, which, however, he promptly declined, having resolved never to be a non-resident incumbent. Wilson, young though he was, boldly rebuked the Earl when he thought he was going the wrong way; and the Earl, instead of taking offence, only respected him the more, and in 1697 "forced him," as Wilson says, "into the bishopric" of Sodor and Man, which was in his gift as Lord of Man. As the bishopric was only worth £300 a year, the Earl again pressed him to accept the living of Badsworth to hold *in commendam*, but Wilson again refused.

And now in January, 1697-8, began that unique Episcopal career which awakened, as well it might, the astonishment and admiration of all right-thinking men, and which lasted for more than half a century. Wilson was not shackled by any of those impediments which, while nominally safeguards, were in reality obstacles to the Church's usefulness in England in the eighteenth century. In the Isle of Man there was no silencing of the voice of Convocation, no Act of Uniformity to prevent the Church from adapting itself to new needs and altered circumstances, no objections to the enforcement of a godly discipline arising from a misconception of the relative positions of Church and State. The Bishop had a free hand, and used it freely. He made his Convocation a reality;

and, being a thoroughly well-instructed as well as earnest Churchman, defined its functions clearly and correctly, and saw that they were duly discharged. He arranged Services, as he was very competent to do, and authorised their use for special occasions; and he enforced the most rigorous discipline. He was not tempted—indeed required—as bishops in England were, to be perpetually dancing attendance at Court; and so he devoted his whole time to his diocese, very rarely leaving his island home. Feeling that the character of a Church depends greatly upon the character of its clergy, he gave his first attention to *them*, and especially to candidates for Holy Orders. At his annual Convocation he used to propose the names of those who sought to be ordained to the assembled clergy for their approbation; and, when they approved, he begged them to keep a watchful eye upon the candidates, so that when they were called on to sign their testimonials they might do it with a safe conscience. The candidates themselves he was wont to take to reside with him in his own family for a whole year before their ordination, and used to read the Greek Testament with them every day. Knowing that when the bishop is expected, a parish is put in order, and furnishes no criterion of the ordinary work, he used to pay surprise visits to different parishes on Sundays, and judge for himself how things were going on. Next to

the church, the school was his care. He never rested until he had established parochial schools throughout his diocese, long before they were at all common in England; and he laid great stress upon the bounden duty of the clergy to attend to them personally. Nowhere was Dr. Bray's scheme for establishing parochial libraries so successful as in the Isle of Man; and that, entirely through the efforts of the Bishop. He took great pains to learn the Manx language, that he might appeal, both in print and by word of mouth, to the people in their mother tongue; and there were in time few families in the Isle which had not some of the Bishop's publications in Manx. Nor was it only the spiritual condition of the diocese which interested him. He used the medical knowledge which he had acquired in early life for the benefit of his people. He set up a drug shop and gave advice and medicine gratis; he was actually for some time the only physician on the island; and when others came he gave up to them the patients who could afford to pay, retaining those as his own who could not. He encouraged agriculture, planted trees in all directions, and set up manufactories in his own demesne, so that he might give employment instead of relieving idleness. He had always kept what he called "the poor drawer" in his bureau, devoting first a tenth, then a third, then a half of his income to charitable purposes. To this he added "a poor's chest" in his barn

which he always kept full of corn and meal for the indigent; and he used to purchase assortments of spectacles for the aged poor, so that when their eye-sight was failing they might still see to read their Bibles. He was an excellent man of business, thrifty himself as well as a promoter of thrift in others. This may account for the fact that he could do ten times more in the way of charity than many who had ten times his income. Moreover, unselfish liberality is happily contagious; and Bishop Wilson's, besides raising up for him liberal friends from the outside, like Lady Elizabeth Hastings, stimulated the Manxmen to take their share in the expenses, which his many schemes for good must have entailed.

Perhaps the most striking feature in Wilson's work was his success in restoring in the Isle of Man that primitive discipline which had long been, and still is, in abeyance elsewhere. He drew up a code of "Ecclesiastical Constitutions" for his diocese, in reference to which Lord Chancellor King said, "If the ancient discipline of the Church were lost, it might be found in all its purity in the Isle of man." He was a severe disciplinarian, and drew the reins more tightly than even *he* could have done elsewhere. The rigorous system worked well and smoothly, and was patiently submitted to until the year 1713, when a new Governor, Alexander Horne, and a new Archdeacon, Robert Horobin, who was also the Governor's chaplain, appeared on the scene.

