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OF

WILLIAM LAUD,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND MARTYR.

BY THE

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*This Memoir*  
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## P R E F A C E.

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THE following pages make no pretension to original discovery. They have been drawn up from materials accessible to all, and aim simply at placing facts before the attention of readers.

Without disparaging existing biographies of Laud, it may be fairly asserted that they fail in making us acquainted with the inner life of this great Prelate, (a defect even of Heylin's who knew him well); nor do they seem to the author sufficiently to point out how the principles and practices, for which Laud laid down his life, have been in all main points adopted by the English Church since his day.

It has been the object of these pages (while avoiding a controversial tone) to display the Archbishop as he really was—a man of austere and saintly life, and the great restorer of a Church feeling in this country.

The two spirits evoked by the great religious movement of the sixteenth century—the one, (the true principle of the English Reformation) which laying aside all Roman novelties, looked to the primitive Church as its model, and aimed at restoring primitive discipline, which we have called the Catholic spirit, and the other, which made Christianity synonymous with Calvinism, which we have designated the Puritan or Genevan spirit, after many years of indecisive conflicts, were at last in Laud's time brought face to face.

It has been the author's wish to misrepresent no one, to sketch the struggle in a candid manner, and to have it clearly understood that the real point at issue was the integrity of the English Church.

It is not too much to say that the whole future well being of the Anglican Communion depended on the line adopted by Laud, and that we are indebted to x him for our present Creeds, Episcopacy, and Sacraments. The tide was setting in very strong against anything like Church principles, when he was called to preside over the Church of England. There was need of great firmness and decision, if her Catholic character was to be maintained. These qualities (his enemies being judges) were found in Laud. He stopped our progress downwards, and saved us from becoming what Geneva has become. This is the key to a right estimate of Laud's character.



Unless we bear this in mind, he will seem only a narrow-minded stickler for ceremonial uniformity.

We shall hope to make this clear in what follows : as we pursue his career and trace the motives which actuated it, and the results which, spite of its apparent failure, have issued from it, we shall see how truly the Archbishop loved his Church ; how he devoted himself to her restoration ; how he died for her, and, by dying, effected more than if he had lived.

It is hoped therefore this little book may, by the Divine blessing, be the means of causing Churchmen to appreciate more the character and motives of one whose name has for many years been a proverb of reproach, and for whom even those friendly to him have apologized too much. To assert that he was faultless, that his government was without flaw, that everything was done at the right time, in the right place, and in the right manner, were to claim for the Archbishop prerogatives more than human ; and the author has not hesitated to note defects of personal character, or of civil and ecclesiastical administration.

The impression he has aimed at producing on the mind is this, that the English Church owes a great debt of gratitude to Laud ; and he therefore makes bold to claim for him, from all who are thankful that God has cast their lot in a Church, whose special mission it seems to be to witness to the Creeds of undivided Christendom, and in which they can enjoy

certainty of faith, the beauty of holiness, and all precious sacramental blessings, a heartfelt and a generous sympathy, as for one, who in troublous times did battle for our rights as Churchmen, and who in order that we might not be defrauded of one morsel of that heavenly food, which it is the duty of the Church to provide for her children, "loved not his life unto the death."

The references are to the edition of Laud's Works in the Anglo-Catholic Library. The edition of Heylin which has been used, is that of 1671.

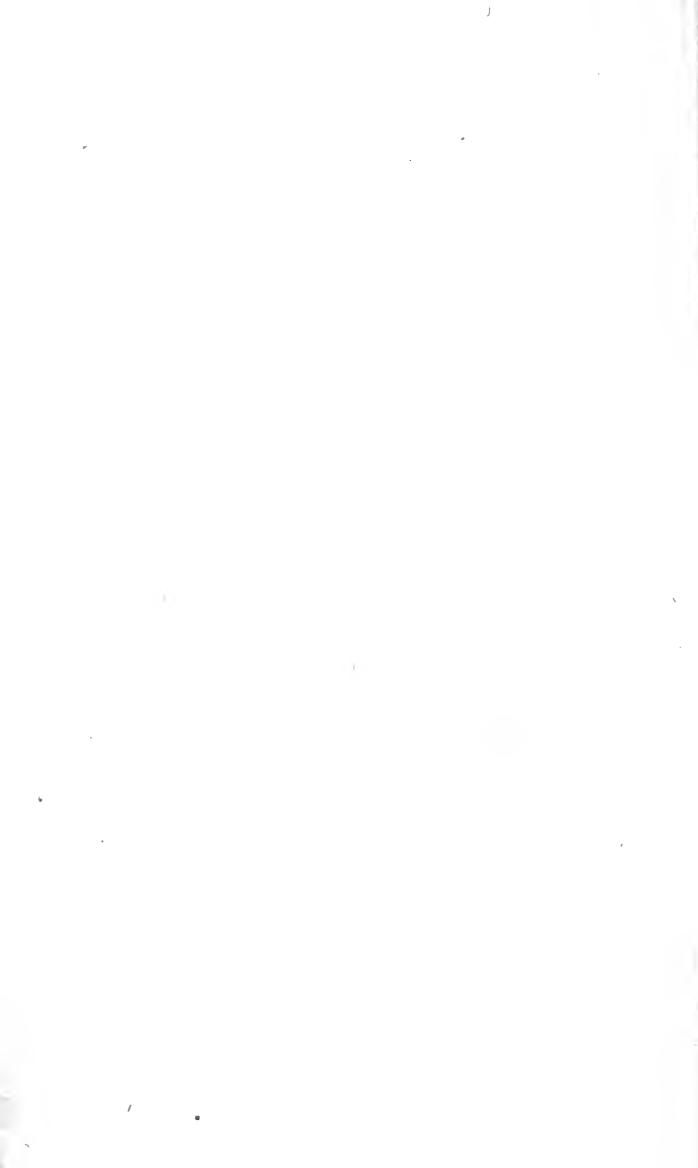
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THE  
LIFE OF WILLIAM LAUD,  
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

It is not our intention, in this chapter, to take our readers through the oft-trodden ground of the Reformation in England. The history of that period has been brought before us in every possible shape, from the ponderous folios of Burnet to the lighter epitomes of Blunt or Massingberd. The corruptions which provoked it, the success which attended it, the principles which guided it, the mighty and varied effects which have followed it, have been depicted for us in the liveliest colours, over and over again; whilst the motives which actuated the prime agents in it, have been sifted and analysed with care, till we are enabled to enter fully into their characters, and understand, to a very considerable extent, what sort of persons were King Henry, his royal daughter, and their coadjutors, whether clerical or lay. It would be, therefore, simply wearisome to drag the reader through such well-known passages of history, important though they be, and of untold influence upon the past, present, and future position of the Church of England.

Yet, inasmuch as the Prelate in whose life and actions we hope to interest our readers, had to grapple with a state of things which arose out of this mighty change; and as his labours, though at the cost of his own life, issued in rectifying some of its most extreme developments, it would be impossible for us to pass it by altogether, or to expect that any of our readers will be able to throw themselves into the important events of the Laudian era, without some acquaintance with those of the Reformation period.

But, in order that we may not, as we said, weary them by the repetition of trite and familiar themes, we shall content ourselves in this chapter with pointing out the immense influence which the foreign reformed theology came to exercise over our Church, its baneful effects, and the consequent confusion and disorder which ensued. For it was against this foreign influence that Laud directed all the energies of his soul: it was to purge the Church of England of the foreign leaven which had nearly transformed her into another being, to aid her in throwing off the yoke of Calvin, Zuingle, and the like, and to return to the true principles of her own reformation, that he lived his toilsome life, and died his violent death. Unless we understand this, we shall misapprehend and be unjust to Laud, his actions will appear strange, uncalled for, and unwarranted. But when we do understand it, we shall not be surprised at the throes and convulsions of society which ushered in the birth of a sounder school of theology: a school which for awhile beaten down and "trodden under foot of man," was strong enough in less than twenty years from the martyrdom of its chief, to procure a revision of the Book of Common Prayer on its own principles, and to turn the whole current of English theology.

It may then not only be interesting as a matter of historical research, but absolutely necessary to enable us to form a true estimate of Laud's character, to trace the rise and growth of this foreign influence, whose

torrent he strove, to all appearance so unsuccessfully to stem, but which, nevertheless, did receive from his hands "a heavy blow and serious discouragement." It is not too much to say that, humanly speaking, we owe everything to this uncompromising Primate, and that it is, under GOD, due to his indefatigable exertions in arresting the downward progress of our Church, that we still retain the Catholic faith, and are not floundering in that slough of Rationalism, Socinianism, and Infidelity, into which many of the "Churches" at one time looked to as models for our own, have fallen, and are content to remain.

In order to understand this history aright, our readers must bear in mind that the principle on which the English Reformation proceeded was by appealing as against Rome, to Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Primitive Church. This principle was embodied in the First Prayer Book of King Edward, which is the real exponent of the views of the English Reformers, when acting by themselves and on their own principles. We wish they had been content to pursue their own way without seeking the aid of the religious bodies on the Continent, whose reformation had been conducted on diametrically opposite principles, and who received the dicta of Luther or Calvin as if inspired by the SPIRIT. The English Reformation on the other hand, in its intentions and first issues, was neither Lutheran nor Calvinistic, but a return to primitive ancient Catholic Christianity. We do not wish to speak harshly of the Churchmen of that difficult period. We do not forget that many things of necessity appear to us in a very different light to that in which they did to the Reformers. Under the very peculiar and very trying circumstances in which they were placed, it was natural for them to cast their eyes round everywhere for help and assistance. Hence their attention was naturally drawn to their Continental brethren whose indignation had first been aroused by the practical corruptions of the Church,

and whose struggle to shake them off preceded their own. Aiming at one common end, led by kindred motives, believing that they were engaged in a revival of Gospel truth,—that Rome was Babylon and the Pope the Man of Sin,—what wonder that they should seek to unite their forces, to be content to waive their differences, and without prying too closely into each other's creed or discipline, take their stand upon the broad common ground of hostility to the Roman Antichrist? Is it surprising, therefore, that correspondences were entered into, coalitions formed, propositions entertained, for drawing up a common confession of faith, which should include all who were on the Protestant side, whether Lutherans, Calvinists, or Zuinglians? We say that this was the natural thing to do: we should probably under similar circumstances have done the same. But this does not make us regret the less, that the experiment was ever tried, and the theology of Geneva imported to our country.

It would seem that of the chief communications with the foreign Reformers, Archbishop Cranmer was the originator and prime agent. It was the consequence both of his natural bias and position. He had at an early period of his career been brought into contact with Osiander, whose niece he had married, and the question of the divorce had been submitted at his suggestion to the foreign Protestants as well as to the Roman Catholic Universities. Further negotiations had also passed in Henry's reign. In 1535, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, had been sent to treat with the Protestant princes of Germany, in order to press them to unity of doctrine with the English Church. The diplomatic skill of Gardiner, however, broke the matter off, and though ambassadors from the confederates arrived in England, accompanied by Bucer and Melancthon, in 1536, nothing was done. On the strength of this opening, in 1538 the Germans remonstrated with Henry respecting the slowness of his Reformation; and in the next year Melancthon was so troubled



at the state of the English affairs, that he actually ventured to write to Henry, urging him on. But during this king's reign, the political element preponderated in everything over the religious, and Cranmer's natural tendencies towards uniting with the foreign bodies, had to remain unsatisfied till the accession of Edward placed him in a different position, and enabled him to give full play to his own views.

By this time, too, the Archbishop would seem to have veered round from the Lutheran tenets which he first professed, to the Reformed or Calvinistic. His proposals for the drawing up a common Protestant confession of faith were made known to Melancthon, the least Lutheranism of his party, to Henry Bullinger, and John Calvin. The master-mind of the latter was now drawing multitudes within its influence, and Cranmer, infinitely his inferior in critical skill or in clearness and vigour of intellect, soon bowed before the superior genius of the French Pastor. Accordingly, two leading men of the Calvinistic school, Peter Martyr and Bucer, were invited over to this country, and while Martyr was installed as Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford, Bucer was elevated to the same post at Cambridge, with his associate Fagius as occupant of the Hebrew chair. Martyr came willingly, but Bucer's reluctance was only overcome by pressing and repeated invitations from Cranmer. Urged on by the necessities of their position, and indisposed naturally to habits of reverence or devotion, they treated the most sacred mysteries of the faith in the most unbecoming manner, and encouraged the people in jesting and jeering at the most solemn things. Their positive teaching was of a most vague and unsatisfactory kind, particularly on the Holy Sacraments. Disliking the nakedness of the Zuinglian scheme, and yet afraid of attributing too much to those means of grace, they floundered about in a sea of inconsistencies and contradictory statements, often using language which seems consonant to Catholic truth, and then immedi-

ately afterwards depriving it of its vitality and meaning, by the introduction of some Genevan restrictions and limitations.

Active, energetic, zealous, and sensible of their intellectual superiority to the men among whom they sojourned, the foreigners soon made themselves felt, and showed pretty clearly they would not let things remain as they were. They even persuaded Cranmer to submit to them the Prayer Book, which was an embodiment of the desire of the English Church to restore ancient and primitive doctrine and worship, and which consequently had already fallen under Calvin's censure. The result is notorious; the book was altered, "at the incitement," says Heylin, "of that (busy-body)" Calvin. It would be needless to proceed further. A series of irregularities set in. Foreign influence was everywhere. Foreigners were in high posts; foreigners were allowed to found independent communions in London, and encouraged in disagreement with the Church of England. Swarms of Frieslanders, under John a Lasco, of Dutchmen, and of Frenchmen, settled in the metropolis, and were either specially recommended to the good offices of the Bishops, or exempted by name from their jurisdiction. Thorough-going Puritans, as Coverdale and Hooper, were thrust into Bishoprics: in the case of the latter, against his own wish. Altars were torn down, and moveable tables substituted; services performed in Genevan gowns; and the Eucharist reduced to a mere memorial. Constant correspondence was kept up with Calvin, Bullinger, and other chiefs of the Reformed party abroad, while, at home, dreadful irreverence prevailed. Pothouses resounded with ribald jests upon the most sacred mysteries, or blasphemous travesties of holy offices; morals were relaxed, and plunder and profanity were rampant everywhere. Such was the issue of the introduction of Genevan doctrine into our Church.

So notorious, indeed, was the fact, that in the latter

part of Edward's reign the English Church had been thoroughly imbued with Calvinism, that when, on the accession of Mary, the Protestants hastened into exile, the Lutheran states would not receive them, but expelled them from their cities. We are not defending the barbarity of this act,—only stating what foreign bodies thought of the English Church after its connection with Geneva. The fugitives, therefore, were forced to take refuge in Basle, Frankfort, Zurich, Geneva, where they were received with open arms, and carefully tended by the affectionate sympathy of their co-religionists.

If our leading Englishmen had been admirers of the "Reformed"<sup>1</sup> doctrine and discipline, when seen only through the medium of correspondence, the actual sight rekindled their affections. Besides, while Lutherans had looked coldly on their sufferings, the Calvinistic communions had received them as brethren. Nor would their affection for their own formularies be increased, when during the troubles at Frankfort, Ridley advised the surrender of the surplice; and it was currently reported that Cranmer had said he would more thoroughly have reformed the Book of Common Prayer, but that he was matched with a wicked Clergy and Convocation, and other enemies.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, on Queen Elizabeth's accession, the flood of Calvinism poured with renewed strength into England. The Queen was sore puzzled what to do. She had an intense dislike of Calvinism; it did not fall in with her natural bias, or with her prejudices. Besides, she had read "The Regimen of Women," the production of one of the chiefs of that party, the celebrated John Knox; and she was too sharp-sighted not to understand it might mean more than at first appeared. But in spite of all, she was surrounded by Calvinists, the harvest sprung from the seeds sown

<sup>1</sup> We use the word Reformed as distinguishing the Calvinists from the Lutherans.

<sup>2</sup> Neal, Vol. I. p. 68.

by Martyr and Bucer, for it is quite incorrect to suppose that it was their residence on the Continent which made our English divines disposed to the tenets or discipline of Calvin. Mr. Hallam is an impartial witness, and he says: "The current opinion, that these scruples were imbibed during the banishment of our reformers, must be received with great allowance. The dislike to some parts of the Anglican ritual had begun at home; it had broken out at Frankfort. It is displayed in all the early documents of Elizabeth's reign far more warmly than by their Swiss correspondents."<sup>1</sup>

Under these circumstances, Elizabeth, frightened by the machinations of the Pope's adherents, and eager to rally her people round her, did the best she could. Jewel, Pilkington, Grindal, Cox, Horn, Parkhurst, and others, were made Bishops; whilst the smaller fry, as Sampson, Nowel, Humfrey, Hardman, were placed in deaneries and stalls; the queen trusting to her strong Tudor arm to keep the refractory crew in order. They indeed gave her plenty of trouble. In the midst of their dignities they sighed after the greater liberty of Zurich or Geneva. They poured out their complaints, in no measured strains, into the sympathising ears of Beza, Bullinger, and Martyr (as the two goodly octavo volumes published by the Parker Society testify at almost every page), and pathetically lamented their miserable bondage in being compelled to clothe themselves in the "relics of the Amorites," and to say the prayers in a surplice. We cannot help fancying the foreigners must have thought them rather a *bore*, at last. They gave them, however, sensible advice, for they saw clearly it would be ruining their cause to leave their posts for the sake of a vestment. They therefore counselled them to remain, hoping for better times. Their advice was accepted and acted upon; but their expectations, we are thankful to say, were not realised. Parker had his orders, and

<sup>1</sup> Hallam, Constitutional Hist., Vol. I. p. 232.

was faithful to them. He watched their movements closely, and acted with such vigour, that, frightened by the Queen's determination to have her own way, as shown in the deprivations of Sampson and others, the Bishops seem pretty generally to have acquiesced; and even Jewel, once the foremost in grumbling, ceased to complain, and actually enforced the obnoxious surplice in his diocese.

The opposition to this vestment was not, however, confined to a few Calvinistic Prelates: the popular feeling ran with the dissentients. So thoroughly had the leaven worked among the Clergy, that in Convocation of 1562, a proposition to abolish saints' days, to compel the minister to turn his face to the people in saying the prayers, to abandon the sign of the Cross at Baptism, to leave kneeling at the Communion to the discretion of the ordinary, to wear the surplice once, and afterwards to officiate in a decent habit, and to remove organs, was only lost by a majority of one! It is observable that *Nowell*, whose catechism once received the sanction of Convocation, *Calfhill*, *Becon*, and *Sampson* voted in the minority. Their doctrines, too, found favour out of doors. The popular feeling was entirely with the ministers who refused conformity, and were in consequence suspended. "Many churches were shut up," says *Neal*, "and the people ready to mutiny for want of ministers. Six hundred persons came to a church in London to receive the Communion on Palm Sunday; but the doors were shut, there being none to officiate."<sup>1</sup> All during the remainder of the reign of Elizabeth, Puritanism was the popular religion; witness the immense circulation of the Mar-prelate tracts. The citizens in the towns, and the country gentlemen who composed the parliaments, were of one mind, in their admiration of the doctrinal principles of Geneva. Attempt after attempt at further reform was made in the House of Commons; but Elizabeth immediately frowned down all who were bold enough to propose to

<sup>1</sup> Neal, Vol. I. p. 182.

her any deviation from the course of conduct she had marked out for herself. She had a definite line of her own, and she was determined to adhere to it. Her firmness, humanly speaking, stopped our progress downwards.

But though Elizabeth succeeded tolerably well in preserving outward conformity, she could not stop the progress of opinion, or prevent the spread of Calvinistic teaching. Once, indeed, some of the Bishops went too far, when conscious that the existing authorised formularies would not bend to their views, they coolly proposed to alter them, and to enforce, as authoritative, "the Lambeth Articles." This was too much for the Queen's patience. She indignantly tore the obnoxious articles from the presumptuous hands which had drawn them up. But the Bishops were generally persuaded that there was no difference between the English and foreign doctrines. Grindal, Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, writing to Henry Bullinger, August, 1566, after stating that he and his brethren had fought as long as they could against the surplice, adds, "that in the pure doctrine of the Gospel (notwithstanding the attempts of many to the contrary) we most fully agree with your churches, and with the confession you have lately set forth." This was the Helvetic confession of 1566, which is entirely, in all its parts, decidedly Calvinistic in its tone, and something worse. "We have throughout England the same ecclesiastical doctrines as yourselves," says Horn, Bishop of Winchester, to the same Bullinger, December, 1563. "As to matters of doctrine," writes Jewel, 1563, "we have pared away everything to the very quick, and do not differ from your doctrines by a nail's breadth."<sup>1</sup>

With such sentiments prevalent in the episcopate,

<sup>1</sup> Zurich Letters, Parker Soc., First Series. Part II., pp. 169, 135, 100. The contempt with which Lutheranism is spoken of in these letters is very remarkable. Vide Zurich Letters, First Series, p. 169; and Second Series, p. 157.

though directly opposed to the authorised formularies of the Church itself, (for Parker and Whitgift, though zealous for uniformity, were of the same theological school,) and Calvinist after Calvinist promoted to the Divinity Professorships; Oxford disgraced by the elevation of a rabid fanatic, as Sampson, to the deanery of Christ Church; Humphrey, of whom Wood says, "He sowed in the Divinity schools such seeds of Calvinism," "he brought back with him at his return to England so much of the Calvinian;" Holland, Humphrey, Abbot, and Prideaux, all of the same school, occupying the chairs of the Regius Professor of Divinity; while Calfhill, who had voted in the minority of 1562, Benefield, and the like, were elected by the faculty to Lady Margaret's Professorship; Cambridge delivered over to the tender mercies of Hutton, Cartwright, &c.; what wonder that belief in the five points of Calvinism became the test of orthodoxy, and the loudest declaimers against Rome passed as the most faithful ministers of the Gospel?

Accordingly, it is not surprising to find the following order issued (1586) by the Archbishops and Bishops, "that every minister having cure, and being under degrees of M.A. or B.C.L., and not licensed to be a public preacher, shall, before February next, provide a Bible and *Bullinger's Decade* in Latin or English, . . . and shall every week read over one sermon in the said Decade, and note the same," in a book which he was to provide.

Quite in keeping with this was the statute of the University of Oxford, "that the students should use either Nowell's Larger Catechism, or Calvin's;" and that "to these might be added Bullinger's Catechism for Adults, and Calvin's Institutes, or the Apology, or Thirty-nine Articles.

And, similarly, Whitgift, in 1595, tried hard to enforce the Lambeth Articles already alluded to; so that Heylin's melancholy statement seems no longer strange. "Of any man who publicly opposed the Calvinian

tenets in the University (of Oxford) till after the beginning of King James' reign, I confess I have found no good assurance, though there were some who spared not to declare their dislike thereof, and secretly trained up their scholars in other principles. We find but two (Dr. Buckeridge and Dr. Hanson) named for anti-Calvinists in the five controverted points."<sup>1</sup> In a disputed case at Cambridge, when Baro was compelled to resign his professorship, for denying some article of the popular creed, he would seem to have been supported only by Andrewes, Overall, and Harsnet; all men destined to have some share in the reaction which was about to set in.

Towards the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign there were symptoms of the rise of different feelings with regard to doctrine and practice. Irreverent and unseemly as had been the general performance of Divine service, there had been all along some exceptions. The Queen's private tendencies were towards ceremonial, and, spite of the whinings of the Bishops, she indulged them. In her chapel had stood from the first,—the altar, with the crucifix and the lights,—the service was sung with the sound of organs, cornets, and sackbuts; the singing men were arrayed in surplices, the priests in copes. It was said it only differed from the Roman—so splendid was it—in being in the English tongue.<sup>2</sup> The service in Canterbury Cathedral was conducted with such pomp and splendour, and accompanied with such exquisite music, that a stranger from foreign parts protested "that, unless it were in the Pope's Chapel, he had never seen a more solemn sight, nor heard a more solemn sound."

The canons of 1571, which had ordered the study of the primitive fathers, produced their effect. Higher views respecting ordination began to be entertained: the want of *episcopal* laying on of hands was fatal to Travers. Bancroft's celebrated sermon, preached at S. Paul's Cross, was a symptom of deeper study; above

<sup>1</sup> Heylin's Tracts, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Neal, Vol. I. p. 133.



all, Hooker's immortal work was sufficient indication that a school was forming which would reverence the Fathers more than modern divines, and be guided by Catholic precedents in preference to those of later date.

The accession of King James gave to this school a distinct and recognised position. Without professing to believe that the Puritans were fairly dealt with at the Hampton Court conference, there can be no doubt that it resulted in the further development of the Catholic element of our Church, which had all along been maintained in theory. The addition of the sacramental questions to the Catechism, which were drawn up by Bishop Overall, (may we not suppose Andrewes' influence was at work?) and which state so plainly the Catholic doctrine on these important points, is sufficient proof of this. The fact of this work being entrusted to Overall is a strong indication that the rising party was beginning to attract notice. The tone of the canons of 1603 is a clear advance in the right direction, and intimates a waning of the foreign influence.<sup>1</sup> So that, though the Calvinistic theology still kept its ground in high places, and Oxford especially, as we shall see, was one of its strongholds, an acute observer might have detected signs of a coming struggle, when it would have to fight for its existence. Such struggle came; and from the first the Calvinistic party seem to have felt a presentiment that Laud was destined to lead the onslaught upon them. Hence their hatred and persecution of him from the commencement of his career, which ceased not till they had brought him in his old age to the scaffold.

We shall trust to make this clear in the following pages, having endeavoured, in this chapter, to place before our readers a sketch of the Calvinistic era of our Church, as well as the signs at the commencement of the seventeenth century, of a reaction against it; so that when Laud fairly came upon the scene of action, he found some material to work upon, and was

<sup>1</sup> See this brought out at length, Ecclesiastic, Vol. III. p. 353.

enabled, by using the weapons made ready to his hand, to eject the Genevan teaching from its pride of place, and though unable utterly to subdue it, to provide effectually, we trust, against its ever becoming the *authorised teaching* of the Church of England.

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## CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1573—1606.

### LAUD AT SCHOOL AND COLLEGE.

“ This Prelate,  
Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly  
Was fashioned to much honour.”

*Henry VIII.*, Act iv. s. 2.

READING, a town of some importance in our early history, and a fortified place even in 871, when Danes and Saxons were battling for the mastery of the soil, was the birthplace of William Laud, Oct. 7, 1573. He was no scion of a noble house, nor could he boast any pride of ancestry. His father was a plain tradesman, a clothier; his mother's parentage of corresponding rank: so that his high position was attained by his own efforts, talents, industry, and perseverance. And galling as doubtless it was to the Howards, Talbots, and other “*haute noblesse*” of England, when the clothier's son took precedence of them, it was a salutary lesson to human pride, and an evidence to all men how little earth-born distinctions are accounted in the Church of God.

The glories of Reading had to a considerable extent departed at the time when Laud was born. The spoiler's hand had laid waste its glorious abbey, dedicated to S. Mary and S. John, whose abbot had of olden time “reared his mitred front in courts and parliaments.” It had shared the fate of the other re-

ligious houses, and the patrimony of the poor passed, at Reading as elsewhere, to swell the rent-roll of some dissolute favourite or courtly sycophant. Something, however, of the good works of men of old time still remained. Thorne, Abbot of S. Mary's in the reign of Edward IV., had turned a decayed house of the knights hospitallers of S. John of Jerusalem into a grammar-school, for the training and right education of the neighbouring youth. Dean Sherborne had carried out this work of Thorne's, and materially contributed to its prosperity; so much so, that it attracted the notice of King Henry VII., who endowed it with £10 a year. The royal liberality was imitated by Sir Thomas White, who annexed to Reading Grammar-school two of the fellowships on his foundation at Oxford.

At this school Laud received the rudiments of his education, distinguishing himself, in spite of all the drawbacks consequent upon a sickly childhood, by his diligent application, and quickness in acquiring knowledge. In due time he was transferred to S. John's College, Oxford, newly founded out of the ruins of an old Cistercian monastery by the princely munificence of Sir Thomas White, already mentioned, a merchant and alderman of the City of London. The mayor and corporation of his native town nominated Laud to a fellowship in their gift in July, 1593; and in 1594 he attained that eagerly-desired step in an undergraduate's career—his B.A. degree.

Having now brought our hero to the University of Oxford, and established him in a fellowship therein, it may be as well to give our readers some idea of the condition of Oxford at the time; and in so doing we think it best to transcribe Heylin's lively and amusing account, premising that they ought to be prepared, from what we said in the previous chapter, for a state of things very different to that which prevails now in that ancient and venerable seat of learning. Heylin then tells us:—

“By the power and practices of these men, the dis-

position of those times, and the long continuance of the Earl of Leicester (the principal patron of that faction) in the place of Chancellor, the face of that University was so much altered, that there was little to be seen in it of the Church of England, according to the principles and positions upon which it was at first reformed. All the Calvinian rigours in matters of predestination, and the points depending thereupon, received as the established doctrines of the Church of England; the necessity of the one Sacrament, the eminent dignity of the other, and the powerful efficacy of both unto man's salvation, not only disputed, but denied; the article of CHRIST'S local descent into hell, so positively asserted in two Convocations, A.D. 1552 and 1562, at first corrupted with false glosses, afterwards openly contradicted, and at last totally disclaimed, because repugnant to the fancies of some foreign divines, though they were at odds among themselves in the meaning of it; episcopacy maintained by halves, not as a distinct order from that of the Presbyters, but only a degree above them, or perhaps not that, for fear of giving scandal to the churches of Calvin's platform; the Church of Rome inveighed against as the Whore of Babylon, or the Mother of Abominations; the Pope as publicly maintained to be Antichrist, or the Man of Sin, and that as positively and magisterially as if it had been one of the chief articles of the Christian faith; and then, for fear of having any good thoughts for either, the visibility of the Church must be no otherwise maintained than by looking for it in the scattered conventicles of the Berengarians in Italy, the Albigenses in France, the Hussites in Bohemia, and the Wickliffites among ourselves. Nor was there any greater care taken for the Forms and Orders of this Church, than there had been for points of doctrine. The surplice, so disused in officiating the Divine service of the Church, so slubbered over in most of the colleges, that the Prelates and Clergy assembled in Convocation, anno

1603, were necessitated to frame two Canons—that is to say, Canon XVI. and XVII.—to bring them back again to the ancient practice; particularly the bowing at the Name of JESUS, commanded by the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1559, and used in most churches in the kingdom, so much neglected and decried, that Airy, Provost of Queen's College, writ a tract against it; the habits of the Priests, by which they were to be distinguished from other men, (not only by the Queen's injunctions, but also by some following Canons made in Convocation,) so much despised and laid aside, that Dr. Reynolds had the confidence to appear in the conference at Hampton Court in his Turkey gown, and therefore may be thought to have worn no other in the University; and, in a word, the books of Calvin made the rule by which all men were to square their writings, his only word (like the *ipse dixit* of Pythagoras) admitted for the sole canon to which they were to frame and conform their judgments, and in comparison of whom the ancient Fathers of the Church (men of renown, and the glories of their several times) must be held contemptible; and to offend against this canon, or to break this rule, esteemed a more unpardonable crime, than to violate the Apostles' Canons, or dispute the doctrines and determinations of any of the four first general Councils; so as it might have proved more safe for any man, in such a general deviation from the rules and dictates of this Church, to have been looked upon as an heathen or publican, than an anti-Calvinist."<sup>1</sup>

Such was the state of things under the chancellorship of the celebrated Earl of Leicester, immortalised in the pages of our greatest novelist; and though Leicester was dead before Laud's entry at S. John's, the spirit he had fostered still remained dominant.

Fortunately however for himself and the Church, the young man seems to have felt an innate aversion to the cold and hollow popular system; and these

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 47, 8.

feelings were encouraged by his tutor, Mr. Buckeridge, one of the faithful remnant who would not believe that the most imminent danger to the English Church at that time was from the Roman extreme. In that controversy indeed he had distinguished himself, as also in the Puritan question: and Laud did not forget the debt he owed him, for Buckeridge became Bishop of Rochester, and eventually, through his pupil's influence, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Under the guidance therefore of this sensible man, Laud pursued his studies, directing them after the Canon of 1571, which enjoined the study of the Fathers and ancient doctors, as the best commentary upon the sacred writings. As a matter of course, his impressions of the unscripturalness of the popular system were materially strengthened, and it was doubtless a great encouragement to persevere in the path he had marked out for himself when Bishop Young, of Rochester, from whom he received Priest's orders in 1601, congratulated him upon his adherence to the old paths, and asserted "that if he lived he would be an instrument of restoring the Church from the narrow and private principles of modern times, to the more free, large, and public sentiments of the purest and best ages."

But we must not suppose that Laud's course was a smooth one,—far from it. The public was as furious then as now against any one who dared to contradict its favourite superstitions, and Laud had to pay the penalty of being slandered, misrepresented, scouted as a Papist, a Jesuit in disguise, a traitor; in fact to endure to hear himself abused with all the epithets which the upholders of ultra-protestant systems know so well how to apply to those who differ from them.

The Vice-Chancellor in 1600 was Dr. G. Abbott, Master of University College, a Puritan of the first water. He had just been successful in preventing Bancroft's plan for the re-erection of the Cross at the Conduit, in Cheapside, approving, he said, "rather of

a pyramid or some matter of mere ornament." This pyramidal preference naturally raised him higher than ever in the estimation of his party, and rendered him more than usually intolerant of any opposition. It so happened, that in 1602, Laud had to read the Divinity Lecture on Mrs. May's foundation in his College. He was not a man to flinch from stating his opinions when fairly called upon, and accordingly in this lecture he maintained, Heylin says, "the constant and perpetual visibility of the Church of CHRIST, derived from the Apostles to the Church of Rome, and continued in that Church, as in others of the East and South, until the Reformation."<sup>1</sup> There is nothing in this to startle us at this day, for as we all know, our best divines, however strongly they may speak against the corruptions of the Roman Church, always allow that she is part of the Catholic Church of CHRIST, just as Judah, though degenerate, was still the Church of GOD. But the popular opinion of the day set in the contrary direction. Divines, such as Abbott, encouraged the belief, that from the times of the Apostles up to Luther and Calvin, the whole Church had apostatized and become Papal; that is, that Romanism was as old as A.D. 100, and that the true Church was to be discovered among the Albigenses, Waldenses, and such other heretical and Manichean bodies. Abbott was a great champion of these views, and could not endure that a D.D. Head of a House, Dean of Winchester, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, should be bearded by a simple Fellow of S. John's. His wrath was fearfully excited against Laud, but nothing came of it. The sour old Puritan contented himself with growling. He never however forgot it, and years afterwards Laud had reason to remember his theological exercise of 1602.

Other persons too, besides the Vice-Chancellor, were ready enough to fasten upon him.

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 49.

It is the custom of the University, that before any of its members pass to his divinity degree, he shall read a public exercise on some theological thesis. Nothing daunted by the symptoms of Vice-cancellarian wrath which had greeted the appearance of his college lecture, Laud spoke out boldly on the necessity of Baptism, and the Episcopal form of Church government. Upon this up rose Dr. Holland, Rector of Exeter College, and Regius Professor of Divinity, who if not quite such a thorough Calvinist as Humphrey, whom he succeeded, yet was equally violent against such notions as Laud had the boldness to put forth. He took up charitable grounds, and talked of Laud's unchurching foreign Protestants, &c., as if the truth of Laud's positions could be affected by the consequences which he fancied resulted from them. It was nothing to Dr. Holland that Scripture and primitive antiquity were for Laud, these must be sacrificed sooner than foreign Protestantism be thought defective.

The attack of the Regius Professor however, like that of the Vice-Chancellor, ended in nothing except personal annoyance, such as any man would naturally feel at knowing everybody was anxious to find some cause of complaint in his conduct. It would seem as if the successive Vice-Chancellors thought it a duty they owed to the Protestant public of the day, to keep a strict watch over Laud.

The next actor in this drama of persecution was a Dr. Airy, Provost of Queen's and Vice-Chancellor. Laud had preached a sermon on October 21, 1606, before the University, which grievously offended this great official. When we inform our readers that he was so carried away by ultra-Protestantism as to have published a work, in which he had attacked the scriptural and ancient custom of "bowing at the Name of JESUS" (enjoined by the Canons of his own Church), a practice which he considered as idolatrous as that of worshipping the brazen serpent, they will know



how to value his opinion on Church matters. Laud however again emerged successful from the struggle. The Vice-Chancellor fumed and raged, but did nothing. This was too much for Abbott's patience: he flew upon his old victim, and showered down upon him such a storm of calumnies, that Laud himself says it was at one time dangerous to speak to him in the streets. The news of the bold Fellow of S. John's was carried to Cambridge. Its ultra-Protestant zeal was aroused, and even Dr. Hall, a good man, and afterwards a sufferer for righteousness' sake, attacked him in no measured strain.

So that up to thirty-three a cloud hung over him. Wherever he went, the grim puritanical form of Abbott dogged his steps, and longed for his destruction.

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### CHAPTER III.

DEC. 26, 1605.

#### THE FALSE STEP.

“ Let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall.”—  
1 Cor. x. 12.

WE are not describing a paragon of perfection, but relating the life of a man of like passions with ourselves. Most men have their falls in some way or other. Laud had his. The difference is that he repented, while men in general do not. The occasion of his lapse was his joining together in holy matrimony Mountjoy, Earl of Devonshire, and Lady Rich, her husband being alive, and only a sentence of separation *a mensâ et toro* having issued from the spiritual court. The circumstances were these: Sir C. Blount, brother of Lord Mountjoy, had in early life formed an attachment to the Lady Penelope Devereux, daughter of Walter, Earl of Essex, a lady

of great beauty and ability. His affection was reciprocated, but worldly wisdom interfered. A younger son might not hope for the hand of an Earl's daughter. They could only plight their troth in secret, and part. Blount went to court, and soon by the aid of his position and address made his way. The lady after a time was wedded to Lord Rich, an austere man, but of great wealth, and an eligible match, as the world said. The marriage was an unhappy one; and when Lady Rich met Sir C. Blount (now by his brother's death Lord Mountjoy, and high in the Queen's favour), passion overcame principle, and they sinned. They met again on Mountjoy's return from the Irish war, in which he had distinguished himself, first under Lord Essex, and then as Lord-Lieutenant, which post was conferred on him 1599. He had returned covered with glory, having won, 1601, the great victory at Kinsale with the loss of only twenty men; and having, 1603, captured the Earl of Tyrone, the rebel leader, whom he brought a prisoner to England. Honours flowed in upon the successful warrior. James I. made him a Privy-Councillor, Master of the Ordinance, and Earl of Devonshire. He met, as we said, his partner in guilt, her reputation gone, and separated from her husband by decree of court. Drawn within the range of her fascinations, he yielded to temptation, and after much persuasion induced Laud, whom he had appointed his chaplain, to marry him to her, on S. Stephen's Day, 1605.

Now sad as this was, and we do not wish to deny that Laud was guilty of a great sin, let it be remembered that the law of the land was by no means so clear then as it is now, as to the liberty allowed persons divorced *a mensâ et toro* of marrying again. As to the religious question, the Lutheran and Calvinist preachers held that after divorce pronounced, both the innocent and guilty party might marry again. The Church of England however (and in this respect she agrees with the Church of Rome) does not allow divorce.

She only in special cases partially separates the parties in the spiritual court. It is the State, which pretends by Act of Parliament, to sunder those whom God has joined. The Church holds that the bond is indissoluble, and that neither party may marry after separation while the other lives. Had Laud then done what his adversaries were always accusing him of doing, acted upon Roman principles, he would have been spared this lapse. As it was, he unhappily for himself acted upon ultra-Protestant doctrines, and fell.

But the sin brought its punishment. Society was greatly scandalised. The King looked coldly on the Earl of Devonshire, and withdrew his favour. The Earl's spirits sank, and before the anniversary of the unhalloved nuptials had come round, both himself and his victim had gone to their account.

And Laud, what did he, when sober conviction showed what occasion he had given to the enemies of the LORD to blaspheme? Did he banish his sin from his remembrance, make light of it, and treat as of no consequence? No indeed, his repentance was deep, real, and lasting. To his dying hour he kept the day of his fall as one of fasting and humiliation before God; and the following prayer discloses how thoroughly he felt that he had sinned a great sin in the sight of God and man. The entry in his diary is "December 26, 1605, Die Jovis. My cross about the Earl of Devon's marriage. O God, look upon Thy servant, and pity me according to Thy loving-kindness. I am become a scandal to Thy Name, serving my own ambition, others' sins. Others persuaded, but mine own conscience loudly forbad me. Let not this marriage divorce my soul from Thy bosom. Ah! how much better had I suffered martyrdom with Thy protomartyr upon his commemoration day, than have done the pleasure of two faithless, careless friends. I promised myself darkness in my crime, but lo it flew out; I became more open than the daylight. So didst Thou choose of Thy undeserved

mercy to me, to fill my face with shame, that I might learn to seek Thy Name. Even to this day, after so many repeated prayers, and sorrow, and confusion of soul, again and again poured out before Thee, my sin weighs heavily." There is another sin alluded to in this prayer as committed the same day, into which he says he fell, not being made humble or cautious enough by the first. "I am not stoned for my sins, but stoned by them. Now raise me up again, that I may die no more, but live, and living rejoice in Thee."<sup>1</sup>

Laud too had to pay the temporal penalty of sin. Such a fall was made the most of by his adversaries, and hindered his rise for many years. Abbott was beside himself for joy, and took good care that the marriage of the Earl of Devon should not be forgotten.

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## CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1607—1616.

### THE PARISH PRIEST.

"He gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God alway."  
Acts x. 2.

It is much to be regretted that we have such scanty accounts of Laud as a parish priest. His diary merely contains notices of the facts of his different preferments, nor has there any record been preserved beyond testimony to his self-denial and charity. Lloyd informs us that "no sooner was he invested in any living, than he invested twelve poor people in a constant allowance out of those livings, besides his constant repairing of the houses, and furnishing of the churches wherever he came." This was the line of conduct which he pursued at Stanford, in Northamptonshire, into which vicarage he was inducted Nov. 13,

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 81.

1607, and the following year he received the advowson of North Kilworth, in Leicestershire. This latter living he exchanged, 1609, for that of West Tilbury, in order that he might be near his patron, Bishop Neale of Rochester, to whom he had been introduced by Buckeridge, the President of S. John's, and whose Chaplain he was. The same year he took his D.D. degree, and such was the result of his firm and dignified bearing under the former assaults which had been made upon him, that no one ventured to make any opposition. There is little to relate of this period of his life. The important result, however, of his introduction to Neale (who, though not a man of much learning himself, compensated for it by the patronage he extended to others,) was his appointment to preach before King James at Theobald's, 1608. James was no mean theologian himself, and liked a good sermon. He was therefore, doubtless, disposed to listen favourably to Neale's recommendation of his chaplain, and promised to give him a stall at Westminster. Neale had previously presented Laud to the living of Cuckstone, in Kent, upon which he had resigned his fellowship of S. John's, and left the University. Cuckstone he exchanged soon after for Norton, a more healthy situation.<sup>1</sup>

The translation of Neale to Lincoln made a vacancy at Rochester, which was filled by the promotion of Dr. Buckeridge. This in turn left an opening at S. John's, as Buckeridge resigned the Headship. His wish was that Laud should succeed him. He consented to stand as a candidate: for, in such a position, he would be able to keep a watch over his implacable foes, the Puritans, and to detect their plots, whether directed against himself or the Catholic element of the English Church which he represented. The Puritans, on the other hand, clearly saw it would never do to have Laud head of a College. They posted to Abbott, who was then elect of Canterbury, poured their griefs into

<sup>1</sup> Vide Diary, Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 134, 5.

his sympathising ear, told him the danger to the Genevan faith, should such a semi-Papist, Arminian person as Laud be allowed to succeed to the Headship. Abbott, nothing loath, set to work, and frightened Lord Ellesmere, then lately elected to the Chancellorship of the University, by telling him that Laud was "at least a Papist at heart, and cordially addicted to Popery; that he kept company with none but professed or suspected Papists, and that if he were suffered to have any place of government in the University, it would undoubtedly turn to the great detriment of religion, and dishonour of his Lordship." Ellesmere, alarmed in turn, told the King. The King wavered and hesitated: he liked Laud, but he dared not promote him if he favoured Popery. Bishop Neale, however, came to the rescue, and explained to his Majesty the old grudge which Abbott had against his chaplain. The election therefore proceeded, and though one of Rawlinson's party (who opposed him) tore the balloting-papers to pieces,<sup>1</sup> when he found they were in Laud's favour, justice was not thus thwarted. An appeal was made to the King, Aug. 29, 1611; and the whole result of the election had better be given in Laud's own words:—

"When I was chosen President of that College, there was a bitter faction both raised and countenanced against me, (I will forbear to relate how and by whom,) but this is certain, I made no party then; for, four being in nomination for that Headship, I lay then so sick at London, that I was neither able to go down, nor so much as write to my friends about it. Yet, after much trouble, a major part of the votes made choice of me. Thus I was chosen President

<sup>1</sup> How well Laud understood the Christian precept of forgiveness of injuries, is shown by his conduct towards the person who offended, as mentioned above. For the sake of discipline he could not pass over his conduct, but he soon forgave him, and stood his friend through life, marrying him to his niece and promoting him eventually to the Headship of his College and a Deanery.

May 10th, 1611. After this, my election was quarrelled at, and great means made against me; insomuch that the most gracious King, King James, sate to hear the cause himself, for the space of full three hours, at Tichburn, in Hampshire, as he returned out of the Western Progress. Upon this hearing, his Majesty approved my election, and commanded my settlement, which was done accordingly at Michaelmas following. But the faction in the College finding such props above, as they had, continued very eager and bitter against me. The audit of the College for the year's accompts, and choice of new officers, followed in November. There, so God blessed me with patience and moderation in the choice of all offices, that I made all quiet in the College. And I governed that College in peace, without so much as the show of a faction, all my time, which was near eleven years. And the truth of all this is notoriously known, and many yet living of great worth in the Church, able and ready to avow it. And this, I hope, was not to lead on a side."<sup>1</sup>

When after-events called men's attention to omens and coincidences, it was recollected that the day of Laud's election to the Presidentship was the Decollation of S. John Baptist.

But although Abbott could not hinder Laud's success, he did not cease to harass him; and Heylin's pages have recorded at full length a virulent attack made upon the President of S. John's, by Robert Abbott, brother of the Archbishop, Master of Balliol and Regius Professor of Divinity. By Neale's advice he took no notice of it, and as it is exactly like the others in its falsehood, rancour, and virulence, we shall not transcribe it, merely remarking that it was called forth simply by Laud having made, in a sermon, some disparaging remarks upon Presbyterianism: no great offence, one would think, in a Priest of the Church of England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. vi. Speech to Lord Say.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Heylin, p. 61.

The following extracts from his Diary will show what kind of a man this was whom ultra-Protestantism was thus cruelly persecuting. They display to us a conscience sensibly alive to the goodness of God, and its own imperfection,—a heart deeply penetrated by sense of sin,—a broken and contrite spirit. Follow Laud from the controversies of S. Mary's to the retirement of the President's lodgings at S. John's, and you find him on his knees, pouring out his soul in prayer, in these touching strains. The Diary merely records, "1617. Cum E. B., July 28, die Lunæ." In his private devotions we find: "Julii 28, 1617, die Lunæ, E. B." What the allusion is, is not known, but it clearly refers to some sin, of which he thus repents:

"O Merciful God, Thou hast showed me much mercy, and done great things for me; and as I was returning, instead of thankfulness, I wandered out of my way from Thee, into a foul and a strange path. There Thou madest me see both my folly and my weakness: LORD, make me ever see them, ever sorry for them. O LORD, for my SAVIOUR's sake, forgive me the folly, and strengthen me against the weakness for ever. LORD, forgive all my sins, and this; and make me by Thy grace, Thy most true, humble, and faithful servant, all the days of my life, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

In the same year, we find noted in his Diary: "S. John's College on fire under the staircase in the Chaplain's chamber by the library, Sept. 26, die Veneris. Both these days of observation to me."

In his book of private devotions is the following prayer, again alluding to some cause for repentance: "Sept. 26, 1617, die Veneris. Fire and danger. O Merciful FATHER, whither shall I turn, who in my going out and my coming in, have sinned against Thee? I have gone with the Prodigal into a far country. I have expended my substance, rather Thine, in riotous living. There, I perceived every

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. 81.



thing was consumed, and that I was fit for no better company than the swine, yet neither that foul life nor the famine of Thy grace made me even think of returning to better food. Lo, Thy judgments pursue me on my return from an ill-omened journey. The fire hath seized upon the roof which shelters me, for GOD saw it and delayed not. 'The fire was kindled in Jacob, and sore displeasure in Israel.' My sins, I doubt not, were perilling my College and myself. For whilst I was intent upon extinguishing the flame, it almost extinguished me. Lo, Thy goodness, O LORD, snatched me from the flames, I may almost say, miraculously: for whilst a friendly hand removed me perforce, the fire, hitherto pent up, leapt forth from the place where I had purposed treading, the stairs fell into the fire, and I, had I been there, must have fallen too. O sins of mine, not yet sufficiently bewailed! O mercy of GOD, not yet sufficiently acknowledged! O penitence, more than ever necessary to me! O grace of GOD, to be implored humbly and meekly. I arise, O FATHER, and lo, I come: with slow and faltering step, indeed, but I come and confess, I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am no more worthy to be called Thy son. Let me be, O LORD, what Thou wilt, so long as I am Thine. Wash me in Thy SON'S Blood, that I may become Thine. Grant, I pray Thee, that this affright and daily remembrance of this fire, may burn out the dross and remains of sin; that the better fire of love and devotion may inflame me, walking more cautiously, with love to Thy Name, and hatred of sin, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen."

Such is the picture of Laud's inner life, presented to us in his own writings. It does not differ from that of other heroes of the Church. When engaged in conflict with the world, they are stern, uncompromising, and unyielding. In their closets, they are humble, gentle, penitent, weary of the burden of their sins, clothed in sackcloth, with eyes dimmed with

tears, full of godly fear lest from the very fact of their high and lofty position, Satan should gain an advantage over them. How little are the men, who, generation after generation, have passed judgment upon Laud, acquainted with his inner life. They know the politician, the statesman, the royal favourite, the Archbishop, but they do not know the contrite, the humble, the broken-hearted, self-abasing solitary. Like his great predecessor, S. Thomas, Laud fought and bled for the Church: like him, too, the purple robe of metropolitanical rule hid the serge and sackcloth beneath its folds.<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1616.

### THE DEAN OF GLOUCESTER.

“Ye shall reverence My sanctuary.”—Lev. xii. 20.

“MASTER CHANCELOUR—I pray you certifie me how things stand at Gloucester; wee heare strange things of late here with us, that seeme almost incredible. It is

<sup>1</sup> The religious point of view in which Laud regarded what are generally called accidents is very remarkable. On Feb. 5, 1628, he broke a sinew on a journey, which his private devotions notice thus: “O Merciful GOD, Thy Blessed Name be glorified. As I was travelling with the king upon duty, forgetful of Thee and human accidents, and full of self-confidence, I trod upon treacherous earth, and broke my sinew. I was lifted into a carriage, and taken to Hampton. My nerves felt excruciating tortures. I should certainly have fallen into a raging fever, had not an efflux of blood relieved me. I laboured under great infirmity, and walked lame for two years. I feel some infirmity still; but, immortal thanks to Thee, O most Blessed TRINITY, Thou didst restore me the perfect use of my feet, and strengthened my goings. Direct them now, O LORD, in the way of Thy Commandments, that I halt not between the world and Thee. I will run the way of Thy testimonies when Thou hast set my heart at liberty. Defer not, I pray, my heart’s liberty, my foot’s establishment in Thy righteousness.”—Laud’s Works, vol. iii. 83.

reported here for a truth, that the Communion Table in your cathedrall church is removed by your new Deane, and put up close at the upper end in the place where the high Altar heretofore stood, and that they make low obeysance to it with great reverence, as if CHRIST were there upon it, and that this hath much offended the whole citie almost, and yet that not any one of the Prebends did so much as offer by word or deed to resist him, or to tell him what harme this example might doe, and how much hereby the secret Papists would be stirred up to rejoyce, hoping for that which they have long looked for now to be neere at hand. Was there no man had any sparke of Elias' spirit to speake a word in GOD's behalfe? Oh, lamentable times in which we live, that these things are swallowed down by your preachers in silence! I forbear to say much till I be certified from you the truth of all matters. I hope it is not so, for I cannot thinke your Prebends would be so fainte-hearted (having also the law of the land on their side, that it ought not to stand where the Altar stood) as to shrink at the first wetting, without any pressing. Speedily send me word, I pray you, and so with my hearty commendations I end.

“ Your loving friend, .

