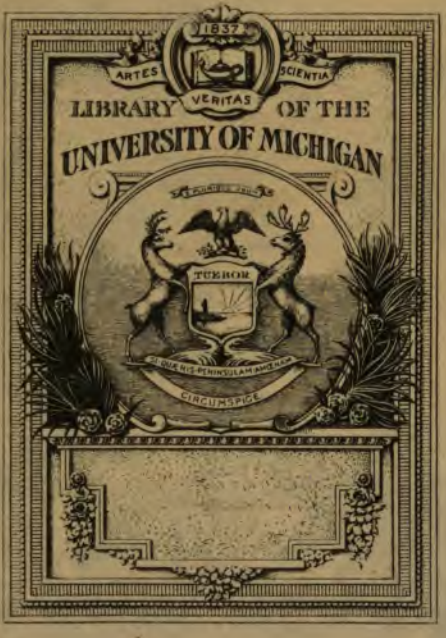
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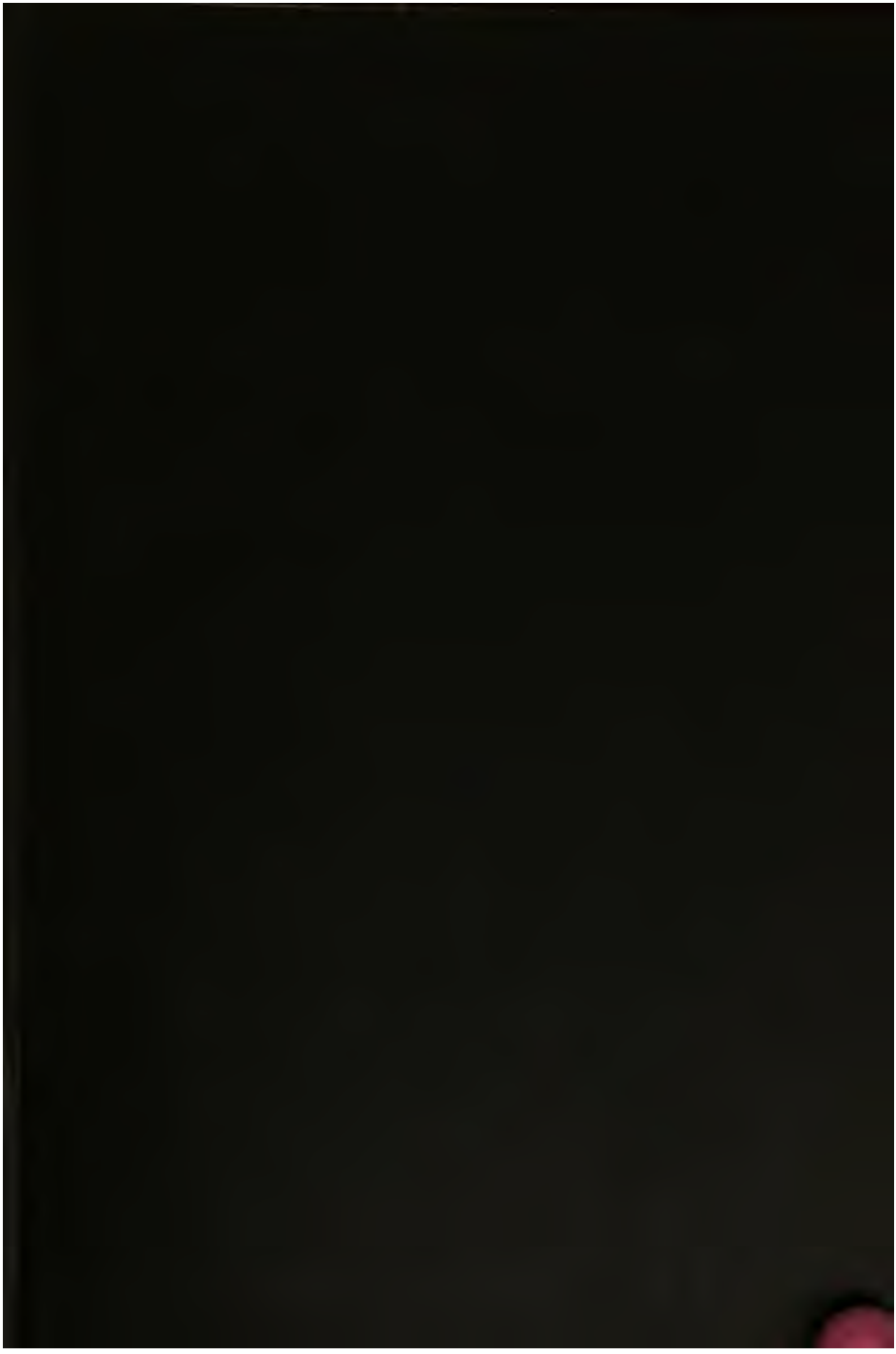

UNDERCURRENTS OF CHURCH LIFE

IN THE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"NICHOLAS FERRAR," AND "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN KETTLEWELL"

EDITED BY THE

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HON. CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

39 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON

NEW YORK AND BOMBAY

1899

To

VISCOUNT HALIFAX

IN THE GRATEFUL ASSURANCE OF A COMMON INTEREST

IN THE CHURCH'S TRUTH AND WELFARE

THIS VOLUME

IS DEDICATED BY THE EDITOR

T. T. CARTER

CLEWER, *October*, 1899.

INTRODUCTION

THE object of this volume is to show that, notwithstanding the great changes which have taken place during the late centuries in the condition of the Church of England, its principles have remained the same, its doctrines and its general usages unchanged.

An immense crisis arose after the fall of the Stuarts, when a new condition of things accompanied the reign of the Georges. Its result was a lowering of the line of teaching, and consequently a decline of the general tenor of Church life. What are known as the Broad and Low Church lines then arose; the higher school being steadily discountenanced by authority, and many being forced to withdraw, surrendering their cures, and continuing to minister, under the greatest possible difficulties, as Nonjurors.

This volume is intended to show how, during

the last century and the beginning of the now expiring century, the inner life was sustained, notwithstanding all discouragements, and all the hindrances caused by authority ever watchful and ready to suppress what the Government had resolved to supplant and overthrow.

It is often thought, and efforts have been made to show, that the movement of 1833 under Keble and Newman, which Pusey subsequently joined, came from without, and not from elements ever at work of true Church of England life. The movement was merely a revival, a rising up of the old order of things, which had never been lost, only overborne by the changed conditions of the time. Even at the worst, the seeds of life were ever germinating, living on under all varieties of outward circumstances, obscuring and depressing the truer view of things, while the power of the higher life remained unchanged, and, we trust, unchangeable.

The present volume tells of many conditions of individual life and many new ideas developed under a press of outward hindrances, while yet the root and groundwork of English belief in its adaptation to the English character never

failed. That this volume may tend, with other influences, to nourish the higher side of the Church of England life, and to strengthen the belief in the unfailing witness which it gives to its hold on primitive truth, is the desire of the undersigned.

T. T. CARTER.

PREFATORY NOTE

IN the "Life and Times of John Kettlewell" the author endeavoured to set forth the causes and consequences of the secession of the Nonjurors after the Revolution of 1688. The present volume is an attempt to gather together the scattered notices of those men who, whether as Nonjurors or within the bounds of the Establishment, upheld the ancient faith and practice of the Church through the evil days which followed that great upheaval.

It has been difficult to prevent some repetition in places which deal with ground already traversed in Kettlewell's Life, but which could not, for the sake of clearness, be omitted here; but this has been avoided as far as possible.

The authorities for each chapter are noted in their proper place. The author has only to express her grateful thanks for much kind and valuable

help, especially to Mr. H. Jenner of the British Museum, for information regarding Nonjuring office books; to the Rev. J. L. Fish of St. Margaret Pattens; and to the Rev. Canon Murdoch, Incumbent of All Saints, Edinburgh, who most kindly lent books on the history of the Scottish Episcopalians.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY—A.D. 1702–14.

"Paradise was not so firm
As was and is Thy floating Ark, whose stay
And anchor Thou art only, to confirm
And strengthen it in every age,
When waves do rise, and tempests rage."

G. HERBERT.

State of Church in Queen Anne's reign—London churches—Country clergy—Sir G. Wheler—Samuel Wesley—Nonjurors—Hardships of deprived Scottish clergy—Toleration granted—*Note* on Edward Stephens—Proposal for founding of religious house near Durham.

THIS volume is an attempt to trace the course of a current which flowed, almost unnoticed, but never without force, below the prevailing tides of eighteenth-century life—that stream of Catholic faith and feeling by which, in this happier age, our lives have been enriched. During the early years of Queen Anne's reign the Church seemed to be recovering from the loss which it had sustained at the Revolution through the expulsion of that large body of bishops and clergy who found

themselves unable to break the oaths which bound them to James II. and his heirs, or to accept William and Mary as their lawful sovereigns.[1]

The separation between Jurors (as those were called who had taken the new oaths of allegiance) and Nonjurors was looked upon as a temporary evil, to be healed, as the sanguine dreamed, by the restoration of the Stuarts; to die out, in any case, as others hoped and prayed, when the last deprived bishop should have passed away. Beveridge and Hooper and Bull, Sharp and Horneck, had lived in fellowship with Sancroft and Ken, with Granville, Hickes, and Kettlewell; and though in the conflict of 1688 they read their duty differently, they were animated by the same spirit, and had drawn their inspiration from the same source. The ties formed in earlier days were still maintained. It was to his old friend Hooper that Bishop Ken poured out his anxieties for his beloved diocese, entreating him to be his successor; and when Dr. Thomas Bray gave up his life to founding the great societies known to all the world as the S.P.C.K. and S.P.G., the most conspicuous and devoted of his associates was the Nonjuror, Robert Nelson.

[1] For an account of the deprivation of the Nonjuring bishops and clergy in 1688–89, the writer may be permitted to refer to an earlier volume, the "Life of John Kettlewell."

The custom of generous aid to the Church was still strong among the laity. Of the 103 churches of London and its suburbs, the greater part had been rebuilt since the Fire, at immense cost, and in view of the enormous growth of the capital, Parliament in 1710 voted a grant for the building of fifty churches more. The queen made restitution of the tenths and firstfruits which had been seized by Henry VIII., thus forming the fund now known as "Queen Anne's Bounty."

Daily mattins and evensong were still usual in all parts of London, and the frequent notice that they were kept up by a "Religious Society" in the parish shows the value set by the laity on the services of the Church. These societies, of which about forty existed in and near London, met weekly for prayer, spiritual reading, and charitable work, under the guidance of the clergy of their respective parishes, and must have exerted much quiet influence. Special monthly sermons in preparation for the Holy Communion, which had become a common practice, were due in most cases to the efforts of these societies. The struggle of Bishop Beveridge and others for more frequent celebration of the Holy Eucharist had borne good fruit. In the Chapels Royal, while the Court was in town,

the Holy Sacrifice was offered twice every Sunday, at 8 and 12 a.m. A weekly celebration was the rule at St. Paul's Cathedral and in many parish churches, and in several the hour chosen—7 or 8 a.m.—seems to point to the frequency of the practice of fasting communion. Dr. Mapletoft, the great-nephew of Nicholas Ferrar, retained the active habits of an earlier time, and was accustomed to celebrate in St. Lawrence Jewry at 6 a.m. In one church, St. Dunstan-in-the-West, a daily celebration was kept up during the octaves of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide.