Then the happy relations between the civil and ecclesiastical powers were interrupted; a series of difficulties arose, into the details of which it is unnecessary to enter, and the upshot was that Wilson, refusing to pay a fine which was inflicted upon him by the civil power, was thrown into the common gaol at Castle Rushen, where he remained for two months. In most cases when there is any legal contest between the clergy and the laity, public sympathy is on the side of the latter. But in this case it was quite the reverse. The Bishop was regarded as a noble confessor, his opponents as cruel persecutors; and, but for the intercession of Wilson himself, the people would have mobbed and probably pulled down the Governor's house; they crowded round the prison, from between the bars of which the Bishop used to preach to them and exhort them; and they attended better to exhortations given under such extraordinary circumstances than to those delivered from the pulpit. Hence Bishop Wilson used to say that his diocese was never better governed than when he was in prison, and that, but for his health's sake, he would have been content to live in prison all his life. But his health *did* suffer, and on that account, and also in the interest of justice, he felt it his duty, as he said, "to appeal unto Cæsar," that is, to the King in council, who reversed the judgment, and Wilson was released. To indemnify him for his expenses the King offered him the bishopric of Exeter, which

he declined. He had previously (1711) declined a similar offer from Queen Anne, who was pleased with "the elegant simplicity" of a sermon he preached before her, and who had heard of his high character and the noble work he was doing in the Isle. Wilson replied that "by the blessing of God he could do some little good in the little spot that he then resided on; whereas, if he were removed into a larger sphere, he might be lost, and forget his duty to his flock and to his God." When he visited England for the last time, in 1735, again an English bishopric was pressed upon him by Queen Caroline, to whom he made the oft-quoted reply, "No, an please your Majesty I will not leave my wife in my old age because she is poor." So he returned to his island diocese, which had the privilege of his ministrations for twenty years longer, when he died, leaving behind him a name to which it would be hard to find an equal in any age or any part of the Church. His writings fill several volumes in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, and are a faithful transcript of the man. His *Sermons*, his *Maxims*, and his *Sacra Privata* are still living, and still valued, as well they may be. There is in them a happy mixture of quaint simplicity and homeliness combined with great thoughtfulness, of tenderness combined with manliness, of intense earnestness combined with an entire freedom from cant, which render them very fascinating. Possibly admiration of the man may lead one to

exaggerate the merits of the writer; and it is not surely unreasonable that "truth from his *pen*" should "prevail with double sway" who led such a life as the saintly Thomas Wilson.

VIII.

HENRY VENN (1725-1797).

THE Evangelical Revival in the eighteenth century produced many men of a very saintly type, and it is difficult, and almost invidious, to select one out of the number as their representative. But there are reasons why Henry Venn may be selected without at all implying that he rose to a higher degree of holiness than others who held similar views. He was the first bearer of a name which has been honourably connected with such views for several generations. Both his son and his grandson were, in their day, in the very first rank of Evangelical leaders, and several others who were an honour to the cause were descended from him. Again, he influenced greatly some of a younger generation outside his own family, who subsequently became pillars of Evangelicalism; and personally it would be difficult to find a better specimen of a saint formed in the earlier Evangelical mould, which differed in some minor, though not in any essential, points from the later. And once more, Venn was the first to embrace that modified form of Calvinism which, though not

perhaps so logical, was a far more attractive and less perilous form than that, say, of his older friend William Romaine, and which certainly tended to produce great holiness of heart and life. All this will be illustrated in detail by a brief sketch of this good man's life.

Henry Venn was born at Barnes, in Surrey, March 2, 1724-5. The Venns had been connected with the sacred ministry for several generations, and Richard Venn, Henry's father, became rector of S. Antholin's, in the City of London, in the year of his son's birth. He was a prominent member of the High Church party, by whom he was deservedly held in high respect, and he married a daughter of John Ashton, who was regarded as a Jacobite martyr or "Loyal Traitor," having suffered execution for his complicity in the Preston plot. It was not, therefore, from either of his parents that Henry Venn derived the Evangelical views which he subsequently embraced. Indeed, the change was very gradual, and cannot be attributed to any individual, nor even to any one set of influences. He had always lived a decent life, to say the least; and from his school days had shown a tenderness of conscience, which is illustrated by the following story: After his father's death in 1740 he asked his mother to remove him from a school at which discipline was not strictly enforced and send him to one where he was more sternly treated and made to work. This was done, and in 1742, after having

been placed first at Bristol under a Mr. Catcott, and then in Hertfordshire under a Dr. Pitman, both strict disciplinarians, he proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, where his elder brother had been for some years. But in September, 1742, he migrated to Jesus College, having won a Rustat scholarship there, and from thence he graduated in 1745. In 1747 he was nominated Battie University scholar, and was ordained deacon by Bishop Gibson without a title, "from the respect which the Bishop bore to his father's memory." In 1749 he was elected Fellow of Queens', and held his fellowship until his marriage in 1757. But meanwhile a change had taken place. He had entered much into society at Cambridge, where he had been very popular as a man of lively and agreeable manners and as a famous cricketer. His last game was in a match between Surrey and All England, at the conclusion of which he threw down his bat, saying, "Whoever wants a bat which has done me good service may take that, as I have no further occasion for it." And when asked the reason, he replied, "Because I am to be ordained on Sunday, and I will never have it said of me, 'Well hit, Parson!'" The solemn feelings which were awakened by the thought of entering Holy Orders led him to aim at a higher of life; and these feelings were greatly deepened by reading Law's *Serious Call*, the book which influenced so many others in the same way. He began his ministry at the village of Barton, near