“ JOHN WHITE.

“ Winchcombe, 12th of Feb. 1616.”

The reader (unless he is previously acquainted with the absurdities and irreverence of Puritanism,) will be surprised to hear that all this disturbance arose from Laud, who had now been appointed Dean of Gloucester, having persuaded the Chapter to remove the Communion Table to the east end of the church, in the place where the High Altar formerly stood, and to make the enjoined reverence on entering the sacred building. Laud had received this preferment from the King in 1616, with an injunction from his Majesty to put matters right in what he was pleased to call the worst governed church

in England. The Bishop at that time was Dr. Miles Smith, a man of great but rather ponderous learning, being not only a Greek and Latin, but also a Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic scholar, and known by the sobriquet of the "walking library." He was one of the translators of the Bible, and (as the dedication, of which he was the author, proves) not averse to flattery of kings. But Smith was a rigid Puritan, and it was nothing to him that the Communion Table was standing in the midst of the choir, without anything to save it from irreverence, or that the fabric was rapidly tumbling to pieces. His indignation consequently knew no bounds when Laud introduced the reverent customs, which prevailed in the King's Chapel, and other cathedral churches into Gloucester. He fretted and fumed, and talked of innovations, un-Protestantism, semi-Popery, and the like; but finding the Chapter, or rather the Dean, inexorable, he contented himself with making a vow that he would never enter the cathedral again, a vow which he is said to have kept strictly, though he did not die for eight years after.

Seeing how little the Bishop's remonstrances prevailed, one White, his chaplain, determined to call in the public to his rescue, and addressed the letter with which we have opened this chapter to the chancellor of the diocese. Somehow or other this letter was found by the parish clerk in the Church of S. Michael's, as he was shaking the pulpit cushions and putting every thing into proper order for the convenience of the sub-Dean, who was to preach there. It spread from one to another, and the ultra-Protestant spirit of the town was fired. Fancying themselves Eliases, with a mission to testify against the abominations of Popery, the good folk of Gloucester proceeded to such unseemly and riotous behaviour, that the magistracy were forced to commit the most troublesome to prison, and order others to find security for good behaviour. They even went so far as to request the

aid of the Court of High Commission. This promptness, and Laud's firmness, were successful. Before the year ended, the tumult had subsided. The more sensible part of the citizens began to see they were no nearer Popery, because they could no longer make the Holy Table a place for depositing their coats and hats. The Bishop's absence does not seem to have been regretted, and Laud's first attempt at bridling Puritanism was successful.

There were some other steps taken for the same purpose about this time. The reader will remember Dr. Abbott's attack upon Laud, of which by Neale's advice he took no notice. The Bishop however seeing that something ought to be done, and that through non-subscription to the Three Articles of the 36th Canon of 1603, all kinds of erroneous doctrines were being promulgated at Oxford, persuaded the King to issue some injunctions, (1616) which are given at length in Heylin. Those which gave most offence to the Puritans were the 1st, in which his Majesty expressed his pleasure "that all who took scholastic degrees should subscribe the three Articles of the 36th Canon:" the 2nd, "which enjoined that no preacher should be permitted in the town unless he subscribed and conformed:" the 7th, "that young students in divinity be directed to study such books as be most agreeable in doctrine and discipline to the Church of England, and incited to bestow their time on the Fathers, and Councils, Schoolmen, histories, controversies, and not to insist too long upon compendiums and abbreviations, making them the grounds of their study in divinity:" and the 8th, "that no man, either in pulpit or schools, be suffered to maintain dogmatically any point of doctrine that is not allowed by the Church of England." Had Popery been established by a royal proclamation, the rage and alarm of the ultra-Protestant party could not have been greater. They never forgave the preference of the Fathers and ecclesiastical history over Calvin's Institutes which was

thus given ; whilst to be forced to preach the doctrines of the Church whose revenues they were enjoying, was even then an intolerable bondage. The royal injunctions were treasured up in their remembrance, and charged afterwards upon the Archbishop as not the least dangerous and Popish of his innovations. They are all of them now fully adopted by the English Church, as are many other things which Laud did to the great disgust of the Puritans. These were followed in 1622 by a royal declaration forbidding the handling of the deep points of GOD'S predestination, election, reprobation, the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of GOD'S grace, by any preacher under the degree of a Bishop or Dean. Catechizing was also strongly recommended on Sunday afternoons as the ancient and laudable custom of teaching in the Church of England, while invectives, and indecent and railing speeches against Papists and Puritans were strictly forbidden. It is more than probable that Laud had a hand in drawing up this paper ; and Henry Burton vehemently attacked the Archbishop in after times for having "inhibited young ministers" from preaching on such abstruse points as GOD'S secret decrees. Our experience of young ministers leads us to think Laud was quite right, and most Churchmen at the present day would agree with us.

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## CHAPTER VI.

A. D. 1621—1625.

LAUD AT S. DAVID'S.

"If a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a good work."—1 Tim. iii. 1.

KING JAMES, with all his faults and absurdities, knew the value of good men. He had not forgotten his

promise to Laud when he told him that the deanery of Gloucester was a shell without a kernel; and Laud's success there in the correction of the prevailing irregularities, gave an additional claim on the royal favour. The court quidnuncs supposed that Laud would have been rewarded with the deanery of Westminster, which ought to have been vacant by Williams' promotion to the see of Lincoln. He managed however to procure a commendam for holding it in addition to his bishopric, and the great seal. Laud was accordingly nominated to the see of S. David's. His election took place October 10, and he immediately resigned the Headship of S. John's. "The King gave me leave," he says in his diary, "to hold the Presidentship of S. John's College in Oxon in my commendam with the bishopric of S. David's. *But by reason of the strictness of that statute, which I will not violate, nor my oath to it under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it.*"<sup>1</sup> This latter clause, which we have put in italics, was omitted by Prynne when he published the Archbishop's diary; a striking instance of the want of straightforward honesty and truthfulness which is an unhappy characteristic of Puritanism. The consequence was, that for many years Laud lay under the obloquy of being almost as great a pluralist as Williams.

His consecration was delayed by an untoward accident which happened to the Primate Abbott. This Prelate had the misfortune, while enjoying the chase in the park of his friend Lord Zouch, to miss the deer and kill the keeper. Williams was immediately on the alert. His line clearly was to make the most of the accident, procure the Archbishop's suspension or deposition, and himself installed as Primate. Accordingly he wrote to the Duke of Buckingham, then the all-powerful Minister, detailing the penalties to which Abbott had rendered himself liable at Canon and statute law, and setting forth the inconvenience of the

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, iii. 137.

King's having "*virum sanguineum*, a man of blood, as Primate and Patriarch of all his churches."<sup>1</sup>

The King issued a commission to the Lord Keeper Williams, the Bishops of London, Winchester (the saintly Andrewes), S. David's (elect), Exeter (elect), two Judges of the Common Pleas, and two Doctors of the civil law. For a long time the delegates were divided. At last the more merciful course, of which Andrewes and Dr. Martin, Dean of the Arches, were the champions, prevailed. Andrewes could not bring himself to strain obsolete Canons, even to condemn a man he disliked, for what clearly might happen to any of his brethren at any time. Besides he knew, that bad Archbishop as Abbott was, Williams would be worse. These considerations influenced him to take the side of moderate counsels, and he had the satisfaction of finding his view of the case endorsed by the great legal authority of Sir E. Coke, who when asked if a Bishop might hunt lawfully in his own or any other's park, replied, that by law the Bishop's dogs belonged to the King at his death, and that therefore there could be no doubt but that the Bishop might use them when alive.<sup>2</sup>

The Archbishop therefore escaped without any punishment inflicted; and as we have not much which we can record to his credit, it would not be fair to omit, that he ever kept the day of his misfortune as one of fasting and penitence, besides settling a pension on the widow.

The Bishops elect, S. David's (Laud), Salisbury (Davenant), Lincoln (Williams), Exeter (Carey), however, scrupled to have the hands even of an involuntary homicide laid upon them, and on November 18, they were consecrated to the Episcopate by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Chichester, Ely, Llandaff, and Oxon, acting under a commission under the broad seal.

The village of S. David's, which gives its name to

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Heylin, p. 82.



the see to which Laud was elevated, was not at the time the residence of the Bishop. The invasions of the Danes, Norwegians, &c., had in earlier times driven the Bishops to the village of Aberguilly, near Carmarthen. The glories of the see too had passed. In earlier times S. David had translated thither from Caerleon his metropolitcal chair, and borne primatial rule over the Welsh Churches; nor was it till Henry the First's time that his successors acknowledged the authority of Canterbury. But from that time S. David's has remained in the condition of a suffragan see.

At the period of which we are speaking, the church and episcopal residence were in a sadly neglected state (S. David's having had the misfortune to fall into the hands of one of the worst kind of Puritans as its Bishop after the Reformation), and the whole diocese sadly in need of churches. Finding no chapel at his house at Aberguilly, Laud built one which he intended should serve both for the use of his family and also be open to the inhabitants. His reverential mind thought it was only seemly and becoming to dedicate God's house to His service by special and peculiar solemnities, and he accordingly did so. But in this it was his misfortune to run counter to the spirit of his age. For unhappily such a flood of fanaticism had poured in after the return of the exiles from Geneva, that every thing which partook of reverence or care for God's honour was denounced as Popish. Among these things was the consecration of churches.

When Archbishop Parker could speak disparagingly of consecrations of churches, it is no wonder that such little folk as Tindal, Wraughton, Pilkington, Bale, Becon, and Calhill, should open their mouths in loud condemnation of consecrations, as, to use the words of John Fox, "superstitious, Jewish, Popish, anti-Christian, ridiculous, rather a conjuration than a consecration, invented only by and reserved to Bishops, for lucre's sake alone." Hence there can be no doubt

that the most violent, and therefore the most popular, of the Reformers could be appealed to in condemnation of such practices. But Laud knew that the English Church appealed to the Primitive Church, and wished her reformation to be judged by its conformity to the best and holiest times, rather than the private opinions of a few obscure Calvinistic preachers. Accordingly, following the example of the holy Andrewes, he consecrated his chapel at Aberguilly. He thus speaks, *Diary*, August 28, 1625: "I consecrated the chapel or oratory, which I had built at my own charge in my house, commonly called Aberguilly House. I named it the chapel of S. John the Baptist, in grateful remembrance of S. John Baptist's College, in Oxford, of which I had been first fellow, and afterwards president. And this I had determined to do. But another thing intervened (of no ill omen, I hope) of which I had never thought: it was this. On Saturday, the evening immediately preceding the consecration, while I was intent at prayer, I know not how, it came strongly into my mind that the beheading of S. John Baptist was very near. When prayers were finished, I consulted the calendar. I found that day to fall upon Monday, to wit, the 29th of August, not upon Sunday. I could have wished it had fallen upon that same day when I consecrated the chapel. However, I was pleased that I should perform this solemn consecration at least on the eve of that festival; for upon that day His Majesty King James heard my cause about the election to the Presidentship of S. John's College, in Oxford, for three hours together, at least, and with great justice delivered me out of the hands of my powerful enemies."<sup>1</sup>

One would scarcely have imagined that the consecration of this chapel was a proof of superstition and Popish tendencies. The Puritans, however, thought so; and among the Papistical innovations of which he was accused at his trial, the consecrations

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 171.

of the chapel at Aberguilly, of S. Catherine Cree, S. Giles, and Great Stanmore, stand prominently forward. At the latter place (such is the revulsion of feeling) the structure is allowed to remain as a ruin, instead of being ruthlessly swept away, because it was consecrated by this martyred prelate. The memory of the just still hangs round the hallowed walls, and screens them from the destroyer.

Among the other "palpable, idolatrous, Romish superstitions and innovations" with which Laud was charged, there are two closely connected with this subject which we will here introduce: one not formally preserved to ourselves (though there is no law against it), the other of everyday occurrence. We allude to the consecration of vessels for the Blessed Eucharist, and the religious service in use at the laying the first stone of churches and chapels. Laud practised both these. That they were innovations on the order of things since the days of Calvinistic ascendancy, we admit; that Fox, and Bale, and Pilkington, and Cartwright, would have denounced them as idolatrous, we are aware; but, in spite of them, these ceremonies, though they were innovations, were neither idolatrous, Romish, nor superstitious, but seemly, reverential, and Catholic. On the first of these points, one Mr. Boardman, a reverend minister, deposed that he saw the Archbishop at Lambeth Chapel, vested in a rich cope, set down divers chalices and flagons on the altar, and after reading the Scripture relating to the consecration of the temple, use a form of prayer, wherein he begged of God to bless and accept these vessels, which he severally touched and elevated, offering them to God. Where is the impropriety of this?—of solemnly dedicating to the service of God those vessels which are to be used in the most solemn service His creatures can offer Him—the commemoration of the SAVIOUR'S death, the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Equally natural is the feeling which has always led

men to dedicate the first stone of a new building for GOD'S worship with prayer. Thank GOD! we are so accustomed to this decent solemnity, that wonder now is only excited when the pious ceremony is omitted; and for this we are indebted to Laud's firmness in persisting in these religious practices, although the whole Puritan party was open-mouthed against him. Prynne had the audacity to produce, on the Archbishop's trial, as a proof of his treason and unfaithfulness to the Church of England, the following prayer, which he found in his study:—

*“ At the laying of the first stone of a chapel.”<sup>1</sup>*

“ O LORD, merciful and gracious, these Thy people are preparing to build a place for Thy service. Accept, I humbly beseech Thee, their present devotion' and make them perfect, both in their present and future duty; that while Thou givest them ease to honour Thee, they may with the greater alacrity go on in Thy service. And now, O LORD, I have, by Thy mercy and goodness, put to my hand to lay the first stone of this building: 'tis a corner-stone—make it, I beseech Thee, a happy foundation, a durable building. Let it rise up, and be made, and continue a house of prayer and devotion through all ages, that Thy people may be taught to believe in JESUS CHRIST, the True Corner-stone, upon Whom they and their souls may be built safe for ever. Grant this for the same JESUS CHRIST, our most blessed LORD and SAVIOUR; to Whom, with the FATHER and the HOLY SPIRIT, be ascribed all power, majesty, and dominion, this day and for ever. Amen.”<sup>2</sup>

Prynne, little remembering that the substance of the English Prayer-Book is to be found in the Roman Missal and Breviary, was indignant at discovering this prayer was in the Pontifical. Laud's answer is

<sup>1</sup> Hammersmith Chapel.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 96.

worth noticing: "It may be so, and yet be good. I hope there is no high treason to be found either in the one or the other, in consecrating churches, chapels, or foundation stones."

The further we go into this history, the more we shall see how much we are indebted to Laud for throwing himself boldly against the flood of Puritan irreverence, which threatened to sweep away the most sacred things. True, he paid the penalty of his boldness with his life; but here, as in other portions of the vineyard at other times, the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church.

But we must turn now to another incident, in which he had the opportunity of exhibiting the reverential tone of his mind towards sacred things.

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## CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1622.

### THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND THE SPANISH MATCH.

"The man whom the King delighteth to honour."—Esther vi. 6.

THE year 1622 was a remarkable one for Laud; for it brought him into connection with the great statesman of the day, the celebrated Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham. George Villiers, a young man, of an ancient Leicestershire family, was the third son of Sir George Villiers, and born August 28, 1592. He was brought up by his mother, a very accomplished woman, till he was eighteen, when he was sent to France. On his return, he attracted the notice of King James, was made his cup-bearer in 1613, and rose rapidly in favour. In 1615 he was made earl, and in 1617 Marquis of Buckingham and Lord High Admiral. At the same time his mother was elevated

to the rank of countess. When she joined the Roman communion is not certain. In 1623 Laud speaks of her as still wavering in point of religion, and his having been sent for by the King on that subject. The instrument of her conversion was one Fisher, a name assumed by an English Jesuit of the name of Percy; and through her influence over her son, aided by the Marchioness (Lady Katherine Manners), who was also a Roman Catholic, it was hoped to effect the conversion of the all-powerful favourite. Fisher must have been no ordinary controversialist, for he prevailed for a period over the hard head and logical mind of Chillingworth. Hence, what with his subtleties, and the influence of wife and mother, we can easily imagine the truth of Laud's assertion, "that the Right Honourable the Lord Duke of Buckingham was almost lost from the Church of England, between the continual increasing labours of Fisher, the Jesuit, and the lady his mother."<sup>1</sup>

King James was naturally alarmed. He was already sufficiently suspected by the people for non-enforcement of the penal laws. If his favourite and minister became a Roman Catholic, the popular suspicion of his own leaning to that communion would be more than ever confirmed. He accordingly proposed a conference between divines of both churches, nominally for the sake of the countess, really on account of her son. Dr. White, Rector of S. Peter's, Cornhill, a royal chaplain, and divinity lecturer at S. Paul's, afterwards Bishop of Ely, was the person chosen to meet Fisher.<sup>2</sup> Two conferences were the result, but the lady's mind was not settled. She needed satisfaction on the point of a visible infallible Church, and at the King's command Laud entered the lists. This famous conference had for the time the effect of winning back to the English communion

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> With true greatness of mind Laud, on one occasion, saved his opponent from punishment under the cruel penal laws.

the countess ("though," says Laud, "she was not so happy as to continue with us"), and the more satisfactory one of steadying the duke.<sup>1</sup> In fact, this was the commencement of a great intimacy between the two. Laud has recorded it thus:—

"1622, June 9. Being Whit-Sunday, my Lord Marquis Buckingham was pleased to enter upon a near respect to me; the particulars are not for paper.

"June 15. I became C. to my Lord of Buckingham.

"June 16. Being Trinity Sunday, he received the Sacrament at Greenwich."

It was far from Laud's wish not to present the Church of England in her fulness to those whom he retained in her communion; and hence, when Buckingham, as the Church advises, "wished to open his griefs to some learned and discreet minister of God's holy Word, that he might receive the benefit of absolution," Laud had no hesitation in acting as his spiri-

<sup>1</sup> On his trial, Laud enumerated the following persons whom he had won over to the English from the Roman communion:—

1. Henry Berkinstead, of Trinity College, Oxon.
  2. Two daughters of Sir R. Lechford.
  3. Two scholars of S. John's College, Cantab.
  4. Sir W. Webbe and his two daughters.
  5. A gentleman whose name he could not recall.
  6. Lord Mayo.
  7. The Marchioness of Hamilton.
  8. Mr. Digby, a Priest.
  9. Mr. James.
  10. Dr. Hart.
  11. Mr. Seaburne.
  12. Mr. Chillingworth.
  13. The sons of Mr. Winchecombe and Mr. Wollescott.
  14. Sir W. Spencer, and the old Countess of Buckingham.
- These afterwards relapsed, "it being only in God's power, not mine, to preserve them." All the rest continued faithful to the Church of England.

We will only remark, that no person is anxious to bring others to a communion which he does not love. Indifference never proselytises.

tual guide; or, in his own ecclesiastical language, becoming his confessor.<sup>1</sup>

His views upon the subject of voluntary unburdening the conscience are well expressed in the following remarks on the Scotch Canon: "And for the matter of the Canon, if here be anything to establish Popish Confession or Absolution, I humbly submit it to the learned of the Reformed Churches throughout Christendom: all men, for aught I yet know, allowing 'Confession' and 'Absolution,' and condemning only the binding of all men to confess all sins, upon absolute danger of salvation. And this, indeed, some call, 'carnificium conscientiae,' the rack or torturing of the conscience, but impose no other necessity of confessing than the weight of their own sins shall lay upon them, nor no other enforcement to receive Absolution than their Christian care to ease their own consciences shall lead them unto; and in that way Calvin commends Confession exceedingly. And if you mark it, you shall find that our SAVIOUR CHRIST Who gives the Priest full Power of the Keys, to bind and loose, that is, to receive Confession, and absolve or not absolve, as he sees cause in the delinquent, yet you shall not find any command of His to enforce men to come

<sup>1</sup> The value Laud set upon Buckingham's friendship will be seen from the following prayer composed by him on the occasion. All things, whether of joy or sorrow, were sanctified by Laud with prayer.

"Gracious FATHER, I humbly beseech Thee, bless the Duke of Buckingham with all spiritual and temporal blessings, but especially spiritual. Make and continue him faithful to his prince, serviceable to his country, devout in Thy truth and Church; a most happy husband, and a blessed father, filled with the constant love and honour of his prince; that all Thy blessings may flow upon himself, and his posterity after him. Continue him a true-hearted friend to me, Thy poor servant, whom Thou hast honoured in his eyes. Make my heart religious and dutiful to Thee, and in and under Thee true, secret, and stout and provident in all things which he shall be pleased to commit unto me. Even so, LORD, and make him continually to serve Thee, that Thou mayest bless him, through JESUS CHRIST, our only LORD and SAVIOUR. Amen."—Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 75.



to the Priest to receive this benefit. 'Tis enough that He hath left power in the ministry of the Church to give penitent Christians, this ease, safety, and comfort, if they will receive it when they need. If they need and will not come, or if they need and will not believe they do so, let them bear their own burden."<sup>1</sup>

He was now at liberty to visit his diocese; and his Diary records his progress:

"1622.—July 5, I first entered into Wales.

"July 9, I began my first Visitation at the College at Brecknock, and preached.

"July 24, I visited S. David's, and preached.

"July 25, Aug. 6, 7, I visited at Carmarthen, and preached. The Chancellor and my Commissioners visited at Emlyn.

"July 16, 17, and at Haverfordwest, July 19, 20.

"Aug. 15, I set forward towards England from Carmarthen."<sup>2</sup>

"1622.—Feb. 9, I ordained Edmund Provant, a Scot, Priest. He was my first-begotten in the LORD." The private devotions show how heavy the responsibility of laying-on hands was felt by Laud:

"LORD, I am now at Thy Altar, at Thy work, keep me, that I lay not my hands suddenly upon any man, lest I be partaker of other men's sins, but that I may keep myself pure in JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen. LORD, give me grace, that as oft as they shall come in my way, I may put them in remembrance whom I have ordained, that they may stir up the gift of GOD, which is in them, by the laying-on of my hands, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen."

Another entry shows he guarded carefully entrance into the Priesthood, excluding the unworthy: "Sept. 24, One only person desired to receive Holy Orders from me, and he found to be unfit, on examination. I sent him away with an exhortation, not ordained."

The intimacy which had sprung up between Laud

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. 139.

and Buckingham soon furnished the former an opportunity of evidencing his love for the English Church. We have already seen that it was Laud's fixed determination that the children of the Church should have from his hand their full portion of privileges, and that he had thus no hesitation in allowing the Duke to pour his griefs into his priestly ear. Nor did he afterwards shrink from casting the mantle of his authority over those Clergy, whom the Puritans would have hunted down for receiving the confessions of those stricken souls, who could not quiet their own conscience. Laud knew the best way to prevent secession to Rome, was to present to waverers the Church of England in her entirety and fulness, as she is in her Prayer Book and authoritative acts, pure from all taint of Geneva, and not to pare her down to suit Puritanical fancies and caprices. Consistently, therefore, was he most anxious, on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' romantic journey to Spain, in 1623, to provide for the due celebration of Divine Offices according to the English rites, in the capital of a strictly Roman Catholic country. We shall not enter into the details of the journey: suffice it to say, that as soon as it was ascertained the Prince had arrived safely at Madrid, King James immediately sent two Chaplains (Maw and Wren,) to whom he gave the following instructions which had been drawn up by Laud and some other Bishops:—

“1. That there be a convenient room appointed for Prayer: the said room to be employed, during their abode, to no other use.

“2. That it be decently adorned chapelwise, with an altar, font, palls, linen coverings, demy carpet, four surplices, candlesticks, tapers, chalices, patens, a fine towel for the Prince, other towels for the household, a traverse of water for the Communion, a bason, and flagon, two copes.

“3. That Prayers be duly kept twice a day, that all reverence be used by every one present, being un-

covered, kneeling at due time, standing up at the Creeds and Gospel, bowing at the Name of JESUS.

“4. That the Communion be celebrated in due form, with an oblation of every communicant, and mixing water with the wine. The Communion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down. Smooth wafers to be used for the bread.”

The Chaplains were further forbidden to indulge in controversy, and were specially instructed to preach CHRIST JESUS Crucified. They were also to take with them the Articles and Prayer Book in various languages.

These are clearly the acts of one who loved his Church, and wished her to be well represented when sojourning among strangers. They also show considerable forethought for Buckingham and Charles in a foreign land. But his care for them was not limited to paper instructions. Day by day, when they were travelling by land or by sea, mingling unknown amidst the gay revelries of Paris, or receiving the intoxicating draught of the homage of Madrid, did there go up from the retirement of his closet the Bishop's prayer for the wanderers :

“O Most Merciful GOD and Gracious FATHER, the prince hath put himself to a great adventure. I humbly beseech Thee make a way clear before him. Give Thine Angels charge over him : be with him Thyself in mercy, power, and protection, in every step of his journey, in every moment of his time, in every consultation and address for action, till Thou bring him back with safety, honour, and contentment, to do Thee service in this place.

“Bless his most trusty and faithful servant, the Lord Duke of Buckingham, that he may be diligent in service, provident in business, wise and happy in counsels, for the honour of Thy Name, the good of Thy Church, the preservation of the Prince, the contentment of the King, the satisfaction of the state. Preserve him, I humbly beseech Thee, from all envy

that attends him, and bless him that his eyes may see the Prince safely delivered to the King and State, and after it, live long in happiness, to do them and Thee service, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

The leaves of his Private Devotions, which contained these prayers, bore marks of constant use, as Prynne maliciously pointed out, little thinking what testimony he was affording to the really Christian character of his victim, and his faith in the efficacy of prayer.

While Laud was thus fostering and striving to elicit the good points of the Duke of Buckingham, the gay favourite, in his turn, seems to have conceived a great esteem and regard for the Prelate to whom he committed the disposal of his ecclesiastical patronage. The great influence which Laud had over him, was seen in his abstaining at his entreaty from confiscating the property of the Charterhouse, for the expenses of the army. His mind was at this time, probably, more open to good impressions, as he had recovered from a sickness, in which Laud not only visited him as his ghostly adviser, but also affectionately nursed him, and spent more than one night at his sick couch. We have been so accustomed to think of Laud as the mere statesman, that these gentler traits of his character have entirely escaped our notice, and few of us have ever thought of the unyielding lion-hearted Prelate watching the sleep and soothing the restlessness of a sick friend. Such traits are, however, worth dwelling upon, not merely for our imitation, but also as displaying a great man in an aspect which commands the respect of all. Nor were his sympathies only with dukes: he was always kind to the sick, (his own ailments taught him gentleness); and we read of him, on another occasion, coming from Hampton Court to London, to visit one of his servants, William Pennell, "whom I left sick at home." We shall return to this.

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. 76.

But if Laud had a strong friend in Buckingham, he had also powerful enemies. Many years of his life were embittered by the treatment he experienced from the celebrated Williams, the Lord Keeper, afterwards Archbishop of York. These two men never seemed to understand each other from the first. Laud, whose vision was the keener of the two, saw clearly the only chance for the Church of England was the development of the Catholic element in her: Williams, on the other hand, was for concession to the Puritans. Laud was particularly truthful, (his honesty is particularly noted by Clarendon,) whereas Williams was by nature a liar. Laud could not take a crooked course: Williams preferred it. Laud shrunk from dissimulation: Williams revelled in it. There is no occasion, therefore, to search far for the reasons of the mutual dislike they had for each other; it was instinctive. Laud's single eye penetrated at once Williams' tricks, and Williams felt that in Laud's presence he was unmasked. Laud seems to have regarded Williams as men do a serpent, and Williams to have taken his revenge as a serpent does, by biting when he dared.

The difference between them is first noted by Laud in his Diary, October 3, 1623: "I was with my Lord Keeper, to whom I found some one had done me very ill offices." And similar entries occur in abundance. So great was the annoyance, that Williams even figured in his dreams, and on one occasion, he seems to have made it special subject of communion with God, and to have experienced much consolation by recalling to mind Psalm lvi., "The LORD is my Helper; I will not fear what man can do unto me. Who is not safe under that shield? Protect me, O LORD my GOD."

Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, already mentioned, was another of Laud's enemies; "a man," says Clarendon, "totally ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the Clergy." His whole life was an evidence

of this, while his utter want of forethought for his poorer brethren was shown by his treatment of a proposition which Laud made to him for the purpose of lightening the burden of taxation which fell upon the poorer Clergy. The Convocation of 1624 voted a large subsidy to the King on occasion of the rupture with Spain; but the time for levying it was limited from February 19 to March 16, 1624 $\frac{4}{5}$ . Laud who had once been a Parish Priest, (which Abbott never was,) knew this would press hard upon the country Clergy, and devised a plan for lightening its burden, which met with the approbation of Buckingham and Williams. Abbott thought differently, however, and "was very angry; asked what I had to do to make any suit for the Church; told me never any Bishop attempted the like at any time, nor would any but myself have done it; that I had given the Church such a wound in speaking to any Lord of the Laity about it, as I could never make whole again; that if my Lord Duke did fully understand what I had done, he would never induce me to come near him again. I answered, I thought I had done a very good office for the Church, and so did my betters think. If his Grace thought otherwise, I was sorry I had offended him, and I hoped (being done out of a good mind, for the support of many poor Vicars in the country, who must needs sink under three subsidies a year,) my error, if it were one, were pardonable. So we parted. . . . . May GOD bless me, His servant, labouring under the pressure of them who always wished ill to me.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 151.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1625—1626.

KING CHARLES I.

“Our own, our Royal Saint.”

*Christian Year.*

x “God grant King Charles a prosperous and happy reign!” was Laud’s pious aspiration, as he noted in his Diary the accession of the young King. Even at this distance of time, the words are very touching, when we think of the end of both.

Charles’s accession was the turning-point in the history of our Church. The King was grieved at the spread of Calvinistic theology, which had gained such a hold on the affections of the people, and was eating out the heart’s life of the Church. He saw and mourned over the downward progress which she was making under the Metropolitan rule of Abbott, and, invested by the law with great powers over her, he resolved that he would use them for her restoration, and cause her, as far as he could, to realise the position she claimed, of being reformed upon the model of the ancient Church.

At this distance of time, we can scarcely realise what a deadly evil Puritanism was, nor the dreadful heresies to which it gave birth. What is left of it is innocent compared with the Puritanism of the time of Charles I. It was, in fact, a system of opinions which had grown up in the Church, at utter variance with its doctrines and discipline. The Church of England appealed for her justification to the early ages: Puritanism laughed antiquity to scorn. The Church limited private judgment by reception of the Creeds of the Undivided Church: Puritanism claimed for itself the most unbridled licence, and profanely attributed to its most intemperate sallies, the authority of

the SPIRIT. The Church of England believed our LORD'S words, "Except a man be born of water and the SPIRIT, he cannot see the Kingdom of GOD": Puritanism denied the necessity and efficacy of Baptism, and reduced it to a naked sign. Confirmation was the subject of profane jesting. The Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist denied and reviled. The Church placed prayer above preaching: Puritanism exalted preaching above prayer. The Church adhered to the necessity of Episcopal Ordination: Puritanism held that any one who fancied he was called by GOD might lawfully serve in the sacred ministry. All the pious ceremonies retained by the Church were laughed at and set at nought by the Puritans. They would neither stand at the Gospel, nor bow at the Name of JESUS, nor receive the Communion in the attitude of suppliants. They tore the altar from its position in the east, and rejoiced to see it in the body of the church, a receptacle of hats or books. They could not endure painted glass, and shut their ears to the sweet influences of sacred music. The beautiful order of the Church's Calendar had no charms for them, the Christian seasons in honour of our LORD, the minor commemorations of the Apostles were subjected to their utmost scorn. In a word, Puritanism robbed religion of all that was high and noble, and tender, and graceful, and winning, and affectionate, and reverent, and threw over her a dark, gloomy, and repulsive vestment; deprived her votaries of all the high and thrilling associations which the feeling of membership in CHRIST'S Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints have such power to bestow, and could see no Christianity before the days of Calvin. Rejecting the authority of Œcumenical Councils, she bowed down before the Swiss Pastor, and, careless of orthodoxy on cardinal points, assured her votaries of salvation, if they felt they were among the elect and abused to the best of their ability the Church of Rome.



Such were the principles which Charles saw pervading the length and breadth of the land-over which GOD'S Providence had caused him to reign. Brought up in the true principles of the Church of England, and himself no mean theologian, he saw at once that if this heresy obtained the upper hand, the Church of England would soon cease to be a witness for the "faith once delivered to the saints," and forfeit her claim to be considered a branch of the Church Catholic. Laud saw the same thing, and the Crosier and the Sceptre entered into a firm alliance. We, at this day, are reaping the fruits of their penetration and decision. They both, indeed, laid their heads upon the block, but their vindication is the present English Church.

While Charles, too, saw the danger which threatened the Church, he was not less alive to the evils to the State, which were connected with Puritanism.

He penetrated the thin disguises of constitutional monarchy, balance of power in the State, rights of Parliament, and the like, beneath which Pym, Vane, Hampden, and others masked their designs; and saw clearly that they meant Republicanism. The Republican tendencies of Genevan doctrines had been well known to his predecessors, and hence the gulph between Charles and these gloomy fanatics widened daily. The inheritor of a mighty prerogative, wielded within the recollection of those living with uncontrolled authority; Charles saw himself and in him the monarchy, threatened with the utmost violence. Hence his antipathy to the innovators,—and his determination, at all risks, to uphold the monarchy with which all the past glories of England were bound up. What would be utterly illegal in the occupant of our constitutional throne, was quite lawful in Charles. We are not to judge him by notions of prerogative derived from 1688.

Some such digression as this has been necessary for the right understanding of the position assumed by

the saintly monarch, whom we have introduced in this chapter. We are not going into his history, nor the details of the civil war. He outlived Laud, and threw the protection of his prerogative over him to the last. The only monarch that has actively used the powers which the Church placed in his hands, for her real exaltation, he comes down to us with special claims on our gratitude as Churchmen. Brave, generous, princely in his bearing, and yet capable of inspiring the most devoted attachment, refined and elegant in his tastes, and above all pure in private life, a good husband and a good father—with a soul deeply penetrated by religion, and a heart which beat in unison with the precepts of the Church; it is impossible to withhold our sympathy from him in the long and cruel struggle he maintained with the enemies of the Church and Crown. Were there indeed no other title to our love, his deep penitence for his one great sin, and his saintly death,—not to speak of the title of Martyr, formally given him by our Church, would forbid us to think of him with any feelings save those of affection and reverence.

With so much sympathy between Charles and Laud, it was not to be expected that Laud would much longer remain in the back ground. Charles early gave him proofs of his confidence, requiring him to give him a list of his Chaplains with the letter O. and P. (Orthodox and Puritan), affixed to their names; and also instructing him to consult Andrewes as to the expediency of attempting a condemnation of the Five Calvinistic Points in Convocation. Andrewes' advice was, to let the matter alone, probably not being able to trust Convocation with the settlement of doctrine.<sup>1</sup> The question accordingly was not mooted when Convocation met in June, 1625, simultaneously with Charles's first Parliament. Laud preached from Psalm cxxii. 3, 4; and set forth the necessity of unity in Church and State. The whole sermon is remarkable as a statement

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 160.

of his high views of the Regale, and the close connection he conceived desirable between Church and State. But wishing as much as possible to avoid politics, we shall not quote it, but rather retire with the Prelate, and witness him on his knees in his closet, pouring out his soul to GOD.

The pestilence was raging fiercely, and at the King's command July 2nd was observed as a day of fasting and humiliation. Laud's religious mind seems to have been much impressed by this visitation, and he notes the sudden death of one of the Bishop of Gloucester's servants, as having particularly struck him: "GOD be merciful to me and the rest." After stating the terrible nature of GOD's judgment, the prayer proceeds, "We have no whither to go, but to mercy: we have no way to that, but by the all-sufficient merit of Thy SON our blessed SAVIOUR. LORD, for His merit and mercies' sake, look down upon us Thy distressed servants: command Thine Angel to stay his hand, and remember that in death we cannot praise Thee, nor give thanks in the pit. Go forth with our armies where they go, and make us remember that all our strength and deliverance is in Thee. Clear up the heavens over us, and take not from us the great plenty with which Thou hast crowned the earth: but remember us, O Thou that feedest the young ravens when they call upon Thee. LORD, we need all Thy mercies to come upon us; and thy mercies are altogether in CHRIST, in whom, and for whose sake, we beg them of Thee, who livest and reignest in the unity of the Spirit, one GOD, world without end. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

In this devout communion with his GOD did Laud gather strength to meet the coming struggle. The Commons had fastened upon Montague, one of the King's Chaplains, committed him to the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, and made him give his bond for £2,000, for his appearance for final sentence next session. This was not for any civil offence, but because

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 130.

Montague had published some theological books which were displeasing to the Puritan country gentlemen, who composed the Lower House. Laud soon saw this would never do, and with the Bishops of Rochester and Oxford, addressed Buckingham in his behalf, alleging that some of Montague's opinions were the doctrines of the Church, and others abstruse and difficult Theological points, which had always been left open. And they proceed: "May it please your Grace further to consider, that when the Clergy submitted themselves in the time of Henry VIII., the submission was so made, that if any difference, doctrinal or other, fell in the Church, the King and the Bishops were to be the judges of it in the National Synod or Convocation, the King first giving leave under his broad seal, to handle the points in difference. But the Church never submitted to any other judge, neither indeed can she, though she would." And they conclude by expressing their confidence in Montague, and their satisfaction that the King was about to refer the matter to Church consideration.<sup>1</sup>

The dissolution of the Parliament, August 12th, saved Montague for the present, but Charles' second Parliament, which met February 2, 1626, renewed the attack. Laud stood by his friend, and even when the King (thus early showing signs of his chief fault, indecision) faltered before the storm, protected him. The Parliament was dissolved, and Montague made Bishop of Chichester, 1627.

That Laud was aware of the importance of making a stand in Montague's case, is clear from his words and his deeds. In order to connect them, we have digressed a little, for the Coronation of the King intervened between the meeting of the first and second Parliament; and Williams, the Dean of Westminster, being under the Royal displeasure, his place was supplied by Laud.

The Dean of Westminster, by virtue of his office,

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 131.

has the custody of the Regalia, and the chief management of the ceremonial. It was just exactly the work for Laud, and, during the interval, the diary discloses him—now busy with the Bishops, now hurrying to the King, now inspecting the regalia, now correcting the deficiencies in the late ceremonial.

“It was a very bright sunshiny day,” that Candlemas day, 1625, when Charles I., amid the shouts and acclamations of an immense concourse of people, entered the ancient abbey of Westminster. They traced upon his kingly brow the sign of redemption, with the consecrated unguent, and as he stood before the altar, whence looked on him the image of his crucified Redeemer, the Bishop thus spake: “Stand and hold fast from henceforth, the place to which you have been heir by the succession of your forefathers, being now delivered to you by the authority of Almighty GOD, and by the hands of all us the Bishops and servants of GOD. And as you see the Clergy to come nearer the altar than others, so remember that in place convenient you give them greater honour, that the Mediator of GOD and man may establish you in the kingly throne, to be the Mediator between the Clergy and Laity, that you may reign for ever with JESUS CHRIST the King of Kings, and LORD of Lords, who with the FATHER and HOLY GHOST, liveth and reigneth for ever. Amen.” “Let him obtain favour for the people,” continued the sacred strain, “like Aaron in the tabernacle, Elisha in the waters, Zacharias in the temple: give him Peter’s keys of discipline, and Paul’s doctrine.” Then he swore to confirm to the people of England, the laws and customs granted by his predecessors; and they placed the crown of S. Edward on his head, and the people shouted—“GOD save the King!” What a contrast was Whitehall, on that sad January 30th.

There was soon evidence of the influence Laud had over his Sovereign. As soon as Montague had been dragged out of the jaws of the Commons, a Royal pro-

clamation made its appearance, forbidding any of his Majesty's subjects from the publication of any new inventions or opinions concerning religion; and in 1626, Laud was translated to the See of Bath and Wells. One of his first acts there was to draw up by order of Buckingham, instructions for the Bishops and Archbishops, for circulation through the kingdom, exhorting the people to contribute to the support of the Monarch, who had been plunged into war by his Parliament, and then left by them without money. The conclusion is very beautiful, and worthy of being recorded.

“The three great and usual judgments, which He darts down upon disobedient and unthankful people, are pestilence, famine, and sword. The pestilence did never more rage in this kingdom than of late, and GOD was graciously pleased in mercy to hear the prayer which was made unto Him, and the ceasing of that judgment was little less than a miracle. The famine threatened us this present year, and it must have followed, had GOD rained down His anger a little later upon the fruits of the earth; but upon our prayers He stayed that judgment, and sent us a blessed season, and most beautiful harvest. The sword is the thing which we are now to look to, and you must call the people to their prayers again, against that enemy, that GOD will be pleased to send the like deliverance from this judgment also; that in the same mercy He will vouchsafe to strengthen the hands of His people: that He will sharpen their sword, but dull and turn the edge of that which is in our enemies' hands, that so while some fight others may pray for this blessing.”<sup>1</sup>

“In every thing by prayer, let your request be made known unto GOD,” saith the Apostle.<sup>2</sup> Laud thoroughly believed this: prayer pervades this paper; so too, his private devotions, under the head “Bellum,” illustrate this feature of his religious character. The prayers are mostly, as will be seen, compiled from Holy

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> Philip. iv. 6.

Scripture, for Laud was no stranger to the language of the Sacred Volume.

“O my GOD, though mighty nations gather together on heaps, yet let them be broken in pieces; though they take counsel together, bring it to nought. For though they pronounce a decree, yet it shall not stand, if Thou, O GOD, be with us. Be with us, therefore, O GOD, for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen.

➤ “O make the wars to cease in all the world, break the bow, and knap the spear in sunder, and burn the chariot in the fire: that men may be still, and know that Thou art GOD: that Thou wilt be exalted among the heathen, and in the earth. Amen.

“Hast Thou forgotten us, O GOD? and wilt not Thou, O GOD, go forth with our Hosts? O help us against the enemy: for vain is the help of man. O LORD, help us. Amen.

“O LORD, bless the King: all his commanders under him: and all his soldiers. Cover all their heads, his especially, in the day of battle. Teach all their hands to war, and their fingers to fight. And bless all the guides and conductors of his armies under him, with wisdom and courage, and faithfulness, and watchfulness, and diligence, and whatsoever else may lead on to good success. And set a happy end, we humbly beseech Thee, to all these bloody distractions, and restore peace, and preserve religion in integrity among us, even for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

➤ His next step shall be given in his own words, and we shall see him upholding the honour of Almighty God, the authority of the Church, and the reverence due to consecrated houses of prayer, even before Kings. Much as he loved Charles, he loved reverence more, and shrunk not when his duty called him, from rebuking one whose office and person he so deeply venerated.

“It was Friday—November 14th, or thereabouts—taking occasion, from the abrupt both beginning and

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 50.

ending of public prayer on the 5th of November, I desired his Majesty King Charles that he would please to be present at prayers, as well as sermon every Sunday; and that at whatsoever part of the prayers he came,<sup>1</sup> the priest then officiating might proceed to the end of the prayers. The most religious King not only assented to this request, but also gave me thanks. This had not before been done from the beginning of King James's reign to this day. Now, thanks be to GOD, it obtaineth."<sup>2</sup>

## CHAPTER IX.

A. D. 1628.

### THE ROYAL DECLARATION—THE LECTURERS.

“Kings shall be thy nursing fathers.”—Isa. lix. 23.

THE third Parliament of King Charles, March 17, 1628, opened with a sermon by Laud from Eph. iv. 3, words which the King echoed in his speech to the assembled Lords and Commons. He spoke in vain. The Commons soon showed the unruly material of which they were made, and proceeded to busy themselves in condemning Dr. Mainwaring, but with no better success than to expedite his promotion to the See of S. David's. His elevation to the Episcopate had been already determined on, and Laud considered it matter of conscience not to allow the King to surrender the responsibility of appointing Bishops, which the Constitution imposed upon him.

Enraged at this, the Commons now pointed at Laud by name as an Arminian and a Jesuit, coupling with him Neil, Bishop of Winchester. This was no more than Laud expected, having been warned before Par-

<sup>1</sup> The custom was, that when the King entered, Prayers stopped, and Preaching began.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 197.



liament met that he would be aimed at. His lion heart, however, quailed not, his courage bore him through victoriously. The King's favour too was not wanting. The see of London became vacant, and the *congé d'elire* nominated Laud. He had scarcely been called to this high post, when the first serious blow fell upon him in the assassination of Buckingham, by Felton.

This nobleman was at this time in the highest disfavour with the Commons. His unsuccessful expedition to Rhe had added to the weight of unpopularity under which he laboured, and he became the subject of innumerable complaints on the part of the Lower House. The assassin's knife saved him from their fury, and though the nation wept him not, the tears of Laud flowed bitterly over his friend's untimely death.<sup>1</sup> Thus he records his feelings: "O merciful God, Thy judgments are often secret, always just. At this time they were temporarily heavy upon the poor Duke of Buckingham, upon me, upon all that had the honour to be near him. LORD, Thou hast, I doubt not, given him rest, and light, and blessedness in Thee: give also, I beseech Thee, comfort to his lady, bless his children, uphold his friends, forget not his servants. Lay open the bottom of all that irreligious and graceless plot that spilt his blood. Bless and preserve the King from danger and from insecurity in these dangerous times. And for myself,

<sup>1</sup> The following prayer was used by Laud during the Duke's absence at Rhe: "O most gracious GOD and merciful FATHER, Thou art the LORD of Hosts! all victory over our enemies, all safety against them is from Thee; I humbly beseech Thee go out with our armies and bless them. Bless my dear Lord the Duke, that is gone Admiral with them, that wisdom may attend his counsels, and courage and success his enterprise; that by his and their means, Thou wilt be pleased to bring safety to this kingdom, strength and comfort to religion, victory and reputation to our country, and that he may return with our navy committed to him, and with safety, honour, and love of princes and people. Grant this for Thy dear SON's sake, JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen."

—Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 76.

LORD, though the sorrows of my heart are enlarged in that Thou gavest this most honourable friend into my bosom, and hast taken him again from me, yet blessed be Thy Name, O LORD, Thou hast given me patience. I shall now see him no more till we meet at the Resurrection. O make that joyful to us, and to all Thy faithful servants, even for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen."

His correspondence with Vossius runs in the same strain, and when we remember that for the sake of greater devotion Laud led a solitary life, we shall the better understand the severe loss he experienced in the death of the Duke.

The murder of Buckingham brought Laud forward. He was now the chief adviser in Church and State, and perceiving that the King's late injunctions had been but badly obeyed, obtained from him (1628) the celebrated Declaration, which finally rescued the Thirty-nine Articles from the grasp of the Calvinists, and contains the Royal promise that matters of doctrine shall be left to the settlement of the Convocation. Our readers will find it prefixed to the Articles as they are generally bound up with their Prayer Books; we need not therefore quote it. Its acceptance by the Church has been of untold value, seeing it requires subscription to the Articles only in the natural and grammatical sense, and thus leaves a wide and generous liberty. Professing to silence all parties, it really only gagged one, and the Commons felt this. "We, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do claim, protest, and avow for truth, the sense of the Articles of Religion which were established by Parliament in the thirteenth year of our late Queen Elizabeth, which by the public act of the Church of England, and by the general and current expositions of the writers of our Church, have been delivered unto us. And we reject the sense of the Jesuits, Arminians, and all others wherein they differ from us" (i.e., we are Calvinists, and Calvinistic therefore the Articles shall be). To this Laud replied by a temperate declaration,

vindicating liberty of subscription, in opposition to Puritanical exclusiveness. It will repay careful study.

“And first (saith he), the Public Acts of the Church in matters of Doctrine are Canons and Acts of Councils, as well for expounding as determining; the Acts of the High Commission are not in this sense Public Acts of the Church, nor the meeting of a few or more Bishops *Extra Concilium* unless they be by lawful authority called to that work, and their decision approved by the Church.

“Secondly. The current Exposition of writers is a strong probable argument, *de sensu canonis Ecclesie vel Articuli*; yet but probable. The current exposition of the Fathers themselves have sometimes missed *sensum Ecclesie*.

“Thirdly. Will you reject all sense of Jesuit or Arminian? May not some be true? May not some be agreeable to our writers, and yet in a way that is stronger than ours to confirm the Article?

“Fourthly. Is there by this Act any interpretation made or declared of the Articles or not? If none, to what end the Act? If a sense or interpretation be declared, what authority have laymen to make it? For interpretation of an Article belongs to them only that have power to make it.

“Fifthly. It is manifest that there is a sense declared by the House of Commons, the Act says it (‘We avow the Articles, and in that sense, and all other that agree not with us in the aforesaid sense, we reject’) these and these go about misinterpretation of a sense; ergo, there is a declaration of a sense; yea, but it is not a new sense declared by them, but they avow the old sense declared by the Church (the public authentic Acts of the Church, &c.); yea, but if there be no such public authentic Acts of the Church, then here is a sense of their own declared under the pretexts of it.

“Sixthly. It seems against the King's Declaration, 1, That says, We shall take the general meaning of the Articles: this Act restrains them to consent of

writers—2, That says, The Articles shall not be drawn aside any way, but that we shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense. This Act ties us to consent of writers, which may and perhaps do, go against the literal sense; for here is no exception, so we shall be perplexed, and our consent required to things contrary.

“Seventhly. All consent in all ages (as far as I have observed) to an Article or Canon, is, to itself, as it is laid down in the body of it; and if it will bear more senses than one, it is lawful for any man to choose what sense his judgment directs him to: so that it be a sense, *secundum analogiam fidei*, and that he holds it peaceably, without distracting the Church. And the wisdom of the Church hath been, in all ages, or in most, to require consent to Articles, *in general*, as much as may be, because this is the way of unity. And the Church, in high points, requiring assent to particulars, hath been rent, as *de transubstantiatione*.”<sup>1</sup>

➤ The King had long borne the insolence of Parliament patiently, but at last he could endure no longer. They would vote no supplies, and spent their time in theological and ritual disputes, assuming to themselves the authority of the entire Episcopate, censuring this doctrine and that ceremony, till the royal writ dissolved them, March 10, 1629.

Laud was quite aware how obnoxious he was to the malcontents. His Diary records how the Parliament laboured for his ruin, “but GOD be ever blessed, for it found nothing against me.” “LORD, I am a grievous sinner, but I beseech Thee deliver my soul from them that hate me without a cause,”<sup>2</sup> is his pious ejaculation in recording the scurrilous and threatening papers which were scattered in the streets. Wearied with the strife of tongues, he found his refuge in communion with GOD, and our readers will not be sorry to exchange the heated atmosphere of controversy for the more genial regions of devotion, or to turn from the statesman bravely battling for his master’s rights,

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 181.

<sup>2</sup> Laud’s Works, vol. iii. p. 210.

drawing up state papers, and confronting an infuriated Commons, to the Christian on his knees, thus praying to GOD for his enemies and persecutors, while he begs deliverance from their malice.

“O LORD, I beseech Thee forgive mine enemies all their sins against Thee, and give me that measure of Thy grace, that for their hatred I may love them, for their cursing I may bless them, for their injury I may do them good, and for their persecution I may pray for them. LORD, I pray for them; forgive them, for they know not what they do. Amen.

“GOD of peace and charity, give to all my enemies peace and charity, forgive all their sins, and deliver me from their snares, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

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“Oh LORD, consider mine enemies how many they are, and they bear a tyrannous hate against me. LORD, deliver me from them. Amen.

“Almighty GOD, I humbly beseech Thee, look upon the hearty desires of Thy humble servant, and stretch out the right hand of Thy Majesty to be my defence against all mine enemies, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.”

“Be merciful unto me, Oh GOD, for mine enemies would swallow me up, and many they are which fight against me, Oh Thou Most Highest! They gather together and keep themselves close, they mark my steps, because they lay wait for my soul. But when I was afraid I trusted in Thee; and when I cry, then shall mine enemies turn back. This Thou wilt make me know, when Thou art with me; be with me therefore, Oh LORD, and let me see deliverance. Amen.

“Oh LORD, let not them that are mine enemies triumph over me, neither let them wink with their eyes that hate me either without a cause or for Thy cause. Amen.

“Oh LORD GOD, in Thee have I put my trust, save me from all them that persecute me, and deliver me,

lest they devour my soul like a lion and tear it in pieces while there is none to help. Lift up Thyself, Oh GOD, because of the indignation of mine enemies; arise up for me in the judgment which Thou hast commanded, that my help may still be from Thee, Oh GOD, Who preservest them that are true of heart. Amen.

“Have mercy upon me, Oh GOD! consider the trouble which I suffer of them that hate me, Oh Thou that liftest me up from the gates of death. Amen.