Some slight idea of the religious habits of the time may be gathered from this list of services, which is taken from a handbook to the London Churches published in 1714.[1]

It is more difficult to find traces of the condition of the country parishes, but perhaps a short sketch of two men, differing from each other in training, character, and social standing, may help to convey some idea of the country parson as he was in the first years of the eighteenth century.

Sir George Wheler, Vicar of Basingstoke, and afterwards of Haughton-le-Spring, was a pupil of George Hickes, to whom he remained affectionately

[1] "Pietas Londinensis," by James Paterson.

attached throughout his life. He was a man of wide culture, an enthusiastic botanist,[1] keenly interested in the remains of ancient art (the marbles which he collected are still to be seen at Oxford), but yet more deeply in those later and sadder ruins, the desolate Christian churches of Greece and Asia Minor. While a layman he travelled much in these countries, searching everywhere for Christian remains, and becoming acquainted with many of the Greek clergy. He records a long conversation with the Bishop of Salonica, who desired to know the faith of the English Church.

"Of which," when I had given him the best account I could," says Wheler, "he told me that it was the same with theirs; for I informed him that we believe the Holy Scriptures, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, and that of St. Athanasius; that our Church was governed by bishops and archbishops, that our faith was conformable to the primitive Fathers and the first General Councils until the first five or six centuries; and, in fine, that we were not of the Roman Church. After this I asked him their opinion concerning the Holy

[1] "Simpling (*i.e.* collecting plants) seldom failed to give me satisfaction when all other divertisements failed." Wheler introduced into England the *Hypericum Olympicum*, which he found on Mount Olympus.

Sacrament, and what they held the Bread and Wine to be after consecration. He answered, 'the Body and Blood of Christ.' When I asked him how that could be, he gave me this explication: 'As the sun is in the heaven and yet gives heat and light to the whole earth, so Christ, although in heaven, yet was in the Sacrament by His Divine power and influence.' I told him that was what we believed, which was that Christ was in the Sacrament after a spiritual manner."[1]

The bishop was so pleased with his English guest that he offered to ordain him. Wheler naturally declined this proposal, but he was greatly attracted by the devout life of the Greek monks, and his "Protestant Monastery," published some years after his return to England, shows the deep impression left on his mind by these solitudes "where Peace and Innocency seem to dwell," and the business of life was only prayer. In the preface to this little work, which consists of Day and Night Hours, with other devotions (in which his biographer finds traces of Greek influence), he dwells on the instinctive desire which has been felt in all ages for some form of religious life, and expresses his longing for its revival, especially in the shape of convents for women, where "they should be brought

[1] "Life of Sir G. Wheler:" Zouch, "Works," vol. ii.

up and trained in strict discipline and virtue, but above all they should be taught to tread in the steps of the Ancients by Constant Devotions by night and by day. . . . Such Monasteries as these, and thus duly ordered, would undoubtedly be both a Reputation to the Church and advantageous to the Nation." [1]

On his return from his travels Wheler married the daughter of Sir Thomas Higgins, Ambassador to Venice, and was shortly afterwards knighted by Charles II. But, "contrary to the efforts of his friends he entered Holy Orders, choosing rather to serve in the Church than shine in the Court." He was ordained in 1682 by Bishop Fell, after three years spent, by the advice of his old tutor, Hickes, in retirement and study.

When the Church was divided in 1688 on the question of the Oaths of Allegiance, Wheler and Hickes took different sides; but their friendship suffered no diminution, and in 1707 we find the Rector of Haughton pouring out his anxieties on Church matters to the ejected Nonjuror as to one with whom he was in full sympathy.

[1] Preface to the "Protestant Monastery, or Christian Œconomics." Sir George Wheler mentions that he used the offices in this book in his own family—presumably the Day Hours only. He recommends the use of the Night Hours to sick nurses, soldiers, and others whose duties oblige them to watch during the night.

"Most dear and Hon. Mr. Dean," he writes (Hickes' friends addressed him as Dean of Worcester to the day of his death),—"There is one notion of our Christian Sacrifice as a Peace-offering annexed to the great Sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, which I have not yet met with in this excellent book,[1] which is contained in a sermon of yours. . . . Our general neglect of the Rubricks is one great reason of the use of such sleight if not profane notions and contempt of the Sacred Oblations, two whereof are very notorious; the first is, the preparation of the Oblations is generally left to ignorant and slovenly men, called Parish Clerks, but are but laymen . . . the other, that it is placed on the Holy Table before the time of the offerings, against a plain Rubrick of our book, and all Primitive (I believe) and am sure both ye Orientall Liturgies, as well as Occidentall." [2]

Sir George Wheler died in 1724, and was buried in the Galilee at Durham. "*Fidei primævæ in Scriptis Assertor, Disciplinæ in Vitæ Æmulus*," says the inscription on his tomb.

[1] Possibly the book concerning which Hickes wrote to Charlett about the same time: "Since my return I have read over the excellent little book of 'Worshipping towards the Altar,' and find that it was written before ye great rebellion. . . . I think another edition of it would be seasonable at a time when so many of our clergy forget ye antient notion of Priest, Sacrifice, and Altar, which are all there treated with so much perspicacity and strength of Reasoning."—Hickes to Dr. Charlett (Master of University), Oct. 11, 1707: Hearnes' "Remarks and Collections," ii. 64.

[2] "Life of Sir G. Wheler:" Zouch, "Works," vol. ii.

If we turn from this scholarly and cultured ritualist to a man of a very different type, Samuel Wesley of Epworth, now chiefly remembered for the sake of his famous sons, we find the same solid grasp of truth, and a high ideal of Christian life. Wesley sprang from the depths of Nonconformity. His father and grandfather were Independent ministers, who had been deprived at the Restoration for refusal to use the Prayer-book, and he was himself educated at a Dissenting academy of some reputation. Being a clever industrious youth with a facile pen, he was employed to write an answer to some pamphlet against Dissenters. The course of reading to which this gave occasion shook his faith in the doctrines in which he had been brought up.

"I earnestly implored the Divine direction," he wrote long afterwards, "in business of so weighty a concern, and on which so much of my whole life depended. . . . I looked still further into Church History, as much as lay within my reach, and found to my surprise Bishops in all ages and places, all the world over. . . . The farther I looked, the more the mists cleared up, and things appeared in another sort of light than I had seen them in all my life before. . . . I began to have some inclination for the University if I knew how to get thither,

or live there when I came, but I was not acquainted with one soul of the Church of England, or at least with none to whom I might address myself for assistance or advice." [1]

Wesley had gained an exhibition of £10 a year, one of several left by Dr. Owen for the use of Nonconformist students, and with this slender provision, and in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, who assured him that the Universities were "so scandalously debauched that there was no breathing for a sober man in them," he made his way to Oxford on foot, entered himself as a servitor at Exeter, and supported himself by teaching until he took his B.A. degree.

He found among his fellow-students "many sober and religious men," whose discourse drew him more and more towards the Church, and in the same year in which he took his degree he received Holy Orders.

At Ormsby first, and for the rest of his life at Epworth, his career was one incessant struggle with poverty, but his courage and perseverance never failed. When a neighbour, for whose candidature he had refused to vote, revenged himself by procuring his arrest for a trifling debt, he

[1] "Letter from a Country Parson" (S. Wesley).

brightened the weary hours by reading prayers night and morning with his fellow-prisoners, and wrote bravely to his constant friend, Archbishop Sharp—

"Most of my friends advise me to leave Epworth if ever I should get from hence. I confess I am not of that mind, because I may yet do good there, and it is like a coward to desert my post because the enemy fire thick upon me."

A paper drawn up for the use of his curate throws some light on his views of life and work.[1] He dwells on the importance of house-to-house visiting; of catechising, in which he recommends the use of some larger catechism (he himself used that drawn up by Bishop Beveridge) when the children were perfect in the Church Catechism; of careful recitation of the Church services, the prayers, "and even the lessons" to be pricked as the Psalms, so as to be read musically; and also gives a list of books for study which includes the works of the most famous of the early Fathers and the best

[1] Printed in appendix to Jackson's "Life of C. Wesley." In a letter written in 1702 to the S.P.C.K., Wesley gives an account of a religious society which he had formed in his parish. The members "are much more careful of their lives and conversations, communicate monthly with great devotion, and appear very zealous for the glory of God and the welfare of their own and other's souls."

English divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

He was himself a voluminous writer, astonishingly fluent and industrious, striving by the production of many volumes of wearisome verse (which seems to have found admirers in its day) to pay his debts, and provide for his eighteen children. These works are deservedly forgotten, but a little book, published, no doubt, for the instruction of his parishioners, "The Pious Communicant Rightly Prepared," is of interest as showing the character of his teaching.

"As the Commemoration relates to God," he says in this manual, "we do also in the Communion present a memorial by a sweet savour before Him. . . . The priest neither *makes* nor *offers* the real *natural Body* of Christ in the Holy Communion, but he makes His *spiritual Sacramental Body*, and therein he presents His natural Body. . . . Thus he represents to God as to us, and every devout Communicant should faithfully join in the Representation. . . . There is in the Blessed Sacrament a real *spiritual Presence* of the Body and Blood of the Saviour to every *faithful Receiver*."

Wesley was earnest in inculcating the duty of private devotion. Throughout his laborious life he made a point of retiring for prayer every

afternoon at five o'clock, and trained his children to the same.

"If we make our less necessary employment take the place of our stated devotions, or, what is next to it, crowd them up into a narrow room," he wrote to his eldest son Samuel while a boy at Westminster, "we shall soon find our piety sensibly abate, and all that is good ready to run to ruin."

His letters to his son John are full of vigorous sense and piety, of humour and affection, but these belong to a later chapter. One other fragment of his writing may be given here, as it shows how the idea of religious retirement was in the air, and had attractions for minds of the most various cast.

"The Church of Rome," he says, in a "Letter to the Religious Societies," "owes perhaps her very existence, or, at least, most of the progress she has made of late years, to those several societies she nourishes in her bosom. . . . It will be owned an admirable thing that we had among us some places wherein those who were piously disposed might have the liberty for a time of a voluntary retirement, once practised by Mr. Ferrar, and the same has been lately attempted by Mr. St——."[1]

There was no want of earnestness, of learning,

[1] Mr. Edward Stephens. See note at end of this chapter.

of vigour, among the members, lay or clerical, of the Church in the opening years of the eighteenth century, and yet the standard of spiritual life did not rise, but rather grew lower as the time went on. Among the causes of this gradual declension, one, at least, is on the surface. In a letter written in 1710 by Robert Nelson, we find him sorrowfully regretting his difficulty of finding any English clergy willing to face the hardships of foreign missions. "The business of party," he says, "takes up all our zeal."