Cambridge, and officiated at various other places until 1750, when he accepted the curacy of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, London, and West Horsley. A Mr. Langley was incumbent of both, it then being not unusual for a London clergyman to hold also a country living. At Horsley, where he mainly resided, Venn made such an impression that Sir John Evelyn, of Wotton, great-grandson of the diarist, who was very careful to present good clergymen to the livings in his gift, intended to offer him Wotton; but when Venn heard of it he wrote anonymously to Sir John, strongly recommending Mr. Bryan Broughton, secretary to the S.P.C.K., who was appointed, and who proved an excellent parish priest. Venn at this time framed his life on the model of William Law's *Christian Perfection*; but Law's later and mystic works repelled him, and by degrees he became more and more drawn towards the views of the rising Evangelical school. This tendency was, no doubt, further developed when in 1754 he accepted the curacy of Clapham, which he held for five years. There he formed an intimate friendship with Mr. John Thornton and Sir John Barnard, both of whom would influence him in the same direction, and so probably would the admirable wife (Miss Bishop), whom he married in 1757. With characteristic disinterestedness, he accepted in 1759 the vicarage of Huddersfield which combined the maximum of work with the minimum of pay; and for twelve years he worked

most unweariedly and successfully in this large parish, making such an impression by his preaching and his pastoral care as was rarely made in those easy-going days. A striking instance of his disinterestedness occurred in connection with his work at Huddersfield. Among the many who owed much to his ministrations was a rich elderly widow, who in gratitude put him down for a considerable legacy in her will. When Venn heard of this from his wife, he at once wrote a manly and touching letter to the lady, imploring her to alter her will; for, though the legacy would be most acceptable, he could not accept it because it would lead his people to call in question his sincerity when he urged them to "love not the world, neither the things of the world." It must have been a struggle, for he had a wife and a growing family whom he loved dearly, and whom he had hard work to support properly on his very small stipend of less than £100 a year. His experience at Huddersfield led him "to exalt in higher strains the grace and love of God in Christ Jesus, and to speak less of the power and excellence of man. But his Calvinism stopped here; . . . it did not lead him to relax in his views of the necessity or the nature of holiness. On the contrary, he urged the practice of it most effectually, from what he conceived to be stronger and purer motives. . . . He dreaded young men hastily adopting Calvinistic views; and when once asked respecting a young minister, about whom he

had been much interested, whether he was a Calvinist or an Arminian, he replied, 'I really do not know; he is a sincere disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that is of infinitely more importance than his being a disciple of Calvin or Arminius.'" It was at Huddersfield that he published, in 1763, his most popular work, *The Compleat Duty of Man*, which, though no doubt intended as a counterblast to *The Whole Duty of Man*, was far more a practical than a controversial work, and produced great and widely spread practical effects. Venn's health broke down under the strain of his Huddersfield work, and in 1771 he accepted the rectory of Yelling, offered to him by his friend Chief Baron Smithe. It was not worth much more than Huddersfield, but it gave him the needed rest—rest, but not idleness, for he was as busy, in his way, at Yelling as at Huddersfield. He attended faithfully to his little flock; he kept up a large correspondence with anxious inquirers who valued the advice of so noted a Christian leader; and as Yelling was only twelve miles from Cambridge, which was soon to be one of the chief Evangelical centres, he was visited by young men from the University, some of whom have left emphatic testimony to the benefit they received from his guidance. Among these was Charles Simeon, who was taken to Yelling by Henry Venn's son John, and who wrote many years later that he "loved Henry Venn next to his Saviour," and that his "feelings of love and gratitude to the

departed saint could not be too ardent." Another was Thomas Robinson, afterwards Vicar of S. Mary's, Leicester, and a prominent Evangelical leader of the second generation, who avowedly "took Mr. Venn for his prototype in the discharge of his ministerial duties." Others were William Farish and Joseph Jowett, both subsequently very prominent among the Cambridge Evangelicals. But perhaps the most striking testimony is from one of three clergymen, whose names are not mentioned, and who, attracted by his reputation, came over as strangers to visit him: "To the latest hour of my life I shall never forget that conversation; it made so deep an impression on me that I did not forget one single sentence. After hearing him converse almost during the whole day, I returned with my companions to Cambridge at night; and we each determined, with an earnestness we had never felt before, to devote ourselves unreservedly to the promotion of the gospel of Christ. We wrote down the heads of that interesting conversation; but I had no occasion to write it down, for it was impressed indelibly upon my memory, and that day stands distinguished amongst all the other days of my life, like a day spent in Paradise." Venn showed, even from his undergraduate days, the possession of that rare and most fascinating gift, the gift of conversational power, and he used it in his later years for the highest of all purposes. The last six months of his life were spent at Clapham

Rectory, the home of John Venn, the worthy son of a worthy father. An interesting and well-written biography of him was commenced by his son John and completed by his grandson, the second Henry Venn.

IX.

CHARLES SIMEON (1759-1836).

FROM the point of view of these papers, there are few who have a more obvious claim to a place in them than Charles Simeon. Others were certainly more powerful champions of the Faith from the intellectual side; others were, perhaps, more free from human infirmities, and, one may add, eccentricities; but for whole-hearted devotion to his Divine Master's service; for intense earnestness and unwearied activity in enlisting others in that service; for moral courage and patient forbearance in meeting opposition; for absolute disinterestedness, self-sacrifice, and disregard of wealth, ease, reputation, position—everything, in short, which flesh holds dear—in order that he might promote the cause he had at heart, few can compare with “S. Charles of Cambridge,” as he is termed by Sir James Stephen, whose testimony is all the more valuable because he was by no means at one with Simeon in all his views.