“Hear my voice, Oh GOD, in my prayer, preserve my life from fear of the enemy; hide me from the conspiracy of the wicked, and from the rage of the workers of iniquity. They have whet their tongues like a sword, and shoot out their arrows, even bitter words; LORD, deliver me from them. Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

The following extract from a letter to Vossius, is worthy of notice by those who would wish to see what manner of person Laud really was. The unbending statesman was not made of iron, after all; he was still flesh and blood. “I have left no stone unturned, that those difficult and intricate questions should not be handled publicly, for there is a risk of violating piety and charity under the plea of truth. I have always counselled moderation, lest fervid minds, in whom religion is not the chief thing, should disturb every thing. Perhaps this has not pleased, but I remember how earnestly the SAVIOUR enjoins charity on His followers, how cautiously and patiently the Apostle would have weak brethren dealt with. If I perish through their arts, I am made a prey to the conqueror, but my reward is with me, nor will I seek comfort any where out of myself save in GOD. Meanwhile I hope less than I fear. The Reformed Church has nothing which she has more to guard against than this, lest being attacked on all sides, and torn by her own children’s hands, she be divided and rent into little bits, and so vanish away. I seem to foresee something else too. But it is better to pray that it come not to pass

<sup>1</sup> Laud’s Works, vol. iii. p. 64.

than to predict that it will. I would have you know this of me, I will strive that truth and peace shall kiss each other. If for our sins GOD denies us this, I will hope for peace for myself, leaving those who are its hindrance to GOD, either to be converted (which is what I wish for) or to be punished."<sup>1</sup>

Laud was not allowed to remain long unemployed; and his whole attention was needed to check the progress of Puritanism. In this work he regarded not the opposition of his own order, any more than that of the mere rabble, and his acuteness perceived that there were two things very much at fault with his right reverend brethren: 1st, the scandalous manner in which they dealt with Church property, enriching themselves by the leases which they granted, to the injury of their successors, and the reckless cutting down timber which they practised; 2ndly, their non-residence. To expect Abbott to exercise any discipline was quite out of the question; but great was the astonishment and indignation of the Bishops when all who had country houses were ordered, by the King's injunctions of 1629, to reside in their dioceses. The same document also somewhat restrained their ability to turn the Church property to their own profit, by the prohibitions it contained against executing ruinous leases, or felling timber, on pain, continued the King, in the language that many of them best understood, "of forfeiting all hope of translation."

The Bishops were thus despatched to their dioceses, with strict orders to enforce obedience to the King's injunctions respecting lecturers and chaplains; two classes of divines that gave Laud a great deal of trouble. In fact, they constituted the mainstay of Puritanism; and orthodox Churchmen in vain were placed in parochial cures, while there were never wanting some of these lecturing fanatics to stir up strife and sedition. The exaggerated importance

<sup>1</sup> Epist. Vir. Præst., p. 741.

which most of the Reformers attached to preaching had naturally resulted in "itching ears," and Elizabeth had to silence Archbishop Grindal for his connivance at the "prophesyings" which formed the vent for the discontented and restless spirits of the time. That the Church was not insensible to the evils is evidenced by the Canons (1603) LXXII., LXXIII. The evil, however, had spread, and developed itself. The Church's regulation about titles for orders had been set aside, and a door was opened for the entrance of numbers of half-educated men, who, being fixed in no cure, fancied themselves bound to no uniformity, and whose special delight it was to "exercise" before sympathising audiences, in as different a manner from the Church's order, and with as near an approach to Genevan fashions, as they dared. Of these lecturers there were three kinds: 1st, the stationary lecturer of any particular town, whose ministrations in the pulpit were either added to, or superseded those of the parish Priest. These probably owed their origin to the lack of learning of the Clergy soon after the Reformation, and the inability of many of them to preach, and are the subjects of sundry regulations in the Canons of 1603, (vid. XLVI., XLVII., LVI.) These lecturers, supported by the people, of course reflected the popular views, and were constantly plunging their hearers into the mazes of the predestinarian controversy, and lamenting the Egyptian bondage in which the pure Gospel was held by Arminian and Romanising Kings and Prelates.

Besides these, there were combination lectures, (mostly under the authority of the Ordinary,) when the Clergy of a district agreed to take a sermon in turns on some weekday in a market-town. These lectures were generally preceded by the prayers, which was not always the case with the others, and were the least objectionable of all three.

The third were commonly called "running" lecturers, or men who went about from parish to parish,



giving notice after each sermon of the place of their next assembling. These were the least given to conformity, and most fanatical of all; and great mischief was caused by the seeds of heresy and sedition thus sown broadcast over the land.

The support of all these "painful" ministers was of course a great tax upon the Puritan party, and some of the longer-headed among them bethought them of a scheme for procuring, by a present outlay, a settled revenue for the future. Accordingly, a trust, consisting of four ministers, four lawyers, four citizens, was formed, for the purpose of buying up impropriated tithes, and restoring them to religious uses. The plan at first looked well, but "*latet anguis in herba.*" It was soon found that the most notorious ministers for nonconformity were in the highest favour, and that the Puritan "feoffements," as they were called, in no respects benefited the parochial Clergy, but were applied to the support of their favourite lecturers.

The scheme was first blown upon by Heylin, in a sermon before the University of Oxford, which was afterwards published and presented to Laud. His diary records his opinion that the feoffees were the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church; and among the things set down by him to be done, and which he lived to see accomplished, is their destruction. "To overthrow the feoffement, dangerous both to the Church and State, going under the specious pretence of buying in lay impropriations."<sup>1</sup>

It was not long, therefore, before Attorney-General Noy brought the question before the Exchequer chamber, when it was replied to the Puritan argument that it was a good work to restore alienated tithes to the Church, that the tithes thus recovered were not applied to their proper use by the parishes whence they came; that so far from being settled on

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 253.

the incumbents, they were disposed of by the feoffees at their pleasure, who made a point of keeping the most disaffected of the Clergy in their pay, and under their control; that a great proportion of the funds was spent in supporting the ministers who had been silenced for nonconformity, and in establishing a daily morning exercise at S. Antholin's, where young men were trained to teach heresy and sedition; and that such proceedings were clearly illegal, and such powers unlawfully assumed. So thought the Exchequer court: the trust was dissolved, and the moneys confiscated to the crown. "As touching the buying of these impropriations," ran the sentence, "the Court thought it a pious work; but the distribution of the profits, as is before declared, would have grown to a great inconvenience, and prejudicial to the government of the Church. And his Majesty's pleasure was made known, that whatsoever had been thus bestowed should be employed wholly to the good of the Church and the maintenance of conformable preachers, in the right and best way."<sup>1</sup>

We have digressed a little from our main history, in order to let our readers understand how it was that the King's very moderate injunctions respecting the lecturers caused such an outcry. By the first he substituted catechising for the Sunday afternoon sermon; by the second he ordered the lecturers to say the prayers in a surplice, previously to preaching; by the third, that they should preach in gowns, not cloaks; by the fourth, that, as soon as possible, any lecturer appointed by a corporation should be inducted into a cure of souls. There is nothing here to frighten anybody; nothing with which *we* are not familiar. But the Puritans could talk of nothing but the indignity to which the lecturers were subjected, in being turned into "mummers and masquers," through the necessity imposed of arraying themselves in "the Antichristian rag," the surplice. Catechising they reviled

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 152.

as only milk for babes, and abused all subscription to Creeds and Articles, as casting chains and fetters upon the pure liberty of the Gospel. We ask the reader, Upon whose side is the present English Church—Laud's, or the Puritans' ? The answer is plain. Yet all these things, which are in all important points recognised now, were charged upon Laud, (not in mere gossip, but before the House of Lords,) as evidence of his Romanising tendencies; and people actually believed he was in treaty with the Pope, because he made clergymen wear surplices, and catechise children. What would they say now that these things are universally accepted? We have again an instance of Laud's forethought; one more point in which posterity, though it may be unconsciously, has declared that he was right, and that with no doubtful accents.

We mentioned the chaplains as another class of Clergy who occasioned Laud much trouble. The fashion of those days was, that not only persons entitled by law, but any country gentleman or other who pleased, retained a chaplain as part of their establishment. They treated him, it is true, little better than a menial, (perhaps his manners and breeding were not much superior,) but he was a very useful instrument wherewith to worry the parochial Clergy. A godly squire, who believed the Gospel comprised in the Lambeth Articles,—who thought it a bondage to kneel, and Antichristian to bow his head at the adorable Name, and whose political principles savoured considerably of republicanism,—found an inexpressible delight in baiting any orthodox minister who came in his way, and in setting on his chaplain to contradict his teaching, and undermine his influence with his parishioners. Nor had he any difficulty in procuring one. Abbott allowed him to give a title; or, at the worst, many a poor and "painful" minister was glad to exchange the tyranny of a congregation for the yoke of an individual, accompanied as his change of service was with a greater portion of the good things

of this world than otherwise would have fallen to his share.

Accordingly, both country gentlemen and chaplains were most indignant at the King's determination not to suffer any save noblemen and qualified persons to retain these functionaries; and when this was followed up a few years afterwards by the enforcement of Canon XXXIII., requiring a title for ordination, their dismay was very great.<sup>1</sup> But Laud was not to be daunted by the whinings of the ministers or threats of county members. He persevered, and sorely against their will the chaplains had to wing their flight from their patrons' comfortable quarters, muttering No Popery, and invoking heaven's vengeance upon the hinderer of the Gospel. Off, however, they were sent, and they have never made their appearance again. Posterity has again vindicated the careful forethought, the clear prescience of the Archbishop.

As far as Laud's own diocese was concerned, the royal injunctions were fairly carried out. He called the lecturers together, and informed them of his determination to be obeyed, at the same time instructing his Archdeacons to enforce conformity. Had his brother Prelates properly seconded him, sound doctrine would probably have superseded the imperfect teaching of the Puritan ministers. But they were not all in earnest or gifted with wisdom.

Bishop Wren indeed seems to have seen the necessity of meeting the public craving for preaching, and to have filled up with sound men the vacancies caused by his suppression of the combination lecturers. Others were more injudicious, putting down and not building up, as Bishop Pearce of Bath and Wells, who wrote that he had not a lecturer left in his diocese. Other Prelates again did not interfere at all; and Abbott dozed at Canterbury, and let things take their course.

<sup>1</sup> We reserve for another chapter the subject of the royal declaration respecting the Book of Sports, which was issued at the same time (1633).

It was not to be expected that Puritanism would submit quietly to be thus shackled. It has always been foul-mouthed, and never very-truthful; it was quite equal to itself on these occasions. It spoke by the mouth of Leighton (1630), in his "Zion's Plea against the Prelates;" by Prynne (1632), in his "Histrio-mastix;" by the same worthy, Burton, and Bastwick, (1636). We have doubted whether to transfer to our pages any of the irreverence, the scurrility, the profaneness of these men's writings; but so much is now said of their zeal and their piety, and so much sympathy is expressed for them as being the religious people of their day, engaged in a vital struggle for the pure light of the Gospel, against formality and superstition, that it is perhaps as well our readers should judge for themselves what manner of spirit they were of, and contrast their effusions with the extracts we have given from the writings and devotions of their great opponent. Thus, then, Leighton:—

"The articles, homilies, and public liturgy" are "stuffed with blasphemous untruths," "the sign of the Cross is the mark of the beast," "the parliament is exhorted to smite the Prelates under the fifth rib." "The Church is as full of ceremonies as a dog of fleas," says Bastwick; "the Prelates are the tail of the beast," continues the worthy; "they are step-fathers for fathers." "Caterpillars for pillars," echoes Burton; "their houses haunted, their episcopal chairs poisoned by the spirit that bears rule in the air; limbs of the beast, of Antichrist; miscreants; trains and wiles of the dragon's dog-like flattering tail; new Babel builders, blind watchmen, dumb dogs, thieves, false prophets, ravening wolves, Antichristian mush-rumps, trampling under feet CHRIST'S kingdom, that they may set up CHRIST'S throne; sons of Belial,"<sup>1</sup> &c.

"What an apish imitation of the Leviticall Priest is in the minister's going into the chancell! . . . As for the Litanie well naturing the name of a laborious

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Heylin, p. 330.

service in the dust and dirt, (for so Homer and others useth the name,) it is borrowed from the practice of the heathen, as Casaubon observeth, out of Dionysius of Halicarnass; and is in verie deed nothing but an impure mass of conjuring and charming battologies, whereby the Name of GOD is highly profaned, His howse and worship abused, GOD's people by it abandoned the sanctuarie; and the profane love no worship so well as it. Polybius useth a prettie phrase to display the nature of it,—*μαγγαρεύειν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς*,—with a multitude of inticeing, flattering speeches (to say no worse), to allure the gods; but not to trouble your ears with the particular blasphemies of it, is it not matter of wonder that they pray to be delivered from lightening, haile, tempest, &c., yet not one word of that which is prescribed in the litanie of Edward VI., namelie, to be delivered from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, which is worse than all the fire and lightening that can befall us. But they know well enough that that prayer striketh at the root of their being; and therefore they have cut it off their expurgatorious index; and in stead of this, they press the ministers to pray for their lordships, which in effect is to pray for the establishing of Antichriste, and keeping CHRIST still out of His kingdom. Thence it is that it sticketh on the stommachs of good men, and putteth them divers times to a stand; but compelled prayers (as we speake) doe neither partie good.”<sup>1</sup>

The above is a fair specimen of Puritan feeling towards the Church services. Is it wonderful, then, that Laud, who really loved the Prayer-Book, should so perseveringly have opposed these men? We have been the more anxious to draw attention to their language, because they claimed to be the only religious people of their day; they professed the utmost reverence for Scripture. One thing is clear; they chose to forget all that holy Scripture says about evil-speaking.

There perhaps never was a more cruel calumny

<sup>1</sup> Zion's Plea, p. 316.

than that which connects the name of Laud with the severe and barbarous punishment which these men received. They were tried in the Star Chamber, where Laud, indeed, (such was the constitution of the court,) sat as one of the judges; but he had no share in the framing or passing the sentence. The lawyers are responsible for that; and according to the existing laws, which had come down from a rude age, no other sentence could have been passed. Had they been tried before the ordinary tribunals, their lives must have been forfeited. In Queen Elizabeth's time, indeed, Penry was hanged, and Udal died in prison, for less than these men had said. In the case of Leighton, the accusation against Laud was never heard of till years after his death, and was not even mentioned on his trial, when everything that could be was raked up against him; while in the trial of Prynne, though he spoke at length, he abstained from voting, because he had been personally attacked; and the author of a MS. account of the trial, preserved in the British Museum, is quite silent as to any attempt on Laud's part to influence the court. Afterwards, indeed, he interceded with the judges, on an aggravation of Prynne's offence, for a remission of part of his punishment. The extract from his diary, which we subjoin, is explained by the following quotation from Rushworth:

“My lords,” said the Archbishop, on Prynne's being again brought before the court for a virulent libel on himself, ‘he hath undergone a heavy punishment; I am heartily sorry for him: and Mr. Prynne, I pray God forgive you for what you have done amiss. I confess I do not know what it is to be a close prisoner, and to want books, pen, ink, and company. Certainly, a man alone in that case, who knoweth how he may be instigated? And as Mr. Attorney saith he is past all grace and modesty, surely then he had need to be more free, and have books, and go to Church, that he may become better.

✓ I shall therefore be a humble suitor to your lord-

ships, that he may have the privilege to go to Church.”<sup>1</sup> And in his diary we find:—“1634, June 18. Mr. Attorney for this brought him into the Star Chamber, when all this appeared, with shame enough to Mr. Prynne. I then forgave him,” &c.<sup>2</sup>

➤ Let us dismiss this painful subject by the expression of our deep thankfulness that such scenes cannot occur again; that the liberty of the press is better understood than it was two hundred years ago, and that controversy has moderated its tone. Nor would we desire to be less thankful that those enactments which disgraced our statute-books have been torn away, and that Star Chamber and High Commission are numbered among the things that were,—never, we trust, to be revived.

➤ We shall defer to another chapter Laud’s zealous exertions for the rebuilding S. Paul’s, and the maintenance of the Clergy; concluding this chapter with the birth of the Prince of Wales (1630), which called forth the following prayer:—

“Oh, most merciful GOD and gracious FATHER, Thou hast given us the joy of our hearts, the contentment of our souls for this life, in blessing our dear and dread sovereign and his virtuous royal queen with a hopeful son, and us with a prince, in Thy just time and his to rule over us. We give Thy glorious Name most humble and hearty thanks for this. LORD, make us so thankful, so obedient to Thee for this great mercy, that Thy goodness may delight to increase it to us. Increase it, good LORD, to more children, the prop one of another against single hope; increase it to more sons, the great strength of his Majesty and his throne; increase it in the joy of his royal parents, and all true-hearted subjects; increase it by his Christian and happy education both in faith and goodness, that this kingdom and people may be happy in the

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth, part ii. vol. i. p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> Laud’s Works, vol. iii. p. 221. We shall see, when their positions were reversed, how differently Prynne behaved to Laud.



long life and prosperity of our most gracious sovereign and his royal consort. And when fulness of days must gather time, LORD, double his graces, and make them apparent in this his heir, and his heirs after him for all generations to come, even for JESUS CHRIST His sake, our LORD and only SAVIOUR. Amen."

Again, November, 1631:

"Oh, most gracious GOD and loving FATHER, we give Thee, as we are bound, most humble and hearty thanks for Thy great mercy extended to us and this whole state, in blessing the Queen's Majesty with a happy deliverance in and from the great pains and perils of childbirth. We humbly beseech Thee to continue and increase this blessing; to give her strength, that she may happily overcome this and all dangers else; that his most gracious Majesty may long have joy in her happy life; that she may have joy in his Majesty's prosperity; that both of them may have comfort in the royal Prince Charles, the new-born Princess the Lady Mary, and with them in a hopeful, healthful, successful posterity; that the whole kingdom may have fulness of joy in them, and that both they and we may all have joy in the true honour and service of GOD; that both Church and kingdom may be blessed, and their royal persons filled with honour in this life, and with eternal happiness in the life to come, even for JESUS CHRIST His sake, our only LORD and SAVIOUR. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 103-4.

## CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1633—1640.

THE PRIMATE.

“And he repaired the altar of the LORD that was broken down.”—1 Kings xix. 30.

“MY Lord’s Grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome,” was the King’s warm reception of Laud on his first audience after the death of Abbott. This promotion had long been looked for, for Laud and the King were of one mind as regarded Church matters, and the necessary formalities were soon despatched. He was now in as high a position as subject could well aspire to. Shortly before his elevation he had been elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and he had scarcely been seated in the chair of S. Augustine, before news came that the choice of the University of Dublin had fallen upon him as its Chancellor. This brought him into connection with the Irish Church, the history of which, as well as his Chancellorship of Oxford, we reserve for future consideration. In addition to these honours, he was known to be the bosom friend of the King, (there is no doubt that Charles consulted him as a spiritual adviser in cases of conscience,) and assured of his favour and protection against his enemies. There was need of this, for his foes were to be found not only among the Puritans, but at court. The impartiality with which he administered the High Commission, which then took cognisance of cases which the ordinary tribunals passed by, provoked many against him; for Laud was determined that the noble and wealthy should feel the discipline of the Church, as well as the low-born and obscure. Lords and ladies, whose profligacy was notorious, were sentenced to heavy pecuniary fines, and of course passed into the ranks of the

Archbishop's enemies. There is no doubt, too, that Laud sadly wanted the graces of manner; that he was very deficient in courtesy, and, satisfied of his own integrity, did not sufficiently appreciate the great influence which a winning demeanour has over most or all persons. Hence he went to work in his "unpolished integrity," without making sufficient allowance for the stress others lay upon the courtesies of life; and being by nature irritable, and easily provoked, (as his prayers for the bridling his tongue testify,<sup>1</sup>) and withal too honest to conceal his feelings, it is no wonder he was unpopular with mere courtiers. "He had no time for compliments," he told Clarendon, who ventured to remonstrate with him upon this infirmity of manner; a sentence which may give us a good idea of a man bent upon doing a great work, yet not sufficiently alive to the necessity of using *all* lawful means. Clarendon, who knew him well, and had the very highest opinion of his worth, speaks of "his sin-

<sup>1</sup> "Linguae Frænum. Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be always acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, my strength and my Redeemer. Amen.

"LORD, keep my tongue from evil, and my lips that they speak no guile; that so I may eschew evil and do good, seek peace and ensue it. Amen.

"O LORD, give me the mouth of the righteous, that it may be exercised in wisdom, and that my tongue may be talking of judgments. Amen.

"LORD, I have said in Thy grace, I will take heed unto my ways, that I offend not in my tongue. Give me, O give me that grace, that I may take this heed, that I may keep my mouth as it were with a bridle, especially when the ungodly is in my sight, be it never so much pain and grief to me. Hear me, and grant, even for CHRIST JESUS His sake. Amen.

"Let the free-will offerings of my mouth please Thee, O LORD, and teach me Thy judgments. Amen.

"O LORD, set a watch before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips; and let not my heart be inclined to anything that is evil. Amen.

"O LORD, set a watch before my mouth, and a seal of wisdom upon my lips, that I fall not suddenly by them, and that my tongue destroy me not. Amen." Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 45.

gular abilities and immense virtue," and tells us, "He was a man of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions or designs than what was pious and just, (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or the country,) he never studied the best ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected, let the cause be what it will. He did court persons too little; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were, by showing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty and roughness; and did not consider enough what men said, or were like to say of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance or favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other (men), or their power or will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission Court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted, to their shame and punishment. And as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge, so the fines imposed there were the more questioned and repined against, because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing S. Paul's Church; and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately re-

duced and excused ; which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Star Chamber more felt and murmured against, which sharpened many men's humours against the Bishops, before they had any ill intention towards the Church."<sup>1</sup>

Aware of their combinations against him, no wonder that he received the investiture of the Metropolitan dignity with fear and trembling. To be without a rival in Church or State was indeed a dizzy height whereon to be placed ; and it was enough to sober the most anxious aspirant for power to know how eagerly those below were looking for a fall. It was not "a time for eating and drinking, and making merry, for receiving money and garments, and oliveyards and vineyards, and sheep and oxen, and menservants and maid-servants," but for humiliation, for fasting, for retirement, for prayer, for devout communion. The Archbishop's letters to Strafford show that it was with no feeling of exultation or pride he took his place as Metropolitan. Ever since the disputes about Montague, he had seen a cloud threatening the Church of England, and it was now getting darker.

"I heartily thank your lordship for all your love, and for the joy you are pleased both to conceive and express for my translation to Canterbury ; for I conceive all your expressions to me are very hearty, and such as I have hitherto found them. And now, since I am there, I must desire your lordship not to expect more at my hands than I shall be able to perform, either in Church or State ; and this suit of mine hath a good deal of reason in it, for you write that ordinary things are far beneath that which you cannot choose but promise yourself of me in both respects. But, my lord, to speak freely, you may easily promise more in either kind than I can perform ; for, as for the Church, it is so bound up in the forms of the common law, that it is not possible for me or for any

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, bk. i. s. 196.

man to do that good which he would, or is bound to do. For your lordship sees—no man clearer—that they which have gotten so much power in and over the Church, will not let go their hold; they have indeed fangs with a witness, whatsoever I was once said in passion to have. And for the State, my lord, indeed I am for thorough, but I see that both thick and thin stays somebody where I conceive it should not; and it is impossible for me to go thorough alone. Besides, private ends are such blocks in the public way, and lie so thick, that you may promise what you will, and I must perform what I can, and no more.”

There is a touching air of melancholy in the words that follow: “Next, my Lord, I heartily thank you for your kind wishes to me, that God would send me many and happy days where I now am to be. Amen. I can do little for myself if I cannot say so. But, truly, my Lord, I look for neither: not for many, for I am in years, and have had a troublesome life; not for happy, because I have no hope to do the good I desire; and besides I doubt I shall never be able to hold my health there one year, for, besides all the jolting which I had over the stones, between London House and Whitehall, which was almost daily, I shall now have no exercise, but slide over in a barge to the Court and Star Chamber. And in truth, my Lord, I speak seriously, I have had a heaviness hang upon me ever since I was nominated to this place, and I can give myself no account of it, unless it proceed from an apprehension that there is more expected from me than the craziness of these times will give me leave to do.”

The conclusion of this letter displays Laud in a pleasing light. The cloud seems for a moment removed, and he rallies Strafford, who it would seem, feeling that the relations between them were altered by Laud's elevation to the Primacy, had addressed him less freely than usual, in a jocular way, upon his change of style. The banter about Cambridge often occurs in their letters.

“Now, my Lord, why may you not write as you did whilom to the Bishop of London? The man is the same, and the same to you; but I see you stay for better acquaintance, and till then you will keep distance. I perceive also my predecessor’s awe is upon you, but I doubt I shall never hold it long, and I was about to swear by my troth, as you do, but that I remember oaths heretofore were wont to pass under the Privy Seal, and not the ordinary seal of letters. Well, wiser or not, you must take that as you find it, but I will not write any long letters, and leave out my mirth; it is one of the recreations I have always used with my friends, and ’tis hard leaving an old custom, neither do I purpose to do it; though I mean to make choice of my friends to whom I will use it. For proof of this, I here send your Lordship some sermon notes which I have received from Cambridge, and certainly if this be your method there, you ride as much astride as ever Croxton did towards Ireland. I wish your Lordship all health and happiness, and so leave you to the grace of GOD, ever resting

“Your Lordship’s very loving poor servant,  
“W. CANT. Elect Seignior.”

Those to Vossius run in the same train, but they at the same time display the undaunted courage of the man: “I am resolved to go forward in the way you have seen me go. I hope GOD will give me constancy and patience, and I heartily desire that you will commend me to His protection by your prayers. Thus fortified, I will go forward whithersoever He shall lead me.” And his Devotions record the fervour with which he himself sought for strength at the Throne of Grace:

“O GOD, the Pastor and Guide of all the faithful, mercifully regard me Thy servant, whom Thou hast willed should preside over the Church of Canterbury; grant me, I most humbly beseech Thee, to profit both by word and example those over whom I am set, that,

together with the flock entrusted to me, I may attain to everlasting life, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

“O my GOD, Most Merciful FATHER, may Thy grace so work in me, that I may be humble in refusing all great office, but prepared in undertaking, faithful in preserving, strenuous in following it out, vigilant in ruling Thy people, earnest in correcting them, ardent in loving them, patient in bearing with them, prudent in restraining them, that I may be between those over whom I am set, and GOD, when consulting for their good, and offer myself to Him when angry, in faith, and for the merits of JESUS CHRIST our SAVIOUR.

✽ “O LORD, as the rain cometh down from heaven, and returns not thither, but waters the earth, and makes it bud and bring forth, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to him that eateth, so let Thy Word be that goeth out of my mouth, let it not return to me void, but accomplish that which Thou wilt, and prosper in the thing whereto Thou hast sent it, that the people committed to my charge may go out with joy, and be led forth in peace to Thy freshest waters of comfort, in JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

✽ “O SON of GOD, Thou Which takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon me in this heavy charge. Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

Laud had scarcely been invested with his new dignity, than the machinations of the Papal party were set in motion against him. The most fatal thing to the pretensions of Rome is the development of the Catholic element of the English Church; the showing men that the English Communion holds all saving truth, and is able to supply the spiritual wants of all her members,—that reverence, and devotion, and earnestness, and zeal can find in her a home,—that stricken souls can pour their griefs into her ear, and penitence be deepened and holiness

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 66.



developed, and the elect be trained to perfection. And it has always been the policy of Rome to represent the English Church as incapable of satisfying the wants of the awakened heart, as destitute of creed and Priesthood and Sacraments,—as a branch cut off from the true Vine, that is withered and dead. Hence the attempts she has ever made to win over all those who have felt themselves called to the work of strengthening the Catholic element of the English Church, and the pains she has taken to shake people's confidence in them, as if they were traitors to their own Communion. The Archbishop was no exception, and advantage was taken of his zeal to represent him as friendly to the claims of Rome. His Diary records the proposal made to him to procure a Cardinal's hat, immediately after his elevation to the Primacy,<sup>1</sup> and his answer is worth noting, as evidencing that however he might feel the sad disordered state of a divided Church, he was satisfied concessions could not be on the English side alone.

“August 4th. That very morning, at Greenwich, there came one to me, seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a Cardinal. I went presently to the King, and acquainted him both with the thing and the person.”

“August 17th. I had a serious offer made to me again to be a Cardinal. I was then from Court, but so soon as I came thither (which was Wednesday, August 21), I acquainted His Majesty with it. But my answer again was, that *somewhat dwelt within me which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.*”<sup>2</sup>

Wielding thus the highest ecclesiastical power in

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note, that the great Episcopal champion of Puritanism, Bishop Williams of Lincoln, actually intrigued with Con, the Pope's Nuncio, for a Cardinal's hat, and disappointed in this quarter, and falling into disgrace at Court, he turned Puritan. Sydney Papers, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. 219.

the Church, and backed by the supreme authority of the State of England, Laud was at last in a position to attempt at least his long cherished scheme of reformation. He had a wide field of action, for his operations were not to be confined to England. The Irish Church committed by her hasty adoption of the Articles of 1615, to the worst points of Calvinism, had sunk lower than her English sister, and needed a strong hand to drag her out again, and place her on the sure ground of Catholicity. The Scotch Church existed merely in name: Genevan doctrine, Genevan discipline were entirely in the ascendant. In England Puritanism threatened to change the very essence of the Church, while the confusion and disorder which prevailed at Oxford required the vigilant eye and careful arm of the Chancellor. The relations with foreign Protestants were far from satisfactory. The French and Walloon congregations in England, exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, presented a strange anomaly, and were nests of sedition and heresy. The condition of English congregations abroad cried aloud for reformation: they neither conformed to the English nor any other Communion, but seemed to think they were at liberty to act as they pleased, regardless of the scandal they caused, and the discredit they cast upon the Church of England. We propose saying something on each of these heads, and in so doing shall class together under its respective bearing the whole proceedings of the Archbishop, rather than pursue a strictly chronological account of each year of his life, our purpose in these pages being rather to give the reader some idea of the changes wrought in our Church by Laud, and of the great debt we owe him (humanly speaking) in saving her from falling as low as the Swiss bodies of our own day, rather than furnishing a strictly biographical memoir in the usual acceptation of the word.

The struggle between the Church and Puritanism might well be symbolized by describing it as a contest

between the altar and the pulpit; the one as typifying the presence of God, the other the presence of man; the one worship, the other instruction; the one the affections, the other mere intellect. Accordingly in the Church the pulpit has always been subordinated to the altar. It has occupied its secondary place, but never intruded into the first; and to this day, in a well-ordered church, the first thing that meets our eye is the altar, while in a Puritan assembly the pulpit stands out foremost. For as we said from the very first, the Church set great store upon the altar. Scanty as are the records of the Apostolic ritual, still we find the altar.<sup>1</sup>

x In the long subterraneous galleries which wind beneath the eternal city, and where during the age of persecution the early Christians fled to worship, rude and imperfect as were the appurtenances of their ritual, there is the altar, which "stands as it now does in our Churches, but is usually the hollowed tomb of some saint or early Christian covered with stone. In front of the altar there is nearly always a low stone balustrade, to prevent the too near approach of the congregation."<sup>2</sup> But when the sword of persecution had been sheathed, and the sceptre of Constantine done homage to the Cross, the instinctive feeling of the Christians led them, whilst they reared churches "exceeding magnificent," to lavish their chief care and treasure on their altars. They reared them of costly stones, they assigned them the most prominent position, they placed upon them rich canopies, and clothed them with splendid coverings, and surrounded them with gorgeous hangings: and the vessels of their ministration were of gold and silver, glittering with jewels, and the holy Cross was there, and the bright light to typify Him "Who is the true light that lighteneth every man that cometh into the world." Such were the feelings with which the early Christians regarded the altar, for there the tremendous mysteries

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. x. 21; Heb. xiii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Macfarlane's Catacombs of Rome, p. 109.

were celebrated, there the SAVIOUR manifested the reality of His Presence, there the fainting soul was fed with the true bread which came down from heaven. No wonder then that the affection and love of Christians lingered round the altar, and that reverence for it and its furniture was interwoven with every religious thought and act. And by natural consequence, the unhappy controversy which agitated men's minds respecting the mode of CHRIST'S presence in the Eucharist, the tendency of one party to limitations and strict definitions of that which is beyond definition, of the other to reduce the Sacrament to a mere memorial of an absent LORD, instead of realising the blessings of His presence, must have shaken men's reverence fearfully. We have alluded to the effect of this strife of tongues in our introductory chapter. The first book of King Edward indeed, which is the real embodiment of the views of the English Reformers, is not wanting in reverence for the altar and its mysteries. It occupies its proper place, the lights stand upon it, the Priest is to wear his chasuble, the blessed Sacrament is celebrated daily, the Sacrifice is recognized, the Real Presence asserted. This was before Cranmer had yielded to the seductive eloquence of Calvin's master-mind, for things were soon changed. The State, thank God not the Church, ordered the pulling down and desecration of the old altars, and the substitution of moveable tables. Loud was the Puritan rejoicing, for the greater indignity put upon the altar the greater was the indignity to the Holy Eucharist, the more the Divine element was depressed the greater the importance attached to the ministrations of man. Hence the exaltation of preaching which ensued, hence the alterations of the Second Book, hence Bucer's eager desire to level chancels, hence the hatred for the priestly vestments, the zeal displayed for the teacher's gown. The Puritans were wise in their generation. There was no likelihood of men believing the Real Presence, or thinking much of

the Christian sacrifice, when the altar was dragged into the middle of the church and made the receptacle of hats and caps. How shocked should we be now to enter an English church in the time of Edward after Genevan influence had pushed aside that truly Catholic and Scriptural Liturgy which the Church of England had adopted in 1548, the first book of King Edward. Let us try to describe it.

We will pass over the fabric, (though probably that was in as bad a condition as could be, the lead stripped off the roof, the rain entering, the pavement defiled by birds, the windows broken and patched up, the bells melted down,) and enter the church. Our eyes would instinctively seek the east end, it is filled with pews. Where is the altar? we ask ourselves; and if we look again, we should see in the middle of the church a poor common table, such as we would not have in our own dressing-rooms, and this man as he passes flings his hat upon it, and that man lounges against it; or if it happened to be the Sunday on which the sacred mysteries were celebrated, instead of the jewelled plate which ancient piety had dedicated to the service of the LORD, but which Genevan piety has transferred to its own sideboard, we should see the elements placed on vessels of pewter, and even in tavern stoups. And then the service would proceed; there would be no chanting, no priestly vestments even of pure linen, but the Minister would read in his black gown, and the people sit and loll and take no part; and the sermon would be a tirade against the Roman Antichrist, or one bewildering the hearers with abstruse and hard disquisitions respecting God's predestination, or an exhortation to the elect "to sin boldly."<sup>1</sup> If we communicated we should miss the oblation, and there would be no commemoration of

<sup>1</sup> The author of this advice is Martin Luther. The man who could utter this atrocious sentiment, allow polygamy, and scoff at Holy Scripture which did not fall in with his own views, can be no safe guide for English Churchmen.

the faithful departed (though our hearts might be broken at the time), and we should be told to eat and drink this in *remembrance* of what CHRIST has done for us at Calvary. Is this at all like an English church of the present day? Is not the worst conducted infinitely better? Is there one where the altar is not placed properly? Are there not many where the Church's song is again heard, and sweet music wafts the worshippers heavenward, and the windows are bright with fair colours and speak of sacred things, and the gold, and the silver, and the precious stones, and fairest linen, again testify the devotion of the faithful; while above all, the oblation, and the commemoration, and the Real Presence, have been reasserted in plainer accents in the Liturgy. And to whom do we mainly owe this but to the lion-hearted Prelate who purchased our Church's liberty with his life? Who under GOD has restored to us the beauty of holiness but William Laud? And this we will try to make more clear.

\* The irreverence towards the altar and its mysteries which characterized Puritanism, was not unnoticed by Queen Elizabeth. She did what she could to check it, for it ran counter to all her religious prejudices. By her injunctions she ordered the holy table ordinarily to stand at the east end of the chancel, and though popular feeling compelled her to allow its removal at actual celebration, she never contemplated its being carried beyond the chancel. The permission however thus unfortunately given, was of course abused; chancels were no more sacred than any other part of the church in Puritan eyes, and so the altar was soon moved any where on the slightest excuse.

Of course, the consequence had been a woeful falling off of all high and sound views regarding the Holy Eucharist. The notion of the oblation and commemorative sacrifice, to a great extent, soon wore out; the Real Presence, though all along maintained by divines, as Ridley, Poynt, Hooker, and others, was

scoffed at, and naturally communion decreased. The slight sketch we have given of the Church Service in Edward's time, would be true in all its main features of its mode of performance by the Puritan Clergy in the time of Laud. It was clear, that if things went on much longer, Puritanism would destroy the very vitals of the English Church, and incapacitate her from discharging the office she had taken upon herself of witnessing for primitive truth. It was simply ridiculous with such ritual arrangements as most of the English churches then presented, to talk of the pure and ancient times of Christianity being revived in the seventeenth century, or to pretend that there was any harmony between the teaching of the Fathers and that which resounded from most of our pulpits. In the ancient Church, the Eucharist occupied the most prominent position, was the centre of every thing, was the Service. In the Puritanized Church of England it was thrust into the lowest place, kept as much in the back ground as possible, and celebrated as seldom as it could be. Laud saw this, and felt that his reform must begin here, that he must strike a vigorous blow here if the Church of England was ever to lift up her head again as a witness for the primitive faith. His own views of the Eucharist were in the strictest accordance with Holy Scripture and the faith of the undivided Church. "The altar is the greatest place of GOD's residence upon earth; I say the greatest, yea, greater than the pulpit, for there it is *Hoc est corpus meum*, This is My Body, but in the pulpit it is at most *Hoc est verbum meum*, This is My word; a greater reverence is due doubtless to the Body than to the word of the LORD, and so in relation answering to the throne where His Body is."<sup>1</sup>

So again in his conference with Fisher: "As CHRIST offered up Himself once for all, a full and sufficient Sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, so did He institute and command a memory of this Sacrifice in

<sup>1</sup> Speech in Star Chamber.

a Sacrament, even till His coming again. For at and in the Eucharist we offer up to GOD these sacrifices: one by the Priest only, that is the commemorative Sacrifice of CHRIST's death, represented in bread broken and wine poured out: another by the Priest and people jointly, and that is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of CHRIST: the third, by every particular man for himself only, and that is the sacrifice of every man's body and soul to serve Him in both all the rest of his life for this blessing thus bestowed on him."<sup>1</sup>

"For the Church of England, nothing is more plain than that it believes and teaches CHRIST's real and true presence in the Eucharist."<sup>2</sup>

Hence it is not surprising that he should have protected Montague from the Commons, or licensed the publication of works containing such statements as this of Heylin's:

"A Sacrifice it was in figure, a Sacrifice in fact, and so by consequence a Sacrifice in the commemorations, or upon the *post fact*. A Sacrifice there was among the Jews, showing forth CHRIST's death unto them, before His coming in the flesh; a Sacrifice there must be among the Christians, to show forth the LORD's death till He come in judgment: and if a Sacrifice must be, there must be also Priests to do, and Altars whereupon to do it, because without a Priest and Altar there can be no Sacrifice, yet so that the precedent Sacrifice was of a different nature from the subsequent, and so are also both the Priest and Altar from those before; a bloody Sacrifice then, an unbloody now: a Priest derived from Aaron then, from Melchisedec now; an Altar for Mosaical Sacrifices then, for Evangelical now; for visible and external Sacrifices, though none for bloody and external Sacrifices: not an improper Altar and an improper Sacrifice, as you idly dream of; for Sacrifices, Priests, and

<sup>1</sup> Conference, Works, vol. ii. p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. p. 328.



Altars being relatives, as yourself confessest, the Sacrifice and the Altar being improper, must needs infer that even our Priesthood is improper also."<sup>1</sup>

How the Holy Eucharist was the support of his own inward life—how fully he realised the Real Presence of his LORD, and rejoiced with joy unspeakable and full of comfort in the heaven opened to his faith, his devotions testify. It was at the Altar he received strength for his arduous struggle, and his love and gratitude were great, his preparation sincere.

## EUCCHARISTIA.

WHATEVER sins I have committed against Thee, O GOD, from my infancy to this moment, wittingly or unwittingly, externally or internally, sleeping or waking, in word, thought, or deed, through the fiery darts of the wicked one, or the unclean desires of the heart, have mercy upon me, and remit them to me, through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

Almighty GOD and Most Merciful FATHER, give me, I beseech Thee, that grace, that I may duly examine the inmost of my heart, and my most secret thoughts, how I stand before Thee. LORD, I confess all my sins, and my unworthiness to present myself at Thy altar. But Thou canst forgive sin, and give repentance; do both, gracious FATHER, and then, behold, I am clean to come unto Thee. LORD, make me a worthy receiver of that for which I come—CHRIST, and remission of sin in CHRIST: and that for His own mercy's sake and Thine. Amen.

O LORD, into a clean, charitable, and thankful heart, give me grace to receive the blessed Body and Blood of Thy SON, my most blessed SAVIOUR; that it may more perfectly cleanse me from all dregs of sin; that being made clean, it may nourish me in faith,

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, *Anti-dot.* Lincoln. p. 617.

hope, charity, and obedience, with all other fruits of spiritual life and growth in Thee; that in all the future course of my life, I may show myself such an ingrafted member into the Body of Thy SON, that I may never be drawn to do anything that may dishonour His Name. Grant this, O LORD, I beseech Thee, even for His merit and mercy's sake. Amen.

O LORD GOD, hear my prayers! I come to Thee in a steadfast faith; yet for the clearness of my faith, LORD, enlighten it; for the strength of my faith, LORD, increase it. And behold, I quarrel not with the words of Thy SON, my SAVIOUR'S blessed institution. I know His words are no gross, unnatural conceit, but they are spirit, and life, and supernatural. While the world disputes, I believe. He hath promised me, if I come worthily, that I shall receive His most precious Body and Blood, with all the benefits of His Passion. If I can receive and retain it, (LORD, make me able, make me worthy,) I know I can no more die eternally, than that Body and Blood can die, and be shed again. My SAVIOUR is willing in this tender of them both unto me: LORD, so wash and cleanse my soul, that I may now, and at all times else, come prepared by hearty prayers and devotion, and be made worthy by Thy grace of this infinite blessing, the pledge and earnest of eternal life, in the merits of the same JESUS CHRIST, Who gave His Body and Blood for me. Amen.

O GOD the FATHER, of heaven, Who for us gavest Thy Only-begotten SON to death;

O GOD the SON, Redeemer of the world, Who hast washed us from our sins in Thy precious Blood;

O GOD the HOLY GHOST, the Comforter, Who visitest and strengthenest with Thy grace the hearts of the saints;

O Holy, Highest, Eternal, Blessed TRINITY; O Good FATHER; O Holy SON; O Benignant SPIRIT, Whose work is life, Whose love is grace, Whose contemplation is glory, Whose majesty is ineffable, Whose power is incomparable, Whose goodness is inestimable,

Who art the LORD of the living and the dead! I adore Thee; I invoke Thee; and with the affection of my heart bless Thee now and for ever. Amen.

O LORD JESUS, give to the living mercy and grace. Rule Thine own, and give them perpetual light; to Thy Church, truth and peace; to me, the most miserable of sinners, penitence and pardon. O LORD, correct the erring; convert the unbelieving; increase the faith of Thy Church; destroy heresy; discover her wily foes: bruise the violent and impenitent: through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

O merciful FATHER! for all the benefits which they have given me, requite my earthly benefactors with eternal rewards in heaven. I also pray, that with those for whom I am bound to pray, and with all the people of GOD, I may enter into Thy kingdom, and there appear in righteousness, and be satisfied with glory; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

O LORD, consider my complaint, for I am brought very low. O LORD, how long wilt Thou be angry with Thy servant that prayeth? O LORD, give me grace and repentance, and Thou canst not be angry with my prayer. O LORD, I am Thine: save me, and deliver me not into the will of mine enemies, especially my ghostly enemies. O LORD, I am Thy servant, Thy unprofitable, wasteful servant, yet Thy servant. O LORD, set my accounts right before Thee, and pardon all my mis-spending and misreckonings. O LORD, I am Thy son, Thy most unkind, prodigal, runaway son, yet Thy son. O LORD, though I have not retained the love and duty of a son, yet do not Thou cast off (I humbly beg it) the kindness and compassion of a father. O LORD, in Thy grace I return to Thee; and though I have eaten draff with all the unclean swine in the world, in my hungry absence from Thee, yet now, LORD, upon my humble return to Thee, give me, I beseech Thee, the Bread of Life, the Body and Blood of my SAVIOUR into my soul, that I may be satisfied in Thee, and never more run away from Thee,

even for JESUS CHRIST His sake, that gave Himself for me. Amen.

*At the Altar.*

As if before Thy tremendous tribunal, where there will be no respect of persons, accusing myself before the Day of Judgment comes upon me, prostrate before Thy holy altar, in Thy presence, and Thy mighty angels', cast down by my own conscience, I bring my wicked and bad thoughts and actions. Look upon my humility, I pray Thee, O LORD, and forgive all my sins, which are more than the hairs of my head. What evil is there which I have not planned in my mind? and many are the wicked things I have done. I am convicted of envy, of appetite; I have polluted all my senses, all my members. But the multitude of Thy mercies cannot be reckoned; and Thy goodness which taketh away my sins is ineffable. Wherefore, O King greater than all wonder, long suffering one, be glorified in Thy mercy to me, a sinner; manifest the power of Thy loving-kindness; display the power of Thy readiness to pardon, and raise me, a returning prodigal; through JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

*After receiving the Bread.*

O LORD GOD, how I receive the Body and Blood of my most blessed SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, the price of my Redemption, is the very wonder of my soul, yet my most firm and constant belief, upon the words of my SAVIOUR. At this time they are graciously tendered to me and my faith: LORD, make me a worthy receiver, and be unto me as He hath said. Amen.

*After the receiving of either kind.*

LORD, I have received this Sacrament of the Body and Blood of my dear SAVIOUR. His mercy hath

given it, and my faith received it into my soul. I humbly beseech Thee speak mercy and peace unto my conscience, and enrich me with all those graces which come from that precious Body and Blood, even till I am possessed of eternal life in CHRIST. Amen.

O Thou Who sittest at the FATHER's right hand; Be present invisibly with us; come and sanctify these gifts, both those for whom, and those by whom, and those things for which they are offered. Amen.<sup>1</sup> \* \*

As long as Abbott lived it was hopeless to bring about any restoration for the better, and when the whole Church was in disorder, it was little use attempting to reform a single diocese. Laud therefore waited patiently till he was armed with full metropolitan powers, and then commenced his great reform—a work which yet lives, and which but for him would probably have never been effected—the restoration of the altars throughout England.

His mind was turned to one point—the foundations had to be laid. Nothing could be done till the holy table stood in its old place at the east end of the chancel, and was secured from unseemly intrusion. It was in vain under existing arrangements to look for any improvement in doctrine. And probably many of our readers will be surprised, and some disappointed at the extreme simplicity of Laud's "innovations." He ordered that the position of the holy tables in parish churches should follow that of the cathedrals, and that where they had been removed they should be restored to the east end. This was all. There is no imposition of vestments, no multiplication of ceremonial, no grand development of ritual. Everything is as simple as it can be. But the rage of the Puritans knew no bounds; they poured out all their vessels of wrath upon the Archbishop, and declared that to be hindered from making GOD's altar a receptacle for hats, a desk for school boys, or a place for casting accounts, was a most intolerable infringement of "Gospel liberty."

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. pp. 71—75.

The case was brought to an issue by the perversity of the inhabitants of S. Gregory in the City, who had disobeyed pertinaciously the injunctions in this matter, of their Ordinary the Dean and Chapter of S. Paul's. The case was heard before the King in Council, and judgment was given on the side of order. Laud then proceeded to make his brethren feel, that he was really their metropolitan and ecclesiastical superior. For the inherent powers in the see of Canterbury are so great, that by making a metropolitanical visitation of the dioceses of his suffragans, their jurisdiction and that of their archdeacons, officials, &c., is suspended for the time. The Archbishop and his Vicar-general and subordinates supply the place of the Ordinary. These powers Laud set in motion, and brought them first to bear upon Williams, Bishop of Lincoln. There were many reasons for this; for Williams, with his usual want of principle, seems to have been delighted at the prospect of throwing impediments in the way of the work Laud had so much at heart. In his own Cathedral at Lincoln, in the Abbey Church of S. Peter's, Westminster, of which he was Dean, in his own private Chapel, the altar stood in its proper place. He had even on one occasion rescued the chancel of S. Martin's, Leicester, from a threatened conversion into a library; so that he could have had no scruples of conscience in the matter. Nevertheless as soon as he heard of the Primate's regulations he set himself in determined hostility, and allowed the parishioners of S. Martin's to return to their old irreverent ways. His diocese was therefore the first visited; and though the great Puritan Bishop claimed exemption under papal bulls, the right of the Archbishop was established, and the Churches in most cases arranged properly. But Williams, as soon as the suspension was over, did what he could to frustrate the Primate's intentions, though happily without any permanent success.

The other dioceses were in turn visited and reformed; and many of the Bishops, particularly Pearce, of Bath and Wells, Wren of Norwich, Lindsay of

Peterborough, Montague of Chichester, Skinner of Bristol, threw themselves heart and soul into the Archbishop's designs for promoting reverence. Others stood coldly by, published his orders, but cared little about enforcing them, and were not displeased to leave him to bear the burden of the odium attaching to these "innovations" as they were called.

But whilst anxious to recall the parish Churches to conformity with their Cathedrals, Laud was well aware of the necessity of a sweeping reform there also. For the Deans and Chapters having been more active in enriching themselves and families than in benefiting the Church, the fabric had been suffered to crumble, the services were slovenly performed, the appointed vestments often disused, the enjoined ceremonies omitted. His own Cathedral was the first visited: the choir was choked with pews; they were swept away, and the altar left free. Upon it were placed the candlesticks, and it was decked with rich cloths, and furnished with vessels suitable to the dignity of the holy mysteries. A new body of statutes, compiled by himself and signed by his own hand in every leaf, testifies to his zeal for the house of God. One of these enactments ordered the Prebendaries to make due reverence to Almighty God in entering the choir by reverently bowing the head. This was a point on which he laid great stress, and it appears again in the code of statutes he prepared for Winchester: nor was it any novelty in the Church of England. It had been authorized by Queen Elizabeth, King James, and had met with the approbation of one whose sympathies were certainly not with ceremonial, Bishop Jewel.<sup>1</sup> The Knights of the Garter had never laid it aside, and Laud's own words in the Star Chamber are the best interpretation of his motives:

<sup>1</sup> "They are all (kneeling, bowing, standing at the Gospel) commendable gestures and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understand what they mean, and apply them unto God."—Jewel's reply to Harding. Art. III. 29.

"So Morton defends the bowing not to the Table of the Lord, but to the LORD of the Table, to testify the communion of all the faithful communicants therewith, even as the people of God

“GOD forbid we should worship anything but GOD Himself. If to worship GOD when we enter into His house or approach His altar be an innovation, it is a very old one. He then instances Moses (Numbers xx. 6,) Hezekiah (2 Chron. xxix. 29,) David (Psalm xcv. 6,) which latter Psalm being retained in the Service Book of the Church of England, the Priest and people both are called upon for external and bodily reverence and worship of GOD in His Church. For my own part I take myself bound to worship with body as well as in soul whenever I come where GOD is worshipped. And were this kingdom such as would allow no holy table standing in its proper place (and such places some there are,) yet I would worship GOD when I came into His house. And were the times such as would beat down Churches and all the curious carved work thereof with axes and hammers, as in Psalm lxxiv. 6, (and such times have been) yet would I worship in what place soever I came to pray, though there were not so much as a stone laid for Bethel. But this is the misery; it is superstition now-a-days for a man to come with more reverence into a Church than a tinker into an ale-house. The comparison is too homely, but my just indignation at the profaneness of the times makes me speak it.”<sup>1</sup>

He thus went steadily on: at Winchester the altar was railed in, and the lay clerks forbidden to read the Epistle and Gospel, a regulation which was enforced at Lincoln and Lichfield. At Hereford the Prebendaries were ordered to use the vestments<sup>2</sup> enjoined in adoring Him before the ark His footstool.”—Quoted by Heylin, Cyp. Ang., p. 293.

So again Laud on his trial: “Shall I bow to men in each House of Parliament, and shall I not bow to GOD in His House, whither I do, or ought to come, to worship Him? Surely I must worship GOD and bow to Him, though neither altar nor communion table be in the Church.”—Laud’s Works, vol. iii., p. 201. (Trial.)