As the queen's life advanced the conflict grew fiercer. In the network of intrigue and double-dealing which surrounded the throne, in the breathless anxiety with which each turn of the political scale was watched by the adherents of the exiled king, the work of the Church flagged.

The Nonjurors had no grounds of separation from the Established Church except those arising out of the Oaths of Allegiance, and when the death of the venerable Bishop Lloyd of Norwich and the resignation of Ken removed the difficulty as to communion with intruded bishops, some of the most distinguished laymen, including Robert Nelson and the learned Dodwell, returned thankfully to their parish churches. If the Church

could have been dissociated from the tangled web of politics, all might yet have gone well; but the return of the clergy was still barred by the oaths, and in 1713 a step was taken which placed the separation on a stronger and more lasting basis.

Archbishop Sancroft, in the time of dismay and perplexity which followed his deprivation, had consecrated Hickes and Wagstaffe as suffragan bishops. Hickes was determined to continue the succession, and in 1713, with the help of two Scottish bishops, he consecrated Hawes, Spinckes, and Collier. From the statement in the record of consecration, that "all the Catholic Bishops of the English Church had died except the Bishop of Thetford,"[1] he seems to have considered that their acceptance of the intruded archbishop had placed the Anglican Episcopate in a state of schism. Such a step on the part of a man of great learning and holy life could be explained on no lesser ground.

It is impossible to give any account of the men who strove to uphold the Catholic character of the English Church, without endeavouring at the same time to trace the vicissitudes of the sister

[1] Hickes himself, who had been consecrated by Sancroft under this title.

Church of Scotland, to which they were linked by many ties, and which, in the midst of crushing troubles, set so bright an example of faithfulness. It is also impossible to judge fairly of the condition of feeling in England, of the intolerance often shown to Nonconformists, and the wild excitement roused when such men as Sacheverell raised the cry that the Church was in danger, without considering to what a state they saw their nearest neighbours deliberately reduced by the action of their own Government.

When the Scottish prelates with one accord refused the oaths to William and Mary, an Act was passed in the Parliament of Scotland (after six weeks' debate, suggestive of a sharp struggle), declaring that Prelacy was "an insupportable grievance. . . . Our Sovereign Lord and Lady, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, do hereby abolish Prelacy, and all superiority of any office of the Church of this Kingdom above Presbyters," and the whole remaining revenues of the ancient sees were at once, and without the smallest consideration for the rights or necessities of their former occupants, seized for the Crown. This measure was followed by a Proclamation "squinting at Episcopacy among the sins of the late times,"

and reflecting on it as the great hindrance to the gospel work of reformation. This document was ordered to be read in all parish churches on a day appointed, and those ministers who neglected to obey were to be deprived without need of any further charge. In this way such of the Episcopal clergy as had not already been "rabbled" out of their cures were quickly got rid of, except in parishes (of which there were many, especially in the north of Scotland) where the attachment to Episcopacy was so strong that little regard was paid to the Presbyterian Courts.

The deprived clergy endeavoured to officiate in private, sometimes in deserted churches, of which many stood empty, no one having been appointed to the vacant cures, some in their own hired houses, to the great wrath of the Government, who in 1695 passed a law forbidding any "outed minister" to solemnize marriage or baptize children, under pain of banishment for life.

The accession of Anne did not much mend matters. When the union of the two kingdoms came under discussion, the General Assembly of the Kirk petitioned against it, on the ground that to give consent to the clauses regarding the security of the Church in England would be to "homologate

Episcopacy;" and the queen, to soothe the Presbyterians, issued a Proclamation forbidding the Episcopal clergy of Scotland to hold services even in their own dwellings, and renewing the shameful prohibition of baptism. When the Treaty of Union was concluded, it contained a clause, carried through in spite of strong opposition from the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London, Bath and Wells, and St. Asaph, which "gave the Kirk a permanence of security which she had never before possessed."[1]

When the Episcopal clergy in Scotland petitioned for toleration, the Duke of Queensberry refused to present their address to the queen. Great numbers of the laity were on their side. As for the most part they were excluded as Nonjurors from Parliament, they could make no public protest, but in private they did their best to protect their clergy; and services were held in spite of the law, especially in the remoter parts of the country.

"I hear *very lamentable* accounts by letters from some of our brethren in Angus," wrote the Presbyterian Wodrow; "the Episcopal meeting-houses are increasing, and they *bury their dead with the Liturgy*, and *the clergy* [officiate] *with their habits*,

[1] Stephens' "History of the Church of Scotland," iv. 25.

and the nobility and gentry are *very fond* of these new fashions."[1]

The deprived clergy, left to the uncertain help of their scattered congregations, suffered great hardships. Some of them were, as Bishop Burnet[2] wrote to Archbishop Sharp, in "the last extremity of misery." Sharp, who was Queen Anne's confidential adviser in matters spiritual, did his utmost to rouse her to interfere, but with little success. Anne "would not think things were so bad as they were represented—the clergy must have patience."[3] Sharp did, however, succeed in obtaining a small allowance, out of the rents of the See, for the aged Archbishop of Glasgow.

In 1709 he "charged it again on her (the

[1] Wodrow to a friend, quoted by Stephens, "History of the Church of Scotland," iv. 51.

[2] "Life of Archbishop Sharp," by his son.

[3] Ibid. Extract from Sharp's "Diary." The fragments of this diary, given in the "Life," are most instructive and edifying. The archbishop fulfilled the command to "pray without ceasing" almost literally. In the green walk at Bishops Thorpe, which he called his "temple of praise," in the porch of the little church at Ancaster, near by, which he constantly used as an oratory, on his frequent journeys, as well as in his study and his chapel, he was continually in prayer. "I came home in the coach alone, so that I had a conveniency of conversing with God all the way, which I did as heartily as I could. In the evening I walked in my garden and repeated my thanksgivings and renewed my vows." Such entries, with careful notes of the least coldness or failure, are of constant occurrence.

queen's) conscience, with some warmth, to take care to put a stop to these persecutions."

The Tory reaction of the last years of her reign made it easier for Anne to follow his counsel. An Act was passed permitting the Scottish clergy to meet anywhere except in parish churches, and to administer the Sacraments, without incurring any pains or penalties, but those only who were willing to take the Oath of Abjuration might take advantage of this leniency. They were also compelled to pray in express terms for Queen Anne and the Electress of Hanover. Even this measure of toleration was greatly resented by the Presbyterians, who did all that was possible to run down the Episcopal Church "with clamour and calumny, calling it popish, superstitious, and idolatrous, and accounting it meritorious to decry in their pulpits what they vulgarly call the English Mass."[1]

NOTE.—EDWARD STEPHENS.

Mr. Edward Stephens of Cherrington seems to have been a man of singular zeal and devotion, who lived too late, or too early, to leave his mark on the world. He would, perhaps, at any time have found it difficult to adapt himself to his environment. He was made to be a pioneer, a free lance,

[1] "Case of the Church of Scotland:" Somers' Tracts, xiii. 304.

subject to no recognized authority. The desire of his heart was to restore the daily Eucharist, and the Religious Life, and to advance the reunion of Eastern and Western Christendom. Other people dreamed and talked of these things; Stephens acted. He was a country gentleman of some estate, and by profession a lawyer. He gave up the practice of law, made over his property to his wife and children, and in solitude and poverty devoted himself to an ascetic life. Mrs. Stephens' opinion of this arrangement is not recorded, but there seems no doubt of her husband's entire sincerity. In spite of his desertion of the ways of ordinary duty, Stephens is mentioned by his contemporaries with respect. "He is," says Hearne, "tho' mutable yet, a very conscientious man, and hath been a great sufferer upon y^t^ account. He leads a most strict and severe life, but is a great Opiniator.[1]

In a letter to Archbishop Tenison on the Restoration of the Daily Sacrifice, Stephens gives some account of himself. "When I saw no hopes," he writes, "of having it (the Holy Eucharist) daily in public, it pleased God to give me an unexpected opportunity of having it in private by bringing together a little company of constant weekly communicants, and amongst them one in Holy Orders whom I had brought over from the Dissenters. I had before this left off my profession of the law, and had also forsaken the world, without any thought of anything more than a solitary retirement." Finding that the priest who officiated for the little congregation was likely to be called away, he himself took orders, and celebrated daily in St. Giles' Cripplegate and other churches, when he could get permission from the incumbents, at other times in his private oratory. "When celebrating in private we used," he says, "such enlargement of the Church services as I thought most agreeable to the antient form, but when we came to the Church, used the Church form, supplying defects from other parts of the Liturgy." The celebrations in Church seem to have been prohibited at the end of two or three years, and some of the

[1] Hearne, "Collections," i. 25.

congregation dropped off, but he continued to officiate privately. "Here is indeed now in town Mr. Edward Stephens, who in his little congregation of daily communicants, consisting of five or six women, makes use of the First Liturgy of King Edward the Sixth, with some few additions and patches of his own," writes Dr. Thomas Smith in 1705.

These women probably formed a community to which Stephens alludes in a tract called "The More Excellent Way," in which he pleads for "accomodation of some devout women with such mean but convenient habitation, work, wages, and relief, that they may have time and strength for the worship of God . . . that . . . the Church and nation may be benefited by their constant prayers," and says that he has already begun a religious society of single women, which he trusts may not be suffered to fall to pieces. The history of this little sisterhood is unknown. Stephens died in 1707, and it probably crumbled away when no longer supported by his ministrations.

He was much interested in the attempt to found a Greek hostel in Oxford, an effort in which Sir George Wheler took an active part, for the benefit of the oppressed Greek clergy, and when it broke up he took on himself the charge of two of the students. It is said that he was admitted to communion by the Archbishop of Philippopolis, who visited England in 1701, the archbishop declaring that he "wanted nothing but Confirmation." He applied to a Roman ecclesiastic for the same privilege, but was naturally rejected, with the advice to "celebrate in the union and for the intention of the Catholic Church." [1]

In 1737 a Scottish layman, Sir William Cunninghame, desired to found "a nunnery of Protestant religious, . . . who may at the same

[1] Chiefly taken from a paper by E. S. Ffoulkes, *Union Review*, vol. i. pp. 553–570.

time be happy instruments of good, of glory to Almighty God, and of true solace to one another," for the reception of Scottish ladies of good family. Such an institution could not be set on foot in Scotland, where at that time the penal laws made it impossible to have the services of a chaplain; and Sir William tried to procure the assistance of the Archdeacon of Northumberland, Dr. Thomas Sharp (son of the archbishop), for the establishment of a convent at Sedgefield, near Durham, which he wished to place under the guidance of the bishop, but Sharp did not favour the plan, and it came to nothing. It is curious that one of Dr. Sharp's objections to the proposed sisterhood is the absence of vows.