Charles Simeon was born at Reading, September 24, 1759, of parents who were high in the social scale and eminently respectable, but who did nothing to form the religious character which their

son afterwards developed. Indeed, in this matter Simeon owed little, either to his home training in childhood or to his boyish training at school. At nine years of age he was elected on the foundation of Eton College, and there he remained for ten years. From a religious point of view, our public school system was confessedly in a most unsatisfactory condition in the eighteenth century; and Eton was no exception to the rule. One, and only one, passing gleam of the awakening of a religious consciousness in Simeon appears in his Eton days. It was in 1776, when a National Fast Day was appointed in connection with our troubles in America. It was strictly observed at Eton. Simeon was impressed with the feeling that “if there was one who had displeased God more than others it was he,” and he humbled himself before God and spent the day in fasting and prayer. One of his school-fellows tells us that “he became peculiarly strict from that period;” but his own account leads to a different conclusion. In 1779 he was elected to King's College, Cambridge, which became his permanent home for the rest of his life—that is, for fifty-seven years. The universities were not in a more satisfactory state as seminaries of religious teaching than the public schools; but it is a curious fact that it was a regulation—and a very questionable regulation—of King's College, which was the proximate cause of Simeon's conversion. The story had better be told in his own words:—

“It was but the third day after my arrival that I understood I should be expected in the space of about three weeks to attend the Lord’s Supper. ‘What,’ said I, ‘*must* I attend?’ On being informed that I must, the thought rushed into my mind that Satan himself was as fit to attend as I; and that, if I must attend, I must *prepare* for my attendance there.”

So he set himself at once to fasting, prayer and reading. The books which he studied were *The Whole Duty of Man* (“the only religious book that I had ever heard of”), *Kettlewell on the Sacrament*, and *Bishop Wilson on the Lord’s Supper*. It was an expression in the latter book to the effect that “the Jews knew what they did when they transferred their sin to the head of their offering” and after three months’ anxious inquiry touched his heart. He “sought to lay his sins upon the sacred head of Jesus,” and on the following Easter Day “at the Lord’s Table in our Chapel had the sweetest access to God through my blessed Saviour.” “For many months from that time the prayers were as marrow and fatness to me;” he found peace in his soul which he never lost.

It is very noticeable that Simeon, “Methodist” as he was dubbed, was, at this great crisis of his life, guided by teaching of a very pronounced Church type—*The Whole Duty of Man*, John Kettlewell, Thomas Wilson, and the *Book of Common Prayer*. But there is nothing inconsistent about it; Simeon

himself became, in his way, from that day forward, a pronounced Churchman; and, in the language of one of his most distinguished disciples, “his enlightened and firm attachment to the Church of England added, in a degree it is difficult to measure, to his weight of character in the country.” “The Bible first, the Prayer Book next, and all other books and doings in subordination to both” was his maxim, as we are told by another eminent follower, who knew him most intimately in his old age. Indeed, his Churchmanship was *too* strong for some of his admirers. “Mr. Simeon,” it was said, “is more of a *Churchman* than a *Gospel-man*,” which is, in the language of logic, “a cross-division,” for, to say the least, there is no contrast between the two. Simeon’s latest biographer, Bishop Moule, goes further, and, in a most interesting paper, which is too long to quote, intimates that he might possibly have found much to sympathise with in the early phase of the Oxford Movement, which was just arising when *he* was passing away. As a matter of fact, however, Simeon distinctly identified himself with the Evangelical party, which was his proper home, and of which he was certainly the most prominent and influential leader in its second generation. And in the first days after his conversion he found in this party his best friends and guides. As an undergraduate he attended regularly the services at S. Edward’s Church, and was much edified by the preaching of its good Evangelical

vicar, Mr. Atkinson. When he was at home at Reading he was much comforted by the services at S. Mary's, of which the vicar, Mr. Cadogan, was also an Evangelical; and in 1782 he became acquainted at Cambridge with his contemporary, John Venn, afterwards the honoured rector of Clapham, and clerical leader of "The Clapham Sect," who introduced him to his father, Henry Venn, then at Yelling, where he received and directed many earnest-minded young men from Cambridge. Simeon became a frequent visitor and was deeply influenced by Venn, just at that critical time when he received Holy Orders. This was on Trinity Sunday, 1782, a little before he was of canonical age, and even before he had fully graduated. He had, however, been elected Fellow of King's, and was ordained on that title. The first scene of his ministry was S. Edward's Church, where he officiated for seventeen Sundays for Mr. Atkinson, "filled the church with hearers," and increased the number of communicants threefold. But before the year closed he was appointed by the Bishop of Ely Vicar of Trinity Church, and remained in that post to the close of his life, fifty-four years later. His troubles began at once. The parishioners desired to have the assistant curate of the late vicar as his successor, and when, owing to the firmness of the Bishop, they could not have their way, elected him as lecturer, an office in which he was quite independent of the incumbent. The lecturer had

the right of the pulpit on the Sunday afternoon, and even on the Sunday mornings matters were made very uncomfortable for poor young Simeon. The owners of the pews locked the pew doors and absented themselves, and the congregation who assembled in ever-increasing numbers had to be content with the aisles. Simeon was already labelled "an enthusiast" and had to bear his cross as such. And by Divine grace he was enabled to do so with wonderful patience, considering that his natural temper was impetuous, hasty, and, perhaps, a little haughty. "The passage of Scripture," he says, "which subdued and controlled my mind was this, 'The servant of the Lord must not strive.'"