<sup>1</sup> Speech in the Star Chamber, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> This Canon was founded on the following rubric of King Edward’s first Prayer Book: “Upon the day, and at the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the Priest that shall execute the Holy Ministry shall put upon him the



by Canon XXIV., to stand at the Creeds and Gospels and Doxologies, and bow at the Name of JESUS. At Worcester Mainwaring erected a marble altar, with fair hangings, and a rich frontal, besides procuring the proper vestments, and making the scholars of the King's School come into the Church in orderly procession, two and two, instead of straggling in as they pleased. At Norwich the old hangings were renewed, and at Gloucester proper vestments were purchased.

There was another work which engrossed much of his time and money, and which furnished his adversaries with most of their absurd and foolish accusations, viz., his restoration of the chapel belonging to the palace at Lambeth. It had been shamefully neglected by Abbott, and allowed to fall into the most dreadful state of dilapidation and decay. Laud's own expression is a very strong one, "It was lying nastily." This never troubled Abbott, for Puritanism has never cared about the condition of GOD's dwelling places, while they have ever been among the objects most dear to the hearts of all true sons of Holy Church. There were no complaints made about the condition of Lambeth *palace*—that was sound enough, in good repair. Any defects there, broken roofs, or patched windows, would have interfered materially with the Puritanical Archbishop's comfort, which of course could not have been tolerated. But GOD's dwelling place

Vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope." This "vestment" is the same as the chasuble, by which name it is sometimes called. Probably the intention was to use the cope, when there was no actual celebration, and reserve the "vestment" or chasuble for the full Eucharistic Service. It was clearly the wish of our Reformers, that the Holy Communion, as being the highest act of worship, should be distinguished by a peculiar dress of the officiating Priest. Our present Prayer Book ratifies this direction of King Edward's, and orders that "such ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministrations, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in the Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward the Sixth." Vide Rubric before the "Order for Morning Prayer." This Rubric bears clear traces of Laud's influence having outlived his fall.

was a different thing, and so the sour old Puritan was content to dwell in his "ceiled house and let GOD's house lie waste," thanking GOD, may be, he was not as other men, superstitious enough to fancy that GOD was honoured by the beauty or grandeur of His temple.

Among the memorials of past piety which had suffered first from the outbreaks of fanatic zeal at the Reformation, and afterwards from Abbott's incapacity for appreciating the beautiful, and his Puritan dislike of art—were the stained-glass windows in the chapel. Laud found them battered and broken, patched up with plain glass, he says, "like a beggar's coat." He repaired them, and restored the original designs. They have (we believe) all perished again—again we doubt not, to be restored by some future occupant of the see. They contained the leading incidents in the Incarnation with the Old Testament types, so that nearly the whole of the Bible history was represented. In the east window, which consisted of five lights, was the Crucifixion depicted in detail, our Blessed LORD occupying the centre; the crosses of the thieves the third and fourth lights, while the outside ones represented the Sacrifice of Isaac, and the Brazen Serpent. On the south side there were four windows; the first containing Jonah, the Resurrection, Samson carrying off the Gates of Gaza. The second: the Translations of Enoch and Elias, with the Ascension as a centre. The third: the giving the law at Sinai, the descent of the HOLY GHOST on the day of Pentecost, the fire descending to consume the sacrifice of Elijah. In the fourth was represented CHRIST on the Judgment seat; and in the side lights King Solomon's Judgment, and King David sentencing the Amalekite. There seem to have been only three stained windows on the North side, of which the subjects were, of the first: the resurrection of Lazarus, with the raising of the widow's son by Elijah; of the Shunammite's by Elisha. The second, the adoration of the Magi, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, the coronation of King David at Hebron. The third, the Annunciation, the Burning Bush, Gideon's fleece.

It was a privilege to Laud to be allowed to restore these memorials of early piety, and we can easily imagine with what care he would trace the pattern in the pieces that were left, supply designs for what was deficient, and preserve what was whole. That he took particular pains with and was much interested in this work, is evidenced by his words on his trial, when this restoration was looked upon as an evidence of his Romanizing tendencies.

In a similar spirit he brought back to its proper place the altar which had stood in the centre of the chapel during Abbott's misrule; erected a costly railing before it, placed upon it candlesticks, (as required by the law of the Church, which remains to this day) an elaborate almsdish, costly-bound books, and fixed behind it an arras representing the Institution of the Holy Eucharist. The vestments naturally followed. The organs were restored and the services chanted, external reverence was enforced, all stood up at the singing the "Gloria Patri,"<sup>1</sup> and did lowly reverence at the Name of JESUS.

Our readers are now prepared to hear that all this was brought forward against the Archbishop as clear and certain evidence of his unfaithfulness to the English Communion. Yet what was there here but an attempt to bring the practice of the Church into conformity with its written laws? The Rubrics and Canons enjoined these things, and it was not sufficient reason for abandoning them, that the Puritans disliked them. The time had come when one or other must have given way,—the Church or the Puritan element in her which had almost transformed her into another being. Laud chose that Puritanism should be sacrificed to the Catholic faith, and not the Catholic faith to Puritanism. The Church of England as she spake in her formularies had asserted her adherence to the faith once delivered to the saints, and claimed union

<sup>1</sup> This last custom aroused Prynne's ire to an extraordinary extent. What would he have said, had he seen us standing not merely at the Gloria, but all through the Psalms? Puritanism in those days was even more addicted to sitting than it is now.

with the Church of CHRIST in all ages, by the possession of common Sacraments and a common Episcopate. She appealed neither to Luther nor Calvin, but to Holy Scripture interpreted by primitive antiquity. Her services were intended to embody this appeal, and when she acted for herself her intentions were carried out.

But Puritanism had eaten like a canker into the Church's fair order, and hence the disgraceful state of all things pertaining to GOD's worship at this time. How low our Church must have sunk is evidenced by the opposition Laud experienced in enforcing such simple things as the right position of the altar, and the lowly adoration at the name of JESUS. We feel now the importance of these things; we see that sound doctrine is closely connected with them. Moreover, they are nothing strange. Laud was right in rescuing devotion and reverence from Puritanism, though it cost him dear. The factions of his day worried him to death on account, *inter alia*, of his restoration of his chapel, and his mode of performing Divine service. But all that he did is sanctioned now. The altar, with its rich furniture and embroidered frontals, is no strange thing; the restoration of the sanctuaries of GOD is the mission of our age; the aid of art is ungrudgingly sought to decorate the palaces of the King of kings; the storied window again adorns our churches; the praises of the Most High are sung in solemn chants, and the choral anthem everywhere is wafted to the skies. Architecture, and painting, and poetry, and music, it is now acknowledged, have their true home in the Church, and in her hands fulfil their highest destinies. But had Laud shrunk from his post—had he quailed before the howling multitude—had he been content to keep things quiet—we might have been as Scotland, or made like unto Geneva. Thank GOD! Laud did not fail. He counted the cost, and he took his line. He would not believe that GOD had preserved the English Church merely to engulf her in Puritanism. He had faith in the Church of England, and he acted on his faith. He determined to

rescue her from Puritanism, or perish : he did both. The price of her liberation was his life ; he paid it, and the Church was freed.

Thoughts of this kind—the ratification of Laud's work by posterity—are so vividly present to our mind, that our anxiety to make our readers share our conviction that Laud was GOD'S instrument for preserving the Church of England from committing herself to some irrevocably false step, which might have issued in her utter destruction, must be our excuse for this digression. We have been led away from two points which serve to illustrate Laud's regard for sacred things,—the restoration of S. Paul's, and the care for the poor Clergy ; for, stern and severe towards his own order, he was kindly disposed, and even affable, towards the humbler labourers in the vineyard.

The Cathedral Church of S. Paul, which had suffered severely from fire in 1561, had been partially restored, at the expense of the clergy and citizens, in 1566. Much however was yet to be done, and advantage was taken of King James' state visit, 1620, to interest his Majesty in its behalf. A royal commission issued, but with little result, owing chiefly to the indolence of Bishop Mountain. But when Laud held the see, and the Cathedral again received a royal visit (1631), a new commission was granted, which set to work more vigorously than its predecessor. Money came pouring in from the Clergy and rich citizens, and in one year the proceeds amounted to £5,416. The fines levied by the High Commission Court upon richer offenders swelled the treasury, and also gave occasion to Puritan misrepresentation as to the motives for their imposition. True to their principles, they could only see in this pious work the adorning a "rotten relic," and a device of the King's to raise money without the consent of Parliament. The work, however, prospered, the King gave £10,295, the Bishop £100 per annum from the revenues of the see ; and before 1640, when the work stopped, in consequence of the troubles, more than £100,000 had been expen-

ded, and the Cathedral restored to something like order.

We spoke also of the Archbishop's care for the poorer Clergy. An instance of this we have already mentioned, in his lightening, as far as possible, the heavy burdens of a subsidy voted by Convocation. It was also displayed in the contest he entered into with the City authorities on behalf of the parochial clergy, who were plundered in every conceivable way, and defrauded of their rightful and legal dues, by the civic magnates. Puritanism was strong in the city, and lecturers dependent on the people were in high favour with the aldermen, while they complacently avowed their conviction that £100 per annum was too much for a regular clergyman. The injustice on the part of the citizens became so intolerable, that the clergy were driven to solicit the interference of the King, who immediately issued a commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others, to inquire into the points in dispute. Several flagrant abuses were redressed, and the clergy's hopes of fair play revived; when the Scotch troubles, and the consequent war, compelled the King to turn his attention to other matters, and soon Church and State were swept away in common confusion.

We have endeavoured in this chapter to represent the Archbishop as engaged in a holy warfare against negligence and irreverence, and that of such a kind as would not be tolerated anywhere now, but which were then regarded as signs of spiritual mindedness. The improvement is mainly due to his bold grappling with the evil spirit which possessed his Church. And we cannot do better than close this imperfect sketch of a great man's struggles, by quoting his own memorable words, which supply his principle of action and need in many quarters to be still laid to heart.

“I never endeavoured to alter or subvert GOD's true religion, established by law in this kingdom, or to bring in Romish superstition; neither have I declared, maintained, or printed any Popish doctrine

or opinion contrary to the articles of religion established, or any one of them, either to the end mentioned in this article, or any other. I have neither urged nor enjoined any Popish or superstitious ceremonies without warrant of law; nor have I cruelly persecuted any opposers of them. But all that I laboured for in this particular was, that the external worship of GOD in this Church might be kept up in uniformity and decency, and in some beauty of holiness. And this the rather, because, first, I found that with the contempt of the outward worship of GOD, the inward fell away apace, and profaneness began boldly to show itself; and secondly, because I could speak with no conscientious persons almost, that were wavering in religion, but the great motive which wrought upon them to disaffect, or think meanly of the Church of England, was that the external worship of GOD was so lost in the Church (as they conceived it), and the churches themselves, and all things in them, suffered to lie in such a base and slovenly fashion in most places of the kingdom. These, and no other considerations, moved me to take so much care as I did of it, which was with a single eye, and most free from any Romish superstition in anything. As for ceremonies, all that I enjoined were according to law."<sup>1</sup>

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## CHAPTER XI.

A. D. 1630—1641.

### LAUD AND THE UNIVERSITIES—LEARNING AND PATRONAGE.

“ In bestowing  
He was most princely.”

*Henry VIII.*, Act iv. s. 2.

HOWEVER deficient in many kingly qualities James the First may have been, there can be no doubt either

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 403. (Troubles.)

of his own great learning or of his love of it in others.

His appointments to offices of trust in the Church, show his preference for scholar-like and deeply-read divines, over the shallow and unlettered Puritans to whom Calvin's Institutes were the sum total of theology. Hence his affection for the University of Oxford, which he honoured with his presence early in his reign, even condescending to perform exercises (for the good man was very vain of his acquirements) in the divinity, law, physic, and philosophy schools. His interest was not however confined to such empty demonstrations, but was evidenced in more substantial manner. A canonry of Christ Church and the rectory of Ewelme, annexed to the chair of the Regius Professor of Divinity; a prebendal stall in Salisbury Cathedral to that of Civil Law; the headship of the Hospital at Ewelme to that of Medicine, were evidences of the King's desire to place the professors of that ancient seat of learning on a better and more independent footing. The royal bounty soon found imitators. Sir H. Savil founded two Mathematical Lectures; Sir W. Sedley one in Natural Philosophy; Dr. White one in Moral Philosophy; Mr. Tomlins one in Anatomy. Besides these the reign of James witnessed the erection of a college by Nicholas Wadham and Dorothy his wife, 1612; Broadgate Hall turned into Pembroke College, 1624; the Schools rebuilt; a new quadrangle added to Merton; new chapels and halls to Exeter and Jesus College, and the laying out the physic garden. A better tone pervaded also the religious feeling of the place. The consecration of the chapels of Exeter and Jesus, by the Bishop of Oxford,—the restoration of the choirs of Christ Church and Magdalen,—the erection of organs in the cathedral and S. John's,—the latter under the presidency of Laud, were all signs and symptoms that Puritanism was relaxing its hold upon the intelligence of the age.

It was not likely that when the Providence of God called Laud to higher and more important posts than



the headship of a college, he would forget the University which had fostered his early years. There was a necessity for friendly offices, seeing that the disturbed and stormy condition of the times had thrown the University into great disorder. Laud exerted himself strenuously to restore a better state of things, and was the author of the proctorial cycle which put an end to the disgraceful contests which had been of late carried on to the discredit of the University. At the same time he proposed certain alterations in their statutes, which were willingly accepted by the Convocation, 1628; the same year in which the public library received two hundred and forty Greek manuscripts, which the Earl of Pembroke, the Chancellor,—had bought at his suggestion; and twenty more from Sir Thomas Roe, who had lately returned from the East.

In 1630, the death of William Earl of Pembroke, made the Chancellorship vacant. It seemed natural to offer it to Laud, who was now Bishop of London, and after a contest with the Earl of Montgomery, Pembroke's brother, his election was carried, and the King paid him the gracious compliment of saying, "That he knew none more worthy of it than himself, and that he should rather study how to add further honours to him, than take any from him." According to the custom of the University, a Convocation was holden at London House for the investiture of the Chancellor. Laud's speech on that occasion contains some graceful compliments to his predecessor, and hints as far as was consistent with such an occasion, at future reform. He says himself in his History of his Chancellorship:—

"So soon as I was admitted to the Chancellorship (which God knows I little expected), I thought it my duty to reform the University, which was extremely sunk from all discipline, and fallen into all licentiousness; insomuch that divers of the governors there complained to me, that if remedy were not applied in time, there could scarce any face be left of a Univer-

sity. Hereupon I resolved within myself to set close to a reformation. And though I understood most of the defects of the University, (as having lived there many years, and for divers of them a governor), yet the first thing I thought fit to do, was to lay a command upon the Vice-chancellor for the time being, that he should give me an account by letters, every week, of all necessary occurrences which happened in the University pertaining to exercise or manners; with a promise, that he should weekly, without fail, receive a letter from me, expressing what I disliked or approved, and with directions what should further be done for the good of that place. This course I constantly held, and found so much good by it, that I resolved, as often as I made a new Vice-chancellor, to renew the like charge, and to pursue it with like diligence; which, when time served I did, and shall (God willing) so continue to do, as long as I shall live Chancellor of the University.

“The statutes of the University had lain in a confused heap for some ages, and extremely imperfect in all kinds. The reformation of the abuses, which grew thereby, and the reducing of the statutes into order and form, with the addition of some new, for the necessity of the present times, had been often attempted, and particularly by Cardinal Wolsey and other great men in their several times; but was never brought to any perfection; nor indeed to anything at all: but the business left where it was first undertaken. I did ever foresee that it was not possible to make a reformation, or settle that body, unless the statutes were first perfected. And yet it was evident, also, what great difficulties attended that work: for it had been twice undertaken during my own time in the University, and both times it came to nothing. At the last time it was attempted, I was named in Convocation one of the delegates myself; by which means I had opportunity to see where the difficulties and impediments lay, but was not then able to remove them.

Afterwards coming to be Bishop of London, and finding my Lord the Earl of Pembroke much troubled at some unworthy proceedings there; I told him he would never have remedy until the statutes of the University were reduced into a body and settled; and withal acquainted his Lordship wherein the difficulties lay. Hereupon, at his entreaty, I set down what way was to be taken and followed for effecting that work, and began at the naming of the delegacy below in Convocation; which delegacy was no sooner named and my directions sent into them, but my Lord of Pembroke died, and I was chosen Chancellor after him, and took up his work where it was then left, and resolved to go on against all difficulties which were like to oppose me in the body of that University; which, being very sick, was desirous enough to be well, but not pleased with the sourness of the cure. Besides, such bodies never want factions; and many there that were willing enough to have a cure, were not so well pleased it should be wrought by my hand. But this and many other difficulties I overcame with care and patience; and went on with the work."<sup>1</sup>

A few years passed before his plans could be carried out, for matters affecting the whole Church had engaged his attention. He had been raised to the metropolitical dignity, and the great work of the restoration of the altars was going on. In the course of it he determined to make the Universities subjects of special visitation. Cambridge particularly, was far gone in Puritanism; and the Earl of Holland, her Chancellor, stoutly resisted the Primate's right to visit. Some little improvement had indeed taken place at Cambridge of late years,—but in most colleges things were as bad as ever. Some had no chapels; others used unconsecrated rooms. In Sidney the old dormitory of the Franciscans had been converted into a chapel, but there, as at Emmanuel, God's dwelling-place had never been formally hallowed by special

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. v. p. 13. (Hist. of Chancellorship.)

dedication. No wonder then the University disliked the idea of an Archiepiscopal visitation, and took measures to resist it. The King heard the cause in person, and decided in favour of the right of the Primate to visit. The Scotch troubles however staved it off; but the threat of it worked wonders. The Puritan heads grumbled, but nevertheless set their houses in order. The altar was restored in S. Mary's to its right place, vessels for the blessed Eucharist were presented in many instances, and encouragement given to the better affected to proceed in their work of restoration.

But at Oxford he was absolute, and he was naturally more interested in his own University. The Chancellor of the University—visitor of several colleges in virtue of his see, while the Bishop of Winchester (Curle), to whom the right of visiting Magdalene, New College, Corpus, S. John's, and Trinity, belonged, was devoted to his interest;—his right to visit as Primate established by law,—there was no one to resist his will. Nor did the Oxonians wish to do so. The days of Calvinistic ascendancy were at an end. They eagerly carried out his wishes, and looked up to him with the greatest reverence. "Your Holiness," "Holy Father," and the like terms, constantly occur in their letters; and Laud, in striking contrast, beseeches their prayers as often as they kneel before the altar, for himself, a miserable sinner.

The day after the Royal decision had established his right to visit the University, the new code of statutes, which he deemed necessary for the well-being of Oxford, was promulgated by him. They were thankfully received by the University, and passed Convocation unanimously. But the gratitude of Alma Mater was increased, when the Chancellor's interest with the King procured a new charter, which not only confirmed their ancient privileges, but raised them to an equal level with Cambridge. The same influence procured also a royal patent for printing Bibles and

Prayer Books, and set apart a portion of the fine imposed upon the King's printer, in consequence of their negligent printing the Holy Scriptures, for the purchase of a Greek type for the University press.

The higher classes of studies were peculiarly interesting to Laud, and to him the University is indebted for the encouragement of Hebrew and Arabic learning. To the first chair he procured the perpetual annexation of a Canonry at Christ Church, a privilege he likewise obtained for the public orator, though this was afterwards lost; the latter he founded himself, and endowed in perpetuity. In a similar spirit he procured an order from the King that every Turkey merchant should bring home one Persian or Arabic book, except the Koran, of which there were abundant number of copies in England. He was thus enabled, in 1634,<sup>1</sup> to present the University with fourteen Hebrew, fifty-five Arabic, seventeen Persian, four Turkish, six Russian, two Armenian, twelve Chinese MSS., besides forty-four Greek, three Italian, three French, forty-six English, and more than two hundred Latin. Besides these, he obtained a present of many MSS. from Sir K. Digby, and in 1636<sup>2</sup> forwarded many more MSS., including eighteen Hebrew, fourteen Persian, fifty Arabic, one Armenian, two Ethiopic, one Chinese, and a valuable collection of coins, which he had purchased at the suggestion of Ussher. In 1639<sup>3</sup> many more MSS. and books were added to his former presents, among the latter a book on the Liberties of the Gallican Church, which had been suppressed in France, and which Laud was desirous of preserving, as it would never be reprinted, he said, "and the opinions the French Church entertained of the Papal claim to supremacy ought to be put upon record." He hints further, that Cardinal Riorligo had connived at its publication. And in 1640,<sup>4</sup> the same munificent

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. v. p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. v. p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. v. p. 225. (Hist. Can.)

<sup>4</sup> Vol. v. p. 293. (Hist. Can.)

hand sent a hundred and forty-eight more MSS., including thirty-four Arabic.

His princely spirit was seen too in the buildings wherewith he graced Oxford. The second quadrangle of S. John's College was built by him at the cost, Heylin tells us (for Laud himself in his History of his Chancellorship had left the space blank) of £5000. The erection of the Divinity Schools is another evidence of his liberality. The south porch of S. Mary's was restored at the cost of £230 under his superintendence, by Dr. Owen, his Chaplain, and adorned with a figure of "the blessed among women," and her Divine Son.

It could not but be that such munificence would produce a similar spirit. In 1636 the King attached three Fellowships for Jersey and Guernsey men to the Colleges of Exeter, Jesus, and Pembroke. Magdalene Chapel was restored, and stained glass placed in Queen's College Chapel, both of which incidents are deemed worthy by Laud's reverent mind of being recorded in his History of his Chancellorship.

The same religious spirit breathes through the following letter sent (1636) to the Vice-Chancellor. It is given in Laud's own words, that men may judge for themselves of the true character of the innovations charged upon this Prelate. Innovations they were on the slovenliness and irreverence of Puritanism, and thank GOD that Laud had courage to make them. But they were simply in accordance with the orders of the Church; and therefore odious to the Puritans. Thanks to Laud, however, the language of the learned is still consecrated by the Latin sermon and Holy Communion each first day of Term; and the *chancel* of S. Mary's to this day witnesses the celebration of the Holy Rite. Posterity has again vindicated Laud.

#### "SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

"SIR,—The sickness of these times, and my many other occasions, made me forget to write to you be-

fore the beginning of Michaelmas Term last, concerning the Sermon and Prayers usually had at S. Marie's at the beginning of Terms, which were wont to be not so orderly as they should, nor with so good example to other places at large in the kingdom, as such a University should give.

"For, first, the Communion was celebrated in the body of the church, and not in the chancel, which though it be permitted in the Church of England in some cases of necessity, where there is a multitude of people; yet very undecent it is, and unfitting in that place where so few (the more the pity) use to communicate at these solemn times. But this abuse I caused to be rectified in Dr. Duppa's time, and I hope neither you nor your successors will suffer it to return again into the former indecency.

"Secondly, though none do come to these solemn prayers and sermons but scholars, and these too of the best rank, yet to no small dishonour of that place, the sermon is in Latin, and the prayers in English: as if Latin prayers were more unfit for a learned congregation, than a Latin sermon. And the truth is, the thing is very absurd in itself, and contrary to the directions given at the beginning of the Reformation of this Church; for in the Latin Service Books, which were first printed in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth, there is an express, both direction and charge, that notwithstanding the altering of the ordinary Form of Prayers throughout the whole body of the kingdom from Latin into English: yet in the Universities such prayers, unto which none but they which were learned did resort, should be in Latin. And for my part, I do much wonder, considering how public that direction was, that the University at the beginning of Terms should fall from this ordinance, and so divide the service and sermon between Latin and English.

"Upon consideration of this, I acquainted his Majesty both with that printed direction of Queen Elizabeth, and with the breach of it by the University at

the beginning of Terms: whereupon his Majesty was pleased to give me in charge to see this ordered, and to take a course for a remedy in the future, and that hereafter *Service*, *Sermon*, and *Communion*, should be at all beginnings of Terms uniformly in Latin, since none resort to either but such as well understand it. These are therefore to pray and require you at some convenient meeting of the Heads, to acquaint them with this direction of his Majesty, and to take care that both at the beginning of the next Term, and of all Terms following, the *Service* and *Communion* be in *Latin*, as well as the Sermon. And that such as are not furnished may the better provide themselves with Service Books in Latin, so soon as conveniently they can, you shall do well to make it so much the sooner known to the Heads. And this I must not forget to tell you, that when I took this first into consideration, it was thought fitting to put it into the University statutes. But afterwards I considered, that since the statutes were to remain to posterity, it would lay no small scandal upon these times, when they should see by the very statute itself, what a stranger the University was to the prayers of the Church in a learned language. And hereupon, having first acquainted his Majesty with this also, I thought it better to leave it out of the statutes, and to reduce it to this privater way, which opinion of mine his Majesty was pleased graciously to approve.

“Two things there are, which you and the Heads must take present care for. The one is, that the Vice-Chancellor, and he that helps him to execute (whosoever he be), be in surplices; but whether the Vice-Chancellor will put on his surplice, when he goes to the Communion, or put it on at the first, and so read Service, and sit at the Sermon in it, I leave it to his own judgment; but I like the latter better, and the surplice must be under both the habit and the hood. The second is, that there must be care taken with the singing men, that they may answer the Litany and



all other places of the Service, where they interpose, in Latin, which they may easily practise and be ready to perform at the beginning of the next Term; but if they cannot, the Litany must be sung or answered by the Masters without the organ, till they can: for the main business to have all things in Latin must go on. So wishing you all health and happiness, and the University that honour that belongs unto her entire, I leave you to the grace of GOD, and rest.

“Your very loving friend,  
“W. CANT.”<sup>1</sup>

How beautifully does the spirit too of the following letter to Dr. Fell contrast with the supercilious disregard evinced by Puritans for all associations connected with the communion of saints:

“Concerning the hour of your Vespers, I would have you to weigh well one main thing, which is, that as the Morning Service is every where to end by twelve at farthest, so the Vespers must never begin before three and end by five. And this I take it is universal. And the reason of it (as I conceive) is, that the prayers of the Church, howsoever different in place, might be jointly put up to GOD in all places at the same time. How fit it will be upon particular respects to vary such an universal tradition, would be well thought upon. As for the hour they say they shall gain to their studies by this change, that works little upon me. For if men be so studiously-minded, that hour may be taken as well after prayers as before. And prayers coming between, will rather be a relaxation to them than a hindrance. Besides, I cannot foresee what example this may produce in other cathedrals. And I would be very loath they should learn an ill example from the University. Therefore I pray think well of these and other circumstances, before you make any change.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works; vol. v. p. 156. (Hist. Can.)

<sup>2</sup> Vol. v. (Hist. Can.) p. 235.

There is one feature which strikes us very forcibly in reviewing this portion of his life, viz., the extreme comprehensiveness of his mind. He seems to have his eyes everywhere,—to be constantly pen in hand, directing the most minute details. Nothing escapes him. He is ever ready to advise and direct the most commonplace matter, provided it affected the interest of his beloved university. When we remember that he was Primate of all England, and engaged in the grand work of religious restoration,—that upon him came the care of the Anglo-Irish and Scotch Churches,—that in both these countries he was fighting a fanatic Clergy and unprincipled aristocracy, and was besides the King's responsible adviser in matters of State, the points which he deigns to notice relating to the University are sometimes almost ludicrous. We of course naturally expect him sharply to watch sermons and theological exercises, and occasionally punish an obstinate Puritan; but we are scarcely prepared for his interference in the appointment of the clerk of S. Mary's Church. Yet as this functionary used to alter the clock to suit the convenience of the respondents in the different exercises, the Chancellor finds it out, and the charge of the clock is taken from him.

Similarly all infractions of the privileges of the University, down to an illegal rise by the aldermen in the price of candles, are noted. Does a Jesuit manage, under a false name, to creep into the University, Laud detects him, and astonishes his Vice-Chancellor by telling him the real history of the delinquent. Is an undergraduate secretly converted to Rome, or does the young organist of S. John's suddenly "slip away" from the University for the same reason—Laud knows all about it, and can even tell the name of the priest who seduced them. Do the printers venture to print books without permission—they are threatened with suppression. Are innovations introduced in dress, or men walk about in boots and spurs, or the

sons of noblemen take too much upon them—all is known to the watchful Primate. Is the Westminster supper an occasion of excess in eating and drinking—it is at once abolished, as being, in consequence of always taking place on Friday night, “contrary to the Canons of the Church and laws of the realm, and to the great scandal of all sober men that hear of it.”

The University of Dublin, of which he was also Chancellor, received from him a new charter and statutes; and the interest he evinced in its well-being appears throughout his correspondence with Strafford. Through his discernment, too, the Anglo-Irish Church was graced with the holiness of Bedell, and the learning of Bramhall. His prescient eye detected the genius of the young Jeremy Taylor, and provided him with the means of prosecuting his studies by the gift of a fellowship of All Souls. In England, Juxon and Sanderson owed their promotion to him; and while the learning of Montague and Wren recommended them to his notice, the less brilliant virtues of Buckridge, White, and Morton were not forgotten. By his means Chillingworth's great intellect was for a while retained in the service of the English Church; he promoted Hales, and was the patron of Mede, Pocock, Selden, Sheldon, Spelman, and Heylin. Nor was the rising genius of the young Mr. Hyde,<sup>1</sup> then fighting his way at the bar, unnoticed by the Primate. He seems to have had a peculiar felicity of attracting useful people, and attaching them to his interests; and the immense patronage which he wielded gave him the opportunity of rewarding all who rendered him service. There is no denying he looked sharply after the patronage; for he well knew men could not live on fair words, and that those who did the Church's work ought to live by the Church's revenues. Heylin relates the following story:

“A difference having arisen between Sir F. Cottington, who had been appointed to the Mastership of

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards the celebrated Lord Clarendon, the historian.

the wards and liveries, and Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal, about disposing of such benefices as belonged to the King during the minority of his wards, Laud ends the matter by taking it all to himself, and proposes to his Majesty that, until this 'controversy be decided, he might do well to take those livings into his own disposing, for the reward of such divines as had done him service in the wars, or should go forth hereafter on like employment.' Many divines, for instance, had served as chaplains in his Majesty's ships, and ventured their persons in the action at the Isle of Rhe, during the late engagement with France and Spain. Some reward must be given them for service past, the better to encourage others for the time to come. 'It is cold,' he says, 'venturing into hot services without some hope of reward.' The King approved the proposal, and committed the said benefices to Laud's disposal, knowing well he would faithfully discharge the trust for the advancement of his Majesty's service, the satisfaction of the suitors, and the peace of the Church. Neither did Cottington seem displeas'd, being more willing that a third man should carry away the prize, than to be overtopped by Coventry. By the accession of this power, as he increased the number of his dependents, so he gained the opportunity by it to supply the Church with regular and conformable men, for whom he was to be responsible both to God and the King; which served him for a counterbalance against the multitude of lecturers established in so many places, especially by the feoffees for impropriations, who came not to their doom till February 13 of this present year, as before was said."<sup>1</sup>

But all the influence he thus obtained he honestly and conscientiously disposed of. Nothing vexed his righteous soul more than to see Church revenues wasted in advancing an ecclesiastic's own name, or

<sup>1</sup> Heylin's Life, p. 263. Vide Laud's account of these matters, Works, vol. iii. p. 408. (Troubles.)

the selfish interests of his family. Nepotism he utterly abhorred, and Fuller mentions a kinsman of his at the University, whose idleness kept him from receiving any portion of the archiepiscopal bounty. Nor was he guilty of the indiscretion which often attaches to those who have made their own fortunes, of thrusting his relatives into high posts. He rather helped them *in* their respective stations, than raised them *out* of them. How little he spent upon himself is evidenced by the little he left behind him. He ever laboured for others, not himself; the poorer Clergy always found him their champion, and the less wealthy bishoprics by his influence were enriched with good commendams. He it was who attached Cuddesden to Oxford.

Nor must we forget to record here the protection he extended to the holy community of Little Gidding. A man of deep piety himself, leading a solitary life,—often on his knees before God, pouring out his soul in the most abasing accents of penitence,—sharply judging himself,—disciplining his flesh by fasts and vigils,—the holy round of services at Little Gidding (where, amid troublous times, when the strife of tongues was waxing louder and louder, the sound of prayer and praise never ceased, but every hour as it passed, of night or day, brought its appointed homage to the King of kings) commended itself to his love and regard. He himself laid hands on Nicholas Ferrar, admitting him to the office of a deacon; and interested the King in behalf of the ascetic establishment, which Charles even visited in person. The productions of their press—polyglot bibles, bound with their own hands, and adorned as became presents made to royalty—were humbly presented, and graciously accepted by the King. For young Ferrar, too, Charles evinced great interest, and took upon himself his maintenance at Oxford, though his early death prevented the royal intentions being carried into effect. When the youth left the Archbishop, we

are told, "he knelt down, and took his hand, and kissed it. The Archbishop took him up in his arms, and laid his hand upon his cheek, and earnestly besought GOD to bless him, and increase all graces in him, and fit him every day more and more for an instrument of His glory here upon earth, and a saint in heaven. 'GOD bless you! GOD bless you! I have told your father what is to be done with you after the holidays; GOD will provide for you better than your father can. GOD bless you and keep you!'" The statesman and metropolitan could unbend sometimes.

Another name, ever dear to Churchmen, and the memory of which will remain as long as gentleness, and charity, and true devotion are venerated,—that of the poet priest, George Herbert,—is closely connected with Laud. Laud's earnest entreaties alone overcame his reluctance to take upon himself the office and work of the priesthood, and enter upon the cure of souls at Bemerton, to which Charles presented him. There can be no doubt, too, that Laud gladly welcomed Cosin's attempt to supply the English ladies of the court with books of devotion; and rejoiced in being able to roll away the reproach, urged with such effect by the Queen and her foreign attendants, that while the Roman communion provided manuals in abundance for her children, the English Church left them without any aids to devotion. Certain it is that Cosin's beautiful book, which has been ever since the companion and solace of thousands, was brought as evidence against Laud at his trial. Here, again, the verdict of posterity has been given for the calumniated Prelate.

We have slightly digressed from the main point of our chapter, but the opportunity seemed a fitting one for speaking of Laud's patronage generally, and showing how conscientiously, and for the advancement of learning, it was exercised.

We must now return to him as Chancellor of Oxford, though it be only to record his resignation. A

prisoner in the Tower, and not certain of a single day, he laid down his high trust in the following letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Convocation :<sup>1</sup>

“My present condition is not unknown to the whole world, yet by few pitied or deplored. The righteous God best knows the justice of my sufferings, on Whom both in life and death I will ever depend ; the last of which shall be unto me most welcome, in that my life is now burdensome unto me : my mind attended with variety of sad and grievous thoughts, my soul continually vexed with anxieties and troubles, groaning under the burden of a displeased Parliament, my name aspersed and grossly abused by the multiplicity of libellous pamphlets, and myself debarred from wonted access to the best of princes ; and it is *vox populi* that I am Popishly affected. How earnest I have been in my disputations, exhortations, and otherwise to quench such sparks, lest they should become coals, I hope, after my death, you will all acknowledge ; yet in the midst of all my afflictions there is nothing more hath so nearly touched me as the remembrance of your free and joyful acceptance of me to be your Chancellor, and that I am now shut up from being able to do you that service which you might justly expect from me. When I first received this honour, I intended to have carried it with me to my grave ; neither were my hopes any less, since the Parliament (called by his Majesty’s royal command) committed me to this royal prison. . But sith (by reason of matters of greater consequence yet in hand) the Parliament is pleased to procrastinate my trial, I do hereby as thankfully resign my office of being Chancellor, as ever I received that dignity ; entreating you to elect some honourable person, who upon all occasions may be ready to serve you ; and I beseech God send you such an one as may do all things for

<sup>1</sup> Laud’s Works, vol. v. (History of Chancellorship) p. 299.

His glory, and the furtherance of our most famous University. This is the continued prayer of,

“Your dejected friend and chancellor,  
“being the last time I shall write so,  
“ W. CANT.

“*Tower, June 28, 1641.*”

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## CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1631—1639.

### RELATIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND TO FOREIGN REFORMED BODIES.

“No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.”—Heb. v. 4.

WE said in our introductory chapter that it was natural for the reformed in all countries to be anxious for union with each other, that they might oppose something like a common confession to Rome's definite creed. They thought that agreeing in the broad principle that the Pope was Antichrist, they might merge what they called “minor questions,” and agree to differ on comparatively such unimportant points as the doctrine of the Incarnation, or the grace of the Sacraments. Various circumstances, however, hindered the carrying out this design: among them politics exercised no unimportant influence, for the Reformation was as much a political as a religious movement, and the scheme of union fell to the ground. Each nation did what it could for its own people, and there was a tacit understanding, that, though not formally united, the reformed in different countries were to regard each other as brethren, and hold all possible intercommunion. The ground indeed which the English Church had taken up of appealing to



Scripture as interpreted by primitive antiquity, and her professed desire to reproduce the Christianity of early ages, separated her very widely from those bodies who acknowledged no authority, save of Luther or Calvin. The retention of Episcopacy too was another feature, distinguishing her from the reformed communions of Germany or Switzerland; for there is much more in Episcopacy than a form of government. But this was not seen at first; the primary impression of many of the Reformers being that they were all, episcopal or otherwise, on an equal footing. This will account for the evident unwillingness on the part of the rulers of the English Church at the time of the Reformation to commit themselves to any statement on the subject of orders, which might have the effect of cutting off the foreigners from communion. This was only natural, for foreigners were invited and encouraged to come; it would have therefore been most unmannerly to have passed any enactment against them. The validity of orders conferred by the foreign consistories was therefore looked upon as an open question. Many who had received no other ordinations were admitted to livings, and divines, sound in the main, were unwilling to pass any decided opinion. Even Hooker takes no higher ground than the lawfulness of Episcopacy, and allows necessity as a justification of Ordination by Presbyters; while the more advanced in the new doctrine thought this an unnecessary limitation, and that under all circumstances Presbyters were equal to Bishops. Hence the uncertainty in which the question was enveloped during Queen Elizabeth's reign. The law required Episcopal Ordination, and the want of it was made the pretext for getting rid of Travers, but he had been allowed to officiate for some time, though his want of Ordination must have been known. Whittingham, Dean of Durham, who had notoriously only Genevan Ordination, stoutly maintained that English law recognized his Orders, and was backed in that position

by the Dean of York, one of the Commissioners appointed by the Queen to examine into the charge of irregularity made against him. The question in that case was never decided, for the Dean died: still our impression on the whole is that, though strictly speaking illegal according to English law, such Ordinations were allowed occasionally by Bishops, whose sympathies led them to fraternize with the foreigners, and that there was something to be urged from the loose wording of 13 Eliz. Such proceedings had been continued through James and Charles' reign; for Cosin, in a letter to Mr. Cadel, says, "if a Minister so ordained in these French Churches came to incorporate himself into ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, (as I have known some of them to have done so of late, and can instance many others before my time) our Bishops did not re-ordain him before they admitted him to his charge, as they must have done, if his former Ordination here in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe the Articles established."

With such natural tenderness towards the foreign reformed, it was to be expected that when they were driven from their own lands by persecution, they should be gladly received here, churches be granted to their use, and themselves exempted from all obligations to conform to English laws, or to obey English ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Edward granted John a Lasco, who brought over a tribe of Walloons and Frieslanders, the Church of the Augustines. The crypt of Canterbury was assigned to the French Protestants, and congregations of these religionists settled during Elizabeth's reign in Sandwich, Maidstone, Southampton, Colchester, Yarmouth, Norwich, as well as Canterbury and London.

The same feeling of fraternization which led the English to allow foreigners the use of their own rites,

exhibited itself by a curious perversity in the English congregations abroad, by a dislike of their own Prayer Book, and an adoption of foreign ways. The English soldiers serving in the Dutch service were attended by Chaplains who "exercised" after the Genevan fashion; the English merchants at Hamburgh and elsewhere were strangers to the English rite, the use of Geneva having superseded it. Even the ambassadors forgot their duty to their Church, and by their attendance at Huguenot or Calvinist assemblies declared to the world how little difference there was between the Church of England and the consistories of the foreign Reformed.

But what had been quite natural and unavoidable at the beginning of the Reformation, assumed afterwards a very different aspect. The inherent defect in the constitution of the foreign reformed bodies was making itself felt. There had been now for many years Bishops who were not in communion with Rome, but no steps had been taken to restore the broken link of Apostolic succession: there had been no movement to restore the ancient creeds, and so connect themselves with the early Church. On the contrary, the idea of their own completeness and perfection was growing stronger, when the progress of decay was already visible to any impartial eye. It seemed to Laud better to break off, even violently, any supposed communion with these irregular bodies before they fatally compromised the Church of England, and the result has proved his forethought and sagacity. His worst fears respecting the foreign communions have been realized; they have sunk lower and lower into the depths of heresy, and the Divinity of the SAVIOUR and His Atonement on the Cross have ceased to be regarded by them as necessary articles of faith. Who can say that, had it not been for Laud, what with loose laws and weak Bishops, our Church might have followed in their wake by this time?

There were three ways in which this over-affection

for foreign Protestants showed itself in Laud's days. First, the non-conformity to the English Church of the English factories and regiments abroad; Secondly, the encouragement given to the foreigners in England; thirdly, the attendance of the ambassadors at the foreign Protestant places of instruction.

The state of the English congregations on the Continent is well exemplified by a story which Heylin has preserved in his lively gossiping way. Our readers will find it at length, page 218; but the pith of it is this:

It so chanced, circa 1631, that the ambassador to Denmark and the ambassador from the Emperor met at Hamburgh on their respective journeys. Admiral Pennington was also there waiting for winds to take the ambassadors on their way. There was an English population at Hamburgh and an English Church, and the chaplains of the ambassadors were requested to give their countrymen the benefit of their ministrations. The reverend gentlemen, pleased at the compliment, consented, and it would seem, nothing loth, fell into the prescribed order of the place, gave out a psalm, then ascended the pulpit, and extemporised to the delight of the auditory, after the most approved Genevan mode. The winds were still contrary, and, anxious for a variety, the good people asked the Admiral to allow his Chaplain "to exercise." He said he had no Chaplain, but his kinsman, Dr. Ambrose, who was on board his ship, would doubtless gratify them, if invited. The Doctor was asked and consented. Sunday arrived, the congregation was seated, the hymn was sung. To the great dismay of the Elders (for the whole Genevan platform had been introduced) the Doctor stirred not. A "Deacon" was sent to jog his memory and bid him ascend the pulpit. To his horror the Doctor asked for a Bible and Prayer Book. The "Deacon" presented a Bible, "but Prayer Book we have none! we don't use such things," was the reply. "O then," said the Doctor, "I must e'en do as best I

can," and, taking a Prayer Book from his pocket, began the sentences. Great was the indignation of the assembled congregation to be thus delayed from their favourite exercise of preaching, by anything so unspiritual as the worship of GOD,—great the wrath of the Elders. The Deacon was sent back to bid him ascend the pulpit, and not trouble them with prayers: they did not want prayers. "You are a Church of England congregation, and the Church Service you shall have," was Ambrose's reply; "no prayers, no sermon." The Deacon returned to the Elders, and took back to the faithful Priest a peremptory message to forbear. Not wishing to have an open rupture in GOD's house, Ambrose thought it most prudent to comply, closed his book, and left the Church, followed by the Ambassadors, Admiral, and crest-fallen Chaplains.

But though defeated for the time, the cause of order and common sense prevailed at last. Laud seems to have heard of this, (he had his eyes and ears everywhere) and in 1632 he laid the condition of the English congregations abroad before the Council-board. The Council referred the matter to him, and he drew up sundry regulations respecting Chaplains. The Puritans of course reviled them as oppressive; but what member of the present Church of England would object to an order, "that every Minister or Chaplain in any factory or regiment shall read the Common Prayer, administer the Sacraments, catechise children, and perform all other public ministerial duties, according to the rules and rubrics of the English Liturgy and Canons."

It was not likely this could be effected without a struggle. Sir W. Boswell and Mr. S. Goffe struggled vigorously, but the Archbishop carried the day, and, in 1634, all English Churches and regiments in Holland, Hamburg, Turkey, India, the Indian Isles, Virginia, and Barbadoes were required to conform to the English use, and made responsible to the Bishop of London. and a Mr. Beaumont sailed for Delf not only with

private instructions punctually to observe and keep the orders of the Church of England, as they are prescribed in the Canons and Liturgy, but with the following letter to the merchants.

After certifying that Mr. Beaumont comes with his Majesty's authority, and is to be received accordingly, the Archbishop proceeds :

“ And further we are to let you know, that it is his Majesty's express command, that both you, the deputy, and all and every other merchant, that is, or shall be residing in those parts beyond the seas, do conform themselves to the doctrine and discipline settled in the Church of England : and that they frequent the Common Prayers with all religious duty and reverence at all times required, as well as they do sermons : and that out of your company, you do yearly, about Easter, as the Canons prescribe, name two churchwardens and two sidesmen, which may look to the orders of the Church, and give an account according to their office. And Mr. Beaumont himself is hereby to take notice that his Majesty's express pleasure and command to him is, that he do punctually keep and observe all the orders of the Church of England, as they are prescribed in the Canons, and the Rubrics of the Liturgy. And that if any of your company shall show themselves refractory to this Ordinance of his Majesty, (which we hope will not be) he is to certify the name of any such offender, and his offence to the Lord Bishop of London for the time being, who is to take order and give remedy accordingly. And these letters you are to register and keep by you, that they which come after may understand what care his Majesty hath taken for the well ordering of your company in Church affairs. And you are likewise to deliver a copy of these letters to Mr. Beaumont, and every successor of his respectively \* \* \* \*

“ Your very loving friend,

“ W. CANTERBURY.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth, vol. ii. p. 250.

Prynne could see nothing here but a desire to embroil the English congregations, so that Rome might profit by the confusion. Posterity has, however, again vindicated Laud. The state of the foreign Communion has long been such that our Church cannot consistently with her witness to the Catholic faith hold intercourse with them. And she has not done so. It is a recognized principle that wherever English are, there should be an English Clergyman and English service; that our people shall not have to seek instruction at the lips of men whom the LORD hath not "appointed to keep knowledge," or be left to the ministration of those who have "not been called of GOD as was Aaron." Even in the holy city of Puritanism itself, Geneva, there is an English Church.

We may refer to this head the pains Laud took to raise the tone of Church feeling in the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. These islands, originally part of the Duchy of Normandy, and in the diocese of Coutance, are the only remnants of our once great continental possessions. The spiritual superintendence of the inhabitants had been transferred at the Reformation to the Bishop of Winchester, in whom it is still vested. The islanders, probably from their vicinity to France, very soon showed signs of their affection for the Genevan discipline, which was, for some reason or other, granted to them by Queen Elizabeth, 1565. They were, however, received again into communion with the English Church in the reign of King James, who revived the old office of Dean, had the Book of Common Prayer translated into French, and procured the adoption of sundry canons of discipline, 1623.

Things were thus in tolerable training, and had Laud been able to carry out his design of prosecuting his archiepiscopal visitation there, much good would have been effected. More important matters, however, claimed his attention, and he was never able to

proceed. He, nevertheless, did what he could; and wisely judging that the best way to disseminate sounder views was to provide a more learned Clergy, he procured from the King a portion of the estate of Sir Miles Hubbard, which in consequence of the Knight having died intestate without heir, had lapsed to the Crown, for the purpose of endowing fellowships in Exeter, Jesus and Pembroke Colleges at Oxford. But this was all he was able to effect, and the islands have never shaken off their Puritanical tendencies.

At the same time that the council referred to him the matter of the English congregations abroad, they asked his opinion respecting the French and Walloon Churches in England. And in estimating Laud's conduct with regard to them, we must bear in mind his zeal for the English Church, and his desire for her true restoration, that she might serve as a light to others. This will sufficiently account for his whole career: and further, we must remember, that the principles of toleration as we understand them, were utterly unknown at this time in England. It was a settled maxim of the State, that the nation was to follow the faith of the Prince. Nay, half a century later, English people so little understood toleration, that they drove James II. from the throne for his endeavours to bring it about. So that we cannot condemn Laud if his conduct with regard to these foreigners was different to the maxims of the nineteenth century. His dislike of the foreigners was shared by the Puritan Bishop Williams, who had formerly dissuaded King James from allowing a number of Bohemians to settle here, and Laud's argument before the council (while he praised the piety of the State in allowing them a shelter when persecuted) was, that it never could be intended they were to exist for generations. The truth is they were nurseries of disaffection—seed plots of sedition and false doctrine; and it seemed inconsistent to restrain English Puritanism and encourage the foreign. Laud could not understand the right or reason of so doing.



The religious tenets of the foreign bodies were of the worst kind of Calvinism,—their political ones were closely allied to republicanism. Their own countries had not been able to endure them; the demands made by the French Protestants on the French King,—their claims to levy taxes and drill militia, went to constitute such an *imperium in imperio* as was inconsistent with any civil government. The bad character they brought with them clung to them in the country of their adoption,—they formed a rallying point for the Puritans, who encouraged them with all sorts of flatteries, by telling them the maintenance of the Gospel depended upon them, and that they were the destined instruments for ridding the Church of England of the tyranny of the Bishops. Politically too they were dangerous; and their religious assemblies exempted from the ecclesiastical law, might easily be made schools of treason. Laud himself says that he invaded no privileges, that he only interfered with them because they did not use their privileges and immunities with that gratitude to his Majesty, the State, and the Church of England, as they ought to have done. He said at his trial:—

“1. That their living as they did, and standing so strictly to their own discipline, wrought upon the party in England, which were addicted to them, and made them more averse than otherwise they would have been to the present government of the Church of England.

“2. That by this means they lived in England, as if they were a kind of God’s Israel in Egypt, to the great dishonour of the Church of England, to which at first they fled for shelter against persecution. And in that time of their danger, the Church of England was in their esteem not only a true but a glorious Church. But by this favour, which that church received, it grew up and encroached upon us, till it became a Church within a Church, and a kind of State within a State. And this I ever held dangerous, how small

beginning soever it had; and that upon two main reasons. The one because I find the wisdom of GOD against it. For He says plainly to His prime people, one law, (and especially for Divine worship), shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger that sojourns among you. (Exod. xii.) And the other, because I find the wisdom of this State against it. For this Parliament in their remonstrance, give the self-same reason against the Papists which must hold good against all sects that labour to make strong and enlarge themselves. The words are these: ‘another State, moulded within this State, independent in government, contrary in interest and affection, secretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent professors of our religion; and closely uniting and combining themselves against such as are sound, in this posture waiting for an opportunity, &c.’ And the words are as true of the one faction as of the other; and I ever pressed the argument against both; as I can prove by good witness, if need be. And I pray GOD this faction too little feared, and too much nourished among us, have not now found the opportunity waited for.”<sup>1</sup>

The truth was, that many of the members of these foreign communions were *bona fide* the King’s natural born subjects, and toleration being as we said, a principle repudiated by all parties in those days—the Puritans being as much opposed to it as any—they were bound to obey the King’s laws. It might reasonably be asked, moreover, what right the foreigners had to expect to be tolerated, when the native-born subjects of his Majesty who adhered to the Communion of Rome were not tolerated. And, if the foreigners replied they were the same religion as the King,—this retort was easy—Why did they not then conform?

In 1634, Laud made some inquiries respecting the French and Dutch congregations in the country, and was met on the part of the general Consistory, by a Declinator or claim of exemption from his jurisdiction,

<sup>1</sup> Laud’s Works, vol. iii. p. 422.

by the letters patent of King Edward VI. Laud had them now at his mercy; for Edward's letters were merely personal to Alasco and his friends,—and when Queen Elizabeth restored the Augustin Church to the Dutch, she had especially enjoined the celebration of the English service, though she permitted the use of a foreign language. Legal status therefore they had none. He might have crushed them if he had pleased, as nests of sedition and republicanism—and centres of unsound doctrine. But he did not do so. He contented himself with reclaiming the King's own subjects from the erroneous and imperfect teaching of these bodies. His injunctions were,—first, that all the natives should conform to the English Church, and attend their parish churches. Secondly, that the aliens should use the English Liturgy in their own language. They appealed to the King, and great interest was made in their behalf, but with no better success than to procure a modification of the second injunction; so that the aliens were left at liberty to retain their own discipline. The Book of Common Prayer was however to be translated. This first the King strongly insisted on. Subsequently another modification took place, none but aliens being allowed to be ministers; and the affair died a natural death. Considering the principles which prevailed at that time, and remembering Laud's great dislike of these foreign bodies, which he never took any pains to conceal,—we must say he dealt very leniently with them, much more so than his brother metropolitan of York, who made them all, natives or aliens, conform. They felt this, and returned him formal thanks for his treatment of them, in a letter he produced on his trial.