"Whatever accounts we meet with in any age, or in any part of the Christian Church, of Colleges or Societies of Virgins, they are always to be understood of such as are dedicated or consecrated. . . . Now, however the monastic life may be calculated for persons having the *vow* upon them as the safest means of preserving and the likeliest means of making life easy under it, yet these [only] recommendations of a nunnery do cease when the vow, as in your scheme, is to be out of the question," he wrote in answer to the proposals laid before him.[1]

[1] Appendix to "Life of Archbishop Sharp," by his son.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1714–15.

"They make them wings and fly away,
And fairer still they seem as we behold them flying."
The Baptistery.

Last days of Robert Nelson—Francis Lee—His intercourse with Nelson—Publishes Nelson's last work—Death of Hickes.

THE death of Queen Anne, on the 10th of August, 1714, brought the struggle of parties to a sudden pause. In the day of their brief triumph the Tories had tried to crush their opponents under the guise of zeal for the Church, and in their fall the Church was dragged down with them in an indistinguishable ruin. It had been grievously weakened by the loss of the Nonjurors, but the depth of prostration was not touched till after the accession of George I.

It is a relief to turn from scenes of contention and bitterness to the quiet chambers in which one of the most earnest of English Churchmen was slowly passing out of this discordant world. The

last months of Robert Nelson's life were spent in providing, as far as he might, for the maintenance of those objects to which he had devoted his life. He took special care for the continuance of the supply of Bibles and Prayer-books to the impoverished Episcopalians of Scotland.[1] He bade farewell to the Associates of his beloved "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," and committed to Francis Lee the unfinished MSS. of his last work, the "Appeal to Persons of Quality" to devote their time and money to the cause of God and His Church.

Lee, at this time one of Nelson's most attached friends, was himself an interesting and remarkable person.[2] He had been ejected as a Nonjuror from his fellowship at St. John's, Oxford, and being thus "in effect divested of all that he had, he was exposed naked to the more immediate care and tuition of that Providence which had always provided for him in many signal extremities. . . . Being in this state, he desires to fulfil wholly

[1] The use of the English Prayer-book had become by this time general in Scottish Episcopal congregations, but they were mostly too poor to supply themselves.

[2] He was generally, says Hearne, called "Rabbi," on account of his knowledge of the Oriental tongues. See Hearne's "Collections," p. 338.

the will of God in whatever might relate to him. . . ."[1]

While still uncertain what to do, he fell in with Joan Lead, an enthusiast who, having plunged beyond her depth in the study of mystical philosophy, grew so far bewildered in these "strange seas of thought" as to imagine herself favoured with visions and Divine revelations. Lee, cut off from his old ties and familiar occupations, and having "surprising alarms to a spiritual retreat," fell a ready prey to Mrs. Lead's pretensions. He joined the sect of theosophists calling themselves "Philadelphians,"[2] of which she was the leader, assisted in the publication of her books, and cemented the alliance by a marriage with her daughter, on which he entered, not, it would seem, without reluctance, because she assured him that such was the will of God.

[1] Many of Lee's MSS. came into possession of William Law. The above fragment is quoted in Mr. Walton's "Materials for a Biography of William Law," p. 509.

[2] "In the beginning of this century a number of persons, many of them of great piety, formed themselves into a kind of society by the name of Philadelphians; they are great readers and well versed in the language of J. B. [Jacob Böhme], and used to make eloquent discourses of the mystery in their meetings. Their only thirst was after *visions*, *openings*, and revelations, etc. And yet nowhere could they see their distemper so fully described, the causes it proceeded from, and the fatal consequences of it, as by J. B."—Law to ——, "Materials for a Biography," p. 456.

His friends tried vainly to rouse him from his delusion. Dodwell,[1] in particular, argued and entreated in many long and affectionate letters.

"I hope, dear sir," he writes in 1698, "you will rather give your old deserted brethren an occasion of joy and hearty congratulation for your return, than add to our sufferings the melancholy aggravation of losing you." And a little later, "The good God extricate you from the snare of enthusiasm and seducing spirits wherein you are engaged. . . . Give me the joy of subscribing myself, as I could formerly, your most hearty and affectionate Brother." [2]

Lee only replied by declaring at great length his perfect confidence in Mrs. Lead's honesty and orthodoxy, and her innocence of "white magic," of which she was accused.[3] But the awakening was not long in coming. He laid his case before Edward Stephens,[4] asking in words that tell a story of heart-searching agony, "Is it possible

[1] Henry Dodwell, Camden Professor of Ancient History, ejected in 1689 as a Nonjuror.

[2] "Materials for a Biography of W. Law."

[3] It is interesting to find that, in the midst of his "Philadelphian" delusions, Lee clung to the Collects of the Church as a safeguard against the study of magic, which at that time exercised a strong attraction over many minds. He tells Dodwell that in ancient magical books he finds prayers offered to the Holy Spirit alone, none to the Father through the Son.

[4] See note at the end of Chapter I.

for God to deliver over to seduction any sincere soul?"

". . . It is not only possible, but usual," writes Stephens, "for God to permit souls, as sincere as you imagine, when they presume upon their own imaginations, out of the ordinary way of humility, which He has prescribed, to eat the fruit of their own doings. . . . Have a care how you proceed further with this Society." [1]

Lee quitted the Philadelphians, who seem soon to have broken up, and employed himself for a while in the study of medicine.

It is easy to imagine what support and strength this tender, imaginative, fervent soul would find in Nelson's calm and balanced character, and a touching letter, addressed "To my friend, the gift of God to me," bears witness to the warmth of his affection.

"Oh! my friend in the highest root of friendship, my heart floweth at this time to God. [Nelson was in his last illness.] God knoweth what He may have farther to do with you and with us all. The clouds are at present very thick, but I no more doubt of the sun's breaking through them all, than I can of what we saw and felt

[1] Edward Stephens to F. Lee, September 8, 1702, "Materials for a Biography of W. Law," p. 233.

together, when I was with you last in your chariot in the park, the which I then looked upon as a faint emblem of what you might in faith expect and hope for. May the cherishing and breathful beams of that holy intellectual sun, which is your light and life, descend upon you more and more vigourously, and may you find healing thereby to your whole man. . . . To the best of friends from the most affectionate of friends." [1]

The last thing which Nelson wrote was an address, "To the True Lovers of Devotion," published as an introduction to Lee's translations of the "Christian's Exercise," [2] by Thomas à Kempis, in which he urges the great advantage for those much occupied in business or society, of occasional retirement from the world, for prayer and meditation. He would, he says, have made the preface longer, "but for illness; and I desire to submit wholly to the Will of God." Before the book was published he had passed away. He died on the 16th of January, 1715, "like a lamb, without commotion or struggle, submissive to the Will of God, and entirely resigned to His holy providence." He

[1] F. Lee to R. Nelson, November 19, 1714, "Materials for a Biography of W. Law," p. 251.

[2] This little-known book consists of manuals for children, youths, and grown men, and contains many references to the Community of Mount St. Agnes, for whom it was written.

was buried on the 28th in the cemetery of St. George the Martyr, close to the Gray's Inn Road, a burial-place which he chose, with characteristic consideration for others, because there was some prejudice against it which he hoped his example might help to overcome. The bulk of his property was left for charitable uses. "Thus he *ended*, as he had *spent* his days; was the same person still, maintaining the same character, and carrying it along with him to the place of refreshment."[1]

In the course of this year Lee published the "Address to Persons of Quality and Estate," which Nelson had left in his charge. A few extracts from this forgotten work will show how magnificent were the views of far-sighted and liberal Churchmen during the early years of the last century. In it Nelson urges the increase of the Episcopate: twenty-two suffragans might be appointed under an Act still in force. He also pleads for the foundation of theological seminaries in every diocese. "We have indeed," he says, "very noble foundations for the encouragement of theological studies, but there seems to be something further yet required." This "something further" he had

[1] Marshall's "Funeral Discourse," quoted in Secretan's "Life of Nelson," p. 274.

already expressed more fully in his "Life of Bishop Bull:"—

"A place was needed where candidates for orders might be instructed in divinity, where all particular cases of conscience might be clearly stated, where they might receive right notions of all those spiritual rights which are appropriated to the Priesthood, where they might be taught to perform all the public offices of religion with a becoming gravity and devotion . . . where they might be particularly directed how to receive clinical confessions . . . where they might be instructed in the art of preaching . . . and, above all, where they might be formed . . . by constant practice . . . to piety and devotion, and excited to great zeal in promoting the salvation of souls. . . ."

Medical missions, hospitals of various kinds, orphanages, reformatories, penitentiaries, homes for decayed gentlemen, and houses both for men and women to which they might retire for a season for the advantage of religious society and improvement in knowledge and piety,—all find their place in the list of works which Nelson pressed on the attention of those to whom God had given riches and the desire to use them for His glory. Alas! the time of growth was over for the present, and Nelson's vision of an active and advancing Church

was as the golden gleam of autumn, which yet holds in itself the promise of the far-off spring.

A touching office of prayer for the soul of Nelson was found among Francis Lee's papers. Some portion of it may be given here.

"Psalm xli., xliii., cxii., cxvi.

"Lessons: Wisdom iv. 10–17; St. John v. 29, 30.

"A commemoration, Jan. 16. R. N. of blessed memory, my familiar friend and brother.

"The righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance. . . . More especially let glory and praise be given unto Thy Name in and by Thy servant R——. . . . Lord, lift Thou up the light of Thy countenance upon all faithful souls . . . especially this our dear brother, Thy servant, and the delight of my soul. . . . Have Thou regard to all the supplications and intercessions which he here poured out in Thy Spirit at any time, but more especially in his last hours, for the state of the world and the Church at this day. . . . and if it be appointed that he should rest yet for a little season, until he be perfected with his fellow servants and brethren, yet let him be so thoroughly washed in the Blood of the Lamb as to appear in the congregation of the saints without any spot; and let a white robe be given unto him, with the candidates of the first resurrection, that in the beauty of holiness he may wait in the Courts of Thy heavenly temple till the sound of the seventh angel shall wake his dust . . . until then let Thy

right hand cover him, and let the light of Thy countenance and Thy glory from between the cherubim be lifted up on him. . . . Oh, that our souls might be bound together in the bundle of life eternal, and that in our lot there be no parting, so that I also with him and with all the living who live evermore, may praise Thee, the living God . . . saying Holy, Holy, Holy . . ."[1]

George Hickes survived his friend but a few months. He was already "grieved with sickness and with great bodily pain," and "his soul oppressed with many heavy weights, both public and private."