The same Christian spirit enabled him to bear still harder trials. He introduced a Sunday evening lecture, which was at once largely attended; but the Churchwardens locked the church doors and carried off the church keys. Gownsmen began to be attracted to his church; this roused the opposition of other gownsmen, who threw stones, breaking the church windows from the outside, or entered the church and created disturbances within. The College and University authorities looked coldly upon him, and he was, in fact, for some years "an object of much contempt and derision at Cambridge." But in course of time he lived down all opposition by the simple process of overcoming evil with good. The turn of the tide in his favour is dated approximately, 1792; though

his University had begun to understand the real character of the man two or three years earlier, when they saw not only his generosity and activity, but also his good judgment in dealing with the emergencies of the poor in the great dearth of 1789. Such a man naturally cared little for money. He declined the best college living, and would not accept his brother's offer to share his large property because he would then have had to leave Cambridge. He accepted, indeed, a legacy of £15,000, but he spent the whole of the interest yearly on charitable objects, and kept the principal intact, that it might return to the family. He never neglected his proper work either as a parish priest or as a college "don." He held various college offices in turn, and was frequently appointed University preacher; he formed "private societies" for his parishioners, to supplement his pulpit-work, and though he found many disappointments in their internal working, persisted in regarding them as essential parts of his parish work; and he took particular pains in preparing his candidates for Confirmation. But the great feature of his career at Cambridge was his extensive and ever-increasing influence over undergraduates. He exercised this influence by personal interviews, correspondence, and, above all, by his "conversational parties," quite as much as by his ministrations in church. And here, again, one is struck by the calmness, judiciousness and forbearance, so contrary to

his natural disposition, which he almost invariably showed. He insisted upon the young men who came under his spell doing first of all the work which they came to Cambridge to do; he discouraged in every way he could fanaticism, presumption and spiritual pride, to which his converts, in their hot youth and peculiar position, as a "serious" set among the careless, were naturally tempted; he inculcated the strictest deference to all constituted authorities, and set the example by showing the greatest deference himself. He grew more and more in favour of established law and order, and bitterly lamented in his old age that in his youth he had been tempted to take part in irregular work for the sake of doing good. In fact, he may be almost regarded as a martyr to the cause of order, for he caught his last sickness by persisting, in spite of inclement weather, in paying a visit of respect to his new Bishop at Ely,* September 21, 1836. "If this," he said, "is to be the closing scene, I shall not at all regret my journey to the Bishop." It *was* practically the closing scene; he lingered on until November 11th, and then passed quietly away in his rooms at King's College. Cambridge had long learnt to appreciate him, and on his death the whole University was resolved to honour the man once almost banished from its society. More than 1500 gownsmen attended the funeral when his remains

* Dr. Allen.

were deposited in the beautiful chapel of the college in which he had spent the whole of his adult life, and his name is still fresh in the memories of all Christians who value sincere piety, whatever tenets they may hold.

X.

JOHN KEBLE (1792-1866).

THE Church Revival in the nineteenth century, like the Evangelical Revival in the eighteenth, produced many types of saintliness; but it is no disparagement to many others, perhaps equally holy men, to take John Keble as its most characteristic specimen. If for no other reason, he must be selected on the same principle as was George Herbert, as a poet who has touched the hearts of thousands and turned their thoughts into a religious channel. He has also the same claim of a priority of date which Henry Venn had. When Newman was hovering between Evangelicalism and liberalism, when Pusey was suspected, though not quite justly, of a tendency to rationalism, when Charles Marriott was yet a child, Keble's opinions were perfectly formed; and, though they may have subsequently developed, they were substantially the same from the beginning to the end of his life. Moreover, his lovable character, which was a happy mixture of the deepest personal humility with the highest degree of moral courage—of a child-like simplicity with the very acme of Oxford culture—of great spirituality and unworldliness

with an intelligent interest outside the direct sphere of religion, points him out the saint *par excellence* of this period of the English Church. The circumstances of his outer life were simple, and may be soon told.