We have more than once spoken of Laud's anxiety to prevent the Church of England committing herself to the recognition of the foreign reformed bodies, and the incident we are about to relate, will serve to show how watchful he was, what a vigilant ever-active mind he possessed.

All of our readers have heard of King James's beautiful and ill-fated daughter Elizabeth, the wife of the Elector Palatine, afterwards placed by the Protestant party on the throne of Bohemia. The Royal Princess was the political idol of the Puritans; and the recovery of the Palatinate for the Elector (coward and poltroon as he was), was the secret of all the eagerness for war which characterized James' and Charles' parliaments. The Palatine was known as a staunch adherent of the Reformed or Calvinistic party, and had signalized his zeal by putting down the Lutheran ministers in his dominions, a feat which endeared him doubly to the English Puritans. His wife, whose influence over her husband seems only to have been exerted for ambitious purposes, embraced the same views, and as she stood next to Charles in the order of succession to the English throne, the chagrin of the Puritans (which they took no pains to conceal,) at the birth of Charles's children, may easily be conceived. And their attachment to the Lady Elizabeth and her offspring, seems to have taken so very disloyal a turn towards King Charles, that he removed his sister's and her children's names from the prayers for the Royal family. That this professed affection for the Princess was merely assumed, as a vent for expressing their dislike of their own Monarch, is clear from the systematic refusal of the Parliament to vote supplies for the war. Her husband was however an ally of England, and for political reasons the King had rendered his sister such aid as he could. Many of her letters to Laud, who was the King's chief political adviser, exist in the State Paper office. The following extract places the Prelate in pleasing relief to the ambitious woman, and shows that he did not forget his holy calling in the excitement of politics.

"Your Majesty," he adds, "denies that you said to my Lord Marshal that you would rather have your son, the prince, restored by force than by treaty; but you grant it all one to you by what way he be restored,

so he be restored fully and honourably. Under favour, good madam, not so. For it cannot be all one to Christendom, nor to yourself, to have him restored, be it never so honourably, by arms as by treaty. It may be there is soldier's counsel in this, madam; but I am a priest, and as such, I can never think it all one to recover by effusion of Christian blood, and without it, provided that without blood right may be had."<sup>1</sup>

But he did not allow political relationships to entrap him into ill-advised concessions. In 1635, at the request of Elizabeth, he persuaded the King to issue his letters patent, authorizing a collection for the poor exiled ministers of the Palatinate. They were drawn up as usual, and brought to Laud, who indignantly rebuked the officer whose province it was to prepare them, for having asserted that the religion of the Palatinate and of England was the same,—and that the Communion of Rome was an Antichristian yoke. Our readers will remember, this latter was the doctrine of Puritanism, a belief of which was the distinguishing characteristic, in their estimation, of the spiritual mind. But Laud was unwilling that such a statement, going beyond any thing the Church of England had ever said, should seem to have authority given it by the great seal; moreover the statement concerning agreement in doctrine with the foreigners, was not true. Laud would give his alms to distressed ministers of the reformed bodies, but it was quite another thing to acknowledge their Calvinism as sound doctrine, and to assert that the Church of England held the same views. Hence his anger, and the exhibition of temper he seems to have made, when he read these obnoxious paragraphs. He lost no time in going to the King, and the letters patent were altered.

In a similar way his courteous treatment of the Prince Charles Louis, Elizabeth's eldest son, who came over to England in 1655, and paid considerable

<sup>1</sup> German Correspondence, State Paper Office, quoted in Green's *Princesses*, vol. v. p. 552.

attention to the Archbishop, did not cause him to overlook the interests of the Church. His diary records :

“ Nov. 30th.—Saint Andrew’s day, Monday; Charles, Prince Elector Palatine, the King’s nephew, was with me at Lambeth, and at solemn evening prayer.

“ Dec. 14th, Monday; Charles, Prince Elector, came suddenly upon me, and dined with me at Lambeth.

“ Dec. 25th, Christmas day; Charles, Prince Elector, received the Communion with the King at Whitehall. He kneeled a little beside on his left hand. He sat before the Communion upon a stool by the wall before the traverse; and had another stool and a cushion before him to kneel at.”<sup>1</sup>

The Prince, by the advice of the council, published one or two political pamphlets to justify his proceedings, and these were allowed to circulate. But a book entitled a declaration “ Of the faith and ceremonies of the Palsgrave’s Churches,” which repeated the false statements of the letters patent, was called in.

The third point which we said Laud proposed to rectify, was the little regard the English ambassadors had shown the English Church. Heylin says that up to this time they had been careless about conformity, but were now made to set apart a room at their chapel, provide the proper vestments, and attend the English service. What Laud’s wishes were, we have already seen in the instructions issued to the Chaplains who attended Prince Charles in Spain, and we can easily conceive his anxiety to have the Church of England well represented in the capitals of Christendom. Clarendon too (while regretting it) bears his witness to the different tone assumed towards the foreign Protestants under the Laudian rule.<sup>2</sup>

He says, “ And that it might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the civil policy of the kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the

<sup>1</sup> Laud’s Works, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> Laud’s Works, Book vi. p. 328. (1642).

ambassadors and all foreign ministers of State, employed from England into any parts where the reformed religion was exercised, frequented their Churches, gave all possible countenance to their profession, and held correspondence with the most active and powerful persons of that relation, and particularly the ambassador lieger at Paris, from the time of the Reformation, had diligently and constantly frequented the Church at Charenton, and held a fair intercourse with those of that religion throughout the kingdom, by which they had still received advantage, that people being industrious and active to get into the secrets of the State, and so deriving all necessary intelligence to those whom they desired to gratify: the contrary whereof was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the ambassadors there, 'to forbear any extraordinary commerce with that tribe.' And the Lord Scudamore, who was the last ordinary ambassador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the inclination of his own nature, or by advice from others, not only declined going to Charenton, but furnished his own Chapel in his house with such ornaments (as candles upon the communion-table, and the like,) as gave great offence and umbrage to those of the Reformation, who had not seen the like: besides that he was careful to publish, upon all occasions, by himself, and those who had the nearest relation to him, 'that the Church of England looked not on the Hugonots as a part of their communion,' which was likewise too much and too industriously discoursed at home.

"They who committed the greatest errors this way, had, no doubt, the least thoughts of making any alterations in the Church of England, as hath been uncharitably conceived: but (having too just cause given them to dislike the passion and licence, that was taken by some persons in the Reformed Churches, under the notion of conscience and religion, to the dis-

turbance of the peace of kingdoms,) unskilfully believed, that the total declining the interest of that party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of reformation, would make this Church of England looked upon with more reverence; and that thereby the common adversary, the Papist, would abate somewhat of his arrogance and superciliousness; and so all parties, piously considering the charity which religion should beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness and uncharitableness of contention in matters of opinion, severed from the practical duties of Christians and subjects. And so, contracting their considerations in too narrow a compass, (these men) contented themselves with their pious intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumstances of policy. And they who differed with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reasons, rather confirmed than reformed them in their inclinations: neither of them discerning the true and substantial grounds of policy, upon which those conclusions had been founded, which they were now about to change: and so the Church of England, not giving the same countenance to those of the religion in foreign parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a cloud at home, but those of the religion abroad were glad of the occasion to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the Crown, without which they could have done little to hurt the Church.”<sup>1</sup>

Whilst thus actively engaged in elevating the Church over which he presided by action, he was no less busy in procuring the defence of his proceedings in writing. Many were the persons he set to work for him; among them Heylin, Pocklington, and Mede. He seems to have felt acutely the need of some work on Episcopacy, which should handle the matter more vigorously and boldly than had hitherto

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, book vi. s. 185.



been the case. For as we said, the position hitherto assumed was by no means satisfactory. English writers seem always to have been afraid of offending the foreign Protestants, and hence the various expedients of the plea of necessity or supernatural call, to justify this want of the chief order of the Christian ministry, the existence of which in all Churches, from the days of the Apostles, is a clear fact of history.

Under Laud's patronage a bolder school had been fostered, and our readers cannot fail to see the advantage in definiteness and clearness his own, as well as the statements of Montague, possess over those of their predecessors. "This I will say and abide by it, that the calling of Bishops is *Jure Divino*, by Divine right; and this I will say, in direct opposition to the Church of Rome as to Puritan humour; and I say further, that from the Apostles' times in all ages, in all places, the Church of CHRIST was governed by Bishops."<sup>1</sup>

Again, "There was no Church of CHRIST upon earth ever since the Apostles governed otherwise than by Bishops, thus successively (after decease) ordained.

"This course of government thus set by the Apostles in their life time, by the special direction of the HOLY SPIRIT, is not alterable by any human authority, but ought to be perpetuated in the Church to the end of the world."<sup>2</sup>

"There is no Priesthood save in the Church; there is no Church without a Priesthood. By Ordination I understand the laying on of the hands of a Bishop. For as to the pretence that the ordinary method is to be retained, employed and adhered to, except in case of necessity, it is absurd. Such a predicament never has existed, and never can happen, unless God, Who has promised that the gates of hell shall not prevail against His Church, can deceive us."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Speech in Star Chamber, p. 347.

<sup>2</sup> Laud, quoted by Prynne, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Montague, quoted in Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 461.

It was time indeed that the Church should take higher ground, for the reasons which had operated in preventing her taking a better position had ceased to exist. There was no longer any hope that the continental bodies would seek for the supply of their deficiencies at the hands of the English Church, or that they would accept the symbols of the faith stamped with the authority of undivided Christendom. They had by degrees become more and more accustomed to their own condition, and even claimed a supernatural call as warranting the irregularities, of which they could not but be conscious they were guilty. And in England the Puritans had begun loudly to declare Episcopacy was unlawful, and to clamour for its destruction.

Laud in this matter proceeded with singular discretion and wisdom. Probably guided by recollections of Andrewes' advice (whom he looked upon as his master) in the matter of the five Calvinistic points, he made no attempt (although he seems at one time to have entertained the idea of holding a Synod of the three nations) to procure a decree from convocation on the subject of Orders. Perhaps it would have been difficult to have procured one entirely to his mind, and any appearance of dissension would have marred his plans grievously. He did not therefore force matters, but bided his time, and prepared men's minds through the medium of the press, trusting that when the time had arrived for a formal expression of the Church's mind, she would be guided to make one according to the analogy of the faith. With this view, in 1629, he published Andrewes' Letters concerning Bishops, "that they are *jure divino*."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Hall, the Bishop of Exeter, a man of real piety and considerable learning, and much respected by the Church at large, was selected by the Archbishop as the champion of Episcopacy. Hall had been one of Laud's early opponents, and had assailed him in a

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 199.

very bitter way ; but he had grown wiser as he had grown older, and the Archbishop was too high-minded to bear malice. The offer was made, and after a little proper coyness accepted. Hall in a letter dated Nov. 28th, 1639, thus apprized the Archbishop of the position he should take up :

“First,—That Episcopacy is a lawful, most ancient, holy, and divine institution, (as it is joyned with imparity, and superiority of jurisdiction), and therefore where it hath through GOD’S providence obtained, cannot by any humane power be abdicated without a manifest violation of GOD’S ordinance. And, secondly, That the *Presbyterian* government, however vindicated under the glorious names of CHRIST’S kingdom and ordinance, hath no true footing either in Scripture or the practice of the Church in all ages from CHRIST’S time till the present ; and that howsoever it may be of use in some cities or territories, wherein Episcopal government through iniquity of times cannot be had ; yet to obtrude it upon a Church otherwise settled under an acknowledged *Monarchy*, is utterly incongruous and unjustifiable.”<sup>1</sup>

Laud at once saw that this would never do. Here was the old fault of indecision,—the old fallacy of man’s supposed necessity justifying a departure from an ordinance of CHRIST. The draft was returned with the following remarks :

“The rest of your letter is fitter to be answered by my own hand, and so you have it. And since you are pleased so worthily and brother-like to acquaint me with the whole plot of your intended work, and to yield it up to my censure and better advice, (so you are pleased to write), I do not only thank you heartily for it, but shall in the same brotherly way, and with equal freedom, put some few animadversions, such as occur on the sudden, to your further consideration, aiming at nothing but what you do, the perfection of the work in which so much is concerned. And, first,

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, p. 374.

for Mr. George Graham, (whom Hall had signified to have renounced his Episcopal function), I leave you free to work upon his business and his ignorance as you please, assuring myself that you will not depart from the gravity of yourself, or the cause therein. Next you say in the first head, that Episcopacy is an antient, holy, and divine institution. It must needs be antient and holy, if divine. Would it not be more full if it went thus?—So antient that it is of Divine Institution. Next you define Episcopacy by being joyned with imparity and superiority of jurisdiction; but this seems short; for every Archpresbyter's or Archdeacon's place is so, yea, and so was Mr. Henderson in his chair at Glasco; unless you will define it by a distinction of order. I draw the superiority not from the jurisdiction which is attributed to Bishops *jure positivo*, in their audience of Ecclesiastical matters: but from that which is intrinsical and original in the power of Excommunication. Again, you say in the first point,—That where Episcopacy hath obtained, it cannot be abdicated without violation of GOD's ordinance. This proposition I conceive is *inter minus habentes*; for never was there any Church yet where it hath not obtained. The Christian faith was never yet planted any where, but the very first feature of a Church was by or with Episcopacy; and wheresoever now Episcopacy is not suffered to be, it is by such an abdication, for certainly there it was a *principio*. In your second head you grant that the Presbyterian government may be of use where Episcopacy may not be had. First I pray you, consider whether this conversion be not needless here, and in itself of dangerous consequence. Next I conceive there is no place where Episcopacy may not be had, if there be a Church more than in title only. Thirdly, since they challenge their Presbyterian fiction to be CHRIST's kingdom and ordinance, (as yourself expresseth) and cast out Episcopacy as opposite to it, we must not use any mincing terms, but unmask them plainly; nor

shall I ever give way to hamper ourselves for fear of speaking plain truth, though it be against Amsterdam or Geneva: and this must be sadly thought on."

The book was published, and of course nothing but Popery was seen in it. The leaven worked however, and penetrated the minds of thoughtful men. The seed was sown, and after many storms had passed over it, so that many said it was dead—it sprung up. Hall was despoiled of his goods and suffered imprisonment for righteousness' sake. Laud perished on the scaffold; the whole Episcopal order was so far as man's power could reach, rooted out from the land. But when the nation after years of spiritual anarchy, gladly welcomed back the Church it had exiled, the first care of her spiritual rulers was to strengthen her position as regards the grace of orders. That which Laud could not have obtained, was accomplished by one upon whom his mantle had descended. A formal decree<sup>1</sup> declared the absolute necessity of Episcopal ordination as a qualification for ministering at the English altars. Laud's triumph is complete. Communion with the foreign Reformed has been rendered impossible.

<sup>1</sup> The declaration in the Ordinal that no one shall be counted lawful Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, unless he has been ordained according to the form of this book, or hath had formerly *Episcopal* consecration or ordination, was the production of the convocation of 1662. This is the law to the present day; and heavy penalties attach to any infringement of it. Some of our readers will remember how the attempt to fraternize with the foreign pastors, 1851, on the part of a few English clergymen, was rendered abortive by this important clause. It is the key of our position.

## CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1566—1635.

## THE ANGLO-IRISH CHURCH—LAUD AND STRAFFORD.

“They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their deaths they were not divided.”—2 Sam. i. 23.

WE have endeavoured to give our readers some idea of the method Laud adopted to restore to the Church of England soundness of doctrine and the beauty of a well-ordered ritual. In carrying out this work he scrupled not to exercise his metropolitan powers beyond their assigned limits, and to astonish his suffragans by a display of vigour they little thought of. The times were such as baffled ordinary machinery of Church government, and emergencies had arisen which called loudly for the interposition of the central authority. Hence the prerogatives of the metropolitan throne of Canterbury were of necessity developed into something approaching those of a patriarchate—and not merely the suffragans proper of the see, nor the English Bishops of the sister province, but the Prelates of Scotland and metropolitans of Ireland were forced to bow before them. Laud's was a centralizing mind. He saw the need of a point of attraction, and he did what he could to supply the want of a spiritual head which the Reformation had created, but hitherto had been unable to supply.

Our readers have some idea of the confusion which Puritanism had caused in England: in Scotland things were worse. Violent as many of the English Reformers had been, they were meek and gentle compared with John Knox and his adherents. Sound doctrine was there unknown. The Episcopate restored by King James, had never won the people's affections, and was paralyzed in all its efforts for the restoration of a better

state of things. In Ireland the Anglo-Irish Church differed from both her English and Scotch sisters. She had formerly lapsed into heresy, and by a synodical act of 1615, had established Calvinism as her creed. It is clear what a wide scope there was here for the enemy—three countries—three religions. In England a Catholic Liturgy,—in Scotland, no Liturgy at all,—in Ireland the Lambeth articles. It was enough to make an irreligious man smile, a religious one sad. Laud did what he could to remedy it, and out of the unpromising materials he formed one Church. We will endeavour in this and the following chapter, to give some idea of his influence upon the Scotch and Irish churches. And first of Ireland.

There is no need to pursue the details of the Irish Reformation; suffice it that Ireland was regarded as a conquered kingdom, and treated accordingly,—receiving its orders from the English government, which were obeyed by Prelates and Parliaments of the conquering race—so that there were soon formed two Communion in Ireland,—the one adhering to the creeds of the undivided Church, and retaining the succession of S. Patrick though separated from Rome, composed of the English and English party, and which which we may call the Anglo-Irish Church,—the other made up of the native Celtic population, which continued in the Roman obedience, and received a new line of Bishops from the Pope in the person of Richard Creagh. The records of the times are but scanty, but there is sufficient evidence that the troubles which attended the Reformation in England, were not wanting in Ireland. Plunder, profaneness, and rapacity, soon rose into the ascendant, and the Church's heritage became the prey of penniless adventurers and flattering courtiers. The Crown, too, contented with having gained the acknowledgment of its supremacy from the representatives of the Irish Church and nation, troubled itself very little about the spiritual welfare of the native Celtic population. No pains were taken to

translate the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular, or provide them (notwithstanding the outcry raised against the Latin Service), with a form of prayer "understanded of the people." Indeed, Queen Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity enjoined the celebration of Divine offices in Latin, in all such places where the minister had not use or knowledge of the English tongue. The turbulent spirit too of the native Princes kept the country in a constant state of agitation, so that there was little hope of religious progress. The report of the privy council to the Lord Deputy Sydney, 1565, which we quote, discloses a state of things bordering upon anarchy. The Church suffered as a matter of course, and though in 1566, certain articles were agreed upon (corresponding to our own XXXIX), and promulgated by the Archbishops, Bishops, and Lord Deputy, little good resulted.

7 "The pale was overrun with thieves and robbers. . . . The soldiers so beggarly that they could not live without oppressing the subject. Leinster was harassed by the Tooles, Birns, &c. . . . But especially the county of Kilkenny was almost desolate. Munster by the dissensions between the Earls of Desmond and Ormond was almost ruined, &c. Connaught was almost wasted by the feuds between the Earl of Clancricarde and McWilliam Ouchter, &c. . . . And Ulster . . . was in open rebellion under Shane O'Neal. As for religion, there was but small appearance of it: the churches uncovered, and the clergy scattered, and scarce the being of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people."<sup>1</sup>

A few other attempts were made in Elizabeth's reign to spread the religion of the conquerors. A free school under an English master, was established in every diocese of Ireland, 1570, but a bill to repair the parish churches was not passed into a law. In 1571, N. Walsh, the Chancellor, and J. Kearney, the Treasurer of S. Patrick's, Dublin, were successful in pro-

<sup>1</sup> King's Primer of Irish Church History, vol. ii. p. 768.



curing an order from the government that the Book of Common Prayer should be printed in Irish, and Service performed in the vernacular in one church of the county-towns. The Queen entered heartily into the design, and furnished the types at her own cost. The New Testament commenced by these, assisted by Donellan Archbishop of Tuam, was not finished till 1603, and the Book of Common Prayer was delayed till 1608, while the Old Testament Scriptures were not in the hands of the people till 1685, though Bishop Bedell (a Prelate in Laud's confidence) had finished them in 1641. In 1592, Trinity College, Dublin, was founded by the Queen. It so happens that there have been preserved two cotemporary accounts of the Anglo-Irish Church in this reign, from which we shall make a few extracts, that our readers may see what a chaotic mass it fell to Laud's lot to reduce to order.

The first is a letter of the Lord Deputy Sir Henry Sidney, to the Queen, dated autumn of 1575, and is the production of one who did not trust for information to others, but had spent six months examining in person into the state of the country.

“In his letter, by way of example, he describes particularly the circumstances of the diocese of Meath; having received an account of the state of each church in that Bishopric, ‘the best inhabited county of all this realm,’ from ‘the honest, zealous, and learned Bishop of the same, Mr. Hugh Brady, a goodly minister of the Gospel, and a good servant of the Queen's highness, who went from church to church himself’ to examine the condition of his charge. He found that there were in his diocese 224 parish churches, 105 of which were inappropriate, and their possessions leased out to farmers; ‘no parson or vicar resident upon any of them, and a very simple or sorry curate for the most part appointed to serve them; among which number of curates only eighteen were found able to speak English; the rest, Irish Priests, or rather Irish rogues, having very little Latin, less learning or

civility,' and having nothing to live upon but the 'bare altarages,' i. e., emoluments connected with the services of the altar, &c., and 'no one house standing for any of them to dwell in; in many places the very walls of the churches down; very few chancels covered, windows and doors ruined or spoiled.' "

Sir Henry then adds, that there were fifty-two other parish churches in the same diocese, having vicars endowed upon them, and better served and maintained than the former, though still but badly; and fifty-two others again (belonging to various particular Lords) whose circumstances were better than those of the rest, but yet far from satisfactory. Such being the state of things in the most flourishing part of the country, some conjecture may be formed as to what must have been the case elsewhere. In fact, adds this writer, 'your Majesty may believe it, that upon the face of the earth, where CHRIST is professed, there is not a Church in so miserable a case; the misery of which consisteth in these three particulars: the ruin of the very temples themselves,—the want of good ministers to serve in them when they shall be re-edified,—competent living for the ministers being well chosen.' <sup>1</sup>

Things were not much better in 1593, when we have an account of the state of Ireland, furnished us by the poet Spenser. Speaking of the clergy, he says: "Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England, ye may find these, and many more: namely, gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergymen. And besides all these, they have their particular enormities; for all Irish Priests which now enjoy the church livings, they are in a manner mere laymen, saving that they have taken holy orders; but otherwise they do go, and live like laymen; follow all kinds of husbandry and other worldly affairs, as other Irishmen do. They neither read the Scriptures, nor preach to the people, nor administer the

<sup>1</sup> Mant's Irish Church, vol. ii. p. 783.

communion ; but baptism they do, for they christen yet after the Popish fashion, only they take the tithes and offerings, and gather what fruit else they may, of their livings, the which they convert as badly ; and some of them (they say) pay as due tributes and shares of their livings to their Bishops (I speak of those that are Irish) as they receive them duly."

Nor were the Bishops any better ; for when Eudoxus asks—" But is that suffered amongst them ? It is wonder but that the governors do redress such shameful abuses ;" Irenæus replies—" How can they, since they know them not ? for the Irish Bishops have their clergy in such awe and subjection under them, that they dare not complain of them ; so as they may do to them what they please ; for they knowing their own unworthiness and incapacity, and that they are therefore still removable at their Bishop's will, yield what pleaseth him, and he taketh what he listeth : yea and some of them whose dioceses are in remote parts, somewhat out of the world's eye, do not at all bestow the benefices which are in their own donation upon any, but keep them in their own hands, and set their own servants and horseboys to take up the tithes and fruits of them, with the which some of them purchase great lands and build fair castles upon the same. Of which abuse, if any question be moved, they have a very seemly colour and excuse, that they have no worthy minister to bestow them upon, but keep them so bestowed for any such sufficient person as any shall bring unto them."<sup>1</sup>

Things were not much better in King James's time. In the year 1607, the then Lord Deputy Sir Arthur Chichester, made a visitatorial tour of Ulster. His report runs in the same strain of churches in ruins, clergy in rags, vicarages plundered of everything. In the same year the formidable conspiracy of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell having been crushed, and the property of the chief rebels confiscated, King

<sup>1</sup> Spenser's View of the state of Ireland.

James gave it to different settlers, and among others he presented great tracts of land to the city of London, while he did not forget the interests of religion and the Church. He found that the greedy rapacity of the nobles had not spared even the sites of cathedrals or residences of Bishops, under colour of the patents of the forfeited monastic lands. This he strove to rectify, ordering restitution, and also set apart glebes in each parish for the parochial clergy and increased the endowment of Trinity College, Dublin.

He was not however fortunate in his colonists. They were for the most part Scots, filled with rabid hostility to Catholic truth, and deeply enamoured of Calvinistic teaching,—bold, headstrong, irreverent and restless. These men very soon made known their inveterate dislike of the English rites, and speedily formed congregations of their own under the direction of their ministers, and the patronage of the Lord Deputy, himself a pupil of Cartwright, the noted Puritan and opponent of Hooker. In 1615, the harvest of the seed thus sown was reaped. Parliament met, and with it a Convocation. Ever since 1562 the Irish Clergy had signed the English articles, but now either wearying of this badge of subjection, and desirous of maintaining an independent action, or probably from a consciousness that the articles of the Church of England did not represent the real opinion of the Irish clergy as being a restraint upon the Calvinistic views which were prevalent, it was resolved to frame new ones. The task was committed to Usher, the most learned man among them, and thoroughly imbued with the popular prejudices in favour of Geneva.

The opportunity of committing a national Church to the peculiar tenets of Calvin, was too good to be lost. The attempt had been made in England and failed. The English Church had coquetted with Calvinism, but had finally rejected it. But now, if the Anglo-Irish Church boldly enunciated these views, who could tell whether there might not be sufficient

pressure brought to bear upon the ecclesiastical authorities in England to compel them to accept, for the sake of uniformity, the same opinions. Accordingly, Convocation nothing loath, embodied in its formularies the worst points of Calvinism, as stated in the Lambeth articles. The articles as agreed to were confirmed by the Lord Deputy Chichester on behalf of the King, and were thus fully established. And so it came to pass that a whole Church through its neglect of antiquity and perverse following of human traditions, was committed to statements which were in direct opposition to the Word of God, and declared its belief in such unscriptural dogmas as the eternal reprobation by Almighty God of many of His creatures to eternal death,—and the limitation of the effects of CHRIST'S death to a select few. And when the author of all this mischief, James Usher, was promoted by King James a few days before his death, to the Primacy of Ireland, the restoration of the Anglo-Irish Church to sound doctrine, seemed hopeless. However, when the night is darkest day is nearest. The liberator was at hand.

He appeared in the person of one who in degenerate times seemed an embodiment of the ancient chivalry, so brave, so noble, so true-hearted, so sensitively alive to the call of honour, so intolerant of oppression and of wrong, and withal so dutifully loyal to his Sovereign, was Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, GOD'S chosen instrument for bringing the Anglo-Irish communion to a better mind. Of ancient family (for the Wentworths dated from the Conquest) and bearing on his escutcheon the royal lions by virtue of his descent from Margaret, grandmother of Henry VII.; his natural abilities strengthened by a studious career at Cambridge, his mind enlarged by foreign travel, of noble mien and dignified features, with a large revenue and unencumbered estates, he seemed born to command. It was long however before he took his position, but when he did it was heart and soul to throw himself on

the King's side, and to do battle to the death for his rights. He had been some time acquainted with Laud, and they seem to have understood each other from the first. Their intimacy ripened into friendship, and the Statesman and Prelate entered into a firm alliance. Their career was short but brilliant,—and their end glorious. “They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided.”

Laud had for some time meditated the restoration of the Anglo-Irish Church. The remonstrances of the Commons respecting the vigour displayed by the Roman Communion in that country, 1628, pressed the matter more closely upon his mind. He lacked however instruments for his purposes. Abbott of course was secretly delighted at the testimony thus born to Calvinism by the Irish branch of the Anglican communion. Usher was committed to the same side. Laud wanted some one whom he could trust, to let him know exactly how things were going on,—the real conditions of the clergy and the people,—that he might ascertain the best point for commencing his meditated assault. He first procured the appointment of Bishop Bedell to the see of Kilmore and Ardagh, and gave him instructions to report to him the state of the Church. Our readers will not be surprised to hear that the see had been most scandalously stripped by Bedell's predecessors of all that was valuable. We subjoin an extract from Bedell's letter :

“Right Reverend Father, my honourable good Lord,  
“. . . . I have not been unmindful of your Lordship's commands, to advertise you of the state of the Church, which I shall now do better because I have been about my dioceses, and can set down out of my own knowledge and view, what I shall relate: and shortly to speak much ill matter in a few words, it is miserable. The cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by S. Patrick together with the Bishop's house there, down to the ground. The church here, built, but without

bell or steeple, font or chalice. The parish churches all in a manner ruined, and unroofed, and unrepaired." Then he proceeds to contrast the number of Roman Catholic churches, Priests, &c., and their activity.<sup>1</sup>

But in 1633 the time was come for bolder measures. Laud was Archbishop of Canterbury, and his friend Wentworth Lord Deputy. He arrived in Ireland in July in that year, attended by Bramhall as his Chaplain; to whose learning, judgment, and discretion he was much indebted for the success which attended his measures. The election of Laud to the Chancellorship of the University of Dublin also gave him a position of advantage, and furnished him with a reason for visiting Ireland, had he so wished.

He did not do so; but, satisfied of Wentworth's good faith and Bramhall's prudence, left the matter in their hands. He forwarded, however, a letter to the Lord Deputy, containing instructions for his conduct, and stating the King's willingness to restore the impropriations which were in the gift of the crown. Strafford (for we will call him by the name by which he is best known, though it is rather anticipating) needed no urging. His great soul was moved within him when he saw the profaneness and irreverence of the people, the rapacity and greediness of the nobles and dignified clergy. Bramhall's letter to Laud (August, 1633) will give some idea of the state of things:

"Right Reverend Father,

"My most honoured lord: presuming partly upon your licence, but especially directed by my Lord Deputy's commands, I am to give your fatherhood a brief account of the present state of the poor Church of Ireland, such as our short intelligence here, and your lordship's weightier employments there, will permit.

"First, for the fabrics: it is hard to say, whether the churches be more ruinous and sordid, or the

<sup>1</sup> Mant's Irish Church, vol. i. p. 435.

people irreverent, even in Dublin, the metropolis of this kingdom, and seat of justice. To begin the inquisition where the reformation will begin, we find one parochial church converted to the Lord Deputy's stable, a second to a nobleman's dwelling-house, the choir of a third to a tennis-court, and the vicar acts the keeper.

“For Christ's Church, the principal church in Ireland, whither the Lord Deputy and council repair every Sunday, the vaults from one end of the minster to the other are made into tippling-rooms, for beer, wine, and tobacco, demised all to Popish recusants, and by them and others so much frequented in time of Divine Service, that though there is no danger of blowing up the assembly above their heads, yet there is of poisoning them with the fumes. The table, used for the administration of the blessed Sacrament in the midst of the choir, made an ordinary seat for maids and apprentices.

“I cannot omit the glorious tomb in the other cathedral church of S. Patrick, in the proper place of the altar, just opposite to his Majesty's seat, having his father's [Lord Cork] name superscribed upon it, as if it were on purpose to gain the worship and reverence which the chapter and the whole Church are bound by special statute to give towards the east. And either the soil itself, or a licence to build and bury, and make a vault in the place of the altar, under seal, which is a tantamount passed to the earl and his heirs. *Credimus esse Deos?* This being the case in Dublin, your lordship will judge what we may expect in the country.”<sup>1</sup>

And if further evidence were wanting of the apparently hopeless condition of this Church, it may be found in the history of two ministers named Blair and Livingston, to gratify whose scruples respecting episcopacy, Bishops Echlin of Down, and Knox of Raphoe,

<sup>1</sup> Mant's Irish Church, vol. i. p. 448.



hesitated not to divest themselves as far as they could of their sacred character, and avowedly act as mere presbyters in conveying ordination. It was clear the time had come for the strong hand, if better things were ever to be expected.

Strafford lost no time. Down came the Deputy's pew in the vice-regal chapel; down came my Lord Cork's tomb, which occupied the place of the altar, not without sundry remonstrances from the great man, backed by Usher, who, thorough Puritan as he was, (his own chapel at Drogheda had no altar,) considered it rather an ornament than otherwise. Altars were restored, vestments enforced, conformity enjoined, commissions issued for rebuilding the parish churches, pluralities restrained, and a sounder school of theology fostered.

But there was more work to be done. The extreme poverty of the Church was the great hindrance to its efficiency. "Poor churches made ignorant priests." At Laud's suggestion, the King was graciously pleased to restore all the crown impropriations. The Lord Deputy followed the royal example, with several of the nobility; and Laud advanced £40,000, for the purpose of buying up the alienated tithes. Strafford, too, received orders to proceed vigorously against all spoilers of Church land. It was just the work that suited him, though he says, "I foresee this is so universal a disease, that I shall incur a number of men's displeasure, of the best rank among them. But were I not better lose them for GOD ALMIGHTY's sake, than lose Him for their's? So, you see, I shall quickly have as few friends as may be."

We have seen that Laud (thoughtful and considerate for the poorer Clergy) had no mercy upon the greed of his own order. The same spirit is visible in his correspondence with Strafford. He gives him especial injunctions to keep the "Bishops from their sacred alienations," "to turn the chief offenders out of their bishoprics;" and throws no obstacle in the way

of his friend "trouncing a Bishop or two in the council-chamber," "warming the Bishop of Killaloe's old sides," or compelling his grace of Cashel, their lordships of Down, Cork, Waterford, to "disgorge their ill-gotten pelf." There was no respect of persons; and the Church dignitaries, who were equally guilty with the lay lords, had the same measure of punishment meted out to them as my Lord Cork, my Lord Clanricarde, Sir D. O'Brien, and Sir Henry Lynch.<sup>1</sup>

But all this was but preparatory to the master-stroke of these great minds. The *fons et origo mali* was still existing; the Lambeth Articles were the faith of the Anglo-Irish Communion. No half measures would do here. Laud and Strafford had both made up their minds that the Articles of 1615 must be repealed, and those of England accepted: it was a bold game, but it was one of life or death.

There were many difficulties in the way; not least the primate Usher. Laud had never trusted him, and had previously sent Bedell instructions to watch well the books he licensed. But Usher was Primate, and the project could not be kept from him. There were some Bishops in the Upper House who could be depended on, as Bramhall now promoted to Derry, and Bedell of Kilmore, but the majority were Calvinists, and very sore at the late trouncings they had received. Strafford had promoted several Orthodox men in Ireland, whom government influence would probably return to the Lower House; among them one Croxton, who did good service in the debate. But in the Lower House too, Puritanism was very strong.

The plan of action had been decided on in the last year, for we find Laud, in a letter to Strafford, October 20th, 1634, thus speaking:

"I knew how you would find my Lord Primate affected to the Articles of Ireland; but I am glad the trouble that hath been in it will end there, without advertising of it over to us. And whereas you propose

<sup>1</sup> Vide the Strafford Letters.

to have the Articles of England received *in ipsissimis verbis*, and leave the other as no way concerned, neither affirmed nor denied, you are certainly in the right; and so says the King, to whom I imparted it, as well as I. Go, hold close, and you will do a great service in it." <sup>1</sup>

7 There was not however so much difficulty with Usher as was supposed. He professed conviction as to the desirableness of undoing his own work, and engaged to follow the bidding of the see of Canterbury. Convocation accordingly met in conjunction with the Parliament, July 14th, 1635; and while Strafford was confronting the first assembly and carrying all before him, Usher brought forward the proposition for union with England in the Convocations. *He* did not however carry all before *him*. The Irish spirit was up. The Articles of 1615 they would have; and the restoration of the Anglo-Irish Church seemed further removed than ever. Strafford had trusted too much to Usher, whose heart was evidently not in the matter, and the whole plan was nearly shipwrecked. Strafford shall tell his own tale:

"In a former letter of mine," he says, "I mentioned a way propounded by my Lord Primate how to bring upon this clergy the Articles of England, and silence those of Ireland without noise, as it were *aliud agens*, which he knew would pass among them.

"In my last I related to you how his Grace grew fearful he should not be able to effect it; which awakened me, that had rested hitherto secure upon that judgment of his, and had indeed leaned upon that belief so long as, had I not bestirred myself, though I say it like a man, I had been fatally surprised, to my extreme grief, for as many days as I have to live.

"The Popish party growing extreme perverse in the Commons House, and the Parliament thereby in great danger to have been lost in a storm, had so taken up all my thoughts and endeavours, that, for five or six days, it was not almost possible for me to take an ac-

<sup>1</sup> Mant's Irish Church, vol. i. p. 485.

compt how business went among them of the clergy. Besides I reposed secure upon the Primate, who all this while said not a word to me of the matter. At length I got a little time, and that most happily too; informing myself of the state of those affairs, and found that the lower house of Convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the Canons of the Church of England; that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with their Bishops: that they had gone through the Book of Canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A; and on others they had entered a D, which stood for *deliberandum*; that into the fifth article they had brought the Articles of Ireland, to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication; and that they had drawn up their Canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the Convocation.”<sup>1</sup>

A less bold man than Strafford would have quailed, or at best temporized,—the Lord Deputy, however, was determined. He had made up his mind to save the Anglo-Irish Church in spite of herself; and he would not allow even her Convocation to stand in his way. Accordingly the Primate and some Bishops, together with the Prolocutor and several members of the Committee of the Lower House were summoned to the castle, and enjoined on their allegiance to propose nothing to Convocation save simply aye or no, to the propositions for receiving the English Articles. The Primate was further instructed to draw up a Canon for that purpose. He did so, but it was not satisfactory; Strafford indited one himself. Usher was alarmed. He said it could never pass. Strafford replied it should. And so it did. Strafford shall again relate in his own words the issue. We subjoin a copy of the Canon:

“Without any delay then, I writ a letter to Dean Leisley, (the Prolocutor,) with the Canon enclosed,

<sup>1</sup> Mant's Irish Church, vol. i. p. 486.

which accordingly was that afternoon unanimously voted; first with the Bishops, and then with the Clergy, excepting one man, you shall find his name amongst the committees, who singly did deliberate upon the receiving the Articles of England.”<sup>1</sup>

The Canon runs as follows :

“For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith, and the doctrine of the Sacraments, we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our LORD 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm that any of those Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a public recantation of his error.”<sup>2</sup>

The victory thus gained, it only remained to follow up the success. Bramhall accordingly moved that as they had received the English Articles, they should also receive the English Canons. Usher, however, strongly deprecated it, talking of the independence of national Churches in matters of discipline, and the feeling of Convocation ran with him, for reasons which it is easy to see. The reception of Canons was a more practical thing than the acknowledgment of Articles of Religion. The one was connected with opinion, the other with daily practice. And it was not to be expected that an Anglo-Irish Convocation, which had so reluctantly parted with the Lambeth Articles, would willingly receive the injunctions to the observance of a decent ritual with which the English Canons abounded. These considerations seem to have

<sup>1</sup> Strafford Letters.

<sup>2</sup> Mant's Irish Church History, vol. i. p. 491.

had their weight with Bramhall and Strafford, who content with the victory which they had gained, prudently refrained from driving the Puritanical assembly to extremities, particularly as the task of drawing up the new Canons for the guidance of the Anglo-Irish Church was entrusted to Bramhall. The result was the production of one hundred Canons, in which most of the English were incorporated, in some respects falling short of, in others speaking more distinctly than those of England. Thus no special postures are prescribed at prayers as in our XVIII., while the Irish XIX. and XLIII. and XLIX. might with advantage be transferred to the English Code; the first enjoining the Minister the afternoon before the administration of the Holy Communion to give warning by the tolling of a bell, or otherwise, to the intent, that if any have scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation, he may afford it to those who need it. And the people are exhorted that "when they find themselves on examination either extremely dull or much troubled in mind, they resort unto God's Ministers as well for advice and counsel, as for the quieting of their consciences by the power of the keys, which CHRIST hath committed to His Ministers for that purpose:" XLIII. directs that as often as Churches are newly built where formerly they were not, or churchyards appointed for burial, they shall be dedicated and consecrated, provided that the ancient Churches and churchyards shall not be put to any base and unworthy use; whilst XLIX. forbids marriage at Lent, or during any public fast, or the feasts of the Nativity, Resurrection, Ascension of our LORD, or the Descension of the HOLY GHOST.

The Canons thus passed by Convocation received the King's assent and became law. The Articles of 1615 died a natural death. Attempts were made for a short time to bolster them up by requiring double subscription—i.e., to them as well as the XXXIX. The

subterfuge, however, did not long satisfy their friends, and one last effort was made to intercede with Strafford, to procure for them the authority of an Act of Parliament. Strafford's reply was, that unless they minded what they were about, he would have the Articles of 1615 burnt by the hands of the common hangman. After this we hear nothing of them. Of course in the troubles all subscription was at an end; but when the Church was restored in 1662, the wisdom of Laud and Strafford's conduct was publicly recognized. Bramhall was promoted to the Primacy, and no attempt has ever been made since to enforce subscription to the Lambeth Articles. And though the Anglo-Irish Communion has never been able entirely to surmount the difficulties of her position, and to this day bears but a faint witness to Catholic truth and Apostolic order, she is, nevertheless, indebted to the great Primate for all that is sound and good within her. Had he left her to herself, she would have drifted hopelessly away. As it is Laud and Strafford, at any rate, saved her from utter destruction.

We shall meet the noble-hearted pair again, but under different circumstances,—prisoners,—expecting death, with mobs howling for their blood. Sad end to all the glowing hopes that appear in their correspondence. Still they had laid their foundations deep, and cemented by their blood the superstructure they reared has lasted to this day.

We will conclude this chapter with Laud's letter to Strafford, congratulating him on his good work of reformation.

“SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

“My very good Lord,

“I thank you heartily for your letters, and am as heartily glad that your Parliament and Convocation are so happily ended, especially for the Church; and that, both for the particular of your letting leases,

which is for maintenance, and for the quiet, and well ordering, and ending of your book of canons. I hope now the Church of Ireland will begin to flourish again, and that both with inward sufficiency and outward means to support it.

“And for your Canons, to speak truth, and with wonted liberty and prudence, though I cannot but think the English Canons, especially with some few amendments, would have done better; yet since you, and that Church have thought otherwise, I do very easily submit to it, and you shall have prayers that God would bless it. As for the particular about subscription, I think you have couched that well, since, as it seems, there was some necessity to carry that Article closely. And God forbid you should, upon any occasion, have rolled back upon your former controversy about the Articles. For, if you should have risen from this Convention in heat, God knows when or how that Church would have cooled again, had the cause of difference been never so slight. By which means the Romanist, which is too strong a party already, would both have strengthened, and made a scorn of you. And therefore ye are much bound to God that, in this nice and picked age, you have ended all things canonically, and yet in peace. And I hope you will be all careful to continue and maintain that which God hath thus mercifully bestowed upon you.

“Your Grace’s very loving friend and brother,

“W. CANT.

“*Lambeth, May 10th, 1635.*”



## CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1560—1637.

## THE SCOTCH CHURCH.

“ A self-formed priesthood and the Church cast forth  
To the chill mountain air.”

*Lyra Apostolica.*

MOST of our readers are acquainted with the unhappy troubles which attended the Reformation in Scotland. The name of John Knox has passed into a proverb, as synonymous with irreverence and profanity. If we could put aside from our remembrance the confusion his teaching has wrought in the Church by the introduction of “another Gospel which is not a Gospel,” his conduct to the unhappy Mary, who with all her faults and sins was his lawful sovereign, must ever convict him in the minds of all right-thinking persons, as one who, with all his pretensions to holiness, was nevertheless a stranger to that SPIRIT of GOD, Whose works are gentleness, meekness and charity. He stands out among the actors in the great religious drama of the sixteenth century, emphatically “a profane person.” It was therefore quite in accordance with the headstrong proceedings of this turbulent man, violently to substitute a discipline of his own for that which for 1500 years had prevailed in the whole Catholic Church. It was known by the name of the Superintendent System. The General Assembly, in the year 1560, established in place of the Apostolic bishops, priests, and deacons, the novel orders of superintendents, preachers, and readers. The former were mere presbyters, invested with the oversight of a certain portion of the country, so that there was no power to transmit the succession, and even had there been, the abolition by the book of

discipline of the imposition of hands, would have rendered their attempt at ordination invalid.

This miserable sham lasted till 1572, when it was succeeded by something even worse. The Convention met at Leith, on January 12 of that year, and agreed to the following resolutions :

“It is thought good in consideration of the present state,

“I. That the names and titles of the Archbishops and Bishops be not altered, nor the bounds of the dioceses confounded, but that they continue in time coming as they did before the Reformation of religion, at least till the King’s Majesty’s majority, or consent of Parliament.

“II. The Archbishoprics and Bishoprics vacant, shall be conferred on the men endowed, so far as may be, with the quality specified in the example of Paul to Timothy and Titus.

“IV. That the spiritual jurisdiction should be exercised by the Bishops in their dioceses.

“VIII. That Ministers should receive Ordination from the Bishop of the diocese, and where no Bishop was as yet placed, from the Superintendent of the bounds,” &c.<sup>1</sup>

The result of this was, that the sees were again filled with men bearing the title of Bishops, without any rightful claim to it. Douglas, who was chosen to the see of S. Andrew, was consecrated by a layman and two presbyters. The rest of the Episcopate received its so-called mission in the same ridiculous way. This was the era of what is called the Tulchan Bishops, a phrase which owes its origin to the Scotch custom of stuffing a calf’s-skin with straw and placing it before the mother to induce her to give milk, the word really meaning a model or close resemblance. The Scotch were too sharp-witted to be taken in by such an imposture. The “Tulchans” met with universal contempt, were treated with the greatest con-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander, Hist. Ch. in Scotland, p. 10.

tumely by ministers and laity, and brow-beaten by the General Assembly. It needed only a bold stroke from a bold man to shake the whole superstructure to the ground.

Such a man was Andrew Melville, who made his appearance in Scotland in 1574, fresh from Geneva and breathing Calvinism. There was a rough honesty about him which made him especially disgusted with this wretched so-called Episcopate, possessing no claim whatever to ecclesiastical jurisdiction or authority. Hence his settled determination to uproot it and introduce an entire conformity to Geneva.

\* In 1575 Melville and his friends were strong enough to procure from the General Assembly a declaration that the name of Bishop was an injury "to all them who had the charge of a particular flock: and that by the Word of GOD his chief function consisted in the preaching of the Word, the ministration of the Sacraments, and the execution of ecclesiastical discipline with consent of the elders.

"That from among the ministers some might be chosen to oversee and visit such reasonable bounds besides their own flock, as the Kirk might appoint.

"That the ministers so selected might on these bounds appoint preachers, with the consent of the ministers of that province and consent of the flock to which they were to be admitted.

"That they might suspend ministers from the exercise of their office upon reasonable causes, with the consent of the ministers of the bounds."<sup>1</sup>

Once set in motion, the tide of popular opinion ran violently against the "Tulchans." In 1581, a proposition for dividing Scotland into Presbyteries was successfully propounded to the General Assembly, and partially carried out, as a corollary from their declaration of the previous year, when it was ruled that the office of a Bishop, as then used within the realm, was "unlawful in itself, as having neither foun-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander, Hist. Ch. in Scotland, p. 10.

dition, ground, nor warrant within the Word of God ;” and it was ordained, “that all such persons as hold, or shall hold hereafter the said office, shall be charged *simpliciter* to demit, quit, and leave the same, as an office whereunto they are not called by God, and to desist and cease from all preaching, ministration of the Sacraments, or using any way the office of pastors, until they receive *de novo* admission from the General Assembly, under the pain of excommunication to be used against them if they be found disobedient, or contravene this act in any point.”<sup>1</sup>

In 1592, the Genevan system was recognised by the legislature, and was firmly established ; though there were not wanting signs on the King’s part of his intention to wait for a turn in the tide of public opinion, as, in 1597, he reserved to himself, by Act of Parliament, a power “of appointing any one to the office of a Bishop, Abbot, or other Prelate.”

The interval which elapsed between 1592 and King James’ accession to the English throne, 1603, was signalised by the usual extravagances and irreverences which universally attended the triumph of Puritanism. The Holy Communion was received sitting ; the pulpits resounded with Calvinism, and the rigour of Presbyterian discipline was soon felt to be an intolerable burden. It was most inquisitorial, prying, and offensive, stretching beyond its province into the details of domestic life, and trenching upon the prerogative of the civil magistrate. Hence James, who was jealous of his power, hated Presbyterianism most thoroughly, even when forced to tolerate it. He bided his time, however, and he found it when the death of Elizabeth placed the sceptre of S. Edward in his hands. His tendencies were soon displayed at the Hampton Court conference ; and when, in 1610, the legislature had put things into a train for the introduction of the episcopate, Spotswood, Lamb, and Hamilton were consecrated, *per saltum*, to the sees of Glasgow, Brechin,

<sup>1</sup> Alexander, Hist. Ch. in Scotland, p. 11.

and Galloway. They, on returning, invested Gladstone, the titular of S. Andrew's, with episcopal authority; and Scotland once again returned to the unity of the Catholic Church.

Not content with having restored to his native country the blessing of a true episcopal succession, King James proceeded cautiously and gradually in bringing the Church in other respects nearer Apostolical models. The assembly (1616) was persuaded to issue orders for the preparation of a Liturgy, Canons, and Catechism; and when, next year, James, (attended by Andrewes, and Laud, then chaplain to Bishop Neile,) visited Scotland, he took care to make known his wishes for unity between the two churches. The chapel at Holyrood was repaired, and the English service was sung by a full choir clothed in surplices. On Whitsunday, June 8, Andrewes preached before the King, and the Blessed Eucharist was celebrated according to the English rite, all devoutly kneeling. Trinity Sunday was not without its proper service when, at the King's command, all the bishops and noblemen in Edinburgh communicated. But with what suspicion all this was regarded by the fanatical Presbyterians, may be guessed from the odium excited against Laud, for having ventured to put on a surplice during the solemnization of a funeral of one of the King's Scotch guard!

A parliament met, and gave legal sanction to the King's wishes respecting the election of Bishops, Chapters, and the like. James took the opportunity of speaking his mind to the Bishops at a conference to which he summoned them at S. Andrew's, 1617. He told them he was excessively displeased at their delay in bringing about four things which he deemed very important, viz.: 1, the observance of Christmas, Passion-tide, Easter, Ascension-day, and Whitsunday; 2, the private administration of both Sacraments in cases of necessity; 3, the more reverent administration of the Holy Eucharist, including kneeling at its

reception; 4, Confirmation of children. And he warned them that, if they did not procure the recognition of these things from the assembly, he would establish them by his own prerogative.<sup>1</sup>

The assembly was summoned for November 25, and King James shortly returned home. But they were too deeply leavened with Puritanism to yield at once. They would only pass two of the articles in question, those relating to private administration of the Blessed Eucharist, and its more reverent celebration in public; and these they clogged with conditions (e.g. requiring six to communicate with the sick man), which materially affected any practical benefit from the concessions. The rest they referred to another assembly.

The King was very angry. He wrote to the Archbishops of S. Andrew's and Glasgow, requiring the celebration of the ensuing Christmas; and, knowing his men, forbade the payment of the stipends of any ministers who refused to comply. These instructions were to be conveyed to the suffragans, and the King added, "Since your Scottish Church has so far contemned my clemency, they shall now find what it is to draw the anger of a King upon them."

The King's firmness prevailed. In 1618, when the general assembly met at Perth, the five Articles were passed. It was a great step in the right direction; nevertheless, the habits of the people were inveterately irreverent. They were forced now to kneel at Communion, but they were still without altars. They placed tables in the churches, and knelt at them. Some years ago, however, they would not have done that; and, on the whole, Laud might be satisfied with the results of his first visit to Scotland.

Charles's known affection for the Church of England was a sufficient warrant he would be no less zealous than his father respecting the real interests of the Scotch Church. James had restored the Episcopate.

<sup>1</sup> Nicholl's Progresses, King James, vol. iii. p. 344; quoted in Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 136.

The Liturgy was reserved for Charles; for hitherto no form of public prayer had been used, and all that King James ventured upon was an injunction for the celebration of the English Service daily in his chapel Royal. The subject of a Liturgy had occupied indeed James's mind, and a commission for the purpose had issued, but the breach with Spain brought with it such an accession of political business that the Ecclesiastical was of necessity laid aside. In 1629, however, Maxwell, one of the Edinburgh preachers, sounded Laud, who was now powerful at court, on the subject of a Liturgy. Laud advised that they should take the English book as it stood. So said the King. The Scotch bishops however talked about the independence of national churches, and insisted on having a Prayer Book of their own. So matters stood till Charles's visit to Scotland, 1633, when he received the crown of that ancient kingdom. This journey, which was full of important consequences, deserves separate mention.