The summer of 1715 passed in anxiety and excitement. There was nothing in the new sovereign to awaken any feeling of loyalty, and accounts of the handsome face and sweet disposition of the exiled prince were repeated with eager interest wherever a few "honest men" were gathered together. Organized mobs traversed the country, shouting for James III. Oxford was illuminated on the 29th of May, and, amid public rejoicings, healths were drunk to a new Restoration. The Government was on the alert. Many arrests were made, and arms and ammunition seized; but, in

[1] Walton, "Materials for a Biography of W. Law," pp. 249, 250.

spite of all precautions, the Scotch were in open revolt before the end of the summer, and the Jacobites of Northumberland rose in October.

Hickes was ever a fighter, and it was perhaps appropriate that he should die in the midst of that brief and unhappy insurrection. The news of the defeat of Sheriffmuir and the surrender of Preston, must have added bitterness to his last hours. On the 15th of November Hilkiah Bedford writes that "our excellent friend the Dean of Worcester was at about twelve last night taken speechless, and died this morning soon after ten. I pray God support us under this great loss, and all our afflictions, and remove them, or us from them, when it is His blessed will."

Hickes left behind him a prayer which he desired might be offered by his friends for the repose of his soul, and the following fragment found among Lee's papers was apparently written to accompany it—

"*For Dr. Hickes.*—Whereas our dear Father and brother in God, who departed out of this troublesome life in a good old age . . . according to the accustomed practice of the present ages of the Church, did communicate in confidence his design to some, whom he perfectly knew to be

agreeing with him herein, that he might both in the body and out of the body have the prayers of his true Christian friends offered up in the most precious atonement of the Lamb of God, and in the unity of the one Holy Catholic Spirit, together with all faithful souls, whether in the flesh or out of the flesh, recommending him in faith to the Great High Priest in the heavenly tabernacle, who maketh intercession both for him and for all who work unto Him . . ."[1]

Lee was left in charge of the notes which Hickes had prepared for the "Life of John Kettlewell," and this work, which still remains the chief authority for the early history of the Nonjurors, and contains the clearest exposition of their views, was published by him about two years later.

Hickes left his books to Mr. Bowdler, and the bulk of his MSS. to Hilkiah Bedford. A work of considerable importance on the "Constitution of the Catholic Church" was so far complete, that it was brought out in 1716. The author's name appears on the title-page as the "R. Reverend George Hickes, D.D."—the only public intimation, so far as is known, of his claim to Episcopal rank.

The death of Hickes forms an era. He was the last of the great divines of the seventeenth century,

[1] "Materials for a Biography of W. Law," p. 250.

the last also of that generation of Nonjurors who had already gained position and distinction before the Church was rent asunder by the Revolution, and who were known and valued in a larger world than that narrow space in which the later Nonjurors were compelled to move. He was "a great Master of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and the most considerable Reviver of Primitive Theology that hath appeared in our time . . . but, above all, the solid and substantial Piety of his Conduct maketh his example a constant instruction to those who live within the reach of it."[1]

[1] Robert Nelson inserted this testimony to the worth of his friend of many years, in his "Life of Bishop Bull," p. 513.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1715–16.

"He's o'er the seas and far awa',
He's o'er the seas and far awa';
Altho' his back be at the Wa',
We'll drink his health that's far awa'.

"I hope he shall return again,
And safely brook what is his ain;
Until that happy day do da',
We'll drink his health that's far awa'."

Scottish Song.

Failure of the insurrection of 1715—Fate of insurgents—Declaration made at execution of Hall and Paul—Abjuration Act put in force—Increase of Nonjurors—Oppressive treatment of Scottish Episcopalians.

IT is needless to repeat the well-known story of the unfortunate rising of 1715.

It was foredoomed. The Scottish royalists were bound together, though loosely, by common love for their Stuart king and common hatred of the Union. To them, the success of James VIII. would mean the restoration of the ancient liberties

of Scotland. For such a cause, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, and Roman Catholic fought willingly side by side.

In England the case was different. The passionate loyalty of the old families of Northumberland and Lancashire was in most cases stimulated by the desire of a king of their own faith, but the mass of the English Jacobites hated the Pope even more cordially than they detested the "usurper," as they styled George I. They had no bitter sense of national wrong to fortify their attachment to the young king whom they had never seen, and, in the doubtful balance of their minds, it is small wonder if the scales were weighted by consideration of the grim possibilities which awaited failure.

Their prudence was justified by the black assize of Lancashire, of which the details cannot even now be read without a shudder.[1] Those prisoners who were carried to London were on the whole more fortunate, less perhaps owing to the leniency of the Government, than to the strong and general sympathy excited by the misfortunes of men whose only crime consisted in loyalty to the prince whom

[1] See "Lancashire Memorials of the Rebellion of 1715," by S. Hibbert Ware.

they regarded as their rightful sovereign. People who did not look with any favour on the house of Stuart, were shocked when they saw brave men led through the streets, bound with cords like the lowest criminals; and when the head of the first victim, Colonel Oxburgh, a pious and kindly gentleman, "more priest than soldier," was exposed on Temple Bar, the spectators were seized with such horror that only the threats of the judges could produce further convictions, even on the clearest evidence.

In the end, six only, among those condemned to death in London, actually suffered. Anong these was a clergyman, William Paul, Vicar of Horton, in Leicestershire, whose harmlessness and insignificance might, one would have thought, have saved his life. In an evil hour he had been tempted to join the insurgents in the capacity of chaplain, and as such had read prayers in Lancaster parish church, substituting the names of King James and his mother for those of George I. and the Prince of Wales. This offence seems to have been thought too atrocious to be passed over. The poor man made piteous entreaties for his life, with many promises of repentance and loyalty to the Government; but when he found that all was in

vain, he gathered up his courage, and met his terrible fate with firmness and dignity.

On the scaffold he handed to the sheriff a paper which was not soon forgotten. In this document he asks pardon of God and King James—

"For having violated my Loyalty by taking most abominable oaths in defence of Usurpation, against my lawful sovereign, James the Third. . . . You see, my countrymen, by my Habit,[1] that I die a son, though a very unworthy one, of the Church of England; but I would not have you think that I am a member of that schismatical Church whose Bishops set themselves up in opposition to the orthodox Fathers who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange. I declare that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful member of the Nonjuring Church. . . . Before the Revolution, you thought your Religion, Liberties, and properties in Danger, and I pray you, how have you preserved them by rebelling? . . . As for your Religion, is it not evident that the Revolution, instead of keeping out Popery, has let in Atheism? . . . If you have any regard for your country, which lies bleeding under these dreadful extremities, bring the king to his just and undoubted right."

This bold address, with a similar declaration

[1] Paul appeared on the scaffold in his gown and cassock, still the usual dress of the clergy. He had been attended in prison by a Nonjuring priest, Francis Peck.

made in the name of Paul's fellow-sufferer, John Hall, one of the justices of the peace for Northumberland, was composed by Thomas Deacon, a young Nonjuring clergyman, whose name will appear in a later chapter. It shows clearly how little the Nonjurors were disposed to desert the position which they had taken up. They seem rather to have gained courage from adversity, and from the sympathy which was naturally bestowed on the sufferers in a losing cause.

"Nothing in this kind, my lord," wrote the Bishop of Carlisle to Archbishop Wake in the autumn of 1716, "appears so dreadful to me, as the accounts I have of the barefaced Impudence of your Jacobite congregations in London . . . Your fifty congregations of Nonjurors could never be thus daring were they not sure of the protection of some high Ally."

The good bishop seems to have thought that the Government had erred on the side of leniency, for he writes later—

"If any of the Itinerant Missionaries of the New Rebellious Sect, priest or deacon, shall be sent into these parts, I defy him to gather a congregation of as many as two or three. . . . Paper charms will never conjure down this spirit. The Parliament, or the King's Dragoons, must do the work."

Rumour had, perhaps, been guilty of some exaggeration; there can scarcely have been fifty congregations of Nonjurors in London; but that there was some increase, there can be little doubt, and the next step of the Government added to the number.

The Abjuration Act, William III.'s latest legacy of trouble, had lain chiefly dormant during the reign of Queen Anne, being only brought out occasionally for the benefit of any one whose Jacobite opinions might be expressed too plainly; but soon after the accession of George I. an act was passed requiring that the oath should be taken by every one occupying a post worth more than £5 a year. It was expressed in the most stringent terms. On pain of losing the office which was, perhaps, their sole means of subsistence, men were required to declare that George I. was "lawful and rightful king," and that "the Person pretended to be the Prince of Wales . . . hath not any right or title whatever . . . and I do faithfully promise to the utmost of my power to defend the succession of the crown against the said James . . . without any Equivocation, Mental evasion, or secret Reservation whatever."

Many who had swallowed the oaths of allegiance,

as expressing their willingness to obey the king *de facto*, scrupled at this new test, in which they were required to abjure all present or future claims of the Stuart line. Thomas Hearne, assistant librarian of the Bodleian, whose note-books give a lively idea of the difficulties of the time, had taken the original oath, "and paid to those to whom I took it all the allegiance (that is, just none) which was due to them; but," he continues, "the arguments which satisfied me then, are far from doing so now." The honest antiquary refused the oath, and was in consequence shut out from his beloved library, the authorities resorting to the rather undignified plan of altering the lock of the door, as Hearne would not give up the keys. It is not easy to form any idea of the numbers of the "Non-abjurors," as those who refused the oath were called, but it must have been considerable. At Cambridge, although it was "a sad Whiggish place," twenty-two fellows were ejected from St. John's alone. "The abjuration oath is not put yet," wrote John Byrom, then a Fellow of Trinity. "I am not clearly convinced that it is lawful nor that it is unlawful. Sometimes I think one thing and sometimes another." When it came to this point, Byrom seems to have refused the

oath, for he disappears abruptly from the university, and is heard of at Avignon, where "James III." was then keeping his court.

It was a difficult question, and men of the highest claim to respect gave different answers.

"You would do well to consider," wrote Bishop Wilson to a gentleman who had applied to him for advice, "that if the powers which you refuse to acknowledge and obey should prove to be lawful, as they are declared to be by the ordinary and extraordinary interpreters of the law, then you certainly sin in refusing to acknowledge them. This being a good rule in cases of this nature, *that it is safer to obey authority with a doubting conscience, than with a doubting conscience to disobey.*"[1]

This view was taken by Johnson of Cranbrook,[2] but his way was not made pleasant. "God Almighty preserve us in these dark and difficult times," he writes. "I have been summoned by two of our new justices of the peace to take the ab—n oath, but have not complied." A few days later, "I am persecuted by temporal and spiritual authority both at once; I have taken the Ab—n. Now, Mr. Ad^{n} has cited me before him; I take it

[1] "Life of Bishop Wilson," by Rev. John Keble, i. 359.

[2] Author of the "Unbloody Sacrifice."

for granted 'tis for neglecting to keep the Accession Day and to use the 3 new prayers."[1] When the Vicar of Cranbrook appeared before the archdeacon, he was "harshly reprimanded," and must have felt inclined to envy the more pronounced opinions of his friend Dr. Brett, Rector of Wye and Betteshanger, who had resigned his livings because he would not pray for the royal family, or even "mention G. in the pulpit."