John Keble was born at Fairford in Gloucestershire, on S. Mark's Day, 1792, where his father, also John Keble, who was vicar of the neighbouring village of Coln S. Aldwin's, lived. His mother was the daughter of another country clergyman, John Maule, vicar of Ringwood. He was, therefore, born in a clerical atmosphere, which was not dispelled by his education; for his father taught him entirely at home until he was elected scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1806. He graduated in 1811 as Double First Classman, the only other candidate who had ever achieved that distinction having been Robert Peel in 1808. He was in the same year elected to an open Fellowship at Oriel, perhaps the highest distinction then attainable, and won two University prizes—the English Essay and the Latin Essay. All this was before he had come of age; so it is not surprising that he was regarded as a phenomenon, and was soon spoken of as “the first man at Oxford.” He was appointed Public Examiner in 1813, College tutor in 1818, and Public Examiner again from 1821 to 1823. Meanwhile he had been ordained Deacon in 1815, Priest in 1816, and combined parochial with his tutorial work, still making

Oxford his chief home. But in 1823 his mother died, and filial piety led him to return to Fairford, taking the curacies of Southrop and Burford. The same motive induced him to decline the Archdeaconry of Barbadoes offered him by Bishop Coleridge in 1824, the living of Hursley (where he had been curate for a short time) in 1829, and the then valuable living of Paignton in 1831, offered to him by Bishop Philpotts, because he thought him “the most pre-eminently good man in the Church.” In 1831 he was appointed Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and held the office for ten years, delivering in that capacity his *Prælectiones*, which are equally excellent for their matter and their latinity. In 1835 he lost his father, and was therefore free to accept the living of Hursley, when it was again offered to him in 1836 by Sir William Heathcote; and, having in 1835 married a lady of truly kindred spirit (Miss Charlotte Clarke, younger sister of his brother Thomas's wife), he settled at Hursley for the remaining thirty years of his life, neither desiring nor receiving the offer of any other preferment, nor any honour or dignity whatever. His life was the very model of what a country clergyman's life should be. He took the deepest interest in the lives of his parishioners, most of whom were of the humbler sort; he was far in advance of his age in the matter of church services, and in all kinds of parochial organisation, which are now

common enough, but were then quite exceptional. He paid special attention to the children, teaching in his school daily, and to the young people under his charge, and he strove to keep in touch with the working of individual souls in his extensive parish. But all this was not inconsistent with his taking a very large share in the great movement which was going far to revolutionise the Church of England. One is apt to think of John Keble as hidden far away in his Hampshire vicarage, and therefore unable to affect much the work outside his own little corner of his Lord's vineyard. But Keble had a pen, which he used constantly, both for private correspondence and for public print, without interfering, as, if time be properly husbanded, it scarcely ever need interfere, with the proper work of his parish. We know, on the most undeniable authority, that Keble was "the true and primary author of the Movement" * and he did not merely set the ball a-rolling and then leave it to take its course. There was not a burning question—and there were many in that time of storm and stress—on which he did not take his own line, generally a bold, and therefore not a popular, line:—

"Unpractised he to fawn, or seek for power
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour."

It was Keble who not only, with Newman, hurled into an astonished world that bomb-shell,

* Newman.

Froude's Remains, but defended the action, when it was severely condemned, in a most unpromising preface. It was Keble who strongly recommended the publication of the notorious "Tract No. 90," and, when it raised a furious storm, chivalrously insisted upon claiming his share of the responsibility. When "Ideal Ward" was "degraded" at Oxford, Keble, though he did not know him personally, wrote "the most weighty of all the protests in his behalf" * and would not wear his own Master's gown for a year. Other instances might be given; but the above are enough to show that those who regard Keble as a gentle, loving, perhaps rather effeminate person, who was always for healing measures, and was out of his element in the fighting department, quite mistake his character. Personally, he was humble and diffident, perhaps even to a fault. "If you want to get anything in the way of plain counsel from dear John Keble, you really must be on your guard against his humility," Pusey once said; and an able and hearty sympathiser with the Oxford Movement once said to the present writer, "Keble always seems to me to have been wanting in that virtue of Aristotle's magnanimous man 'who thinks himself worthy of great things, being worthy.'" But in spite of this self-diffidence he was as bold as a lion in what he thought the cause of God, or the cause of duty. His friends never made a

* *Life of W. G. Ward.*

greater mistake than when they thought he would not have force enough to rule a great college, and hence were virtually the cause of his not being Provost of Oriel. He was one of those quiet men who have their way, partly because of their quiet pertinacity, partly because they impress others with a sense of their rectitude and goodness. This last was the secret of Keble's great influence in the Oxford Movement, in spite of his remoteness from the centre of action, his shyness and his homeliness. It was beautifully said that "loving him was like loving goodness itself" and his goodness showed itself in all the relations of life. Never was a more devoted son, husband, and brother; his home life, first at Fairford and then at Hursley, was a pattern of what such life should be.