Charles's interest in the Scotch Church had been previously shown by his interference in the matter of teinds or tithes. At the Reformation all the Church lands, whether cathedral, Episcopal, or monastic, were forfeited to the Crown,—but during the troublous times of King James VI.'s minority had (together with the rights and tithes belonging to the old Ecclesiastical corporations), been by the successive regents alienated to the different nobility. The nobles were soon found (as they have always been) more oppressive than either Church or King. They lorded it with a high hand; kept the clergy on miserable stipends, and grievously oppressed the peasantry. King James had often longed to re-claim the tithes, but lacked courage. Charles made the attempt, but the proposal raised such a storm that he was forced to abandon it, and resort to a legal process. Several of the nobility were cast, others submitted; and some, true Scotsmen, made a bargain. But the result was the recovery of many Church lands to the Crown, which Charles con-

scientifically restored to their original purposes, (1629) and making at the same time a better arrangement for the payment of the parochial clergy. The "four submissions" and "decrees arbitral," form the basis of the present Scotch Establishment. But from this time, says a Presbyterian writer, "the nobles suspected the King, and began to play underhand the game against his government. With a view to coalesce with a powerful opposition party, they became avowed champions of Presbytery, and from pecuniary motives in their opposition to the Bishops, artfully laid the blame of every misfortune upon Episcopacy. By thus making religion a mere stalking horse to their own interests, they verified the general remark, that at the bottom of the purest boilings of patriotism, there often lies a thick sediment of gross selfishness."<sup>1</sup>

There were no signs however of the coming storm when Charles, attended among others by Laud, Bishop of London, set out, May 13th, 1633, for Scotland. He did not reach York till May 24th; into which city he made a solemn entrance; and June 8th, crossed the border. On the 15th he entered Edinburgh on horseback, and after attending Divine Service on Sunday, the 16th, at the Chapel Royal, was crowned therein, on Tuesday, June 18th.

The ceremony was as imposing as it could be rendered. However bare in some places the ritual might be, it received no sanction from the Coronation. We can trace Laud's hand in several details; and our readers will remember he had arranged the ceremonial at Westminster, in 1625. We can pretty well guess who took care that the altar should be properly decked with rich plate, and wax candles, and costly hangings, wherein was woven the image of the crucified Redeemer;—that the praises of GOD should be sweetly sung,—that the Bishops should appear in their vestments,—and that the strictest attention to ancient precedents should mark Charles's reception of his

<sup>1</sup> Life of Henderson, p. 135.



ancestral crown. It was the work which had special claims for the reverent mind of William Laud, and one recognizes his constitutional anxiety for the right observance of sacred offices, in the hint he gave to Archbishop Lindsay, (of Glasgow) to move from the King's side, because he was not vested in his Episcopal habit. The Scotch treasured this last in their memories, and were not over pleased when Laud ascended the pulpit of the Chapel Royal, on Sunday, June 30, "which scarce any Englishman," says Clarendon, "had done before." On the whole, however, things passed off very satisfactorily; the nation was pleased to have its King among them, and many, says the same historian, "are of opinion that if the King had proposed at that time the English Liturgy, it would have been received without opposition." Charles however did not think the time was come, and returned home, July 16th, having appointed a committee of Bishops to prepare a Book of Prayers with instructions to communicate with Laud on the subject.

Laud did not accompany the king to England, but stayed behind to visit Archbishop Spotswood, at S. Andrew's, and Bishop Bellenden, at Dumblane. When he did return, it was to receive the promotion the King had long destined for him; and the death of Abbott made him Archbishop of Canterbury.

The result of Charles's visit was soon apparent. In September, 1633, Edinburgh was raised to an Episcopal see, having been hitherto included in the Archdiocese of S. Andrew's. The King at the same time having recovered from the Duke of Lennox the lands belonging to the Priory of S. Andrew's, constituted the church of S. Giles, the cathedral, and appointed a Dean and twelve Prebendaries. The first Bishop was Dr. William Forbes, of Aberdeen, who is commended by Clarendon as an eminent scholar, and of good family. His appointment shows, a sounder theological school had been gradually growing up in Scotland, and doubtless, the intimation it conveyed was not lost

upon a sharp-witted people like the Scots. Charles was also vexed to find his father's injunctions respecting the performance of the English Service had been neglected in his Chapel Royal, and on the 8th of October, 1633, the following instructions, in which Laud's hand is clearly traceable, were sent to Bellenden, Bishop of Dumblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal.

“ CHARLES REX.

“ 1. Our express will and pleasure is, that the Dean of our chapel that now is, and his successors shall be assistant to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Archbishop of S. Andrew's, at the Coronation, so often as it shall happen.

“ 2. That the book of the form of our Coronation, lately used, be put into a little box and laid into a standard, and committed to the care of the Dean of the chapel successively.

“ 3. That there be Prayers twice a day, with the choirs, as well in our absence as otherwise; according to the English Liturgy; till some other course be taken for making one that may fit the customs and constitution of that Church.

“ 4. That the Dean of the chapel look carefully, that all that receive the blessed Sacrament there, receive it kneeling; and that there be a Communion held in that our chapel, the first Sunday of every month.

“ 5. That the Dean of our chapel that now is, and so successively, come duly thither to Prayers upon Sundays, and such holidays as the Church observes, in his whites, and preach so whensoever he preach there; and that he be not absent thence but upon necessary occasions of his Dioceses, or otherwise, according to the course of his preferment.

“ 6. That these orders shall be our warrant to the Dean of our chapel, that the Lords of our Privy Council, the Lords of the Session, the Advocate, Clerk, Writers to the Signet, and Members of our College of

Justice, be commanded to receive the Holy Communion once every year at the least, in that our Chapel Royal, and kneeling, for example's sake to the kingdom: and we likewise command the Dean aforesaid, to make report yearly to us how we are obeyed therein, and of whom; as also if any man shall refuse, in what manner he doth so, and why.

"7. That the copes which are consecrated for the use of our chapel, be delivered to the Dean to be kept upon inventory by him, and in a standard provided for that purpose, and to be used at the celebration of the Sacrament in our Chapel Royal. To these orders we shall hereafter add others, if we find others more necessary for the worship of God there."<sup>1</sup>

Bellenden, however, wanted keeping up to the mark, and Laud dealt with him in a way he understood. The Bishopric of Edinburgh fell by the death of Forbes, (1634), and Bellenden applied for it. "The King," replied Laud, "did not take it well that you had omitted the Prayers in the Chapel Royal;" and the Bishop of Brechin received the promotion. Bellenden apologized, said the singing men could not come through fear of arrest, their agent having absconded with the money which was their due. "If the Prayers could not have been sung," replied Laud, "your Chaplain might have read them." Bellenden took the hint; was more vigorous in enforcing conformity, resolutely wore his surplice, celebrated the Holy Communion with care, and finally received the Bishopric of Aberdeen, with a strict injunction to residence. Laud seems to have entertained very low opinions of his brother Prelates, and to have seldom given them credit for very high motives. Our readers will remember that he procured an order restraining the English Bishops from cutting down timber, on pain of forfeiting all hopes of translation. So here, Bellenden is made to do his work by a prospect of preferment, and with his usual sagacity Laud took

<sup>1</sup> Heylin's Life, part ii. book iv. p. 247.

care to remove him from the capital, where he wanted a man he could thoroughly trust.

Most important events were close at hand. The Liturgy was proceeding, and Charles deceived by the semblance of respect with which he was received by the Scotch nobles and gentry, fondly hoped that he was destined to unite England and Scotland in one Communion. It was a noble, Christian wish, and worth the trial. But influences were at work of which he little dreamed. He had mortally offended the nobles by compelling them to surrender some portions of the church lands; he had hurt their pride by advancing Archbishop Spotswood to the Chancellorship; and by substituting four Bishops for four nobles in the Treasury Commission. They were willing enough to patronize the Church, but they were enraged beyond all measure at having to play a secondary part. Besides the expenses of the Coronation had saddled them with debt, and taxes pressed heavily upon their impoverished estates. Hence they were ripe for mischief; and in secret correspondence with the disaffected Puritans in England, only waited the signal to attempt the overthrow of the Church. The publications of the Canons and Liturgy gave them the opportunity for which they longed. The Canons were set forth by Royal authority, 23rd May, 1635, and though exceedingly moderate and free from any excess of ritualism, were received with a howl of anger. It is quite ludicrous to read of these Puritan extravagancies. Thanks to the firmness of Laud, we are so accustomed to the very things which aroused the ire of these fanatics, that it is scarcely possible to throw oneself into that state of mind which denounced everything that was reverent and comely, as Popish and superstitious. Take these Canons for example, what Churchman objects to "fonts being placed in churches," or a "comely and decent table for celebrating the Holy Communion being provided and placed at the upper end of the chancel or church, to be covered at times c.

Divine Service with a carpet of decent stuff, and at the time of ministration, with a white linen cloth: or to its being furnished with vessels of some pure metal, to be reserved for its use only." Yet in the 17th century these things, to us *necessaries*,—as well as injunctions to kneel at the Confession, and at Holy Communion, and to stand at the Creed; the private Baptism of Children, the absolution of penitents, and the being restrained from fasting on Sundays,—were regarded as evident marks of Antichrist, and denounced as Romish superstitions, and idolatrous, by the loud-tongued Puritans. The mention too, of a Liturgy, aroused their worst fears. But it was not till 1637, that it appeared. It was unfortunately, as everybody knows, a failure, and was ushered in by a series of mistakes.

Laud had all along endeavoured to persuade the Scotch Bishops to adopt the English Liturgy, but they resolutely adhered to their original intention of drawing up one slightly different, as evidence of their independence. The book subscribed by the Archbishops of S. Andrew's and Glasgow, and the Bishops of Moray, Ross, Dunblane, and Brechin, was submitted, by the King's command, to Laud, Juxon of London, and Wren of Norwich. The occupations of Juxon (he was treasurer) prevented his taking any active part in the revision, but Wren's liturgical learning was great, as was his interest in the work. Various alterations were suggested; some for the sake of conformity to the English Book; others improving the Scotch arrangements. Among other points the Ordinal, which was faulty, was reformed, and the transmission of the HOLY GHOST plainly asserted, as in our own book.

The Scotch Prayer Book, which had been in hand since 1616, was now complete, and a Royal Proclamation of December 20th, 1636, ordered its use the next Easter.

Pains had been taken in several instances to meet

the prejudices of the Presbyterians; the word priest had been changed to presbyter; only two chapters of the Apocrypha were read; the new translation of King James used instead of the old. On the other hand, we must allow that in some points the Scotch Liturgy took higher ground than the English. It is true that the Eucharistic Oblation and Sacrifice are all clearly and plainly stated in the English Book, but in the Scotch they are more prominently put forward. And in this respect the Scotch is nearer the primitive models.

By some unhappy mischance Easter, which was the time originally fixed for its introduction, was changed. Laud had reposed great confidence in the Earl of Traquair, who indeed owed his rise to him, (he was a simple Scotch gentleman, and became treasurer of Scotland) and professed great devotion to the cause of the Church. So far was he in the Archbishop's confidence, that the Scotch Archbishops were particularly requested to consult him in all they did. He advised the delay mentioned above, and, as events showed, did so to allow the opposite party to mature their plans. Laud, generally sharp-sighted, was deceived in his man, and a sad mistake it was. Traquair played him false, and gave information of all his intentions to the adversary. The Lords of the Council too were jealous they had not been consulted by the bishops; some of the bishops said they were taken by surprise, and so the use of the Liturgy was put off till July 23rd. Laud had seen some of the dangers which were in its way, and had warned against them, but to no purpose. Meanwhile the Puritans were not idle. The nobles remembered their lost lands, and egged on the people, telling them that the Book was little better than the Mass, and the prelude of a plot to introduce "Popish tyranny and arbitrary power." The citizens became dreadfully excited, meetings were held, pamphlets published, and everything betokened a storm.

The 23rd July (1637) dawned; Traquair, on pre-

tence of being present at the marriage of a kinsman, had left Edinburgh for the Earl of Morton's the day before. The Presbyterians, according to the preconcerted scheme, thronged the principal churches. Their plans had been all arranged beforehand by the preacher Henderson, Lord Balmerino, and Sir T. Hope;<sup>1</sup> even the old women, who played such a conspicuous part, were ready drilled, and were encouraged to commence the uproar by the assurance that the men would take it up; and for this purpose some men were actually dressed in women's attire, and placed at their post. Archbishop Spotswood as Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Glasgow, several Bishops, Lords of the Council, and Magistrates of the city, wended their way on that "stony Sabbath," as the Scots called it, to S. Giles' Church. They were surrounded by all the insignia and paraphernalia of their office, that nothing might be wanting to shed a lustre of importance round the inauguration of a work the King was known to have so much at heart. At nine A.M. the Dean began the service. And thus, fearing neither God nor King, unawed by the sanctity of the place or sacredness of the occasion, the true fanatical, ignorant, irreverent Puritan spirit burst forth. Instead of falling on their knees and confessing their sins, they hooted, they shouted, they hissed, they stamped, they swore, they blasphemed, they gave vent to all sorts of filthy indecencies, and called it religion. The Dean went on, and then they raged still more furiously. Amid oaths, and curses, and ribald jests they flung bibles, stones, sticks, stools at his head; they advanced to the prayer-desk, and seized hold of him, but he escaped, leaving his surplice in their hands. In vain Bishop Lindsay ascended the pulpit, and strove to recall the fanatic horde to a sense of decency and respect for the consecrated dwelling of the ALMIGHTY. They only howled the more, and made him the aim of their missiles. The Chancellor

<sup>1</sup> Disraeli, vol. ii. p. 16.

rose, but his voice was drowned immediately in a chorus of imprecations. As the chief civil authority, he straightway ordered the magistrates to clear the church. With great difficulty his orders were obeyed, the doors locked, and the service concluded; but the populace, not to be balked of their unholy sport, battered the windows with stones, and raised the Puritan war-cry till they were hoarse—"a Pape—a Pape—pull him down." When the bishops left the church they found the streets crowded by a mob of ruffians clamouring for vengeance. They had already profaned the LORD'S Day and desecrated a Church—the latter a special treat for Puritans; but if they could have killed a Bishop, their joy would have known no bounds. The life of the Bishop of Edinburgh was only saved by the servants of Lord Wemyss carrying the prelate by force into their master's house. Evening prayer was said with closed doors, but the godless crew again sought their bishop's life on his return. Not even the presence of the popular Lord Roxburgh, in whose carriage he was, protected him. They assaulted the coach, and the swords of the soldiers alone saved him. And so ended Sunday, July 17th, the greatest exhibition of profanity and wickedness perpetrated under the name of religion by any so-called religious party. The Puritans professed (let us never forget it) to be the only spiritually-minded people of their day. We have here a specimen of their right to what they claimed. They professed great veneration for the Sunday, yet they scrupled not to disgrace it by riots unparalleled in the annals of the Church, with exception of those raised by the Arians in primitive times, against the professors of the Catholic faith.

Into the sequel of these disgraceful tumults we will not enter, for they can be found in any political history of the times. The indecision of the King ruined all, and the Scotch rebellion was but the prelude of the English. Laud saw that unless vigorous measures



were adopted, all was lost. He wrote to Spotswood, to Traquair, to the Council, to Strafford. His words found a responsive echo in the great layman's heart.

"It was ever clear in my judgment, that the business of Scotland, so well laid, so pleasing to GOD and man, had it been effected, was miserably lost in the execution, yet could never have so fatally miscarried, if there had not been a failure likewise in the direction, occasioned either by over-great desires to do all quietly without noise, by the state of the business misrepresented, by opportunities and seasons slipped, or by some such like. Besides it sometimes falls forth, that out of an easiness and sweetness of nature some men insensibly suffer oppositions, which at first were easily brought to obedience, to grow and go on so far as thereby to difficult their own affairs and discourage their own party most extremely, which I have often observed in a hundred men.

"Nevertheless, in my opinion, that error would not be seconded with a far greater, which would be indeed more grievous, more terrible; for should these rude spirits carry it thus from the King's honour to their own churlish wills, it would have been a most fearful operation, I fear, as well upon England as themselves, therefore GOD Almighty guide his Majesty's counsels and strengthen his courage. For if he master not them, and this affair tending so much and visibly to the tranquillity and peace of his kingdoms, to the honour of Almighty GOD, I shall be to seek for any probable judgment what is next like to befall us at after."<sup>1</sup>

But regrets were vain. Scotland was not worthy of the blessing her king designed for her. She cast in her lot with Calvinism, and she has been taken at her word.

Politically speaking the Scotch Prayer Book was a great mistake. Whether as Churchmen we should deem Laud worthy all the vituperation that has been cast upon

<sup>1</sup> Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 250.

him is another question. Holy Scripture says, "Blessed are the peacemakers;" and it was surely a desire not unworthy of a Christian Prelate which so anxiously led him to wish for unity of religious doctrine and discipline within the realms subject to the sceptre of his Sovereign. It was perhaps impossible to attain it, but that was not so clear then as it is now. The maxim of the day was then, "cujus est regio, illius religio," faulty and unsound it is true; yet, possibly, the best that could be devised for those troublous times. Laud believed it, and acted upon it. And even if we disagree with a man, candour compels us to respect him when acting upon his convictions.

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## CHAPTER XV.

### LAUD AS A STATESMAN—RELATIONS TO ROME—USE OF THE REGALE—PRIVATE LIFE.

"From his cradle

He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;  
 Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading,  
 Lofty and sour to them that loved him not,  
 But to those men that sought him, sweet as summer."

*Henry VIII., Act iv. Sc. 2.*

It is not our intention in this chapter to embark the reader in the strife of politics. We shall only refer to them as affecting the Church. So stirring were the events which were enacted in that era, that it is scarcely possible even at this distance of time, to review them impartially. The questions which then agitated men's minds involved the most important interests, and affected their relations to God as well as to Cæsar. The same questions are still agitated, the same divisions distract men's minds, almost the

very same words are banded to and fro by heated partizans.

In the seventeenth century men's thoughts had not yet settled down from the mighty ferment of the Reformation. The cauldron was still seething. The ecclesiastical polity and traditions of centuries could not be torn up without affecting the whole community. And though the points which were stirred at that great era were primarily of religious rather than of temporal interest (as the controversy respecting justification which commenced the movement shows), yet it was very soon seen that civil relationships as much as religious were involved in working out the principles of the Reformation. The great problem the Reformation had to solve, was what was the authority in matters of faith. The foreigners replied by placing the Scriptures in the hands of the people without any guidance whatever: the Church of England, while she freely restored the Bible to her children, retained at the same time as her standard the three Creeds which had received the assent of universal Christendom. Henceforth her peculiar mission has been to witness to the true Catholic faith, the faith of the primitive and undivided Church, and to transmit it unimpaired either by Roman additions or Puritan subtractions. The English Church invented no new doctrines: she adhered to the old. She makes her appeal to Scripture as interpreted by antiquity, by the teaching and practices of the holiest and best times of ancient Christianity.

Now in carrying out her internal reformation, the English Church, from the necessity of her position, was driven to call in the aid of the King. We shall pursue this at greater length afterwards. It may be sufficient to say, now, that the sovereign henceforth appeared to his people in a different light to what he had done hitherto. He was no longer the ruler in temporals only: their religion was influenced by him. Hence when, as in the case of Charles, the sceptre

was in the hands of one who really loved the Church, the turbulent, restless Puritan temper which had always been fretting against all spiritual authority, waxed tenfold fiercer against the monarch, who was bent upon enforcing by the authority of his prerogative the true interests of the Church. Simultaneously too with the Reformation, or perhaps in consequence of the measures taken for the repressing popular excesses by the civil rulers, even in countries which had withdrawn from the Roman obedience, there arose a strong tendency to republicanism. The revived study of the classics gave this feeling an impetus, and the heroes of republican antiquity henceforth exercised no inconsiderable influence on men's minds. Geneva was not merely the nursery of heresy, but of sedition also. John Knox, Calvin's most thorough disciple in these parts, made no scruple of raising his arm against his sovereign and adding rebellion to profaneness. These feelings were widespread; to men's excited vision the monarchy was the bar to all improvement in Church and State. The mass of the people have never acquiesced in the real principles of their Church; and in the sixteenth century they greedily listened to the propagators of the new doctrines, which promised at the same time emancipation from the regal yoke and the hated jurisdiction of the bishops.

On the other hand, the leading English Reformers had always discouraged any attempts to intrench upon the prerogatives of the Crown. Their politics were strictly monarchical. They never courted the people, though they flattered kings. They found themselves under a monarchy, a real monarchy, which not merely reigned but governed; and they willingly acquiesced. The King upheld them against the Pope, they upheld him against the people, and loyalty became synonymous with Anglicanism.

When Charles therefore found himself opposed by the rebellious spirit of his Parliament, which mag-

nified fancied grievances into real ones (for the absence of any true ground of complaint is very remarkable), he instinctively felt that he was embarked in a struggle for the very existence of the monarchy. He knew very well that the opposing faction would never (despite their fair speeches) stop short of a republic. He looked back on the long line of his ancestors, and could not but perceive that the whole glories of England had been achieved by her monarchs. Her kings had been her legislators, her statesmen, her warriors. Parliament had had no influence in the law-giving of the Third Edward, the wisdom of the Seventh Henry, or the valour of the First Richard. On the contrary, parliamentary influence had always characterized feeble governments. Hence Charles felt that every concession was only bringing nearer the consummation he dreaded; hence his undisguised dislike of Parliaments, his many years' rule without them. The event has proved his prescience. Regicide was the inevitable result of rebellion; the first year of his martyrdom was signalized as the first "year of liberty restored," alias republicanism.

Nor has the Monarchy recovered itself since. The Republic perished "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung." But neither Charles II. nor James II. could revive the prerogatives of the old Kings of England. Defeated for a time, the republican spirit has revived with a double force. For nearly two hundred years we have been in name a Monarchy,—in reality a Republic, with an hereditary President. We are not regretting this; we only state facts. On the contrary, we thankfully accept it, and look back with gratitude to the emancipation of the Church from the too great power the Sovereign possessed over her. And if the Revolution of 1688 were on no other grounds entitled to gratitude, the final abolition of the High Commission Court and Oath of Supremacy, would make us feel thankful towards it. By this time the dangers of the powers vested in the Crown were seen: and it was necessary

to restrict them. The Church of England had to learn the lesson of the Psalms, "put not your trust in Princes." She had done so,—but now she can do so no longer. The political constitution of the country while in other respects it so admirably ensures the liberty of the subject, effectually prevents the Church again relying on the arm of flesh. A change has passed over our political relationships: we have a constitutional, not an absolute Monarchy: the Church really occupies a higher position. But this has not been worked out in a day; it has taken more than one century to develop. It is no reproach to Charles that he was not gifted with such deep political foresight, and that he could not read the history of the future. He did what he thought best. He was born a King, and he resolved to die a King. Monarchy was to him a sacred trust; and this may help to interpret his motives.

It is only natural therefore, to find Laud a strict monarchist. It was the line marked out by the antecedent history of the Reformed English Church. He saw no reason to change it. There was nothing inviting in the opposite ranks. He could not indeed have sided against the king without doing violence to all his feelings as a bishop, a Christian, a man. He loved the monarchy,—he loved Charles Stuart. He shrank from no labour to serve him in any department of state service. The King wielded his prerogative for the protection of the Church,—for her elevation and development. Laud felt this, and the influence of the Church whatever it might be, was gladly thrown into the scale of monarchy, against parliament, of order against disorder.

Laud had played some part in politics during the administration of the Duke of Buckingham, having had the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage entrusted to him. He had nothing openly to do, strictly speaking, with civil politics, till March 14th, 1634, when the death of Weston made him Chief Commissioner

of the Treasury, with Cottington as Chancellor, and Cooke and Windebanke as Secretaries. Noy was the Attorney-General, and Wentworth Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. On March 16th, he was called by the King into the foreign Committee. "The Cabinet" was of course ruled by Strafford and Laud,—Strafford in Ireland, Laud in England, gave the tone to every thing. History has done justice to Strafford's administration of Ireland. From a perpetual state of poverty and a constant expense to the Crown, it brought in under his hands, a large revenue. The public debt was liquidated; the oppression of the nobles restrained; the army reduced to order; the petty tyranny of government officials curbed; order re-established, agriculture flourished, trade prospered, manufactures increased. Indeed Ireland owes its linen trade to Strafford. We have seen how he saved the Anglo-Irish Church from being swallowed up by Puritanism. All this is now acknowledged: but our Archiepiscopal treasurer has not received such justice. Yet there is not an historian who has treated on the subject, who does not bear witness to the good government the country enjoyed during the reign of Charles, apart from Parliamentary control. Thus Clarendon:

"The happiness of the times I mentioned, was enviously set off by this, that every other kingdom, every other province were engaged, many entangled, and some almost destroyed, by the rage and fury of arms; those which were ambitiously in contention with their neighbours, having the view and apprehensions of the miseries and desolation which they saw other States suffer by a civil war; whilst alone the kingdoms we now lament were looked upon as the garden of the world. Scotland (which was but the wilderness of that garden) in a full, entire, undisturbed peace, which they had never seen; the rage and barbarism (that is, the blood, for of the charity we speak not) of their private feuds, being composed to the reverence, or to the awe, of public justice; in a competency, if not in

an excess of plenty, which they had never hoped to see, and in a temper (which was the utmost we desired and hoped to see) free from rebellion. Ireland, which had been a sponge to draw, and a gulph to swallow all that could be spared, and all that could be got from England, merely to keep the reputation of a kingdom, reduced to that good degree of husbandry and government, that it not only subsisted of itself, and gave this kingdom all that it might have expected from it; but really increased the revenue of the Crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides much more to the people in the traffic and trade from thence; arts and sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole nation beginning to be civilized, that it was a jewel of great lustre in the royal diadem.

“When these outworks were thus fortified and adorned, it was no wonder if England was generally thought secure, with the advantages of its own climate, the court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess and luxury; the country rich, and which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride and wantonness of it. The Church flourishing with learned and extraordinary men, and (which other good times wanted) supplied with oil to feed those lamps; and the Protestant religion more advanced against the Church of Rome by writing, especially (without prejudice to other useful and Godly labours) by these two books of the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, and of Mr. Chillingworth, than it had been from the Reformation; trade increased to that degree, that we were the exchange of Christendom, (the revenue thereof to the Crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times,) and the bullion of all other kingdoms was brought to receive a stamp from the mint of England; all foreign merchants looking upon nothing as their own, but what they had laid up in the warehouses of this kingdom; the royal navy, in number and equipage much above former



times, very formidable at sea; and the reputation of the greatness and power of the King much more with foreign princes than any of his progenitors; for those rough courses which made him unhappily less loved at home, made him more feared abroad; by how much the power of kingdoms is more revered than their justice by their neighbours; and it may be, this consideration might not be the least motive, and may not be the worst excuse for those counsels. Lastly, for a complement of all these blessings, they were enjoyed by, and under the protection of a King, of the most harmless disposition, and the most exemplary piety, the greatest example of sobriety, chastity and mercy, that any prince hath been endowed with, (and God forgive those that have not been sensible of, and thankful for those endowments,) and who might have said that which Pericles was proud of upon his death-bed, 'That no Englishman had ever worn a black gown through his occasion.' In a word, many wise men thought it a time wherein these two miserable adjuncts which Nerva was deified for uniting, *imperium et libertas*, were as well reconciled as possible."<sup>1</sup>

So Hume:<sup>2</sup> "The grievances under which the English laboured, when considered in themselves, without regard to the Constitution, scarcely deserve the name; nor were they either burdensome to the people's properties, or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind. . . . All Ecclesiastical affairs were settled by law and uninterrupted precedent, and the Church was become a considerable barrier to the powers both legal and illegal of the Crown: peace too, industry, commerce, opulence, nay even justice and lenity of administration, notwithstanding some very few exceptions, all these were enjoyed by the people; and every other blessing of government except liberty, or rather the present exercise of liberty, and its proper security."

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, Hist. Rebellion, vol. i. p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Hume, vol. vi. p. 224.

And later, Disraeli and Guizot bear the same testimony, the latter sorely against his will.

“Clarendon hardly exceeded the truth in his description of the state of the kingdom during this singular period, as ‘enjoying the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people, in any age, for so long time together have been blessed with.’ In confirmation of Clarendon’s view, we find in the *Mercurie François*, more than one allusion to the undisturbed and envied happiness of the English nation. A letter from Rome, in 1633, notices the high opinion that Court entertained of ‘the virtues, and discreet government of Charles the First, with the general and quiet peace his people enjoy, all Europe being in war,—which makes England enjoy what the rest of the world envies at, they being the only spectators of the rest of the world’s miseries.’ The description of England in 1633, by a resident foreigner, confirms all these accounts. ‘It is pleasant to reside in England, where every one lives joyously, without other cares than those of his profession; finding that prosperity in repose which others are compelled to look for in action, and divided as they are from the rest of the world, they take the least concern possible in its distractions.’ This sort of evidence from foreign quarters frequently occurs. The King himself has a pathetic passage, where he complains of the famous remonstrance of the Commons, ‘Laying before us, and publishing to all the world, all the mistakes and all the misfortunes which had happened from our first coming to the Crown, forgetting the blessed condition (notwithstanding the unhappy mixture) all our subjects had enjoyed in the benefit of peace and plenty under us, to the envy of Christendom.’”<sup>1</sup>

“For some time, government was an easy matter enough. The citizens for awhile took heed only to their private interests; no discussion, no warm excitement agitated the gentry in their country meetings,

<sup>1</sup> Disraeli’s Commentaries, vol. i. p. 375.

the burghers in their town-halls, the sailors in their ports, the apprentices in their shops. It was not that the nation was languishing in apathy, but its activity had taken another direction; it seemed to have forgotten in labour the defeat of liberty. Less ardent than haughty, the despotism of Charles interfered with it very slightly in this new state; the Prince meditated no vast designs, he had no uneasy desire for extended and hazardous glory; he was content to enjoy with dignity his power and his rank. Peace dispensed him from exacting from his subjects heavy sacrifices; and the people gave itself up to agriculture, to commerce, to study, and no ambitious and restless tyranny interposed to impede its efforts, or compromise its interests. Public prosperity accordingly rapidly advanced, order reigned, and this regular and flourishing condition gave to power the appearance of wisdom, to the country that of resignation."<sup>1</sup>

Nay, Mr. Hallam himself cannot disprove it. Let him rail as long as he will, the facts remain unshaken.

"We may acknowledge without hesitation, that the kingdom had grown during this period into remarkable prosperity and affluence. The rents of land were very considerably increased, and large tracts reduced into cultivation. The manufacturing towns, the sea-ports, became more flourishing and populous. The metropolis increased in size with a rapidity that repeated proclamations against new buildings could not restrain. The country-houses of the superior gentry throughout England were built on a scale which their descendants, even in the days of more redundant affluence, have seldom ventured to emulate. The kingdom was indebted for this prosperity to the spirit and industry of the people, to the laws which secure the commons from oppression, and which, as between man and man, were still fairly administered, to the opening of fresh channels of trade in the eastern and western worlds, (rivulets indeed as they seem to us, who float in the

<sup>1</sup> Guizot's Hist. Rev. in England, p. 36.

full tide of modern commerce, yet at that time no slight contributions to the stream of public wealth); but above all, to the long tranquillity of the kingdom, ignorant of the sufferings of domestic, and seldom much affected by the privations of foreign war. It was the natural course of things that wealth should be progressive in such a land.”<sup>1</sup>

So much for Laud's general administration. The particular department of the treasury he did not hold very long. But during the period he presided there, he was most conscientious in the discharge of its official duties. He looked into every corner, detected secret frauds, reformed various abuses, and busied himself in divining means whereby the collection of the King's dues might be rendered less onerous to the subject. There was a class of persons who jobbed the revenue for their own gain, who were Laud's special abhorrence, and as these gentry had swarmed under his predecessor, who made bargains with them, we can easily understand the outcry they raised against him. Clarendon tells us the principles which guided him, and gives us some idea of his practical common sense, in cultivating the society of the merchants and great traders. And this may account for his successful administration of the treasury. There is an interesting story in Clarendon's life relative to the upsetting the monopoly which the Customs House Quay enjoyed, in consequence of a job of Weston's, and which, as he found it operating to the injury of trade, was removed by Laud. It was the occasion of Mr. Hyde's introduction to Laud; but it is too long to transcribe.

But these petty offenders, Laud knew, were not the only ones at fault. Little harm could be done if the Treasurer himself were honest. It seemed, on pursuing his inquiries into all the mysteries of the office, that the Treasurer might honestly make about £7,000 a year: how much more, dishonestly, does not appear. But certain was it, that many Treasurers of mean

<sup>1</sup> Hallam's Constitutional History, chap. 8, vol. i. p. 540.

extraction had managed to raise themselves to the titles and fortunes of Earls. This he determined to stop, and to leave as his successor one who should be independent of all family claims. It was time, for his own peace, a successor should be appointed. Laud was already overwhelmed with business. He was too honest to be popular with mere officials and "red-tapists." His infirmity of temper, too, gave an excellent opening for Cottington, who disliked him, to play upon. Hence differences arose, which are noted in his Diary: particularly a question about the soap-boilers, which was carried against Laud (though his offer was better for the King), when the desertion of his old friend, Sir F. Windebanke, grieved him sorely. It was better a successor should be found who should be able to devote himself to the King's interests, and his choice (here Laud certainly did not discern the signs of the times), passing over the Earls of Bedford and Essex, and others of the "popular nobility," fell upon Juxon, Bishop of London. His Diary records the appointment in the following remarkable language, which is quite that of a man who is hoping against hope:

✓ "1635, Mar. 6, Sunday. William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England. No Churchman had it since Henry VII.'s time. I pray God bless him to carry it so, that the Church may have honour, and the King and the State service and contentment by it. And now if the Church will not hold up themselves under God, I can do no more."<sup>1</sup>

✓ Bishop Juxon did not fall short of the expectations of his metropolitan. He carried himself in so conscientious and conciliatory a manner that he won the respect of all, and even Lord Falkland, in a bitter speech against the bishops, praised his moderation and humility, "being neither ambitious before, nor proud after, either of the Crozier or the White Staff."

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 226 (Diary).

He remained Treasurer till 1641, when he was succeeded by the Earl of Bedford, and, to the honour of the Puritan faction, was left unmolested. Once again indeed did he appear in public in those troublous times, for he was privileged to prepare the Royal Martyr for his agony, and receive the last instructions of the saintly King. So, when peaceful days were restored, the meek Juxon was called by God's good Providence, to preside over the Church of England. And "life's fitful fever" over, the ashes of the good old man repose beneath the altar of his own College chapel, and, side by side with his martyred brother, await the Resurrection and the Judgment.

We have given some idea of Laud's qualities as a statesman; but though not in office after 1635, he was the ruling spirit of the royal councils. To pursue his political career would take us beyond the bounds assigned us. We are only concerned with it as affecting the Church; and it is quite clear that the exaltation of the Church gave the tone to this great Prelate's career. He laboured that she might become in reality what she claimed to be,—a reflection of the Primitive Church. Hence his struggle with Puritanism, which stood in the way. Perhaps he had, too, some idea, visionary and impracticable as it may have been, of uniting the kingdom in one religious creed. It was, as we have said, a political principle of the day, that the King's subjects should be of the King's religion; and Laud (presiding over a Church which, after having successfully and distinctly removed Roman novelties from her faith, had retained unaltered the Creeds of the Universal Church and the Apostolic Succession of the Episcopate,) might think himself called upon by peculiar circumstances to reunite the jarring elements around him. He had to deal with Roman Catholics and Puritans. The former were embodied in an organised Communion, with rival Priests and rival altars, and in Ireland a rival Hierarchy. The latter were not formally separate from

the Church of England, but were only restrained by legal penalties from open Nonconformity, and were in their hearts opposed to all her doctrines and discipline. There were, besides, a few foreign bodies of Protestants whose sympathies were naturally with the Puritans. Among these stood the English Church offering a ground of union in the ancient Catholic Faith which she professed. In her formularies, in which she stated her principles and her claims to men's allegiance, the English Church took Catholic ground, but a great proportion of her practice was uncatholic, unscriptural, Puritan. Either her principles must have been sacrificed, or her practice made to square with her principles. Laud chose the latter alternative. He saw clearly that the tendency of the day was to drift more and more from primitive models, and that the work of reform had gone far enough. Hence he built up rather than pulled down; and all who feel thankful they have not to choose between Rome and Geneva, but are able to worship GOD in the beauty of holiness, in a Church which has retained all the essentials of an Apostolic Communion, ought to be grateful to Laud. But this by the way. If ever he entertained the hope of bringing the adherents of the Papacy into communion with the English Church, it was clear that such a consummation could only be effected by a clearer expression of her Catholic character. Irreverence, profaneness, mocking at Sacraments, desecration of altars, were not likely to win back the Romanist subjects of his master. Independently of his love for the Sacramental system and deep conviction of its truth, which led him to such a bold aggression upon the prevalent Puritanism, may there not have been some hope that when the adherents of the foreign Communion found that the religion of England was no longer Genevan, but reverent, holy, and Catholic, they might by degrees lay aside their prejudices and be won over to its ranks, and so the sons of England might, as before, worship GOD in one language and

profess one creed. Let us not smile at the failure of any scheme for unity. Our LORD says, "Blessed are the peacemakers." How thankful should we be now, and our rulers too, if any means could have been devised by which the English adherents of the Papacy could have been gathered within the bosom of the English Church.

The same desire to conciliate his Roman Catholic fellow citizens, and to cause them to think better of the English Church, (which we have ventured to suggest might have been present to the Primate's mind,) would appear to be visible in his civil administration. We all know that it was an age of severe penal laws, and though the leniency of James and Charles took away some of their persecuting edge, they still remained a terrible weapon for discontented Parliaments to unsheath. The pious squires who sat in the Commons were perpetually crying out for the enforcement of the laws against recusants; and here Laud was again opposed to the popular cry. There is no denying that under his administration these wicked laws were materially suspended, and the populace cheated of its prey. We who live under a system of toleration, think no worse of Laud because he interfered to prevent Jesuits being hanged for saying Mass, or laymen being heavily mulcted for attendance at the most sacred rite of their religion. We have, thank God, got rid of penal laws; but in Laud's time they were frightful, and the Puritans, who clamoured loudest for their own freedom, were their stoutest supporters. James and Charles did what they could to relax them, and often baulked the bloodthirsty Commons of their prey. They shielded more particularly those of the Romanists who were willing to take the Oath of Allegiance, and, may be, entertained the hope of winning them back to the Church of England. Possibly it was not so very visionary then as it seems now. Old men must have heard their fathers tell how in the great Queen's time, before the



deposing bull came from Pope Pius, by which the Roman Communion in England was constituted a separate body, there had been but one worship. Perhaps, too, the same conciliatory motives made themselves felt in the endeavour of both monarchs to divest the Sunday of the over-gloomy strictness which Puritanism had thrown round it, and to impart more of a festival character.<sup>1</sup> For the same reason, in conducting the controversy with Rome, Laud never encouraged railing against her as Antichrist. It was going beyond, he said, anything the Church of England had authoritatively determined, and was not the way to conciliate.

Now, of course, it is easy to say, Charles and Laud were ready to conciliate the Roman Catholics, because they were secretly unfaithful to the Church of England. It has been and is often said now. We shall not condescend to refute the calumny. However anxious Laud may have been for unity in his master's dominions, (and beyond that he never seems to have entertained a thought,) he was never guilty of any breach of faith towards his own Church. He loved her too well, and was too well convinced that her position as a witness to the old Catholic creeds was an impregnable one, to swerve in his allegiance.

<sup>1</sup> The Book of Sports, about which so much has been said, was published first by King James (1618), and afterwards by his son Charles (1633). Its object was to make Sunday more attractive to the poor than Puritanism, which considered the Jewish Sabbath still in force, permitted. It therefore allowed the people to join in all innocent recreations on Sunday afternoons after Divine Service, while it especially prohibited all brutalising amusements, such as bull-baiting, &c. It was in effect an attempt to wean the people from their old rude ways, and as this could not be done at once, it was thought better to tolerate harmless recreations, and so by degrees draw the nation into better habits. The Book of Sports was a great improvement on the preceding state of things, when bulls were baited and bears worried on Sundays: though, of course, it is very difficult to regulate by law the due observance of Sunday. Political reasons for making Sunday more like a festival, a character almost eliminated from it during the days of Puritan ascendancy, we have hinted above.

He brought back numbers to her pale ; he defended her with learning, temper, and ability ; he would never see the envoys from the Pope, who under cover of ministering to the spiritual wants of the Queen, were at several periods in this country. A foreigner had no right in his view to interfere with the religion of the subjects of the King of England. Attempts were made to bribe him. He was offered a Cardinal's Hat : his only reply was one which shows the position of the two Churches was well defined in his mind. " My answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me which would not suffer that, till Rome was other than it is."<sup>1</sup> His distress too (as noted in his Diary), "*by reason of the errors of that Church,*" when " I dreamt I was reconciled to the Church of Rome," is very noticeable ; while, to a lower class of minds who can only imagine others actuated by the same mercenary motives which govern themselves, the following extract from his defence will speak more plainly and intelligibly :

" Seventhly. I think the greatest enemies I have are of opinion, that if I would have turned to the Roman party,—especially if I would have been such an active instrument for them as this Article would make me,—I might have been welcome to them, and should have been rewarded by them ; at least, that I should have been made able to live in credit, if not in honour. And this being granted, I would fain know what could stay me here, save only my conscience in and to the truth.

" Surely, not any care of wife and children, for I have them not ; and as this storm drives upon me, I most humbly and heartily bless God for it, that I have not any of these clogs to hang to me.

" Not the greatness of my place ; for if, in this present tumble, anything be put either upon it or me, that a knowing conscience ought to check at, the world shall soon see how little I value Canterbury in regard of conscience.

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 219. (Diary.)

“ Not the honour of my place neither ; for if I stood upon that, I cannot but see how malice hath lain that in the dust, or lower, if it may be. And can any man think, then, that I would endure so much hatred, and so many (sixty-six) base libels, as have filled the streets against me, and such bitter revilings of me in print, as the gall of some pens have cast upon me, when I might go live elsewhere with content and reputation ? Sure nothing but conscience could stay me here in such a condition ?

“ Not the wealth to be gotten in my place ; for the Archbishopric of Canterbury is far short of the value put upon it, (according as I have given a faithful account to his Majesty.) And if it were of never so great a value, I have made it manifest to the world that wealth is not my aim ; for whatsoever benefit hath accrued to me, over and above my necessary and decent expenses, I have refunded back upon the poor, or the public, or the Church from whence I had it, as in better times Churchmen were wont to do. So there could be no external motive to work upon me to make me stay here, if my conscience went along with Rome. And my conscience being not that way set, (as most certainly it is not,) no man can so much as probably think I should, with hazard of my life, and honour, and all things, practise the change of religion, and that against my conscience.”<sup>1</sup>

We may dismiss this part of our subject with two more extracts. The first will show the opposition he made to foreign interference with the religion of Englishmen ; the second how gladly he would have welcomed the union of Englishmen in one Creed :

“ And for the latter part of this Article, it is utterly untrue that ever I either permitted or countenanced any Popish hierarchy or ecclesiastical government to be established in this kingdom ; and if any such be established, it is more than I know to this instant. But this I am sure of, and can prove, that when the

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. 416.

Queen's almoner was to be made a Bishop, I laboured as much against as I could; whereupon he delayed the taking of his bishopric upon him for a good time. And when divers offers were made on his behalf, and the Queen grew earnest for his preferment, I was called again by his Majesty, in the presence of a secretary of state, and commanded to speak my judgment and my conscience; and I did so, and declared clearly against any Bishop of the Roman party, his coming into the kingdom to reside, or exercise any jurisdiction here. And I gave then for my reason, the very self-same which is since published by the House of Commons in their Remonstrance; a different and inconsistent Church within a Church, which ever brought hazard upon the State. And in this judgment I persisted, and never permitted, much less countenanced, any Popish hierarchy to settle in this kingdom, but hindered it by all the ways and means I could."<sup>1</sup>

"And surely I may not deny it: I have ever wished and heartily prayed for the unity of the whole Church of CHRIST, and the peace and reconciliation of torn and divided Christendom. But I did never desire a reconciliation, but such as might stand with truth, and preserve all the foundations of religion entire. For I have learned from a prime schoolman of their own, that 'every union doth not perfect the true reason or definition of that which is good; but that only upon which depends *esse perfectum rei*, the perfect essence of that thing.' So that in this particular, if the substance of Christian religion be not perfected by any union, that union itself cannot have in it *rationem boni*, the true being and nature of good. And therefore I did never desire that England and Rome should meet together, but with forsaking of error and superstition; especially such as grate upon and fret the foundations of religion. But were this done, GOD forbid but I should labour for a reconciliation, if some

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 419.

tenets of the Roman party on the one side, and some deep and embittered disaffections on the other, have not made it impossible, as I much doubt they have."<sup>1</sup>

To return to Laud's measures for the raising the character of his own Church. There was one point which pressed upon him sorely; the Erastianism of the English Church, her subserviency to the State, the absolute control over her claimed by the civil power, were blots easily hit by the sharp eyes of Romanists and Puritans. We have already hinted at the necessity felt for supplying, by some living authority, the place formerly occupied by the Pope. This was thought to be effected by the union of the national Clergy and the King; their decisions were considered binding upon all. Immense powers naturally became vested in the King, who very soon showed his intention of reducing the clerical influence to the lowest minimum; and many of the Clergy, feeling themselves powerless against, acquiesced in the aggressions of the Regale. Thus Cranmer not only allowed the King's right to ordain, but ventured to support this position by the assertion, that the Apostles themselves formed only a provisional government for the Church, which they were ready to surrender to any prince who would take it upon himself: a strange statement for one who professed to draw his religion from Scripture alone. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find Cranmer and his colleagues begging of Edward a continuance of their episcopal powers, which they said expired with the royal breath of his father.

We naturally therefore look in Edward's reign for the extreme development of the Regale. The King was termed in the Articles "Head of the Church;" the sermons to be preached by the Clergy were composed by the State; congés d'elire were abolished; all writs from the ecclesiastical courts ran in the King's name; the King's arms were engraved on the episcopal seals, and royal injunctions defined the qualifications of persons

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 412.

to be ordained. The second Prayer-Book, including the Communion Office and the Ordinal, had only civil sanction; decrees of council tore down altars and removed painted windows. No fewer than six Bishops (Bonner, Gardiner, Heath, Day, Tunstal, Ferrar) were removed from their sees by royal commission; Ferrar for having exercised jurisdiction in his own name. The Reformatio Legum (providentially hindered from passing into a law) openly asserted the derivation of all spiritual authority from the King, and converted him into a lay Pope.

So went matters on in Edward's time. When the nation, at the accession of Elizabeth, for the third time changed its religion at the bidding of its sovereign, many objections were urged by the Puritans against the excess of royal authority. To please their scruples, the Queen consented to lay aside the title of Head of the Church, and the objectionable phrase was for ever erased from the Articles of religion. Her injunctions also, to which reference is made in the Thirty-Seventh Article, breathe the same spirit of moderation, when compared with the acts of her boy brother. But Elizabeth was fond of her supremacy, and with the appointment of Bishops (though she restored in England the form of the *Congé d'elire*) and the entire control of Convocation in her hands, and the Court of High Commission, to execute her behests, she was completely master of the position. Take it on the whole, she exercised her powers wisely, and preserved the Church from confusion. Her privileges descended unimpaired to James and Charles. But imperceptibly there had been growing up among the Clergy higher views of their holy calling. They felt that they never could with effect claim the allegiance of the people, if they only rested upon a royal commission. That which was hinted at by Bancroft at Paul's Cross, and of which Whitgift said he wished the Doctor were true, but feared the contrary,—the absolute independency of the Episcopate in spirituals as

derived from JESUS CHRIST,—was in after years more loudly enunciated, more boldly promulgated. Laud made no scruple of claiming a *jus divinum* for Bishops as well as for Kings. “My order as a Bishop and my power of jurisdiction, is by Divine Apostolical right, and unalterable as far as I know in the Church of CHRIST.”<sup>1</sup>

But while thus convinced of the real source of his spiritual authority, we do not deny Laud made unsparing use of the immense powers vested in the Crown. Montague was consecrated in spite of objections regularly urged at his confirmation. As Elizabeth had suspended Grindal, so Charles suspended Abbott. Numberless injunctions were issued by the Crown; regular accounts of the state of the various dioceses were laid before the King; all opposition was silenced by the interposition of the royal authority. The Scotch Canons and Liturgy were promulgated by an alarming stretch of prerogative, and Laud at his trial constantly pleaded his Majesty's commands as his justification. Nevertheless Laud was no Erastian. He used the Regale indeed, but how? for the exaltation of the Church, to free her from her subserviency to the State. The King could do almost what he pleased, and under Laud's guidance he was pleased to exert his power for the Church's true interests. Laud soon found that opposition to the work of Church emancipation would not come from the Regale. It resided in the seventeenth century where it now resides, in Parliament and the law courts. He had no weapon to fight them with but the Regale,—shall we blame him for his use of it? Had he not done so the Church could never have attained that comparative freedom she now enjoys.

We contend therefore, that Laud in his exercise of the Regale was no Erastian, though he used an instrument which might easily, and has been perverted to Erastian purposes, and so far the degradation of the

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 406.

Church. Laud on the contrary, used it to support those higher views of her real nature and constitution which were developing themselves within her. It was a two-edged weapon, that old English Regale, and was very soon turned against the very school that upheld it. It has now been removed from the Sovereign's hands, and it is matter of thankfulness that the King is no longer a despot in the Church. She can now dispense with the arm of flesh,—she could have done so at any time; still there can be no doubt that her progress would have been infinitely slower if she had not at a critical period met with such a nursing father as King Charles. And therefore we make no apology for his exercise of his spiritual prerogative, nor for Laud's using for the Church's good, those powers which he found in the Crown, but which he had not placed there, and which, had he been asked for the first time to do, he would probably have refused to concede. We cannot imagine Laud playing the part of some of his predecessors, in his subserviency to the civil power.

x The Church soon showed signs of increasing vigour. A solemn decision of the judges asserted the rights of the Bishops to issue their decrees in courts ecclesiastical in their own name. Books, too, issued from the press, asserting higher claims for the spirituality than suited nobles and country gentlemen, while the machinery this last class enjoyed for degrading the Clergy, by hiring them as chaplains and lecturers, was soon broken to pieces.

Simultaneously with this, and of necessity connected with it, arose higher and deeper views of the Sacraments. We mentioned in our last chapter the names of several theologians who owed their promotion to Laud's recommendations. Higher views of the Sacraments involved more careful celebration; the King's heart was with a more comely ritual than characterised Genevan devotion; and what was wanting in archiepiscopal, was made up by the exercise of the regal authority; for Laud, as a practical man, made



the best use of the state of things which he found existing. Laud also sought to raise the tone of the Church by the elevation of the Clergy. He not only stood up for their legal rights, and encouraged the assertion of higher claims for them than heretofore, but boldly advanced them to positions they had hitherto not occupied. Thus Spotswood was made Chancellor of Scotland, and several Bishops Privy Councillors; while Juxon, as we have seen, became Treasurer of England. There is no doubt Laud carried this too far, and his elaborate answer to Lord Say and Sele does not prove the desirableness or wisdom of appointing clergy to posts of secular trust. But, probably, it was necessary (owing to the degraded condition of the clergy) to carry matters rather to an extreme. That the clergy, as clergy, were entitled to any deference, was a notion not at all in accordance with the views of the nobility and gentry. They were glad enough to patronize them, to feed them at their tables, to retain them as dependants, almost on a level with their hired lacqueys, and so control them. But this did not suit Laud. He was determined the Clergy should occupy their proper place, and have a recognized position, that the priesthood should make itself felt; for he well knew religion suffered when her ministers were contemptuously treated. And so successful was he in his attempts to raise his order, that Heylin notes that under his rule "the Clergy grew to such esteem for parts and power, that the gentry thought none of their daughters to be better disposed of than such as they had lodged in the arms of a Churchman; and the nobility had grown so well affected to the state of the Church, that some of them designed their younger sons to the Order of Priesthood, to make them capable of rising in the same ascendant." And the clergy themselves felt their position was improved; instead of crouching like sycophants, they carried themselves boldly as became ambassadors of CHRIST, to the great chagrin of course of those

who wished to retain them still in servitude, "and who, says Clarendon, "did observe the inferior Clergy took more upon them than they had used to do, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality, or their patrons themselves, with that civility and condescension they had used to do." We all know this means they began to recognize they had a higher mission than that of being Chaplains to landed gentry.