Nothing could allay the incurable distrust with which the Government regarded the whole High Church party. All its members were looked upon as possible Jacobites, who, if they took the oaths, did so only because they lacked the courage of their opinions. They were excluded from every post of power or influence, and their efforts thwarted whenever an opportunity presented itself.

In 1719 the Rector of Chislehurst, having, with the permission of Bishop Atterbury, a sermon in his church for the schools of St. Anne's, Aldersgate Street, the collection was forcibly interrupted during the reading of the offertory sentences, and the rector, the preacher, and the collectors taken in custody and bound over to appear at the

[1] The Rev. John Johnson to the Master of University (Dr. Charlett), Ballard MSS., xv.

Rochester Assizes, where they were convicted of sedition and fined.

"The minister who is bound over for a Riot in the Church by two justices of the peace, in reading the offertory in a Collection for Charity for Poor Children in his Church at the Altar in its proper time and place, dined with us," writes a friend in London to Dr. Charlett at Oxford. "He was very cheerful notwithstanding. . . . The design is to put down Charity schools as Nurseries of Rebellion, which is the phrase the Whigs give them."[1]

The judge who tried the case informed the jury that "no collection even for charity (unless for the poor of the same parish) is by law to be made, but by the leave and permission of the king;" and he subsequently wrote to the Lord Chancellor, drawing his attention to a letter isued by the Bishop of London, desiring collections to be made in aid of poor vicarages, which he thought even more "dangerous" than the collection at Chislehurst, as it would mark out people "how far affected to the Church throughout England."[2]

An even more startling interference of the secular arm is related in the "Life of Bishop Wilson,"

[1] Mr. Bishop to Dr. Charlett, Ballard MSS., xxxi. Bishop was a friend of Hickes, and apparently a Nonjuror.

[2] For a full account of this extraordinary incident, see Lathbury, "History of Nonjurors," pp. 304–308.

in 1722. A young soldier, Henry Halsall, having voluntarily "opened his grief" to his parish priest, and, according to the ancient practice maintained by the bishop, done penance "with much seriousness and sorrow for his sin," was, by order of the governor of the Isle of Man, cast into a loathsome dungeon, and after the mockery of a trial, dismissed the service with every mark of public ignominy, *because he had submitted to the censure of the Church.* No other offence was alleged. The poor young fellow caught fever in his prison, and died a few weeks after his shameful punishment.[1]

The evil consequences of these years of contempt, neglect, and persecution are felt even to our own times. A single instance may explain what is meant. It has been already said that the Parliament of 1710 voted £350,000 for the erection of fifty churches to meet the increasing needs of London. Munificent as this grant appears, it was even then considered insufficient. Sir Christopher Wren, who was placed on the commission for carrying on the work, reported that if these churches were built to hold two thousand persons each, they

[1] "Life of Bishop Wilson," i. 481–490, by Rev. John Keble. The bishop's letter of remonstrance and poor Halsall's pathetic appeal to the Lord of Man (Lord Derby) are here given.

would still be too few for the needs of the metropolis. "It is evident that fifty churches are not enough for the present inhabitants, and the town will continually grow."[1]

Wren was, early in the new reign, dismissed from his post. No second Robert Nelson arose to stir the failing zeal of those responsible for the work. The money was idly squandered, and of the fifty projected churches, only twelve were ever built. London has grown beyond Wren's wildest dreams, but no serious attempt was made to cope with its spiritual needs until, after more than a century had passed, Bishop Blomfield drew attention to the mass of unchecked heathenism which was growing up, with none to care; and two generations have spent their best energies in trying to undo the results of that long and terrible neglect.

If things were bad in England, in Scotland they were worse. The Scottish insurgents had been treated far more leniently than their English comrades. The sympathy felt for them in Edinburgh was so strong that the Government dared not try them in that city, fearing that no jury would be found to convict; and though sixty

[1] The report is given in full in Elmes' "Life of Sir C. Wren," part ii.

prisoners were brought to Carlisle to be tried on English ground, so great was the fear of arousing the anger of the Scotch, and perhaps endangering the Union, that they got off with no worse punishment than a few months' confinement in the damp and comfortless dungeons of Carlisle Castle.[1]

There was, however, in Scotland one party, which, being weak, might be punished with impunity. The Scottish Episcopalians had entered with enthusiasm into the cause of James, and the oppressive system, which had been mitigated in the late reign, was resumed with increased severity. All private chapels in which the Liturgy was used were shut up by military violence without any form of law, and having suppressed the Episcopal chapels, they proceeded to deal with those clergy in Episcopal orders who had hitherto been suffered to retain possession of parish churches. Some of these were arrested and imprisoned.

In many parts of Scotland, especially in the Highlands, the mass of the people were still strongly attached to the Church, and viewed these arbitrary proceedings with great disfavour. One

[1] These prisons were unfurnished, and so damp that the townspeople "would not let out bedding to a place where it was sure to rot."

parish priest, Patrick Lunan, when dispossessed of his church, was followed by the entire congregation, who continued for many years to gather round him in the open air, where they could worship God in their accustomed way. The descendants of this congregation are still to be found at Meiklefolla.

Further, a proclamation was issued imposing a fine for the baptism of infants by any but a minister of the Establishment, and in 1717 three burgesses of Aberdeen were actually fined for refusing to betray the name of the clergyman who had baptized their children.

Well might the Bishop of Edinburgh speak of "the compleated desolation of the Scottish Church and the insufferable hardships of the poor clergy." He met with scant sympathy from his English brethren.

"I have dealt very plainly with that mischievous prelate,"[1] says the Bishop of Carlisle, to whom Bishop Rose had written, requesting his advice and kindness for his son, who was one of the prisoners in Carlisle. "I have let him know that I will no more bestir myself for his son than I would for my own in the like circumstances."

[1] Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake: Ellis's "Original Letters," vol. iii.

It is pleasant to think that Bishop Nicolson's actions seem to have been kinder than his words, and that he did something in the end for the comfort of young Rose and his fellow-prisoners.

Lapse of time did not mitigate the severity of the Government towards the Scottish clergy. In 1714 an Act was passed by which any Episcopal minister who omitted the prayers for the royal family might be imprisoned for six months, and his "meeting-house" shut up; and every house in which nine or more persons were assembled besides the family, was defined to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the Act.

By these means "the Church is not only trod under foot, the laity of its communion exposed as a prey to seducing and erroneous teachers, but most of those who served at the altar, even to grey hairs, together with their families, are reduced to the greatest extremities."[1]

The "English chapels" in Scotland, where clergy in English orders officiated without licence from the Scottish bishops, began about this time, when Episcopalians found it almost impossible to attend services held by the regular clergy.

[1] "Case of the Church of Scotland," Somers' Tracts.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1716–18.

"How long, O Lord, how long
Shall Cæsar do us wrong,
Laid but as steps to throne his mortal power?
While e'en our Angels stand
With helpless voice and hand,
Scorned by proud Haman in his triumph hour."
Lyra Apostolica.

Hoadley on Church and State—Replies by William Law and others—Proposed censure by Convocation—Convocation prorogued—Hoadley promoted—Bishop Wilson—Bishop Butler.

THE rebellion had been crushed, but the spirit from which it sprang remained unaltered, and the rival parties, armed with pens instead of swords, tried to vanquish each other in argument.

It is happily needless to brush the dust from the wilderness of pamphlets in which Jurors and Nonjurors explained their views on the questions in dispute, but a short account must be given of one of these defunct controversies, because it largely contributed to a measure of which the effects were

felt for nearly a century and a half, if indeed they can be said to have entirely disappeared at this day.

Dr. Hoadley had been made Bishop of Bangor in 1715, presumably as a reward for his Whig views, for he displayed so little religious zeal that he is said never once to have visited his diocese during the six years that he occupied the see. He made up for this neglect by activity in other directions, and in the first year of his Episcopate he published a "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors, both in Church and State." In this work he used arguments which, had they been sound, would have been conclusive, not only against Nonjurors, but against the whole constitution of the Catholic Church.

"You have left us," wrote his most brilliant opponent,[1] "neither Priests, nor Sacraments, nor Church; and what has your Lordship given us in the room of those advantages? Why, only sincerity. This is the great universal atonement for all; this is that which according to your Lordship will help us to the Communion of Saints hereafter, though we are in communion with anybody or nobody here. . . . Do we not plainly want new Scriptures? Must we not give up the Apostles as

[1] William Law.

furious High Church prelates who aspired to presumptuous claims, and talked of conferring the graces of God by their own hands?"

The question was taken up by the Lower House of Convocation, and an address to the archbishops and bishops was drawn up, declaring that the "Preservative" tended "to subvert all government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and to reduce His kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion."[1]

This address was adopted unanimously, but the Government had no mind to permit a public censure to be passed on so useful a tool as Hoadley. Before the address could be presented to the Upper House, Convocation was prorogued until the autumn, and when autumn came, it was again prorogued till February.

"That step," writes Bishop Atterbury to the Bishop of Winchester, "and the turning of Sherlock and Snape out of the chaplainship,[2] will enable your Lordship to guess how far the Bishop of Bangor is likely to be countenanced and supported.

[1] From address of Convocation, as quoted in Perry's "History of the Church of England," iii. 289.

[2] Four of the royal chaplains—Snape, Head-master of Eton; Sherlock, Dean of Chichester; Hare, and Moss—had dared to write against Hoadley. All were dismissed.

Indeed, my Lord, these are very extraordinary steps." [1]

This controversy, "though other circumstances undoubtedly contributed something towards the decision, induced Government to suspend the regular synodical action of Convocation. From that time no royal licence has been granted; consequently no actual synodical matters have been transacted." [2] These words were published in 1842. For one hundred and thirty-five years, the Church, so far as public utterance was concerned, was rendered speechless. It was not till 1852, within the memory of many now living, that, owing chiefly to the untiring perseverance of Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, Convocation was once more enabled to meet for the transaction of business.

During that most sad interval the bishops could still make their voices heard in Parliament, but too often they made but little use of their opportunity. "While Convocation was allowed to sit," says Bishop Newton, "it was a kind of school of oratory for the clergy, and hence Atterbury and others became such able speakers;" but he and most of

[1] Quoted in Lathbury's "History of Convocation."
[2] Ibid.

his brethren "entered into the House of Lords at a time of life too late to begin such exercises."[1]

Archbishop Sharp, Queen Anne's faithful friend and adviser, ended his holy life in 1713; Bishop Beveridge died earlier. Hooper, the friend and successor of Ken, was almost the sole survivor of the old school of Churchmen. The Bishop of Rochester, Atterbury, though a man of a different and lower stamp, was indeed ready and eager to do battle for the Church in Parliament; but Walpole found means to silence him. He offered the bishop £5000 a year and the reversion of Winchester if he would refrain from voting against the Government; and when this was refused, he was tried on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Pretender. There is much reason to think that the letters on which the accusation was based were forged for the occasion; but Atterbury was found guilty, condemned to perpetual banishment, and declared "utterly incapable of any pardon from his Majesty, his heirs, and successors." It was even made felony for any one to correspond with him without permission.