It hardly falls within the scope of this biography to dwell on Keble as a writer, except so far as his writings affected the spiritual life; but his writings were, in my opinion, far more important than is commonly supposed. Without the brilliancy of Newman, or the vast learning of Pusey and Marriott, there is an attractiveness about Keble which grows upon you as you read on, and makes you feel that there was more in the writer, as there certainly was in the man, than appears on the surface. Most people now estimate Keble highly as a sacred poet; his prose works are probably little read, but they are well worth

reading. His edition of Hooker, with its monumental preface, his "tract" (which is in fact a fair-sized volume) on *The Mysticism attributed to the Early Fathers*, his treatise on *Eucharistic Adoration*, his exhaustive *Life of Bishop Wilson*, prefixed to the edition of Bishop Wilson's works which he prepared for the "Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology," his many reviews, notably the once famous one of eighty pages on Sir Walter Scott, to mention only a few, are well worthy of his early Oxford reputation, and argue the ripe scholar as well as the saintly man. They are, like himself, not showy, but plain and unpretentious. This, however, adds to, rather than detracts from, their charm. They bring John Keble before one, and that is a noble object to study. If he had lived a little later there would probably have been a less melancholy tone about some of them; but, like his great guide and mentor, he took a somewhat gloomy view of the state of the Church. He never wavered in his loyalty to her doctrines and her system, but he thought, not without reason, that her doctrines were not then adequately inculcated nor her system adequately presented; and he had some vague idea of taking a position like that of the non-jurors. But the idea happily passed away, and he lived long enough to see some of the deficiencies which he mourned in the Church of his day supplied. The end came on March 29, 1866, at Bournemouth, where he was

staying, not for his own but for his beloved wife's health, who survived him just six weeks. The remains of both lie side by side in Hursley churchyard, and pilgrims still visit the place to honour the memory of one who was, if ever man was, a true saint of the English Church.

XI.

HENRY MARTYN (1781-1812).

“THE one heroic name which adorns the annals of the Church of England from the days of Elizabeth to our own.” Thus wrote Sir James Stephen of Henry Martyn more than fifty years ago. Since that time there have been many other heroic names; and before Henry Martyn—if by “heroic” he meant one who displayed the self-devotion and courage of a hero in the cause of Christ—the preceding sketches will, it is hoped, be sufficient to show that there were others who deserved the epithet; but if it means one whose life is calculated by its dramatic interest to strike the imagination and fire enthusiasm, then it may be admitted that there were none to whom it applies so obviously as to him who is the subject of the present paper.

Henry Martyn was born at Truro, February 18, 1781, and educated at the Truro Grammar School until his entrance at S. John's College, Cambridge, in 1797. But the home of the Martyns for several generations had been Gwennap, where they had been connected with the mines. The great natural amphitheatre of Gwennap was a favourite scene

of Wesley's field preaching, and one in which he made a very deep impression, so young Martyn must have heard of the early success of that Evangelical Revival of which he became an ardent disciple. Moreover, his early home-training was favourable to his religious growth. He lost his mother in his infancy, but his elder sister acted as a mother to him, and she was deeply religious, as also probably was his father, though we do not hear much about him. At Cambridge he came under the influence of Simeon, and the reading of lives of Carey and Brainerd, put into his hands by him, led him to think of missionary work. His impulsive nature, which showed itself in his boyhood in violent fits of passion, thus took a better form, in a passionate and lifelong enthusiasm for the cause of Christ. His career at the University was a brilliant one. Though he had shown a positive distaste for mathematics before he went up, he came out as Senior Wrangler in an exceptionally good year—1801—and First Smith's Prizeman. In 1802 he was elected Fellow of St. John's, and in the same year won the First Members' Prize for a Latin essay for Middle bachelors. Languages and literature were, indeed, his favourite study, and remained so through life. He was appointed College tutor, and was both College and University examiner, and his *métier* seemed to be that of University don. But he desired to do more direct work for God, and offered himself as a missionary to the Church

Missionary Society. His younger sister, however, who had great influence over him, thought he had not experience enough; so, having been ordained on the title of his fellowship, he became assistant curate to Simeon at Trinity Church, taking also the charge of Lolworth, a village near Cambridge. Though he records reproachfully that he felt "ashamed to confess that he was to be Simeon's curate," he soon got over this false shame, and worked loyally under his chief for two years, when he was rewarded by gaining the desire of his heart. The appointment of chaplains in the East India Company's service was then very much in the hands of Simeon. For Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, had the patronage, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, and he always consulted Simeon, who had therefore no difficulty in procuring a Bengal chaplaincy for his disciple and coadjutor. The post was not only more lucrative (and as Martyn and his sisters at this time were in unexpectedly adverse circumstances, this was important), but, what would have greater weight with Martyn, more influential than that of missionary, against which there existed then in some quarters a strong prejudice. On the other hand, it involved him in work which was less congenial than that of preaching the everlasting gospel to the benighted heathen; his first duty was to attend to the spiritual needs of the Company's servants, civil and military, and their households. In 1805, having been made chaplain at