We have already alluded to the discipline Laud exercised by means of the High Commission Court. This naturally tended to exalt the ecclesiastical element, probably unduly; but no one can blame him for making nobles, equally with the poor, feel the sharp edge of discipline. Laud knew no respect of persons, and however the aristocracy might resent the "insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, leveling them with the common people," Laud knew no reason why gentle blood should be exempted from penalties imposed by law for breaches against morals, any more than those of meaner origin; of course gentle blood did not think so, and was very angry, and when the time came took its revenge. English, Irish, Scotch nobles all had something against the lion-hearted man, who had wrested from them their spoil, and made them smart under the reality of ecclesiastical discipline. Full of anger they opened upon him at his trial, and rejoiced when the man that had so nobly reprov'd their misdeeds was taken out of the way.

Such was Laud as a statesman, and Church ruler. We do not claim perfection for him, or exemption from the failings of humanity. To suppose that a man could act as Prime Minister of England, Foreign Secretary, Chancellor of two Universities, and Archbishop of Canterbury, and not make some mistakes, would be absurd. We have not hesitated to point them out. Take it all in all, it is surprising the work was done so well as it was. The country prospered, the Church was elevated under the Laudian

administration, and the effects of his Church rule have lasted to this day.

It may be interesting in concluding this chapter, to say a few words respecting his private relations, though we have endeavoured all along to make our readers acquainted with the inner life of this great Prelate. We shall note therefore only the salient points which attract us most.

All Christians know the secret of success is prayer, —that without prayer the best laid schemes have no certainty of success. And those who have been much mixed up with the business of the world, must be well aware of the great temptation to forget this great truth of prayer, and to trust for success to human plans and human ability. Now Laud was a man of prayer. The distractions of the times, the multiplicity of occupation, the troubles of his position, prevented not the communion of his soul with his heavenly FATHER. Seven times a day did he pour out his confessions, prayers, thanksgivings, at the throne of grace; nor were the dark and silent watches of the night unprovided in his manual with suitable devotions, the language of which is remarkably scriptural, and evidenced a mind deeply imbued with knowledge of Holy Writ. The same book contains special prayers for prosperity, for adversity, for the State, the King, the Church, the Clergy. His own failings are subject of particular note: the prayers for bridling of the tongue we have already alluded to, and we know the bitter penitential mournings each anniversary of his fall wrung from him. If the pestilence raged, or war broke out, or famine, Laud made it a subject of prayer. In poverty, and sorrow, and infamy, in fear of violence, of fraud, of treachery, the Prelate's soul vented its wants in prayer. His enemies were not forgotten, and the SAVIOUR'S precepts of forgiveness were embodied in the language of devotion. The extracts we have given from his manual, relative to the Blessed Eucharist and the Episcopate, will

show the beauty and holy character of his prayers. We shall have to listen to still more touching strains as the end drew near, when the gray-headed Prelate meekly prepared himself for his dreadful doom, in the gloomy prison-house.

And this devotion was accompanied by a strict and hard life. Laud was no pamperer of the flesh. He was in fastings often, in vigils often. A celibate and solitary, he gave himself up to his Master's work. None could accuse him of sparing himself, of self-indulgence, or heaping up riches. Strictly watchful over himself, ascetic in his own mode of living,—to others he was gentle, kind, considerate. Our readers have had some idea of his munificence and his alms-deeds. The extent of his liberality is remarkable; it embraced not only increasing the poor bishoprics, but also the dowry of poor maidens at Reading. The royal impropriations ceded by King Charles in Ireland at his suit; his large contributions to S. Paul's; the procuring commendams for the impoverished bishoprics of Bristol, Peterborough, S. Asaph, Chester, Oxford; his battles with the City respecting the tithes of the poorer Clergy, show a wide and generous sympathy. He was the steady friend of the poor, and was sadly missed at Lambeth. Nor did the statesman forget the scene of his early and humbler fortunes. Among the projects he had in view, we find one to settle a hospital of land in Reading of £100 a year in a new way, and he notes it as done to the value of £200 per annum; £120 to be spent every two years for placing apprentices and setting up beginners, and every third year for the marriage of five young maidens who had lived with one master or mistress seven years together; £50 per annum to the minister of S. Laurence, his native parish (the advowson of which he purchased for S. John's); £20 per annum to increase the stipend of the schoolmaster. And this he seems to have regarded as a special direction of GOD.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, Diary, vol. iii. 220.

“Jan. 1. The way to do the town of Reading good for their poor; which may be compassed by God's blessing upon me, though my wealth be small. And I hope GOD will bless me in it, because it was His own motion in me. For this way never came into my thoughts (though I had much beaten them about it) till this night as I was at my prayers. Amen, LORD.”

Laud's kindly heart is evidenced further by the strong friendships he formed, and the bitter grief he felt when his friends failed him. Thus Sir K. Digby's secession to Rome, unknown to Laud, who was on very intimate terms with him, caused him much pain. His desertion in the Council Chamber by Sir F. Windebank, whose fortunes he had made, is chronicled as matter of grief. How deeply he felt Buckingham's death, has been already seen. His abrupt and un-courteous manner was probably excited by the honest indignation he felt at Bishops who were hangers-on of the Court, nobles who patronized the Church, and squires who lorded it over the Clergy. What we have said above, proves he was a man of enlarged sympathies; and the affection the inferior Clergy had for him, shows they understood him. It is a very pleasing trait too in his character, to find him nursing the sick bed of his friend the Duke of Buckingham, while his kindly feeling towards a class generally but little regarded by great men, domestic servants, shows that he felt the bond of Christian brotherhood made all men one. Such extracts as these respecting Adam Torless and William Pennell, speak for themselves, and ought to dissipate preconceived prejudices. They show that, if stern to the worthless, he was very gentle to all that deserved well of him.

“Oct. 2. Saturday, in the evening, at Mr. Windebank's, my ancient servant, Adam Torless, fell into a swoon, and we had much ado to recover him; but I thank GOD, we did.”

“Thursday, Sept. 23, 1641. Mr. Adam Torless, my

ancient, loving, and faithful servant, and then my steward, after he had served me full forty and two years, died, to my great both loss and grief. For all my accounts since my commitment were in his hands; and had he not been a very honest and careful man, I must have suffered much more than I did; yet I suffered enough, besides the loss of his person, who was become almost the only comfort of my affliction and my age. So true it is, that afflictions seldom come single.

“Oct. 26, Monday. This morning between four and five of the clock, lying at Hampton Court, I dreamt that I was going out in haste, and that when I came into my outer chamber, there was my servant William Pennell, in the same riding-suit which he had on that day seven-night at Hampton Court with me. Methought I wondered to see him, for I left him sick at home, and asked him how he did, and what he made there. And that he answered me he came to receive my blessing; and with that fell on his knees. That thereupon I laid my hand upon his head and prayed over him, and therewith awaked. When I was up, I told this to them of my chamber, and added, that I should find Pennell dead or dying. My coach came, and when I came home I found him past sense, and giving up the ghost. So my prayers (as they had frequently before,) commended him to God.”<sup>1</sup>

There is another point worthy of notice, as evidencing the high Christian principle which actuated Laud. Statesmen constantly make enemies. Laud was no exception. He was too honest not to raise foes on every side. Among them Bishop Williams was the most inveterate and unprincipled. From the first he ran counter to Laud, blackened his character, and tried to ruin him with the King; and afterwards, with pen and counsel, as well as by personal influence, Williams most vigorously aided the Puritan faction in their opposition to Laud's reform and restoration of the

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. 224, 249.

altars. At last the day of retribution came: Williams fell into disgrace, and had to suffer the tender mercies of the Star Chamber. That the man who could in such Christian strains pray for his enemies, and freely forgive them, as we have seen Laud do, should take advantage of Williams's position, we feel unlikely; and we have his own words for it, that so far from exciting the King's anger against his former rival and inveterate antagonist, he went down on his knees three times to his Majesty, beseeching him to pardon the offending Bishop; nor did he desist his intercession till he found Williams had been guilty of subornation of perjury,—a crime so grievous in a Bishop that he could say no more. When we remember the immense hindrance Williams had been to all Laud's plans for the improvement of the Church, we shall best appreciate his earnest entreaty for mercy to his fallen foe.

The last point we shall notice (for we would wish our readers to gain an impression of Laud from his whole life, rather than any summary of character,) is the religious point of view in which he regarded accidents. He seems thoroughly to have believed our LORD's saying, that "not a sparrow falleth to the ground without our FATHER." Thus he doubted not but that the fire at S. John's, 1617, had a warning to himself; and his breaking a sinew of his leg, as noted Feb. 5, 1628, was also regarded as a call to repentance. All through his Diary and Devotions he never seems to think that GOD's judgments have been provoked by others, but are sent as punishments for his own sins. This is indeed a feature of the highest saintliness. "Less than the least of all saints,"—"of whom I am chief," are the natural expressions of the deep loathing of themselves which the saints ever entertain. Prynne could only suppose from the strong penitential feelings evinced by Laud on every occasion of recognising GOD's hand, that he had been abandoned to wretchedness of unclean living. His coarse mind.

could not appreciate the language of sanctity. But the world never has understood the Church, and never will, till the end of all things.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

A. D. 1640.

### THE CONVOCATION OF 1640.

“ And the Apostles and Elders came together, for to consider of this matter.” Acts xv. 6.

It was not to be expected that Laud's measures for the elevation of the Church passed unnoticed by the Puritans. He had contrived to some extent to gag them by the strict censorship exercised over the press, while every encouragement was given to sound and orthodox publications. Their chief resource was therefore libelling, pasting up papers at Cheapside about the “ Arch Wolf ” of Canterbury shedding the blood of the martyrs, setting his Star Chamber speech in a kind of pillory, and the like. Laud was accustomed to this, and was too much occupied at the time in the affairs of Scotland, which was in open rebellion, to attend to such petty annoyances. The history of the proceedings which led to the pacification of Berwick, is foreign to our purpose. Suffice it, that in 1640, the Scotch Rebellion still continuing, it was thought expedient to call a Parliament, which met April 13, 1640. With it a Convocation of the Clergy assembled, according to custom, at S. Paul's, whence, after a sermon by Dr. Turner, they adjourned to Westminster, when Laud produced a Commission under the Broad Seal, empowering them to treat on matters ecclesiastical, subject to the royal approval. The first thing to be done was to vote the King six subsidies for the Scotch war, for six years; after which



they enacted various Canons for the restraint of the Roman Catholics and the suppression of Socinianism, which it seemed was making way. Measures were also taken to ensure conformity on the part of the Brownists and other Separatists, by compelling them to attend their parish churches; but, as we have no sympathy with compulsion in religion, we pass them by. All that can be said is that these Canons were in accordance with the political maxims of the age and country.

Meanwhile, matters had not gone well in Parliament. The King had offered to abandon ship-money, if they would vote supplies, and Laud had proposed on the part of the Convocation, a conference with the Commons on matters of religion,—but to no purpose. They refused to proceed, and the King, in an evil hour, gave way to his impatience, and dissolved them. “This is the doing of ‘William the Fox,’ ” exclaimed the City democrats, and papers were posted on ‘Change, exciting the apprentices to attack Lambeth. Laud had notice of the storm, and slept that night at Whitehall, having first fortified Lambeth, round which a riotous mob howled for two hours past midnight, May 11.<sup>1</sup> One of the ringleaders was

<sup>1</sup> “GOD be thanked, I had no harm: my deliverance was great. God, make me thankful for it!” is his way of recording it. As was his wont, this trouble was sanctified by prayer. “O Eternal GOD and my Most Merciful FATHER, as this day the fury of the enraged multitude was fierce upon me and my house, to destroy me and to pillage it, it pleased Thee in mercy to preserve both, and bring some of them to shame and punishment. I have sinned many ways against Thee, O LORD, and this was a loud call of Thine, and a merciful, to bring me to repentance, which I beseech Thee, give me grace to hear and obey. But what I have done to hurt or offend them, that should stir up this rage against me, I know not. LORD, in Thy mercy look down upon me; fill my heart with thankfulness for this great deliverance, and suffer me not to forget it, or the examination which I took of myself upon it. And as for them and their like, let them not have their desire, O LORD; let not their mischievous imaginations prosper against me, nor their fury lay hold upon me, lest they be too proud, and

executed. But riots were of constant occurrence. In this case the popular opinion was wrong, as Laud says the resolution to dissolve Parliament was taken before he entered the Council Chamber, though he voted for it.

A difficulty now arose respecting the continuance of Convocation. Laud prepared to dissolve it, but the King, who wanted money, ordered him to proceed. Anxious to avoid collision with Parliament, he forgot at first that Convocation could not be dissolved without the King's writ. On application the King, to Laud's surprise and chagrin, told him that the Lord Keeper Finch had advised him Convocation might continue to sit, notwithstanding the dissolution of Parliament. Laud seems to have shown he was hurt at the King's having kept the matter from him, but obeyed. Some members of Convocation, however, were more timid, and required further satisfaction, and to please them Charles referred the matter to the Lord Privy Seal (Montague), the Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas (Bramston and Littleton), Serjeant Whitfield, Bankes, the Attorney-General, and Serjeant Heath. Their answer was,

“The Convocation being called by the King's writ, under the great seal, doth continue, until it be dissolved by writ or commission under the great seal, notwithstanding the Parliament be dissolved.

“ May 14th, 1640.

“ J. FINCH, C. S.

“ H. MANCHESTER,

“ JOHN BRAMSTON,

“ EDWARD LITTLETON,

“ RALPH WHITFIELD.

“ JOHN BANKES,

“ ROBERT HEATH.”

lest I end my weary days in misery. Yet forgive them, O LORD, for they know not why they did it; and, according to Thy wonted mercy, preserve me to serve Thee, and let the same watchful protection which now defended me, guard me through the remainder of my life. And this for Thine own goodness' sake, and the merits of my SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. Amen.” (Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 83.)

➤ Thus fortified, Convocation proceeded to perfect its acts of subsidies, and returned them to the King. They then proceeded with the Canons, but so great was the fury of the people, that it was necessary to surround the Convocation House with a guard of the Middlesex Train Bands under Endymion Porter,—a bad augury of success.

In these Canons, the Convocation laid down very high notions of prerogative, asserting the divine right of the high and sacred order of Kings—a moot point of politics which the Clergy had better have abstained from settling. They then proceeded to declare their views respecting his supremacy in matters ecclesiastical.

“A supreme power is given to this most excellent Order by God Himself in the Scriptures, which is, That Kings should rule and command in their several dominions all persons of what rank or estate soever, whether ecclesiastical or civil, and that they should restrain and punish with the temporal sword all stubborn and wicked doers.”<sup>1</sup>

Having established the royal rights against Pope and people, the Convocation proceeded to impose an oath, to be taken by all ecclesiastics, that they approved the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, would never bring in any Popish doctrines, or consent to alter the government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, &c., an unhappy termination which gave occasion to malicious Puritans suggesting that a loophole had been left designedly for the entrance of all Papal innovations, and procured for it the title of “the Et cætera” oath.

But the chief work of the Synod was the declaration concerning rites and ceremonies, of which we subjoin the principal part.

After a preamble about the desirableness of unity of faith, and uniformity of practice, and the objec-

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. v. Part ii. p. 614.

tions which had been taken against the Communion table standing at the east end of the Church as savouring of Popery, it proceeds: "yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, that the holy tables should stand in that place where the altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the Royal Chapels of three famous and pious Princes, and in most cathedral and some parochial churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said tables from any illegality or just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient that all Churches and Chapels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the Cathedral or mother Churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishop by law, during the time of administration of the Holy Communion. And we declare that this situation of the holy table doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, wherein CHRIST is again really sacrificed; but it is and may be called an altar by us in that sense in which the primitive Church called it an altar and in no other.

"And because experience hath showed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the communion table in time of divine service; for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present Synod, that the said communion tables in all chancels or chapels be decently severed with rails to preserve them from such or worse profanation.

"And because the administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service-Book established by Act of Parliament, 'Draw near,' &c., that all communicants, with all humble reverence, shall draw near and approach

to the holy table, there to receive the divine mysteries which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the Minister, unless it shall be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place or other inconvenience, by the Bishop himself in his jurisdiction, and other ordinaries respectively in theirs.

“And lastly, whereas the Church is the house of God, dedicated to His holy worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of His divine majesty; certain it is that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and behoveful, and heartily recommend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the LORD the said acknowledgment by doing reverence and obeisance both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The reviving therefore of this ancient and laudable custom we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good people, not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the communion table, the east, or church, or anything therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of JESUS CHRIST on the holy table, or in mystical elements, but only for the advancement of GOD’S majesty, and to give Him alone that honour and glory that is due unto Him, and no otherwise; and in the practice or omission of this rite, we desire that the rule of charity prescribed by the Apostle may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not, and that they who use it not condemn not those that use it.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud’s Works, vol. v. Part ii. p. 625.

Here then is the best proof that the Church had made way, and Laud's labour not been in vain. What a different tone of mind with regard to GOD's worship must have possessed this Convocation of 1640, to that which actuated the Convocation of 1562, when the surplice and other ritual observances were carried only by a majority of one. And what is more, the improved feeling has lasted, and in all main points this Canon, though declared void in law, has continued in force. Our altars are still railed from intrusion, and we kneel before them at communion. Posterity has again practically vindicated Laud.

The remainder of their time was occupied in restraining the greedy practices of the officials of the Ecclesiastical courts. Their deliberations were embodied in seventeen canons, which after some opposition from Bishop Goodman, of Gloucester, who afterwards died in the Roman communion, and was now suspended by Laud, were signed by the Prelates and Clergy. Convocation was then dissolved, their acts transmitted to York, and after receiving the subscriptions of that province laid before the King, who by letters patent, of June 13th, confirmed them collectively and singly. The quiet with which they were first received, compared with the noise they created afterwards, is very remarkable.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

A. D. 1640—1.

### THE BEGINNING OF SORROWS.

“Then the Presidents and Princes sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning the Kingdom.”—Dan. vi. 4.

WHEN Mr. Hyde, an hour after the dissolution, met St. John, the parliamentary lawyer, he noticed that his brow, usually so dark and gloomy, was bright

and cheerful. Hyde on the contrary, was sick at heart, and in answer to the other's question, as to the cause of his sadness, replied, that he was troubled that in such a time of confusion so wise a Parliament which could only have found a remedy for it, was so unseasonably dismissed. "All is well," replied the other, "it must be worse before it can be better; this Parliament never would have done what was necessary to be done." The event proved Hyde had too good reason for his grief. The dissolution was indeed a fatal mistake. The King on discovering his betrayal by Vane, would have done any thing to recall his edict. But it could not be. Recourse was therefore had to voluntary loans, (for the King wanted money) and in less than three weeks, £300,000 was paid into the exchequer; the army was raised, and the command given to the Earl of Northumberland, with Strafford as Lieut.-General, and Lord Conway as master of the horse; a nobleman who had managed to ingratiate himself into Laud's good opinion, by the ability of his speeches in Church affairs; though those who knew him best, were aware he privately thought all creeds alike. His moral character was but doubtful; but his great learning, vivacious manners and powers of conversation, secured him a welcome with most people.

Northumberland's illness hastened Strafford's march northward, but before he arrived, the battle of Newburn had been fought, and the Scots were masters of Newcastle. Strafford himself was worn by sickness, and finding the army terribly demoralized, he did not venture to give battle, but fell back upon York, where the King had arrived. A great Council of Peers assembled at York, and it was finally resolved to call another Parliament. It met, Tuesday, Nov. 3rd, 1640, at a time when the fanaticism of the people was at its height; the very soldiers of the Royal army, desecrating churches, burning surplices, maltreating the clergy on their march. Serious riots too had taken place in London, where the mob had burst into the High Commission Court, and torn up the benches,

amid shouts of "No Bishops, no High Commission!" Seditious papers also, urging an attack upon Laud, were circulated, and there is reason to believe, from the language used in the rebel camp, that plots were laid for his assassination.

The day on which Parliament met, Nov. 3rd, was a memorable one in English history, for on that day the Parliament of Henry, which voted the dissolution of the monasteries, and brought about the fall of the great statesman Wolsey, had assembled. Laud's attention was drawn to this, but it was not to be expected it would influence him. Yet he could not but have been anxious, for everybody predicted his ruin when the Parliament assembled; and he records almost as if he accepted the omen, that on his entry into his study, Oct. 27th, he found his picture fallen on its face lying on the floor. The Parliament met; the King, sick at heart, went privately to Westminster, and opened the session without the usual pomp. Before it closed, Laud, Strafford, and Charles had bowed beneath the headsman's axe.

Laud did not quail. He took his place in Parliament. He preached before Convocation, advising all to remain faithful to their parts, though troublous times might be at hand. Nothing was done by the clergy, though several matters had stood over from the last synod, amongst them, the framing a pontifical, which in addition to the offices of Ordination and Confirmation should contain forms for the consecration of churches and churchyards, reconciling of penitents, reception of those who had lapsed to Mahometanism, and the coronation of the Sovereign. A new Welch translation of the Bible, and a Latin version of the Prayer Book for the use of the Universities, had been also deferred. But matters in Parliament henceforward engrossed every thing. The Commons soon showed they too were for "thorough."<sup>1</sup> On Nov. 11th, Strafford was followed into the House of Lords by Pym, and

<sup>1</sup> A word much used in Laud's correspondence with Strafford, to express vigorous counsels.



accused of high treason in the name of the Commons of England. On Dec. 16th, the Canons were condemned in the Lower House, as being against the King's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and property of the subject, and containing divers other things tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence.<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, Dec. 1th, (the anniversary of his consecration to S. David's) Mr. D. Hollis, in the name of the people of England, accused William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of high treason, and prayed he might be committed to safe custody, promising at a convenient time to specify the charges. The Archbishop was ordered to withdraw: he craved leave to speak, and expressed his sorrow at such a charge being made against an innocent man. He was rudely interrupted by Lord Essex, brow-beaten by Lord Say, and finally committed to the charge of Mr. J. Maxwell, the Usher of the black rod.<sup>2</sup>

With difficulty the Archbishop obtained leave to return to Lambeth to arrange his papers. And when at the hour of evening prayer, he entered the chapel he had so piously restored, it may be that a saddened

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 238. (Diary.)

<sup>2</sup> The following prayer was composed by Laud on this occasion :

"O eternal God and merciful Father, I humbly beseech Thee look down upon me in this time of my great and grievous affliction. LORD, if it be Thy blessed will, make mine innocency to appear, and free both me and my profession from all scandal thus raised upon me. And howsoever, if Thou be pleased to try me to the uttermost, I humbly beseech Thee, give me full patience, proportionable comfort, contentment with whatsoever Thou sendest, and an heart ready to die for Thy honour, the King's happiness, and this Church's preservation. And my zeal to these is all the sin (human frailty excepted) which is yet known to me in this particular for which I thus suffer. LORD, look upon me in mercy, and for the merits of JESUS CHRIST, pardon all my sins many and great, which have drawn down this judgment upon me, and then in all things do with me as seems best in Thine own eyes; and make me not only patient under, but thankful for whatsoever Thou dost, O LORD, my strength and my Redeemer. Amen."—Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 84.

feeling came over him as he gazed upon its fair beauty for the last time. But GOD was with His servant, and the service of the day carried with it consolation; and as the choir wafted in melodious strains the inspired words "The floods are risen, O LORD, the floods have lift up their voice, the floods lift up their waves. The waves of the sea are mighty, and rage horribly: but yet the LORD, Who dwelleth on high, is mightier." Or, "Blessed is the man whom Thou chastenest, O LORD: and teachest him in Thy law." Or, "In the multitude of the sorrows I had in my heart, Thy comforts have refreshed my soul. They gather them together against the soul of the righteous, and condemn the innocent blood: but the LORD is my refuge, and my GOD is the strength of my confidence. He shall recompense them their wickedness, and destroy them in their own malice: yea, the LORD our GOD shall destroy them."<sup>1</sup> Every word of those evening Psalms spoke comfort; and the voice of the Prophet, in the first lesson, had its own message.

"For the LORD GOD will help me; therefore shall I not be confounded: therefore have I set my face like a flint, and I know that I shall not be ashamed."

"He is near that justifieth me; who will contend with me? let us stand together: who is mine adversary? let him come near to me."

"Behold, the LORD GOD will help me; who is he that shall condemn me? Lo, they all shall wax old as a garment; the moth shall eat them up."

"Who is among you that feareth the LORD, that obeyeth the voice of His servant; that walketh in darkness and hath no light? let him trust in the Name of the LORD, and stay upon his GOD."

"Behold, all ye that kindle a fire, that compass yourselves about with sparks: walk in the light of your fire, and in the sparks that ye have kindled. This shall ye have of Mine hand; ye shall lie down in sorrow."—(Isaiah l. 7.)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xciii. and xciv.

<sup>2</sup> First Evening Lesson, Dec. 18th.

And the chief of the Apostles too seemed to speak to him, and remind him that he must shortly put off this tabernacle :<sup>1</sup> and so the Service closed. The organ ceased,—the chant died away,—the closing prayer was said,—one last look the Prelate cast upon the fair altar he had raised, the glowing windows he had restored,—and then, at eventide took boat, and amid the blessings of his poorer neighbours, who crowded the portal and loudly prayed for his safe return, departed to his prison-house. And so great an impression did that service make upon his mind, that ever after till the day of his death, the Psalms 93 and 94, which were then sung, were recited by him daily.

It was now that the real motives of the enmity aroused against him came out. Sir R. Howard, who had been imprisoned formerly by the High Commission Court for adultery with Lady Purbeck, applied to Parliament for damages, and this body in their hatred to Laud, sympathizing with the adulterer, ordered the Archbishop (though he had been one of many judges) to pay damages £500, and his officials £250 each. Meanwhile in the Houses examination was made into his whole past life, with all the eagerness which malice and hatred could supply. The town teemed with scurrilous ballads, on his person and calling. “They that sat in the gate spake against him, and the drunkards made songs upon him.” One favourite caricature was to represent him in a cage, fastened by a chain. “I thank God He made me patient,”—“God forgive them,”—“it grieved me much more for my calling than my person,”—are his only remarks.

At length, after ten weeks' imprisonment at Maxwell's, where he was put to ruinous charges, every penny of which was exacted, these sticklers for the liberty of the subject condescended to let him know of what they accused him. It seems they had talked of removing him from the country without trial, but it was resolved at last to bring him into open court. On

<sup>1</sup> 2 S. Peter i. 14. The Second Evening Lesson, Dec. 18th.

February 26th, 1644, fourteen articles were presented by Sir H. Vane, the younger. Laud spake something to each, and the Lords finally committed him to the Tower. He did not, however, leave Maxwell's (whose wife he seems to have quite charmed, so light-hearted, and yet so religious in his troubles, was he) till the next Monday, March 1st, when, amid the shoutings and hootings of a villainous rabble which followed him to the Tower gates, he entered the State prison. He felt deeply (for he was very sensitive) the revilings of the multitude, "but I bless God," he says, "my patience was not moved. I looked upon a higher cause than the tongues of Shimei and his children." The charges on which he found himself a prisoner we reserve for another chapter.

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## CHAPTER XVIII.

1641—1643.

### THE PRISON.

"In the multitude of the sorrows I had in my heart, Thy comforts have refreshed my soul."—Ps. xciv. 19.

THOSE who are disposed to moralize on the instability of earthly greatness, may find a fit subject for their meditation in the change that passed over the fortunes of Laud. A few hours transformed him from the first man in the kingdom to a prisoner in danger of his life. But we prefer to follow him into his dungeon, and witness him on his knees. Thus he poured out his soul in prayer, a prisoner in his solitary old age.

"SENECTUS.

"O LORD, cast me not off in the time of mine age ;

forsake me not now my strength begins to fail me.  
Amen.

"Forsake me not, O GOD, in mine old age, now I am grey-headed, until I have declared Thy strength unto this generation, and Thy power to all them that are to come. Amen.

"O LORD, though Thou hast shortened the days of my youth, yet cover me not with dishonour. Hide not Thyself from me for ever, but remember how short my time is, and make me remember it, O LORD. Amen.

"O LORD, teach me to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom. Amen.

"O LORD, hide not Thy face from me in the time of trouble, for my days are consumed away like smoke, and my bones are burnt up like a fire-brand. My days are gone like a shadow, and I am withered like grass. Thou, O LORD, hast brought down my strength in my journey, and shortened my days. But, O GOD, take me not away, but in the timeliness of my age, that I may continue to serve Thee and be faithful to Thy service, till Thou remove me hence. Amen.

"O LORD, have mercy upon me, and bring my soul out of prison, that I may give thanks unto Thy Name, even in JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

"O LORD, blessed is the man that hath Thee for his help, and whose hope is in Thee. O LORD, help me and all them to right that suffer wrong. Thou art the LORD Which looseth men out prison, Which helpeth them that are fallen. O LORD, help and deliver me when and as it shall seem best to Thee, even for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen.

"O LORD, Thine indignation lies hard upon me; and though Thou hast not (for Thy mercy is great) vexed me with all Thy storms, yet Thou hast put my acquaintance far from me, and I am so fast in prison that I cannot get forth. LORD, I call daily upon Thee, hear and have mercy, for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 78.

The imprisonment of Laud was of course a triumph for Williams. He was set at liberty and reinstated in the Abbey Church, November 17th, with great pomp. For a time this subtle Prelate was popular, but the tide was nevertheless setting daily against his order. To please the people the King nominated him to the Archbishopial See of York, made vacant by the death of Neile; and to secure his hold on popular affection, he procured the formation of a committee of religion in the House of Lords, consisting of ten Earls, ten Bishops, and ten Barons, for the purpose of examining into all innovations in doctrine and discipline, and thus superseding the action of Convocation. "What use will be made of this Committee for the present, I shall expect; but what it shall produce in future, I dare not prophesy. But, it may be, it will prove in time superior to the National Synods of England, and what that may work in this Church and State God knows."<sup>1</sup> As it was a packed Committee and called Calvinistic preachers to its counsels, our readers will anticipate its verdict.

Meanwhile the Commons were not idle. They summoned before them Drs. Pocklington and Bray, Heylin, Cosin, and others, true sons of the Church, on the charge of being Popishly affected; the proofs being that they had railed in their altars, compelled their parishioners to communicate at it, preached in surplices, celebrated in the proper Eucharistic vestments, erected painted windows, and caused the Te Deum to be sung. It is not worth while pursuing the history of such fanaticism, but it is right our readers should see that almost every thing which is now deemed by all parties right and comely, was denounced by the Long Parliament as superstitious. For it is only thus we can gain a right idea of our obligations to Laud.

Laud was not a solitary prisoner in the Tower. Its walls contained the great Earl, the Archbishop's constant friend; but no intercourse was permitted between them:

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 438.

At length Strafford's trial came on. The evidence broke down. It was impossible to convict him according to law. But the Commons did not care for that. Justice was nothing to men who were eager for blood. They therefore passed a bill of attainder, ordering his execution. The King came during its progress to the House, and declared he would on no account put his hand to a measure so destructive of the eternal principles of justice. The bill, however, was pressed on; the rabble surrounded the House of Lords, and insulted the peers who were opposed to it. After its second reading, the names of the fifty nobles who had had the courage to vote against it were posted in Palace Yard as "Straffordians," and enemies to their country. At length the bill passed, and then commenced that fearful struggle with his conscience, the memory of which haunted Charles to his dying day. Overcome by the sophistry of Williams, the royal assent was given, but Charles from that hour knew no peace. It was the great sin of his life; and though he repented it all the remainder of his days, retribution in mercy to him, followed in this world; and the fate of Strafford was his own.

On Sunday, May 9th, the bill of attainder became law; the same night Sir D. Carleton announced to Strafford he was to die on Wednesday. The message was received with great "courage and sweetness," for Strafford was prepared to meet his Maker, and indignantly refused to save himself by engaging to persuade the King to abolish Episcopacy. "He would not buy his life at so dear a rate" was his heroic reply.<sup>1</sup> The great Earl was assisted in his preparations for death by Usher, the Archbishop of Armagh, and through him he sent his dying request to Laud, that on the morrow he would be at his window, and give him his benediction. As he passed to the scaffold, Strafford kneeled down and said, "My Lord, your prayers and your blessing." Laud gave him both.

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 442.

“Farewell, my Lord,” returned Strafford, “may GOD protect your innocence.” It was too much for the old man, and Laud fell back in a swoon. When he recovered it was all over, and the blood-thirsty populace was shouting in its mad joy, “His head is off! his head is off!”

How nobly Strafford met the raging multitude, how meekly he laid his head upon the block, what a true Christian hero he was in his last moments, is foreign to these pages to record. “While I live shall I honour his memory,” writes Laud. “He was more serviceable to the Church (not to mention the State) than myself, or all the Churchmen that had ever been.” It is no wonder that the excitement and confinement affected Laud’s health. He fell into a tertian ague, “which was comfortless in a prison. But I humbly praise GOD for it; after seven or eight fits He restored me to my health; the only comfort which I have of Him in time of my affliction.”<sup>1</sup> His demeanour under sickness (from which he suffered more or less through life, for his constitution was very weakly) will be best estimated by the following extract from his Devotions :

“O LORD, the sorrows of death compass me, and the snares of it are ready to overtake me. When Thou wilt dissolve my tabernacle, Thou alone knowest: therefore in this my trouble I will call upon Thee my LORD, and will complain unto my GOD. O be with me at the instant of my death, and receive me, for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen.

“O LORD, the snares of death compass me round about, the pains of hell get hold upon me. I have found trouble and heaviness, but will call upon Thy Name, O LORD; O LORD, deliver my soul. Deliver my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling; that I may walk before Thee in the land of the living. Amen.

“There is no health in my flesh by reason of Thy

<sup>1</sup> Laud’s Works, vol. iii. p. 446. Troubles.



wrath, neither is there any rest in my bones by reason of my sin. Yet, O LORD, be merciful unto me, and heal me, even for Thy Name's sake. Amen.

“O LORD, I give Thee humble and hearty thanks for the great and almost miraculous bringing of me back from the bottom of my grave. What Thou hast further for me to do or to suffer, Thou alone knowest. LORD, give me patience and courage, and all Christian resolution to do Thee service, and grace to do it. And let me not live longer than to honour Thee, through JESUS CHRIST. Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

It was now plain to all that Strafford and Laud were no longer in the King's Councils. The new administration consisted of the Earl of Bedford as Treasurer, Lord Say, Master of the Wards, Mr. Hollis, Secretary of State, Mr. Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and St. John, as Solicitor-General. They advocated concession. The King went to Scotland and abandoned the Church to its fate, for which good service the citizens of Edinburgh illuminated their city and received him with noisy demonstrations of joy. The Commons took advantage of the King's absence to issue instructions respecting the performance of Divine Service, enjoining Churchwardens to remove the altars, destroy the rails, level the steps, break painted windows, and put down bowing at the Name of JESUS. They had already procured the abolition of the High Commission Court, and the coercive jurisdiction of the Bishops; though foiled for the present in their attack on Cathedrals. Their next step was to commit the Archbishop of York and eleven Bishops to the Tower, for having signed an ill-advised protestation against the legality of the Parliamentary proceedings in their absence from the House of Lords, the violence of the rabble having rendered their progress thither impossible. This was December 30th, 1641. On January 4th, 1642, Charles made his ineffectual attempt to seize the five members. How sorely must he have missed Strafford! The great Earl

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. 49. Devotions.

would have dragged them from any hiding place, but Charles alone was no match for a Puritan Parliament.

The cry was now for no Bishops, and Saturday, Feb. 6th, 1642, the bill abolishing the Episcopal votes in Parliament was passed. Laud carefully noted all proceedings from his prison, the rigour of which does not seem to have been increased, though he was not allowed to communicate with his brother Prelates. His jurisdiction was next sequestered; he was ordered to refer his patronage for approval to the Commons; and traps were laid to ensnare him into admissions fatal to his cause,—but he was on his guard, and foiled their machinations. An additional trial also befell him. He broke the sinew of his leg in the old place, and was confined two months to his room. He was thus cut off from the public worship of GOD, a great deprivation to him; but May 15th, “made shift between his man and his staff, to go to church.” The preacher so far forgot Christian charity and common courtesy, as to preach a violent invective against him, from Judges v. 23.—“Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the LORD.” So that the women and boys, he said, stood up in the church to look at him. I humbly thank GOD for my patience, he adds.<sup>1</sup> On which side Christianity and the spirit of the Gospel were—with Laud, or this fanatical party, whose powers of abuse have always been remarkable, let the subjoined extract from his devotions testify.

“If I find favour in Thine eyes, O LORD, Thou wilt bring me again, and show me both the ark and the tabernacle, and set me right in Thy service, and make me joyful and glad in Thee. But if Thou say, (O, for JESUS His sake, say it not,) I have no pleasure in thee; behold, here I am, do with me as seemeth good in Thine own eyes. Amen.

“O LORD, whatsoever Thou shalt lay upon me, I will hold my peace, and not open my mouth; because it is Thy doing and my deserving. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 248.

▷ “O LORD Almighty, O GOD of Israel, the soul that is in trouble, and the spirit that is vexed, crieth unto Thee. Hear, O LORD, and have mercy, for Thou art merciful, and have pity upon me, because I have sinned before Thee. For Thou endurest for ever; but unless Thou have mercy I utterly perish. Have mercy, therefore, even for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen.

“Gracious Father, the life of man is a warfare upon earth, and the dangers which assault us are diversely pointed against us. I humbly beseech Thee, be present with me in all the course and passages of my life; but especially in the services of my calling. Suffer no malice to be able to hurt me, no cunning to circumvent me, no violence to oppress me, no falsehood to betray me. That which I cannot foresee, I beseech Thee prevent; that which I cannot withstand, I beseech Thee master; that which I do not fear, I beseech Thee unmask and frustrate; that being delivered from all danger, both of soul and body, I may praise Thee the Deliverer, and see how happy a thing it is to make the LORD of Hosts my Helper in the day of fear and trouble. Especially, O LORD, bless and preserve me at this time from, &c., that I may glorify Thee for this deliverance also, and be safe in the merits and the mercies of JESUS CHRIST my only LORD and SAVIOUR. Amen.

▷ “O LORD, Thou hast fed me with the bread of affliction, and given me plenty of tears to drink. I am become a very strife to my neighbours; and mine enemies laugh me to scorn. But turn Thee again, Thou GOD of Hosts; show me the light of Thy countenance, and I shall be whole. Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 451.

## CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1643—4.

## THE TRIAL.

“They have spoken against me with false tongues: they compassed me about with words of hatred, and fought against me without a cause.”—Psalm cix. 2.

ALTHOUGH Laud was committed on charge of high treason, 1640, he was not brought to trial till 1643; a piece of injustice and oppressive cruelty far exceeding anything of which he or the King have ever been accused of. The Commons were always crying out about the fundamental laws of the realm, but most shamelessly violated them to suit their purpose. They had already broken the pledge of Magna Charta, “That the Church of England should be free,” by their forcible ejection of the Bishops from their places in Parliament. They had already violated another of its articles, which forbade “a free man to be imprisoned without cause shown, or detained without being brought to his answer in due form of law,” by their illegal detention of Laud. They committed greater illegalities before the end, and all the while were talking of the rights of the subject, and the liberties of Englishmen.

The interval between his committal and trial, was signalized by the events of that sad war, which devastated England so fearfully. We must pass it all by, being concerned neither with the chivalry of Rupert, nor the gallant bearing of the King,—but with an old man of three-score years and ten, immured within the walls of the Tower, and who has left an account with his own pen of the way in which he passed his time and the indignities he had to endure.

As if the very existence of the Episcopate was bound up in Laud, no sooner was his presence withdrawn, than the two Houses voted the abolition of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, and Chapters,

and, October 15th, sequestered all their property. Laud was now penniless, and was supported by the charity of friends, for the cruel Commons would grant the old man no maintenance. In pursuance of this decree of the Houses, Capt. Brown and a company of soldiers took possession of Lambeth Palace, and though instructions were given to preserve the property, the fanatical soldiery broke open the chapel and defaced the organ, till they were stopped by their commander. Leighton, the libeller, soon after waited upon Laud to demand the keys, as it was to be converted into a state prison. "All was done," says Laud, on being subjected to the insolence of this villain, "to break my patience. I referred myself to God, that nothing might trouble me."<sup>1</sup>

He also was perpetually annoyed about his patronage,—the Parliament insisting on his inducting their nominees, the King requiring him to lapse all presentations to himself, if harassed by Parliament. Laud as might be expected, obeyed the King; so Parliament took the patronage into its own hands, by an ordinance, dated June 10th, 1643, which under the circumstances, was a relief to his mind, as he was thus freed from the trouble and sin of admitting unworthy persons into the Church's service.

The year 1643 opened with the final abolition of Episcopacy, by the House of Lords. "God be merciful to this sinking Church," notes Laud. In May it was coolly proposed by Hugh Peters and Wells, two Puritan preachers, to transport the aged Prelate and his brother of Norwich (Wren) to New England,—but it was too barbarous even for a Puritan House of Commons. Out of doors stormy events had occurred. Edgehill had been fought last year, and blood was up on either side. Wars and rumours of wars reached the Tower walls, and Laud had to record the death of Lord Brooke the great enemy of the Church, before Lichfield, whose cathedral he had devoted to destruc-

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 14. (Troubles.)

tion. Laud notes "his fearful manner of death in such a quarrel," and the coincidence of its having happened on S. Chad's day, the saint whose name the cathedral bore.<sup>1</sup>

Sorrow and grief must have taken a deep hold of the Archbishop when he heard of his beautiful stained glass windows at Lambeth having been defaced, the removal of the sign of redemption from Cheapside, and the profanation of Canterbury cathedral, by Culmer. Matters of this kind would affect him more than the sale of his goods at Lambeth, or his close confinement to his lodging, which was ordered May 9th, when the hard-hearted Parliament forbade him even to take the air. On May 31st, the Archbishop was aroused from sleep by the entrance of Pryune and three musketeers into his bed chamber. His room was subjected to a rigorous search, and even his person was not exempt. This man took away twenty bundles of papers which Laud had prepared for his defence, and actually deprived him of his book of private devotions. "He must needs see," says Laud, "what passed between GOD and me, a thing I think scarce ever offered to any Christian. I was somewhat troubled to see myself used in this manner, but knew no help but in GOD and the patience which He had given me. And how His gracious Providence over me, and His goodness to me, wrought upon all this, I shall in the end discover, and will magnify, however it succeed with me."<sup>2</sup>

The assembly of the Westminster Divines (although prohibited by the King) caused Laud sad musings. "I shall for my part never deny that the Liturgy of the Church of England may be made better, but I am sure withal it may easily be made worse; this will bring forth a schism firm enough to rend and tear religion out of this kingdom, which GOD for the merits and mercies of CHRIST forbid."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 18.    <sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 29.

So passed the time,—the Prelate being continually subjected to scurrilous abuse from the preachers, on Sundays, some of whom ascended the pulpit in buff coats and scarfs, with the gown thrown over them. Meanwhile the Parliament alarmed at the King's successes, invoked the aid of the Scots, and Oct. 3rd, took the covenant. "By this time," says Laud, "Mr. Prynne's malice had hammered out something," and a copy of ten additional articles was served on the Archbishop. On Nov. 13th,<sup>1</sup> he appeared at the bar of the House, with his counsel, Mr. Hearne, who joined in his last communion, Mr. Chute, Mr. Hale (the celebrated Sir Matthew Hale), and Mr. Gerrard, and pleaded not guilty. It seems the Lords expected an ebullition of temper, "but I praise God the Giver, I am better acquainted with patience than they think I am."<sup>2</sup> His request to have the treason distinguished from the misdemeanour, with both of which he was charged, was refused, of which he justly complains, as also of his being compelled when pillaged of his estate, to find copies of his own papers at his own charges. He was not again called to appear till Monday, Jan. 22nd, 1644. He wished to have gone by water, but the Thames was frozen, and was therefore taken in the coach of the Lieutenant of the Tower, guarded by twelve warders with halberds. The people flocked to hoot, revile, and rail at him. "God of His mercy forgive the poor misguided people," writes the holy man. The trial formally commenced, March 12th, 1644,

<sup>1</sup> His prayer on this occasion is as follows:—"O eternal God and merciful Father, after long imprisonment I am now at last called to answer; I most humbly beseech Thee to strengthen me through this trial, to preserve the patience with which Thou hast hitherto blessed me through this affliction. Suffer no coarse language, or other provocation, to make me speak or do anything that may misbecome my person, mine age, my calling, or my present condition. And, LORD, I beseech Thee, make me able to clear to the world that innocency which is in my heart concerning this charge laid against me. Grant this, O LORD, for JESUS CHRIST His sake. Amen."—Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 40.

and lingered till January, 1645, and we will endeavour to give our readers some idea of it, and the wickedness of its promoters. Prynne's tampering with the witnesses was so notorious, that it attracted the attention of utter strangers. Common decency was constantly violated, and while every facility was given to the prosecutors to prepare their charges, Laud was only allowed from two to four o'clock each day to arrange his defence. If he produced witnesses they were not allowed to be sworn, and weary with speaking, and wet to the skin with his exertions, the grey-headed old man was day by day dragged down to the steps of Westminster Hall, and conveyed along the river to the Tower. "Yet I humbly thank God for it, He so preserved my health, as though I were weary and faint the day after, yet I never had so much as half an hour's head-ache, or other infirmity all the time of this comfortless and tedious trial."<sup>1</sup>

Our readers will bear in mind he was accused of high treason, and the charges against him resolved themselves into three heads :

I. A traitorous endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law.

II. A traitorous endeavour to subvert God's true religion by law established, and instead thereof to set up Popish superstition and idolatry.

III. That he laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient course of Parliamentary proceedings, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments.

With regard to the first and third we shall say but little, we are not concerned with Laud's political opinions. Suffice it that there was literally no evidence. Garbled extracts from his diary ; hasty words which had fallen at the council-table, taken up and misquoted, were unscrupulously produced ; while in one

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 50.



instance an unblushing lie was uttered when they accused him of having altered the King's coronation oath. The oaths made by James and Charles were produced, and found to agree to a word. All the unpopular acts and arbitrary proceedings of the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts were laid to his sole charge, and his endeavours to free the action of the Church from the prohibitions at common law brought to swell the accusing testimony. But in vain, the case broke down. There is no treason in hasty temper or excited words. The arguments of his counsel were unanswered, and the judges unanimously declared that nothing charged against him amounted to treason by any known and established law of the land.

But though we pass by mere politics, we propose to give our readers some idea of the evidence adduced to prove Laud's unfaithfulness to the Church of England, that they may understand the miserable state of the Church at the time, and how we are indebted to him for the preservation of everything that is comely and beautiful in public worship.

Laud had some idea of not pleading at all, but on consideration decided to do so, trusting to the honour and generosity of the peers. He says, "I considered what offence I should commit thereby against the cause of justice, that might not proceed in the ordinary way, what offence against my own innocency and my good name, which I was bound in nature and conscience to maintain by all good means, which by deserting my cause could not be, but especially what offence against GOD, as if He were not able to protect me, or not willing in case it stood with my eternal happiness, and His blessed will of trial in me in the meantime; I say when I considered this I humbly besought GOD for strength and patience, and resolved to undergo all scorn, and whatsoever else might happen to me, rather than betray my innocence to the malice of any."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 49.

In accordance with this he first pleaded generally, asserting his innocence and love for the Church of England, as shown in the numbers he had brought back to her communion, as we have already noted, and then day by day battled with the voluminous little-nesses which were raked up. Spiteful Puritans whom he had suspended, disaffected sectaries who had been scandalized at no longer being allowed to profane the altar, groups of either sex who had gone about picking up tittle tattle about the Archbishop's doings, crowded to accuse him. His memory of such minute incidents is extraordinary; he thrusts the witnesses through and through, and entirely exposes them. But it is time that our readers should have some idea of the evidence adduced to prove the weighty charges that the Metropolitan of England had been guilty of advancing the interests of the Papacy, and betraying the liberties of his own Church. We shall see how in all main points the verdict of posterity has been given for Laud, and the very things which caused his death are now the recognized practices of the Church of England.

For instance, in the opinion of the Puritan Committee who managed this trial, it was deemed a great proof of Laud's leanings to the Papacy, that when he was at Oxford he had maintained in a theological treatise the necessity of baptism, and that the gloomy Calvinists who abounded in his younger days at Oxford had looked upon him in consequence as a secret adherent of the Pope. The evidence then pursued him through all his career, branding every improvement he had introduced as Romanizing. Thus the consecration of churches, the restoration of his chapel at Lambeth, the erection of painted windows, his careful performance of the coronation, the reverence he enjoined and practised on entering churches, and even the sacred pictures in the gallery of Lambeth Palace, (most of which had been there since Pole's time) a book with pictures, illustrating our LORD'S life, a

Bible with the five wounds embroidered on the cover, the gift of a devout lady, found in his library, were adduced as evidences of his unfaithfulness to the Church of England. Would it not be simply absurd and ludicrous to bring forward such things now, as evidence of a like charge? There is scarcely a day but we hear of restored churches, stained glass, elaborate ornaments, careful ritual, taking the place of decayed buildings plain appurtenances and slovenly celebration of religious offices. In other words, the Church of the nineteenth century has accepted that which Laud did, and for which he suffered death.

Of course the crowning proof of all was the removal of the holy table to the east end, placing it altarwise, railing it round, and saving it from profanation. It must have been an intense pleasure to the Puritan mind to desecrate the altar, judging from the fury exhibited by them when such proceedings were stopped. This alteration is referred to again and again till *we* smile. Thanks be to Laud this obtaineth in every church and chapel in England.

The further one goes in this trial, we are the more struck by the grotesque absurdities of the Puritanical Commons. Did Laud ask the prayers of the University when prostrate before the altar? It is evidence of a design to change the religion of the realm. Did the University apply to him in the exuberance of their gratitude the titles which were commonly given to the Bishops of the primitive Church, as Sanctitas tua, Summus pontifex, Archangelus, &c.? Parliamentary eyes, unused to the writings of the Fathers, can only discover treason. Did Laud stop temporal courts being held in churches and churchyards, or restrain the irregular marriages of the Tower, or fine the printers for having carelessly printed the seventh commandment? (they actually left out the word *not*.) Behold the arbitrary power and hateful tyranny of the Archbishop over freeborn Englishmen! Did he claim his jurisdiction from CHRIST? Behold he has

spoken against the King, resistance to whose simplest commands in matters of religion, these unprincipled fanatics claimed as a privilege of the elect! Had he been heard to express a wish that the condition of the clergy might be raised? this is adduced as proof of his conspiracy to exempt the clergy from the civil magistrate.

The same petty malevolence pursued the prosecutors in their attempt to support the charge of a conspiracy to alter the religion of the country by adducing the passages his chaplains had cut out from published books, and those they had allowed to stand. Laud very fairly disclaimed being made responsible for the acts of his chaplains, on whom the duty of acting as censors of the press devolved. And it was not to be expected that having in their hands a power of gagging Puritanism, they would not use it. Overwhelming evidence was adduced to show that Laud had allowed page after page of Calvinistic teaching, (which limited CHRIST'S death, and dispensed with good works, and systematized GOD'S secret decrees) to be erased, and that many a man who had relieved his mind by a hearty denunciation of the Pope as antichrist, was inexpressibly disgusted to find his book appear minus his malediction. "Many Protestants and those very learned," says Laud, "are of opinion he is not. 'Tis true I did not, I cannot approve foul language in controversy. Nor do I think the calling the Pope antichrist, did ever yet convert an understanding Papist." It is the voice of common sense making itself heard among the screams of fanaticism.

In a similar way his correspondence with Hall, in which he so strongly asserted the distinctness of the order of Episcopacy, and his allowing Pocklington to say it was "a happiness that the Bishops of England could derive their succession from S. Peter," were all in the eyes of Puritans signs of disaffection to the Church of England. "If there be any crime in this," replies Laud, "Dr. Pocklington is to answer it, and

not I. Secondly, he may scorn what he will; but wise men know 'tis a great honour to the Church of England, and a great stopple in the mouths of the Romanists, that her Bishops can derive their calling successively from S. Peter, especially considering how much they stand on personal succession."<sup>1</sup>

It may also interest our readers to see what doctrines those were, the circulation of which brought such odium upon the Archbishop. There is scarcely any Church doctrine, for allowing the publication of which he was not censured. Matters which are familiar to every Churchman now, were brought up against him. Did a Divine write that God has given "power and commandment to His Ministers to declare and pronounce to His people, being penitent, the absolution and remission of their sins;" or bid penitents if they cannot quiet their own consciences, unburden themselves to a spiritual guide,—here (although the Prayer Book said the same thing) was popery. So again the assertion of the Christian sacrifice,—the real spiritual presence of CHRIST in the Holy Eucharist,—the necessity of good works,—the denial of GOD's reprobation of His creatures to eternal misery irrespective of their own sins, the possibility of falling from grace,—the assertion that CHRIST died for all men,—that Bishops derive their authority by uninterrupted succession from S. Peter and S. Paul,—that Churches are made holy by consecration,—and that painted windows may lawfully be erected, all these recognized doctrines and practices of the English Church at this day, were solemnly produced as evidences of Laud's unfaithfulness to his own communion. We may well ask who would now be thought the Churchman, Laud or Prynne, who collected these charges!