Meanwhile Hoadley was promoted from Bangor to Hereford, from Hereford to Salisbury, from

[1] "Life of Dr. Thomas Newton," by himself, p. 186.

Salisbury to Winchester, cumbering the Episcopal Bench for a period of forty-six years.

"Who," asks a writer already quoted, "shall defend the Church from the intrusion of Erastian, Arian, not to say Deistical prelates? or the clergy and people from the temptations they lie under to follow such leaders? Who shall defend our Churches and Altars from the profanation of such impure hands and tongues? . . . These sort of megrims are not to be confuted by Pen, Ink, and Paper; but only by an overruling Providence, and if it do not seasonably interpose, I give over all for lost and gone. Our Convocation is silenced; most of those who should appear foremost in the cause of truth, either hold their peace or speak against it. He that should be our Prime Leader [1] gives us all sweet words, but by his actions countenances none but known adversaries. . . . He hath lost both sides by courting both sides. In short, our miseries are too many to be reckoned up in a letter, too great to be expressed in any words of mine, unless they may all be comprised by saying that men are lured by the preferments of the Church to destroy her. . . . God give all a sense of their misery, that they may find out a means of relief." [2]

As the fathers of the Church passed away, their places were taken by men chosen for their political

[1] Apparently Archbishop Wake is here referred to.

[2] J. Johnson to Dr. Charlett, April 16, 1721, Ballard MSS., xv.

opinions or family importance, till the very conception of the Episcopate had become so far lowered in the eyes of statesmen, that a minister could be found to say that he considered bishoprics as of two kinds—"bishoprics of business for men of abilities and learning, and bishoprics of ease for men of family and fashion."[1] Among the "bishoprics of ease," he reckoned the great sees of Durham and Winchester.

Two names light up the waste spaces of these dreary years.

Bishop Wilson, consecrated in 1697, laboured for fifty-eight years in the little island of Man, with zeal that could not be surpassed. For the first time in the history of the diocese, he provided his people with prayers and catechisms in their own language, and set on foot a translation of the Bible. He allowed no Sunday to pass without a visit to one or other of the seventeen parishes into which the island is divided. He watched over the education of his candidates for the ministry with fatherly care, and the last year of their preparation was spent under his own roof. He proposed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel

[1] This was said by Mr. Grenville to Dr. Newton, Bishop of Bristol, in 1764 : "Life of Dr. Newton," by himself, p. 154.

to undertake the training of missionaries for America. He made himself acquainted with the condition of the poor throughout the island, keeping a register of their names and circumstances, and relieving their wants out of his small means, with careful profuseness; and, stern disciplinarian though he was, he was so much beloved and venerated, that, years after his death, the notice that one of his sermons would be preached in Manx was sufficient to draw a crowd of hearers.

His holy example, his pious writings, the life of continual and wide-reaching intercession which is unveiled to us in the pages of his "Sacra Privata," brought, and still bring, help and instruction to thousands who never saw his face. But his constant residence in so remote a spot (in those days it often took twenty-four hours to reach Douglas from the mainland) made it impossible for him to take any active part in the public life of the Church in England.

Bishop Butler was intended by his father for the Presbyterian ministry, and received his education at a Dissenting academy; but he soon became dissatisfied with the principles in which he was brought up, and in 1714 he went to Oxford to prepare for Holy Orders. The great work of his

life was already taking shape in his mind. He had, as he wrote in 1713, "made it his business, ever since he thought himself capable of such sort of reasoning, to prove to himself the Being and attributes of God . . . in order to defend the great truths of natural religion, and those of the Christian revelation which follow from them, against all opposers." Twenty-three years later, he completed the famous "Analogy."

This work, and the scarcely less celebrated sermons, were published in a period of which "the deplorable distinction," to use Butler's own words, was "an avowed scorn of religion in some, and a growing disregard to it in the generality." It was, perhaps, his bitter sense of the ungodliness of his day, which led to the sudden question with which he startled his chaplain, as they walked at night, according to his custom, in the Palace garden at Bristol: "Might not whole communities be seized with fits of insanity, as well as individuals?" How deeply he felt the condition of the country, is shown in the mournful exclamation which broke from him when he refused the Primacy: "It is too late to try to support a falling Church."

There is sadness and anxiety in the tone of Butler's replies to the congratulations which he

received on his translation to Durham; and his Charge (he only lived to deliver one) opens with a lament over "the general decay of religion in this nation . . . the influence of it is wearing more and more out of the minds of men."

The Charge breathes the very spirit of sober piety; but one portion of it gave great offence. The bishop dwelt strongly on the total neglect of "external religion," and the consequent neglect of religion itself in the mass of the people. "They have," he says, "no customary admonition, no public call to recollect the thoughts of God and religion from one Sunday to another. . . . The form of religion may indeed be where there is little of the thing itself; but the thing itself cannot be preserved among mankind without the form." And he earnestly pressed on the clergy the duty of "keeping up, as far as we are able, the form and face of religion with decency and reverence."

This regard for the external forms of religion was denounced as Popish. The accusation was renewed long after Butler's death. It was remembered that he had caused a cross to be placed over the altar of his chapel at Bristol, and a groundless report was circulated that he had died in communion with Rome.

Bishop Butler was not permitted to see the fruit of his teaching. But the rampant unbelief which prevailed in his lifetime gave place, as the century advanced, if not to any warm sense of religion, at least to some renewal of faith and reverence, and among the strongest influences which led to this renewal his writings may surely be reckoned.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1717–26.

"Let us pray God
. . . . .
For the Catholic Church,
Its establishment and increase.
For the Eastern,
Its deliverance and reunion.
For the Western,
Its adjustment and peace.
For the British,
The supply of what is wanting in it,
The strengthening of what remains in it."

BISHOP ANDREWES.

The Nonjurors—Collier and Spinckes—Bedford—Howell—Leslie—Wagstaffe—The Non-abjurors—Brett and Gandy consecrated—Division on question of usages—Publication of Nonjurors' Prayer-book—Attempts at union with Greek Church—*Note* on Nonjurors' Prayer-book.

THE Nonjurors were now an isolated body, compelled to live in retirement, and having little hope of regaining their position as members of the National Church. The clergy ministered to small congregations gathered in private houses, and the energy which they were unable to use in pastoral

work was chiefly expended in the study of early Christian literature, and in the production of works of learning and piety which are mentioned with deep respect by those well qualified to judge of such matters. "It may be doubted," says Mr. Lathbury, "whether any body of men ever rendered greater service to theological literature than the Nonjurors."[1]

Their leaders were a remarkable group, whose gifts, under other circumstances, would have brought them high distinction. Excluded by their own act from honour or emolument, liable at any time to fine or imprisonment, in a voluntary and rigorous poverty, they led lives of patient labour for the service of the Church.

Of two of their bishops, Collier and Spinckes, we can form a distinct picture. They stand out in sharp contrast: Collier the man of action, fearless and eager, going straight to his goal in the teeth of all obstacles; and the gentle Spinckes, prudent, conservative, absorbed in prayer and study, looking back with a tender lingering gaze to the customs of his youth, and keeping closely to them, with a jealous love, while more ardent spirits chafed at the restraint to which he would fain have subjected

[1] "Life of Jeremy Collier."

them. Spinckes had been Rector of St. Martin's, Salisbury, and a prebendary of the cathedral. For conscience' sake he left these pleasant places, and during the rest of his life, his Oratory, and probably his abode also, was in Gray's Inn. Here among his books he lived, a cheerful ascetic, "most contented, because he contracted his desire for the things of this life into the narrowest bounds." He was the chief manager of the fund contributed by the wealthier Nonjurors for the support of their clergy, but he does not appear to have drawn on it for his own convenience, for it is said that he never allowed himself a fire in his study, and, indeed, had the fireplace covered with book-shelves, so as to make it impossible to light one. "I knew him intimately for about eleven years," writes the anonymous author of the Life prefixed to his "Sick Man visited," "and under several severe trials of temper, but I never saw him angry." The secret of this equal temper is revealed to us. "Whenever there was a full pause in conversation, he engaged in mental prayer." And the same friend says that "he made," especially when ministering at the Altar, "a heavenly and angelical appearance." His works, as might be expected from such a man, are chiefly devotional.

Collier's life was more stormy. Before the Revolution he was lecturer at Gray's Inn. After his ejection from this office he was more than once imprisoned for his attachment to the Stuarts, and passed all his later years under sentence of outlawry, rather than plead before a court which he considered illegal.[1] Nothing daunted his courage or lessened his activity. While living in continual risk of the law, he attacked the immorality of the stage with a force which materially conduced to its improvement, and, amid all the inconveniences of poverty and concealment, composed an "Ecclesiastical History," still held in high esteem. His controversial powers were great, and he never allowed them to rust for want of use.

By the side of Collier, keen, vivid, far-reaching, his colleague Hawes is a very shadowy figure. He had an oratory near St. James's, and once, at least, was fined for keeping a conventicle. His initials are appended to a form for receiving converts into the Nonjuring Church, and this is almost all we know of him. Around the bishops were gathered men of zeal and learning, courage and patient

[1] This was in the reign of William III., when Collier was charged with the crime of giving absolution to men condemned for high treason. Another Nonjuror, Mr. Orme, was imprisoned for the same offence in 1717.

self-sacrifice, who might have made the glory of the Church. There was Hickes' friend, Hilkiah Bedford, who had endured fine and imprisonment for the publication of Harbin's "Hereditary Right," rather than betray the real author; Laurence Howell, editor of a great collection of Canons of the Church, who, from his cell in Newgate[1] (where he died), put forth a history of the Pontificate, and a second edition of his "Orthodox Communicant;" Charles Leslie, for some years English chaplain at the court of the Pretender, who wrote against the prevailing infidelity of his day, and whom Dr. Johnson called "a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against;" the younger Wagstaffe, who held the same office in the household of Charles Edward, and died in Rome so greatly reverenced that it was said "had he not been a heretic he ought to be canonized;" and Carte, the historian, whose works were written under the discouragements of prison and exile.

Of the "Non-abjurors" who joined their ranks, the most notable were William Law, the learned Thomas Baker of St. John's, and Dr. Brett.

Brett, more fortunate than most of the Non-

[1] Howell was imprisoned for printing a book called "The Case of Schism in the Church of England."

juring clergy, had a house of his own, Spring Grove, near Wye, where, after his resignation, he chiefly resided; and there, having been formally received into the Nonjuring Communion, he gathered a little congregation from among his old parishioners.[1]

That he should be attacked as a Papist was inevitable. The charge was freely made against most of the Nonjurors, though in very few cases was there the smallest ground for it.