Fort William, he set sail, and after a tedious voyage of eight or nine months, during which he spent his whole time either in devotion and study or in impressing upon all who would hear him the great truths which were the very breath of his life, landed at Madras, April 22nd, and reached Calcutta May 16, 1806. But he had left his heart behind him in England; and the slightest sketch of Henry Martyn would be incomplete if no mention were made of Lydia Grenfell, who was worthy even of him. They were deeply attached to one another, and remained so to the end of their respective lives, but they never met again after Martyn left England. The story of his love adds another element to the romance of his life, and so far from detracting from his saintliness it seems to me to add to it; for it shows that he had the feelings of a man, though in their purest and noblest form; for nothing could be more disinterested and honourable than his conduct—and also hers—in the whole affair; each one aimed at doing only what was best for the great cause both had at heart. At the same time, I am inclined to agree with the conclusion of Martyn's good friend, Daniel Wilson, which, though prosaic, was eminently sensible: "One of his greatest mistakes was the leaving England with his affections tied to Lydia Grenfell, whom he ought either not to have loved, or else to have married and taken her with him." There was a third alternative, viz. to send for her when he was settled,

which he tried, but in vain. He remained a lonely exile to the end of a brief life, spent, amid the weakest health, in unremitting attention to most varied work, which would have been too great a strain for the strongest. He never forgot his primary duty to the Company's servants; he had 8,000 soldiers under his charge, upon some of whom he made a deep and permanent impression; and he did his very best to check the frivolity and worldliness which he lamented in too many of the civilians and their families, and to raise them to a higher standard of life. But what he set his heart upon most was the conversion of unbelievers, Hindoos or Mohammedans, but especially the latter. He preached incessantly to all sorts and conditions of men; sometimes even to poor beggars, who crowded round his door in hundreds; he opened schools for native children; he argued patiently and perpetually with Mohammedans, of whom, though he had a lower opinion of their morals, he had a better hope in the long run than of the Hindoos. But he agreed with his colleague, David Brown, that the Bible was "the Great Missionary which would speak in all tongues the wonderful works of God;" and hence the great work of his life—a work in which, considering its brief space, his many avocations, and the unsatisfactoriness of his helpers, his success was perfectly marvellous—was his Bible translations into Hindustani, Persian and Arabic. His earnest prayer was that he might live long enough to complete

the New Testament at least in these three languages. The prayer was virtually answered. With the rather embarrassing help of two natives, Mirza Fitrut (I adopt Martyn's own spelling) and Sabat, a doubtful convert to Christianity, who were perpetually quarrelling with one another, and the latter of whom was a source of endless trouble to him, the Hindustani and the Persian were completely, and the Arabic partially, finished; it was published posthumously, four years after his death, in 1816, and is sometimes called Sabat's version. And his list of translations did not end here. In 1814, two years after his death, appeared "*A Compendium of the Book of Common Prayer*, translated [by Martyn] into the Hindustani language." He also translated the Acts of the Apostles into Hindustani, and the Book of Psalms from the original Hebrew into Persian. He considered Hebrew a sacred language, studying it with reverential awe, and was an excellent Hebrew scholar for his day. His translation work was virtually the cause of his death. He obtained leave to visit Persia, to present his New Testament to the Shah, and to go from thence into Arabia, to perfect his Arabic version. But he was seized with a fever on the road, and, after a very partial recovery, intended to go by way of Constantinople, hoping once more to induce Lydia Grenfell to return with him as his wife to India. But he never reached England, or even Europe. Hurried on, in spite of his protests, from place to place,

when he was quite unfit to travel, by an unfeeling Tartar guide, named Hassan, he succumbed at Tokat, in Asia Minor—at or near which another saint, S. Chrysostom, had died fourteen centuries before—October 12, 1812, and was buried in the Armenian cemetery there. A word must be added about Henry Martyn's deeply interesting "Journals," which have been compared by some to the *Confessions of S. Augustine*. The "diary," or "journal," formed a regular part of the equipment of an Evangelical of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and was not intended to be a record of facts so much as an analysis of frames of mind and feelings made for the writer's own spiritual edification. Quite at the beginning (January 1, 1804) Martyn pulls himself up, as it were, with the remark: "On the review of my journal of the last year, I perceive it has been of late becoming a diary of my life, instead of being a register of my state of mind;" and henceforth he gives it chiefly the latter character. Now the total depravity of human nature was a cardinal doctrine of the Evangelicals, and no one held it in more extreme form than Henry Martyn. Hence his Journal is full of expressions of the utmost self-abasement; his failures are recorded minutely, and he faithfully records all the things which the proverbial "candid friend" reported to him about the faults of his preaching and his conduct generally. A strain of melancholy runs through the Journal, which gives, if not an erroneous, a very one-sided impression of

the man. It is a curious fact that the friends who give us an account of his virtues, or rather graces, almost always mention "cheerfulness" as one. One of the best of all the accounts is that of Mrs. Sherwood, who knew him well in India, and who expressly declares: "He was as remarkable for ease as for cheerfulness, and in these particulars his Journal does not give a graphic account of this blessed child of God." There were, in fact, two sides to his nature; and, being a man of very strong character, he develops, at different times, both sides prominently. "My friends," he says, in one passage of his Journal, "are alarmed about my tendency to melancholy." But, on the other hand, we find him playing, as a child, among children. He is frequently in despair about his work, but afterwards he looks back with fond regret upon what he calls "my delightful work in India." In his charming letters to David Brown, whom he persisted in regarding as his superior, and to Daniel Corrie, whom he regarded as his dear friend and colleague, he, though full of serious, not to say sombre, reflections, often breaks out into a flash of quiet humour. But whether the gloomy or the bright side was uppermost he was always the saint, and testimonies both from outsiders and from the inner circle of his friends are unanimous on this, the main point with which these papers are concerned.

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