The Book of Sports of course figured largely in the evidence. Laud thus stated his view of the case,—  
"The book was printed at the King's command. For the day (Sunday) I ever laboured it might be kept

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 340.

holy, but yet free from a superstitious holiness; till afternoon Service and Sermon were done, no recreation is allowed by that book, nor then to any but such as have been at both. Therefore it could not be done to take it away (preaching). Thirdly, the book names none but lawful recreations, therefore if any unlawful were used, the book gives them no warrant. And that some are lawful (after the public Service of God is ended) appears by the practice of Geneva, where, after evening prayer, the elder men bowl and the younger train." He then argues with regard to the abuses attending the anniversary festivals of the consecration of churches, which of necessity sometimes fell on the LORD'S Day, that though doubtless the feast of dedication was abused by some Jews, yet our LORD kept it.<sup>1</sup> "So again they say I expunged some things out of it, (Dr. Sibthorp's Sermon)—as first, the 'Sabbath,' and put instead of it the 'LORD'S Day.' What's my offence? 'Sabbath' is the Jews' word, and the 'LORD'S Day' the Christian's."<sup>2</sup>

The silencing of the lecturers,—the suppression of feoffments,—the preferments of Montague, Corbet, Pierce, Lindsay, Neale, Cosin, Potter, and Heylin, were all brought up against him. But probably our readers by this time have had sufficient specimens of Puritan malevolence, and are quite satisfied of the Archbishop's innocence. We hasten therefore to the last of these weary days, during which the old man was assailed with such coarse language by the counsel for the prosecution, that he was more than once<sup>3</sup> compelled to crave the protection of the court. Yet in spite of all he made "as full, as pithy, as gallant a defence, and spake as much for himself as was possible for the wit of man to invent, and that with so much vivacity, oratory, audacity and confidence," as to extort the admiration of Prynne himself, whose words we have

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 252.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. vol. iv. p. 273.

<sup>3</sup> The epithets applied to Laud by the counsel for the prosecution are too indecent to repeat.

quoted. It did not however produce any practical effect upon him, for this bad man printed a *mutilated* copy of the Archbishop's Diary, which he placed in the hands of the Lords.<sup>1</sup> "Then came Monday, Sept. 2nd,

<sup>1</sup> The following are specimens of the unprincipled manner in which this trial was conducted.

DIARY AS WRITTEN BY  
LAUD.

1621, June 29.—The King gave me leave to hold the Presidency of S. John Baptist's College, Oxon., in my commendam with the Bishopric of S. David's. *But by reason of the strictness of that statute which I am determined not to violatē, nor my oath to it, under any colour, I am resolved before my consecration to leave it.* Oct. 10th, I was chosen Bishop of S. David's.

Sundry passages relating to the Countess of Buckingham and her settlement in religion by Laud, are also omitted.

1626, March 8.—The night following I dreamt that I was reconciled to the Church of Rome. This troubled me much, and I wondered exceedingly how it should happen. Nor was I aggrieved with myself, *only by reason of the errors of that Church, but also* on account of the scandal which from that my fall would cast upon many eminent and learned men in the Church of England.

We have said above, that Prynne could only imagine Laud's allusion to his sins could, from the strong language used, refer to sins of the flesh. Thus he notes, "He fell into another sin, perhaps uncleanness." Laud's remark on this have lately been published for the first time in the edition of his works in Angl. Cath. Lib. "I bless God for His grace in it, there never fastened on me the least suspicion of this, in all my life, till this unclean pen of his hath brought it in with a perchance."—Works, vol. iii. p. 268.

DIARY AS PUBLISHED BY  
PRYNNE.

1621, June 29.—The King gave me leave to hold my Presidency of S. John Baptist's College, in Oxon., in my commendam with the Bishopric of S. David's. Oct. 10th, I was chosen Bishop of S. David's.

The night following I dreamed I had been reconciled to the Church of Rome. This disheartened me, and I wondered much whence it happened, being troubled at the scandal, &c.

and according to the order of the Lords, I made the recapitulation of my whole career in matters of greatest moment in this form following. But so soon as I came to the bar, I saw every Lord present with a new thin book in folio, in a blue coat. I heard that morning that Mr. Prynne had printed my Diary, and published it to the world to disgrace me. Some notes of his own are made upon it. The first and last are two desperate untruths, besides some others. This was the book then in the Lords' hands, and I assure myself that time was picked for it, that the sight of it might damp me, and disable me to speak. I confess I was a little troubled at it, but after I had gathered up myself and looked up to GOD, I went on to the business of the day, and thus I spake :

“ My Lords, being come near an end, I am by your grace and favour, and the leave of the gentlemen of the honourable House of Commons, to represent to your Lordships and to your memories, a brief sum of my answers to this long and various charge. . . . I humbly desire your Lordships to look upon the whole business, with honourable care of my calling, my age, my long imprisonment, of my sufferings in my estate, of my patience in and through this whole affliction, the sequestration having been upon my estate above two years.”<sup>1</sup>

He then proceeded to comment upon the unfairness with which he had been treated, having been deprived of his papers and books; his very private diary and manual of devotions having been taken from him; all records of the council, high commission court, star chamber carefully searched, witnesses instructed beforehand, and cases which had been settled in open court laid open again. After disposing one by one of the various “ proofs ” of his disaffection to the Church of England, he proceeded to rebut the charge of treason, and thus concluded, “ And now, my Lords, I do with all humility lay myself low at GOD'S mercy-seat, to do

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 370.



with me as He pleases, and under God I rely upon your Lordships' justice, honour, clemency,—which I cannot doubt. And without being further tedious to your Lordships, (who have with very honourable patience heard me through this long and tedious trial) I shall conclude with that which S. Augustine said to Bananianus, a man that had tried both fortunes as well as I, 'If the providence of God reaches down to us (as most certain it doth) *sic tecum agi oportet, sicut agitur*, it must be done with thee (and so with me also) as it is done. And under that providence which will I doubt not work to the best of my soul that loves God, I repose myself.'"<sup>1</sup>

On Wednesday, Sept. 11th, Mr. Brown replied on behalf of the Commons, and on Oct. 11th, Laud's counsel were heard on points of law. Their argument is still extant, and most conclusive, most telling, most crushing is it. And so the Commons felt it, for their lawyers attempted no reply.

It was clear the case for the prosecution had broken down,—there was not a tittle of evidence to support the charges made,—and it was impossible to procure a conviction. The Commons retired gnashing their teeth at the prospect of their victim's escape,—but Puritan malevolence was at no loss for means to effect its settled purpose. If he was likely to be acquitted according to law, then they must condemn him contrary to law. Had they not executed Strafford by Act of Parliament, though they could in his case prove no treason? Why not repeat the experiment. The mob was howling as before for the punishment of "delinquents," there seemed no other way of pacifying them. But the King,—he never could be brought to sacrifice Laud as he had Strafford,—so these sticklers for the rights of Englishmen and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, determined to put the Archbishop to death without the King's consent, by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament.

"It is a fundamental law of English liberty," says

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 383.

Heylin, commenting on these proceedings, "that no man shall be condemned or put to death but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, i.e., in the ordinary way of trial; and sure an ordinance of both Houses, without the royal assent, is no part of the law of England, nor held an ordinary way of trial."<sup>1</sup>

So, all else failing, an ordinance was resolved on; but first (Nov. 11 and 13) they had him down to the bar of the House of Commons, and baited him with their lawyers; while the old man still defended himself with unusual vigour, so as even to extort the admiration of his implacable foes. "I was exceeding faint, with speaking so long, and I had great pain and soreness in my heart for almost a fortnight after; then, I thank God, it wore away."<sup>2</sup> The moment the prisoner was gone, they called for the ordinance, and voted him guilty of high treason: on Saturday, November 16, sent it to the Lords.

The Lords were in a difficulty. They had no goodwill to Laud; but to put him to death in this way was establishing a very awkward precedent, which might easily be turned against themselves. They debated and debated, and put the matter off, notwithstanding Lord Pembroke pressed them to destroy the "rascal," "the villain," as he was courteously pleased to

<sup>1</sup> Heylin, 495.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 413.

"O merciful LORD, I have had a long and a tedious trial, and I give Thee humble and hearty thanks for the wonderful strength that I have received from Thee in the bearing up of my weakness. LORD, continue all Thy mercies towards me, for the storm gathers and grows black upon me, and what it threatens is best known to Thee. After a long trial, I am called to answer in the House of Commons, and that not to evidence, but to one single man's report of evidence, and that made without oath. What this may produce, in present or in future, Thou knowest also. O LORD, furnish me with patience and true Christian wisdom and courage, to bear up against this drift; and send not out Thy storms to beat upon me also, but look comfortably upon me to my end, in and through the merits of JESUS CHRIST, my LORD and only SAVIOUR. Amen."—Laud's Works, vol. iii. p. 85.

term the Metropolitan of England. The Commons, too, were not behind in "urgency," and sent a message, bidding them agree to the ordinance, or "else the multitude would come down and force them to it." This threat aroused the fast ebbing spirit of the Upper House, and their answer was worthy of English gentlemen. But, unfortunately, they contented themselves with words. When the crisis came, they lost heart, and voted the Archbishop, December 17, guilty of the facts charged under the three heads mentioned above, and put it to the Judges whether they amounted to treason: the Judges unanimously replied, "No."

Here was a new difficulty for the Lords. On Christmas-eve they desired a conference with the Commons, and said they could not find him guilty of treason by any law. They were simply bidden to pass the ordinance. Christmas-day, for the first time in the annals of Church history, was kept as a fast. The end was drawing on. The Commons in turn, January 2, 1645, requested a conference, to satisfy the Lords in the matter of law. Of course none of Laud's counsel were present at this conference, though all the Parliamentary lawyers were; and it had the effect of satisfying the Upper House. On January 2, the ordinance adjudging an innocent man to death, and an Archbishop to the gibbet, passed the Lords,—that august assembly being represented by the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury, Bolingbroke, and the Lords North, and Grey of Wark. And so justice was once again dethroned, and law and equity superseded, at the bidding of the Commons of England.

But the day of retribution was at hand. Strafford had suffered death by an act of the three estates of the realm; two concurred in the sacrifice of Laud. But when these same men, abandoned more and more to a reprobate mind, stretched forth their hand against the LORD'S anointed, there was but one estate left. The Lords had crouched to the Commons, and done

their behests of blood; and, as their reward, were themselves destroyed by the very monster they had fostered. Retributive justice is often visible, even in this life.

Word was brought to the Archbishop on January 4th, that he was to die on the 10th, by hanging. He was not afraid to die, but he thought it only his duty to the sovereign he loved so well, and served so faithfully, to lay before the Houses a pardon which he had received from his Majesty, and which had been suggested by his friend Mr. Hyde. It was the only thing the King could do to show he loved him, and would try to save him; and though, as he expected, it was contemptuously rejected, it was nevertheless very soothing, as a token of Charles' affection. His last hope gone, he petitioned that the mode of death might be altered to beheading, and that his chaplains, Dr. Sterne, Dr. Heywood, or Dr. Martin, might attend him. The Lords granted both prayers: *the Commons refused both*. They afterwards relented so far as to alter the sentence to beheading; but they would not allow the attendance of Dr. Sterne, unless he were accompanied by Dr. Marshall or Mr. Palmer, two noted Puritans. They would not leave even the last moments of their victim in peace; they would tease him with controversy, and deprive him, all that lay in their power, of peace and comfort. There is something fiendish in such a refinement of cruelty. But he who was so soon to be a martyr, calmly and quietly set about his preparation, and meekly on his knees made his peace with God.

The same day that the Lords consented to the attainder, they also passed an ordinance that the Book of Common Prayer should be laid aside, and the form prepared by the Assembly of Divines be substituted. Laud lived, it would seem, only to protect the Church. Her existence (so far as her outward establishment went) was bound up with that of her chief pastor. Laud did not survive the Church, and the Church (in

relation to all its human accidents) did not survive Laud. They perished together. But who would wish for a nobler testimony to the importance of the struggle he had maintained? Who would wish for a nobler fate?

## CHAPTER XX.

### THE MARTYRDOM.

“Cyprian is ours, since the high-soul'd Prelate laid  
Under death's murderous blade his silvered head.”

*Lyra Apostolica.*

THERE was no wailing and weeping when the sheriff announced to Laud the ordinance had passed. He had long ceased to wish for life: he was prepared to die. A man who had led such an austere, hard life as he had, in constant battle with the flesh, in fastings often, in watchings often, in prayer instant, could find little charm in the world, or experience much regret at his summons to leave it.

From that moment the Archbishop devoted himself to prayer. He would not even finish the history of his own vindication. He left off abruptly, for the time was short. How he employed himself let these devotions testify.

“O LORD, quicken and convert my soul, for I have sinned against Thee. LORD, I call to mind all the years of my life past in the bitterness of my soul for my sin. My misdeeds have prevailed against me: O be Thou merciful unto my sin. O, for Thy Name's sake, be merciful to my sin; for it is great.

“O let the depth of my sin call upon the depth of Thy mercies, of Thy grace. LORD, let it come, that where sin hath abounded grace may superabound.

“Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for I hope verily to see the goodness of the LORD in the land of the living.

“ O let this cup pass from me : nevertheless, if it may not pass from me, but that I must drink of it, Thy will be done.

“ For I will take it as the cup of salvation, and give thanks to Thy Name, O LORD.

“ Say unto my soul, O say it now, I am thy salvation.

“ Command my spirit, whenever Thou wilt command it, to be received up to Thee in peace.

“ O LORD, Thou Blessed TRINITY, Three Persons and one GOD, have mercy on me.

“ I commend myself into Thy hands as to a faithful Creator. Despise not, O LORD, the work of Thine own hands.

“ I commend myself into Thy hands as to a most gracious Redeemer; for Thou hast redeemed me, O LORD, Thou GOD of truth.

“ I commend myself into Thy hands as my most blessed Comforter. LORD, I am weary and heavy laden, and I come to Thee to be refreshed by Thee. Behold, O LORD, I have been the temple of Thy HOLY SPIRIT: I have, I confess, strangely polluted it, yet destroy me not, but dedicate me anew, and sanctify me to Thyself yet once again.

“ O LORD, I wear Thy Name; 'tis Thy Name that is called upon me: for Thy Name's sake, therefore, be merciful unto me. O spare, LORD, if not me, yet Thine own Name in me. And do not so remember my sin, O LORD, do not, as that, in remembering it, Thou forget Thine own Name. I have desired to fear Thy Name, to love and honour Thy Name; and I now desire to depart this life in the invocation and confession of Thy Name. LORD, I confess it, and call upon it: O come, LORD JESUS. Amen.

“ I have sinned, O LORD.

“ But I have not denied Thee. Let not the enemy prevail to cause me to deny Thee.

“ I believe, O LORD: increase my faith, and let me never be confounded. I hope: and, LORD, what is

my hope, but Thou alone? Raise me according to Thy Word, and let me not be disappointed of my hope.

“I have prepared and directed my heart to seek Thee : and though it be not according to the cleansing of the sanctuary, yet, O LORD JESUS, break not the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax.

“Not for my own sake, O LORD JESUS, or anything of mine, but for Thine own self, for Thy Name, the glory of Thy Name, for Thy truth and manifold mercies' sake, for CHRIST the Mediator's and the SPIRIT'S sake, receive me returning to Thee.

“O LORD GOD, between me and Thee I offer, commemorate, and place

CHRIST, the Priest, the Lamb, the Sacrifice :

“Between Satan and me, I place

CHRIST, the King, the Lion, the Triumphant :

“Between my sins and me, I place

CHRIST'S innocency of life :

“Between the punishment of sins and me, I place

CHRIST'S satisfaction—His Passion, His Blood :

“Between the want of righteousness and me, I place

CHRIST'S righteousness and absolute obedience :

“Between the want of merits and me, I place

CHRIST'S merits :

“Between want of sorrow for sin and me, I place

CHRIST'S tears and bloody sweat :

“Between want of fervency in prayer and me, I place

CHRIST'S intercession :

“Between the accusations of Satan or mine own conscience and me, I place

CHRIST, as my Advocate :

“Between concupiscence and me I place

CHRIST'S charity. Accept it, LORD, for JESUS' sake.

“I have sinned, O LORD, but I hide not my faults. I excuse them not ; I confess them ; I remember them in bitterness of my soul. I hate myself for my sins.

Grant me grace to judge myself, that I may not depart this miserable life without pardon.

“O LORD, I have not only sinned, but provoked Thee with many and grievous sins; yet I beseech Thee remember that I am but flesh, even a wind that passeth, and cometh not again.

“O LORD JESUS, for that bitterness which Thou enduredst on the Cross for wretched me, specially in that hour when Thy most noble soul passed from Thy blessed body, I pray Thee pity my soul at its departure, and lead it to everlasting life. Amen.”<sup>1</sup>

So calm, so resigned, so prepared to meet his GOD was this great Prelate, that on the fatal morning his attendants had to awaken him out of a quiet slumber, to announce the hour had come. He rose, and kneeled upon his knees, and made his last Communion. When Pennington came to conduct him to the scaffold, he was praying still. Then, with a firm step and cheerful, earnest manner, he passed on to his triumph. What recked he of the insolence of the rabble, their brutal shouts, their vile mockings, (for they would not let the old man's grey hairs go down to the grave in peace,) to whose faith the heavens were already opened, and in whose ears the echoes of the celestial strains were ringing?

But in that trying hour he was not alone. True, he was on a scaffold, about to perish by a violent death, the object of the gaze of a thousand faces upraised to curse him, with only one friend near him, far away from all he loved in Church or State, nevertheless the presence of the FATHER was in his heart, and the love of the SON, and the communion of the SPIRIT. Nor was he, lone as he seemed, forgotten by his fellows. Even in that dense crowd there must have been those whose hearts were touched with some feeling of pity for the grey hairs so soon to be stained in blood. But more than this, there were the seven thousand faithful Israelites, who had not bowed the

<sup>1</sup> Works, vol. iii. p. 90. (Devotions.)



knee to Baal: all through the length and breadth of England there were hundreds praying that God would strengthen the martyr in his agony. From the royal closet, where the LORD'S anointed, in penitential abasement, knelt that sad morning on which his long-tried friend was to die; from the retirements where the Prelates of the Church were sheltering themselves from the pursuer; ay, from the very prison-house where stout-hearted Wren was wearing away his life; from hiding-places where Clergy, dispossessed of their lawful cures, were subsisting on the charity of the faithful; from sheltered nooks and quiet homes, where dwelt the sons and daughters of England's Church whom he had instructed by his precepts, and guided by his example,—whose secret thoughts he had shared, whose doubts he had solved, whose difficulties he had removed,—to whom he had displayed their Church in its fulness, and taught them how in it they might find certainty of faith, and the means of satisfying their most ardent longings after saintliness; from the dwellings of CHRIST'S poor who had fed upon his bounty, and in him lost their best friend, went there up on that January 10 the united prayer of intercession for him whose death-struggle it witnessed. Their prayers were heard. The Archbishop played the man: he advanced to the front of the scaffold with a firm step, and thus spake:—

“ Good people,—This is an uncomfortable time to preach, yet I shall begin with a text of Scripture, Heb. xii. 2. ‘ Let us run with patience the race which is set before us, looking unto JESUS, the Author and Finisher of our faith, Who for the joy that was set before Him endured the Cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.’ I have been long in my race, and how I have looked to JESUS, the Author and Finisher of my faith, He best knows. I am now to come to the end of my race, and here I find the cross a death of shame: but the shame must be despised, or no coming to the

right hand of GOD. JESUS despised the shame for me, and GOD forbid but that I should despise the shame for Him. I am going apace (as you see) towards the Red Sea, and my feet are now upon the very brink of it; an argument, I hope, that GOD is bringing me unto the land of promise, for that was the way through which He led His people. But before they came to it, He instituted a Passover for them,—a lamb it was, but it must be eaten with sour herbs. I shall obey, and labour to digest the sour herbs as well as the lamb; and I shall remember it is the LORD'S Passover. I shall not think of the herbs, nor be angry with the hand which gathereth them; but look up only to Him Who instituted that, and governs them: for men can have no more power over me than that which is given them from above. I am not in love with this passage through the Red Sea, for I have the weaknesses and infirmities of flesh and blood plentifully in me: and I have prayed with my SAVIOUR, *ut transiret calix iste*, that this cup of red wine might pass from me; but if not, GOD'S will, not mine, be done, and I shall most willingly drink of this cup as deep as He pleases, and enter into this sea, yea, and pass through it, in the way that He shall lead me.

“But I would have it remembered, good people, that when GOD'S servants were in this boisterous sea, and Aaron amongst them, the Egyptians which persecuted them, and did in a manner drive them into that sea, were drowned in the same waters while they were in pursuit of them. I know my GOD, Whom I serve, is as able to deliver me from the sea of blood as He was to deliver the three children from the furnace; and (I humbly thank my SAVIOUR for it) my resolution is now as theirs was then. They would not worship the image the king had set up, nor will I the imaginations which the people are setting up; nor will I forsake the temple and the truth of GOD, to follow the bleating of Jeroboam's calves in Dan and Bethel. And as for this people, they are at this day

miserably misled (GOD of His mercy open their eyes, that they may see the right way); for at this day the blind lead the blind, and if they go on, both will certainly fall into the ditch. For myself, I am (and I acknowledge it in all humility) a most grievous sinner many ways,—by thought, word, and deed; I cannot doubt but that GOD hath mercy in store for me, (a poor penitent,) as well as for other sinners. I have now, and upon this sad occasion, ransacked every corner of my heart, and yet, I thank GOD, I have not found, among the many, any one sin which deserves death by any known law of this kingdom; and yet hereby I charge nothing upon my judges: for if they proceed upon proof, (by valuable witnesses,) I, or any other innocent, may be justly condemned. And I thank GOD, though the weight of my sentence lie heavy upon me, I am as quiet within as ever I was in my life; and though I am not only the first Archbishop, but the first man that ever died by an ordinance in Parliament, yet some of my predecessors have gone this way, though not by this means. For Elphegus was hurried away, and lost his head by the Danes; and Simon Sudbury, in the fury of Wat Tyler and his fellows. Before these, S. John Baptist had his head danced off by a lewd woman; and S. Cyprian, Archbishop of Carthage, submitted his head to a persecuting sword. Many examples, great and good, and they teach me patience; for I hope my cause in heaven will look of another dye than the colour that is put upon it here. And some comfort it is to me, not only that I go the way of these great men in their several generations, but also that my charge (foul as it is made) looks like that of the Jews against S. Paul (Acts xxv. 3); for he was accused for the law and the temple, i.e. religion; and like that of S. Stephen (Acts vi. 14), for breaking the ordinance which Moses gave, i.e. law and religion, the holy place and the temple (verse 13). But you will then say, Do I then compare myself with the integrity

of S. Paul and S. Stephen? No, be that far from me. I only raise a comfort to myself, that these great saints and servants of GOD were laid at in their time, as I am now. And it is memorable that S. Paul, who helped on this accusation against S. Stephen, did after fall under the very same himself. Yea, but here is a great clamour that I would have brought in Popery; I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the meantime, you know what the Pharisees said against CHRIST Himself: 'If we let Him alone, all men will believe in Him—*et venient Romani*—and the Romans will come and take away both our place and nation.' Here was a causeless cry against CHRIST, that the Romans would come; and see how just the judgment was—they crucified CHRIST, for fear lest the Romans should come, and His Death was it which brought in the Romans upon them, GOD punishing them with that which they most feared. And I pray GOD this clamour of *venient Romani*, (of which I have given no cause,) help not to bring them in; for the Pope never had such a harvest in England since the Reformation as he hath now, upon the sects and divisions that are now amongst us. 'In the meantime, by honour and dishonour, by good report and evil report, as a deceiver, yet true, am I passing through this world.' " (2 Cor. vi. 8.)<sup>1</sup>

He then proceeded to declare solemnly his innocence of any attempt to alter the laws or religion of the kingdom, avouching with his dying breath both Charles's and his own great attachment to the English Church. "What clamours and slanders I have endured for labouring to keep an uniformity in the external service of GOD, according to the doctrine and discipline of the Church, all men know, and I have abundantly felt."

The holy martyr continued: "I do here in the presence of GOD and His holy Angels, take it upon my death, that I never endeavoured the subversion of law

<sup>1</sup> Heylin's Life, p. 498.

or religion ; and I desire you all to remember this protest of mine for my innocency in this, and from all treasons whatsoever. . . . But I have done ; I forgive all the world, all and every of those bitter enenies which have persecuted me, and humbly desire to be forgiven of GOD first, and then of every man, whether I have offended him or not, if he do but conceive that I have. LORD, do Thou forgive me, and I beg forgiveness of him. And so I heartily desire you to join in prayer with me.”<sup>1</sup> Which said, with a distinct and audible voice he prayed as followeth :

“ O Eternal GOD and Merciful FATHER, look down upon me in mercy, in the riches and fulness of all Thy mercies look down upon me ; but not till Thou hast nailed my sins to the Cross of CHRIST, not till Thou hast bathed me in the Blood of CHRIST, not till I have hid myself in the wounds of CHRIST ; that so the punishment due unto my sins may pass over me. And since Thou art pleased to try me to the utmost, I humbly beseech Thee give me now in this great instant full patience, proportionable comfort, and a heart ready to die for Thine honour, the King’s happiness, and this Church’s preservation. And my zeal to this (far from arrogancy be it spoken) is all the sin (human frailty excepted, and all the incidents thereunto) which is yet known to me in this particular, for which I now come to suffer, I say in this particular of treason ; but otherwise my sins are many and great ; LORD, pardon them all, and those especially (whatever they are) which have drawn down this present judgment upon me : and when Thou hast given me strength to bear it, do with me as seems best in Thine eyes, and carry me through death, that I may look upon it in what visage soever it shall appear to me. Amen. And that there may be a stop of this issue of blood in this more miserable kingdom (I shall desire that I may pray for the people too, as well as for myself), O LORD, I beseech Thee, give

<sup>1</sup> Heylin’s Life, p. 501.

grace of repentance to all blood-thirsty people; but if they will not repent, O LORD, confound all their devices, defeat and frustrate all their designs and endeavours upon them, which are or shall be contrary to the glory of Thy great Name, the truth and sincerity of religion, the establishment of the King and his posterity after him in their just rights and privileges, the honour and conservation of Parliaments in their just power, the preservation of this poor Church in her truth, peace, and patrimony, and the settlement of this distracted and distressed people under their ancient laws and in their native liberty. And when Thou hast done all this mere mercy to them, O LORD, fill their hearts with thankfulness and with religious, dutiful obedience to Thee and Thy Commandments all their days. Amen, LORD JESUS, Amen. And receive my soul into Thy bosom. Amen."

He rose from his knees, gave his papers to Sterne, and approached the block. The scaffold was crowded with people who had come to see him die, and he had difficulty in making his way through. As he passed he besought them to let him have an end of the miseries he had endured very long. "God's will be done," he again meekly said, as he put off his doublet; "I am willing to go out of this world, none can be more willing to send me." Then when he saw there were chinks in the scaffold, he said, "Let them be filled up, I would not have my blood fall upon the heads of this people."

So patient was this man of God, though even his last moments were embittered by the fanatic malice of his foes. Not even the spectacle of the grey-haired man unrobed for the block touched their hearts. Enraged that their malice could not work him into anger, grieved at the triumph of grace which had transformed the hasty, impetuous Prelate into the meek and gentle confessor, disappointed in their diabolical endeavours to send him out of life in an angry and vengeful mood, Sir John Clotworthy stepped forward, and with the

usual Puritan impertinence asked, "What is the comfortablest saying for a dying man to have in his mouth?"

"I desire to depart and to be with CHRIST," was Laud's answer.

"There must be a ground of assurance," continued Clotworthy.

"The assurance is to be found within, and no words can express it rightly," was the martyr's meek reply.

"It must be founded upon a word or place of sacred Scripture," pertinaciously urged his persecutor.

"That word is the knowledge of JESUS," replied Laud. And wishing to be rid of this importunity, and to escape the malice which persecuted his last moments with controversy, he turned to the executioner, and without a change of muscle said, as he gave him money, "Here, honest friend, GOD forgive thee, and I do; do thy office with mercy."

Once more the Archbishop kneeled upon his knees and prayed to his GOD: "LORD, I am coming as fast as I can. I know I must pass through the shadow of death before I come to see Thee. But it is but *umbra mortis*, a mere shadow of death, a little darkness upon nature; but Thou by Thy merits and Passion hast broken through the jaws of death. So, LORD, receive my soul, and have mercy upon me, and bless this kingdom with peace and plenty, and with brotherly love and charity, that there may not be this effusion of Christian blood amongst them, for JESUS CHRIST His sake, if it be Thy will."

He laid his head upon the block, and for a few moments he was silent, but his lips moved as in prayer. Once more he spake aloud: "LORD, receive my soul." It was the signal to the headsman. And so he died.

So he died, and "faithful men bare his body to the burial" and laid it in a vault at All Hallows, Barking, and the martyr's glorious body was committed to the earth in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life. For though proscribed by law

the solemn office of the Church he loved was said over his grave, no one venturing to interrupt it, and his obsequies were witnessed by faithful hearts who had learned from him how to die, and who left that open grave braced and nerved to do and suffer all things for their Church. And doubtless in the cruel persecutions which ensued, the thought of the Archbishop's triumphant martyrdom lightened many a sorrow, and was blessed by GOD to strengthen many for their last struggle.

So he died; and his mangled corpse lay at Barking till the tyranny was overpast. Then when the Church once again lifted up her head, and the Second Charles sat on the throne of his fathers, the Fellows of the College over which he had presided thought it but right that he should repose beneath the shadow of their own consecrated house of prayer. And so on July 4, 1663, his remains were solemnly conveyed to the chapel of S. John Baptist, at Oxford, and there with his dear friend William Juxon, and the pious founder of the College, slumbers all that was mortal of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury and MARTYR.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### THE TRIUMPH.

“Though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality.”—Wisdom iii. 4.

It was all over. The Archbishop was dead, the Bishops were in peril of their lives. The Church property was confiscated, the orthodox clergy expelled, hunted down, shipped as slaves to the colonies. As far as human eye could reach the Church was destroyed. At last the rebels sealed their iniquity by the murder of the King. And then the full tide of



profanity and irreverence set in upon this unhappy land, and day after day witnessed some fresh development of false doctrine and heresy.

Such was the issue of Laud's death. The Puritanical faction obtained a signal triumph beyond their most sanguine expectations. "The righteous was indeed taken from the evil to come."

Where then, it may be asked, is the fruit of Laud's labours? His administration cost the lives of his friend, his King, himself. It was followed by the ruin of the Church. It was clearly a failure. It would have been better surely had he conciliated instead of opposing the Puritans: all would have then been well. We reply to this, that all perhaps would have been well with the property of the Church: there might not have been such a wholesale plunder, or so many Clergy driven into exile. But what would have become of the Church itself? It would by degrees have vanished away. First one pious ceremony would have been surrendered, then another; then after the outposts had gone, the doctrines they embodied would next have fallen; then, on plea of assimilating discipline as well as doctrine to the foreign models, Episcopacy itself would have degenerated into Presbyterianism. Laud saw this. He knew the strength of the Puritanical element in the Church of England, that for the last hundred years it had been gaining ground, and nearly destroyed all that was sacred and reverent; he felt no concession would satisfy it, and therefore he resolved to fight it, and if possible, to uproot it. Queen Elizabeth is reported to have said, that she knew what amount of concession would satisfy the adherents of Rome, but she never could discover what would satisfy the Puritans. The effect of a "conciliating" policy was seen in the results of Abbott's administration. His maxim was, "Yield, and they will be satisfied at last." And he did yield till *almost every thing* was gone, and yet they were not satisfied, because *every thing* had not been yielded.

“Laud knew them better, and would yield no more. He knew they hated the whole Church system,—creeds, episcopacy, sacraments, ritual, vestments, holy seasons, order, decorum, reverence. It was not a question of a ceremony more, or a ceremony less. It was Church or no Church, Catholicism or Calvinism, communion with the primitive ages or Geneva. Had Laud surrendered every thing they asked, they would only have been encouraged to demand more. They would have felt their strength, and by degrees have effected their cherished object, the destruction of the primitive Catholic character of the Church of England. The event proved it. Laud was worsted, and the Puritans triumphed. They did not attempt, when they had the power, to reform the Church; they destroyed it. They did not pretend to restrain the power of the Episcopate; they abolished the order; they did not profess to amend the Prayer Book, they forbade its use; they did not try to reduce the Church services to what they deemed was their order before the time of Laud, but ruthlessly swept them all away. They felt the Prayer Book and Church system were against theirs, and therefore the moment they had the opportunity they put an end to them. And if any think the Prayer Book was worth fighting for, they are bound not to withhold their sympathy from Laud, now that the animus of his opponents is so manifested, and their hatred not of any particular school in the Church, but of the Church itself, made clear. As Charles felt in matters of State, so did Laud in matters of the Church. To the one it was a struggle (despite the fair professions of the Parliament) for monarchy against republicanism, and the event showed what the opposition to him really meant. To the other it was a battle not for rites or ceremonies merely, but for the Church of England against Geneva. The issue showed, that Laud had not any more than his Sovereign mistaken the true intentions of his adversaries.

But in spite of the apparent failure of the Laudian reformation, it really produced a most wonderful effect for good upon the Church of England.

1. In the first place it gave strength to the Catholic element, which, though never lost in our Church, had been considerably overlaid by the spread of Puritanism. The principle of the English Reformation was not an appeal to the writings of Martin Luther or John Calvin as standards of orthodoxy, nor to the private opinions of its promoters in this country, but as embodied in its Canons and laid down by its apologists,—to Holy Scripture as interpreted by the Undivided Church in the pure and primitive ages. The oft-quoted Canon for Preachers is a proof of this. “The Preachers chiefly shall take heed that they teach nothing in their preaching which they would have the people religiously to observe and believe, but that which is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old Testament and the New, and that which the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops have gathered out of that doctrine.”<sup>1</sup> And similarly the Prayer Book itself speaks of the Order of Service being agreeable “to the mind and purpose of the old fathers.”<sup>2</sup>

Neither was the platform of Geneva the model proposed for our discipline, but it was fondly hoped that the best features of the Primitive Church might be revived in England: and the First Prayer Book of King Edward VI. was the outward expression of this feeling. But, side by side with this, was that fierce, intolerant, fanatical spirit, whose whole religion was opposition to Rome, and which derived all its inspiration from Geneva. This party hated primitive antiquity, for this reason, that the moment they studied it, they perceived how opposed it was to the doctrines and discipline of Calvin. And as extreme opinions are always more popular than moderate counsels, these notions were soon entertained by the vast

<sup>1</sup> Canons of 1571, quoted by Sparrow, Rat. 202.

<sup>2</sup> See “Concerning the Service of the Church,” in Prayer Book.

majority of Englishmen. The pressure from without was sufficient to induce a revision of the Book of Common Prayer: and Edward's Second Book was the first trophy of Puritanical aggression. But this again was materially modified by the Convocation of 1661, which had inherited the principles for which Laud shed his blood, and distinctly stated it had rejected every thing which struck at any "laudable practice of the whole Catholic Church of CHRIST."<sup>1</sup> We have entered into this at length in our Introductory Chapter: we merely revert to it to remind our readers that Laud's mission was to impart strength to the fast-decaying principle which kept the English Church in communion with the Church Catholic.

The feeling after better things than Geneva could supply was represented by Hooker, and afterwards by Andrewes. From Andrewes its maintenance devolved on Laud. How he cherished it and encouraged it, how he threw himself into the real spirit of the Church of England, and sought guidance from the sources to which she sent him, even in his younger days, it has been the purpose of these pages to exhibit,—how, not only by his own holy life and arduous exertions, but by the protection he afforded to men of like principles, he saved the Church of England from being surrendered to Puritanism; and these principles have ever since kept their ground in the English Church, and are influencing it at this day more than ever.

II. Again: his administration was not without its effect upon the Church, in the encouragement it gave to the development of those yearnings after holier and stricter lives than mere Puritanism could supply. Saints have only been formed in the Church. Systems opposed to it may make men good, religious, even holy, but not in the highest sense, Saints. And one reason is, that the temper of little children, which our Blessed LORD sets before us as the perfection of the

<sup>1</sup> See Preface to Prayer Book.

saintly character, implies, among other graces, those of gentleness, docility, humility, and obedience, for which the Church so admirably provides, and for which other systems do not. Laud nourished and fostered all traces of saintliness, and warmly cherished all efforts after perfection which were made by Churchmen. His own life was one far above that of the mere decent ordinary professor. His celibacy, his prayers seven times a day, his fastings and vigils, his deep penitential feelings, made him sympathise with all who strove to raise themselves above the conventional religion of the day. Hence his patronage of Little Gidding, and its inmates, the first religious brotherhood the Reformed Church of England had seen. The fruits of his influence too may be traced in the saintliness of George Herbert, and in the purity, gentleness, and devotion so eminently displayed in "The English Churchwomen of the Seventeenth Century." And, praised be God, the feelings he thus cherished, have ever since been fostered by the Church of England: witness the long array of worthies who have shed unfailing honour on the Church which has produced them,—Ken and Wilson and Butler and Bull, and Nelson, Kettlewell, and Sherlock. But had it not been for Laud, how would these holy men have been able to satisfy their longings? How could the English Communion have met the cravings of such souls, had she been pared down to Puritanical Genevan proprieties? How could she do it, as she is doing it at this day, had not the greatest of her Archbishops bidden devotion and self-denial and Christian love tarry in the Church over which he ruled, and laid down his life in the cruel conflict with those who were fraying them away. Again, we say, all honour be to Laud for his manly struggle.

III. And another great result of Laud's work, was that he afforded a scope for the exercise of those feelings which ever accompany strivings after perfec-

tion,—the desire to dedicate to the service of GOD the best of all things. The material fabric of GOD's house first received its due attention in Laud's time, and men began to act upon the suggestion of Hooker, that "GOD had nowhere revealed He delighted to dwell beggarly." Hence the lavishing his treasures on S. Paul's, his restoration of his palace Chapel, the protection he vouchsafed to all who dedicated their best to GOD, his anger at those who dared to destroy church decorations (e.g., Sherfield, who brake the painted windows at Salisbury,) on their own authority. The mean vessels, too, which had been used in the Eucharistic Service were now replaced by silver and gold; altars were decked with rich hangings, and chancels were not merely decently but splendidly furnished. The Church was beginning to recover from the long thralldom of Calvinism, and to realise the presence of her LORD. Hence nothing was thought too costly for the altar; and this feeling has lasted, though trampled under for a time; our churches are daily enriched with the most precious things the earth affords, and in the universal adoption of the solemn consecration of the Houses of GOD in the land, and the increasing reverence for them as the dwelling-places of the ALMIGHTY, we see a vindication (if any were needed) of Laud's resolute maintenance of this service.

IV. As closely connected with the preceding, we may notice the impetus he gave to a sound school of theology. The royal injunctions which ordered the study of the fathers rather than moderns at the Universities, were procured by him. Their effect was soon seen. In Chapter XII. we noted a few of the names who owed their celebrity to Laud's patronage—  
 \* Wren, Montague, Taylor, Cosin, Mede, and Bramhall. And these again trained another generation, and in a great degree influence our own. How immeasurably superior are the divines of the Caroline era to those which preceded them! how are they to this day the most powerful and only consistent exponents of Angli-

✓ can doctrine! what a thorough revolution was effected in English theology by the firmness of one man who simply did what his Church told him to do—follow the primitive interpretation of Holy Scripture! That we have any theology at all, of which we can speak without a blush, we may thank Laud.

V. When we call to mind the progress made by Calvinism during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, how many Bishops held its doctrines, and how its dogmas resounded in high places, while even Oxford was its chief nursery, we cannot but remember with gratitude that we owe to Laud the royal declaration which prefixed to the Articles and ever since accepted by the Church, has finally rescued them from the Genevan party. Having been foiled in their attempt to substitute the "Lambeth" for the "XXXIX.," they argued that in consequence of the known opinions of some of the compilers, they could only be honestly signed in a Genevan sense. It was evident how things were tending, and Laud stopped the mischief. The royal declaration which he procured left them open, and ordered them to be subscribed in their plain, natural, grammatical sense. Henceforth the supposed views of the compilers are nothing whatever to the clergy, who are the only persons whom the Articles concern. Here again we may thank the great Archbishop that our Articles have been left open, and may honestly be signed by all who are satisfied that Calvinism is unscriptural, and who could not have signed them had a Calvinistic interpretation been authoritatively put upon them, as the Puritans wished.

VI. When we think upon the apparent failure of Laud's movement, we should remember the improvement of the Prayer Book in which it resulted. The Book fell with Laud; a season of spiritual anarchy ensued, and then the nation wearied and disgusted with the excesses of Puritanism, threw itself once more into the arms of the Church. Many were dead who by the great Archbishop's side had fought the good fight, but as

a matter of course those that remained and with them the pupils they had trained, were called to preside over the Church of CHRIST once more established in these realms. Now was seen the fruit of that sound school of theology which it had been the aim of the Archbishop to cherish, for the principles for which he laid down his life were in the ascendant. Juxon sat in the chair of S. Augustine; Wren returned to Ely; Cosin was enthroned in the palatinate of Durham. To men trained in the school of Laud, who had known him personally, who had imbibed his principles, who had learnt from him what the Church of England really was, and who at the hazard of their lives had adhered to her communion, was entrusted a work which had been denied to their great chief, the supplying admitted defects in the Church's Liturgy, and bringing her nearer to the models of primitive antiquity. This was Laud's great triumph,—this the proof that he had “not run in vain nor laboured in vain.” And the high tone taken by the commissioners at the Savoy is very striking. They had caught the spirit of their master,—they would make no concession,—and the Puritans after having destroyed one Prayer Book, had to witness the production of another still more Catholic, still further removed from Geneva. It is to the convocation of 1662, many of whom had been confessors for righteousness' sake, that we owe our present Prayer Book. Their work has never been undone. It has lasted and will last. To them we are indebted for the oblation and the commemoration of the faithful departed in the Liturgy; by their direction the manual signs were inserted in the prayer of consecration, which then first received its proper name; to them is due the improvement of the ordinal, and the prohibition of any save those who have received episcopal ordination, ministering at our altars. There is no doubting whose spirit breathes forth here, or in whose school those who made these alterations had been trained.

A similar tone pervades all their other additions.



There is a special petition for the consecration of the water in the Baptismal service, the Absolution is restricted to Priests; there is a table of vigils; there are prayers for the Ember seasons, for all conditions of men, especially the good estate of the Catholic Church; there is a new service for the baptism of adults, wherein the 3rd chapter of S. John is authoritatively interpreted of the sacrament of regeneration. In vain the Presbyterians begged the sign of the Cross might be sacrificed, the Communion office performed in the desk, or the season of Lent be given up as an expedient to peace. We seem to catch the Archbishop's voice in the answer of the episcopate:—"It were in effect to desire that our Church may be contentious for peace' sake, and to divide from the Church Catholic, that we may live at unity among ourselves. For S. Paul reckons them among the lovers of contention who shall oppose themselves against the customs of the churches of God."<sup>1</sup>

VII. But the greatest triumph of the Archbishop is the complete adoption, by the whole English Church, of the principle he enunciated with regard to the position of the altar. There was nothing which enraged the Puritans more than this, nothing which he had greater trouble in enforcing, nothing which was more dwelt upon at his trial. Yet at this day there is not a church in England where the holy table does not stand altarwise at the end of the church, and is fenced round by railing from intrusion.

But had not Laud laid the utmost stress upon this,—had he not taught his disciples to regard it as the centre of all sound restoration,—we might at this day have been sitting at communion times round a common table, and passing the elements from hand to hand. Shocking as this is, and repugnant to all Church feeling, it is what the Puritans wanted, and what, when they had the ascendancy, they did. If we are grateful for our escape from such irreverence,

<sup>1</sup> Vide Proceedings of Savoy Conference.

let us remember that we owe it to Laud, and let us see, in the position occupied by the Holy Table in our churches at this day, the most complete answer to all who would sneer at his career, and insinuate it has been barren of results. His blood was not shed in vain; and every time we enter a church we have a witness of the reality of his work, an evidence that his principles were founded upon truth, and therefore, though he himself perished, destined for a brilliant and glorious triumph.

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And now, Christian reader, in closing this little book, we would fain specially acknowledge God's love to our Church, in having so mercifully led her on, and in having enabled her, at each turning-point of her history, to witness more plainly to His Truth, as enshrined in the ancient Creeds of His one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. He has never failed her; for He has never suffered her adversaries to prevail against her. Let us, from the history of this holy Prelate, and the great work, which, amid much seeming failure, he accomplished, be encouraged to take heart for the future, and each, in our respective spheres, battle as resolutely, and struggle as manfully as he, for the Church in which God has cast our lot, that we may hand down to our children, unmutilated and unimpaired, the precious inheritance which his martyrdom has preserved to ourselves.

# APPENDIX.

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## A.

### THE ARCHBISHOP'S LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT.

“Jan. 13, 164 $\frac{3}{4}$ .”

“In Dei Nomine, Amen. I, William Laud, by GOD'S great mercy and goodness, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, being in perfect health, &c., do hereby make and ordain this my Last Will and Testament,

“And first, in all humility and devotion of a contrite heart, I heartily beg of GOD pardon and remission of all my sins, for and through the mediation of my alone SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST. And though I have been a most prodigal son, yet my hope is in CHRIST, that, for His sake, GOD, my Most Merciful CREATOR, will not cast off the bowels and compassion of a Father. Amen, LORD JESU. In this hope and confidence, I render up my soul with comfort, in the mercies of GOD the FATHER, through the merit of GOD the SON, and in the love of GOD the HOLY GHOST.” \* \* \*

Then follows a protestation of forgiveness of all who have injured him, and a prayer for forgiveness from those he has offended. The Will thus proceeds :

“For my faith: I die, as I have lived, in the true Orthodox profession of the Catholic Faith of CHRIST, foreshowed by the Prophets, and preached to the world by CHRIST Himself, His blessed Apostles, and their successors; and a true member of His Catholic Church, within the Communion of a living part thereof, the present Church of England, as it now stands established by law.”

He then directs his body to be buried beneath the Altar of S. John's College, Oxford, if possible, and earnestly requests not to be buried in the Tower, should he die a prisoner. And after directing the payment of his debts, which he thanks GOD are small, he proceeds to bequeath :

“To S. Paul's,—£800, if the repairs are continued.

“To my dear and dread Sovereign King Charles, whom GOD bless,—£1,000, and forgiveness of a debt of £2,000.

“To S. John's, Oxford,—his chapel plate and furniture, his books, and £500, to be laid out in land.”

Then follow remembrances of the Duchess and the young Duke of Buckingham, the Duchess of Richmond, and the Marquis of Newcastle, and legacies to the children of his half-brothers and sisters.

His Chaplains are not forgotten, nor the poor of the parishes of S. Mary Magdalen, and S. Giles, Oxford, Standforth, North Kilworth, and many other places with which he had been connected.

His servants are all mentioned by name, and legacies bequeathed.

After various other instructions to his executors, he proceeds :

“And I do heartily pray my executor to take care that my book written against Mr. Fisher the Jesuit, may be translated into Latin, and sent abroad, that the Christian world may see and judge of my religion.

“Thus I forgive all the world, and heartily desire forgiveness of GOD and the world; and so again commit and commend my soul into the hands of GOD the FATHER, Who gave it, in the merits and mercies of my Blessed SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, Who redeemed it, and in the grace and comfort of the HOLY GHOST, Who blessed it, and in the truth and unity of His

Holy Catholic Church, and in the Communion of the Church of England as it yet stands established by law.”

\* \* \* \*

“For the money to bear the charge of these Legacies expressed in my Will, and other intendments, I have, for fear of the present storm, committed it to honest and true hands, and I doubt not they will deliver the money in their several custodies, to my executor, for the uses expressed; but I forbear to name them, lest the same storm should fall on them, which hath driven me out of all I have considerable in my own possession.

“W. CANT.”

The Will was proved by Dr. R. Baily, the executor, in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, on the 8th of January, 166 $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>1</sup>

---

B.

The following remarkable testimony, borne by his Roman opponents, to Laud's faithfulness to the English Church, has been preserved in a letter of John Evelyn.

*From John Evelyn to the Bishop of Lincoln  
(Dr. Tenison).*

“Wotton, 29 May, 1694.

“MY LORD,

\* \* \* \*

“Mr. Pepys sent me, last week, the Journal of Sir John Nasborough and Captain Wood, together with Mr. Wharton's Preface to his intended History of the Life of Archbishop Laud. I do not know whether I might do the learned editor (for it seems he only

<sup>1</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. pp. 441—451.

publishes a MS. written by that great Prelate of his own life,) any service, by acquainting him with a passage relating to that person, namely, *the jubilee which the sacrifice of the Bishop caused some at Rome*, it being my hap to be in that city, and in company of divers of the English Fathers, (as they call them,) when the news of his suffering, and the sermon he made on the scaffold, arrived there; which, I well remember, they read and commented on with no small satisfaction, and (as I thought) contempt, *as of one taken off who was an enemy to them, and stood in their way; whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was (we may well call to mind) his being Popishly affected.*

\* \* \* \*

“Yours, &c.”<sup>1</sup>

See also the testimony of the Rev. Jonathan Whiston, who had been informed by Sir L. Tolmach, of the rejoicing at Rome, on the receipt of the news of Laud's death. They spoke of his murder as “the greatest enemy of the Church of Rome in England being cut off, and the greatest champion of the Church of England silenced.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vide Evelyn's Diary and Correspondence, vol. iii. p. 341, Edit. 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's Works, vol. iv. p. 504.

Read Jan'y 1895.  
 " May 1939.

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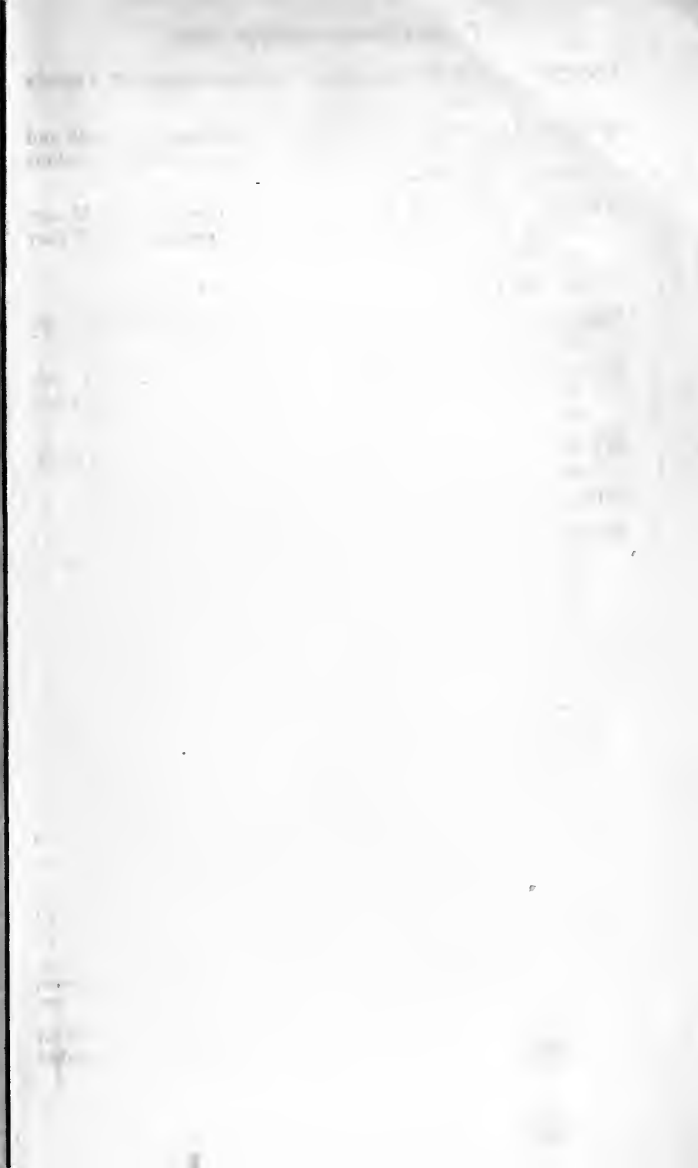
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