"Should ever the swellings and inundations of the Papacy . . . for our sins overwhelm us as with an irresistible torrent," exclaims the biographer of Spinckes, against whom a similar accusation had been made, "they will not be obtruded upon us by a Rydley, a Bancroft, a Laud, a Chillingworth, a Bramhall, or a Hickes, but by . . . a Protestant in masquerade."

Brett published a vindication of his principles, in which he "enumerates the peculiarities of Popery, and then enters into a most masterly confutation of them."[2] The particulars specified

[1] For this he was proceeded against under the Conventicle Act; and when he visited a sick member of his congregation, the archbishop signified to him that if it occurred again the matter must be laid before the king in council. Latterly he had congregations both at Canterbury and Faversham, to whom he seems to have been permitted to minister without interruption.

[2] Lathbury, "History of Nonjurors," p. 288.

against himself were, "the independency of the Church on the State as to pure spiritual powers, the Divine Right of Episcopacy, the Oblation in the Eucharist, the necessity of Sacerdotal Absolution, the Unction of the Sick, and the Middle State of Separate Souls." None of these things are Popish, as he proceeds to explain. Brett's ideals were primitive; with the later developments of Rome he had no sympathy.

"We cannot," he wrote to John Cotton, who, in despair, perhaps, at the divisions in the Church of England, seemed inclined to seek another spiritual home, "communicate with the Church of Rome without partaking of her errors. And for this reason we cannot communicate with her, or receive at her altars, if she would admit us."[1]

Both Collier and Spinckes were nearing seventy, and they earnestly desired to maintain the succession. In 1716 Brett and Henry Gandy[2] were chosen for the Episcopate, and consecrated by Collier, Spinckes, and Hawes.

[1] Letters, etc., by Dr. Brett (from MSS. in possession of Bowdler family), edited by Thomas Bowdler, 1850.

[2] Gandy had taken a strong line against Dodwell in the controversy as to closing the separation from the Established Church, and used rather violent language over the matter. "I hope he may repent," says Hearne in his account of the discussions; "and I have reason to believe he will, since he is a Nonjuror."

Having thus provided for the continuance of their communion, the Nonjuring bishops began to consider the expediency of a revisal of the Liturgy. The controversy carried on for many years on this subject is full of interest, but an adequate account of it would require qualifications to which the writer has no claim, and only the barest outline can be attempted.

It is well known that from the time that the First Prayer-book of King Edward VI. (which has been called "the noblest monument of piety, of prudence, and of learning which the sixteenth century constructed") was superseded, almost before it had been brought into use, in favour of a Liturgy remodelled under the influence of foreign reformers, it has been regarded by many devout men as the model to which they desired to bring back the services of our Church.

Laud, in conjunction with Juxon and Wren, took it as the basis of his Scottish Prayer-book; Bishop Cosin desired to have conformed more closely to it in the Revision of 1662; Archbishop Sharp (who was so far from Romanizing that he incurred the displeasure of James II. for preaching against Popery), "though he admired the Communion Office as it stands, yet in his own private

judgment he *preferred that in King Edward's First Service Book* before it, as a more proper office for the celebration of those mysteries."[1] Bishop Wilson, in his "Sacra Privata," gives devotions taken out of the ancient offices to be used—

"Until it shall please God to put it into the hearts and power of such as ought to do it, to restore to us the First Service of Edward VI., or such as shall be more conformable to the appointment of Christ and His Apostles and their successors, which may the Divine Majesty vouchsafe to grant, for His sake Who first ordained the Holy Sacrament."[2]

It is not surprising that when the Nonjurors found themselves freed from the pressure of the Act of Uniformity, some of them carried these views into practice. Hickes frequently, if not always, celebrated according to the First Prayer-book, and the demand for copies of this book during the early years of the century[3] would seem to show that

[1] "Life of Archbishop Sharp," by his son, i. 355.

[2] Bishop Wilson's "Works," v. 73 (ed. Library Anglo-Catholic Theology).

[3] "Johnson once told me he had heard his father say, that when he was going in trade, King Edward VI.'s Liturgy was much enquired for, and fetched a great price, but that the publication of this book, which contained the whole Communion Office as it stands in the former, reduced the price of it to that of a common book." —Hawkins' "Life of Johnson," p. 448, quoted by Lathbury, "History of Nonjurors."

its use was not infrequent. In 1717 Collier proposed that it should be formally adopted by the Nonjuring body. During that year he published a tract entitled "Reasons for restoring some Prayers . . . in . . . the First English Reformed Liturgy." In this work he argues in favour of: 1st, the mixed Chalice; 2nd, prayers for the departed; 3rd, the prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Sacramental Elements; 4th, the restoration of the Prayer of Oblation to its proper place immediately after the Consecration Prayer, and the replacing of the clause (found in the First Prayer-book, but omitted from our own), "we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy Divine Majesty, with these Thy holy gifts, the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make."

A reply, supposed to have been written by Spinckes, appeared very shortly. The writer deprecates any change.

"Alterations in matters of a public nature are not to be made upon every appearance of making them to advantage, lest such unforeseen ill consequences follow upon them as are more than equivalent to any benefit that may arise from them. . . . There is no sufficient reason for the changes here desired, the two former having no

foundation in Scripture, or even truly Apostolic tradition, and the others being virtually in our service as it stands, without them." [1]

Two meetings were held to discuss the matter, and at the second a considerable majority decided against any alteration in the Liturgy. Gandy, Hawes, and Charles Leslie shared the views of Spinckes. The feeling on both sides was so strong that a separation seemed imminent; and Collier then proposed, as a *modus vivendi*, the use of the mixed chalice,[2] the omission of the phrase "Militant here on earth" from the heading of the Prayer for the Church, the introduction of the words "Bless these Thy creatures," and the restoration of the Prayer of Oblation to its ancient place before the Communion. These proposals were not accepted; Spinckes and his adherents seem to have dreaded alteration, as putting farther away any prospect of reunion with the main body of the Church; but when Collier had made up his mind that a plan was desirable, he was never withheld from carrying

[1] Quoted by Lathbury, "History of Nonjurors," pp. 282, 283.

[2] The mixed chalice had been long customary in some churches. Hickes found it in use at All Hallows, Barking, where Laud's nephew, Dr. Layfield, had been rector. (See Leslie's "Letter on the New Separation." Leslie also says that he knows "some sound members of the Church of England who always use unleavened bread at the Sacrament when it may be had.")

it out by any considerations of prudence. At a further meeting he, with Brett and other friends, determined on separate action, and an office, being that of the First Prayer-book, with certain alterations and additions, was drawn up, mainly, it would seem, by George Smith of Durham, under the direction of Brett. An interesting letter from Brett on the subject is to be found in the disappointingly small collection published by the Rev. Thomas Bowdler in 1850.

"Y^e^ shorter and fewer alterations from y^e^ old order y^e^ better," he says. " . . . I desire that the priest may still be directed to stand at the *north side* of y^e^ table and not at y^e^ place which we call *before y^t^ table* . . . with his back to the people."

This, Brett thinks, was the practice of the Eastern Churches, and he considers it desirable, "lest the people be hindered of seeing what y^e^ priest does," and also that the priest may not have to turn his back to the altar, "especially when y^e^ tremendous gifts lye there." The Lord's Prayer he directs to be "joined to y^e^ prayer made to y^e^ breaking of y^e^ bread. . . . It is very requisite we should use it in that part of y^e^ office which is properly called y^e^ canon." He also mentions "Y^e^ habit proper for y^e^ Communion, which should be

different from that he reads the prayer in," though there does not appear to be any evidence that vestments were worn by the Nonjurors.

The Scottish bishop, Gadderer, who was present at the meeting, vainly urged the advantage of waiting, or, at least, of not insisting on the newly revived usages as essential; but the zeal of the Usagers was not to be restrained, and at Easter, 1718, the New Office was brought into use.

The Usagers hoped to find sympathy among the Scottish bishops, and Mr. Peck was despatched to urge them to make some declaration on the matter in Synod. The Scottish Office, framed on the model of the First Prayer-book, was not generally used at this time, partly owing to the scarcity of copies. No Scottish publisher would have dared to print it, and the Episcopalians were almost entirely indebted to the liberality of English friends for their supply of service books. It was, however, still preferred by some of the Scottish clergy. Bishop Falconer "had administered with the *mixture* and by the Scotch Prayer-book *many years* backward, *long before any dispute* had commenced at London."[1]

[1] Bishop Falconer to ——: Stephens' "History of the Episcopal Church of Scotland," iv. 169.

The Bishop of Edinburgh, Rose, wrote to Falconer, when the subject was brought before him—

"As for my own part, seeing so much stress is laid on these usages, I am very desirous of further information, being resolved, God willing, if I find them strictly necessary, to embrace them with all the disadvantages that may attend them; if only lawful, and some very useful and desirable, prudence in such case, and in such case only, ought to be consulted." [1]

The general opinion seemed to be that it would be undesirable to enforce the usages on those who were unwilling to receive them, and the question was allowed to rest.

Collier was not, like Falconer, "a man of a meek and quiet spirit." He went so far as to break off communion with those who would not conform to the newly adopted usages. It was inevitable that this breach of unity in the handful of men who had borne evil days together—"Christ's little flock, now driven into the wilderness"—should arouse very bitter feelings.

[1] Bishop Rose to Bishop Falconer, May 18, 1718: Skinner, ii. 615. Rose died in 1720. "In all the virtues that adorn the gentleman and the scholar, the Christian and the Bishop," says Skinner, "he was scarcely equalled, and could not be excelled."

Hard things were said, and accusations of popery, the natural missile of angry Englishmen, were freely flung about. William Snatt, once Prebendary of Chichester, had shared Collier's early troubles. He now attacked his old friend with great severity.

"I am not so sanguine as to flatter myself with the hope of any good success with the Flag-officer of this deplorable Division," he writes. "'Tis hard to be head of a party and to be humble," but he hoped to preserve "fluctuating souls from the Peril of Seduction . . . and conduce to the safety of any tossed to and fro, floating towards the Roman Coast."

Brett brought the weight of his immense learning to the support of Collier. He published a work on "Tradition," in 1718, in which he points out that—

"it is necessary for the right understanding of our duty as Christians, that we join together Scripture and Tradition, and as we cannot receive any Tradition that is contrary to Scripture, so neither can we receive any interpretation of Scripture which is contrary to truly Primitive and universal Tradition, because it is by such Tradition that we are assured that the books we have received as Holy Scripture are indeed the Word of God."

And this was followed in 1720 by a "Collection

of the Principal Ancient Liturgies," a work which, it may be interesting to notice, formed the foundation of the paper on early Liturgies in the "Tracts for the Times."

Collier himself defended his position more temperately than might have been expected from his hasty action.

"It is somewhat surprising," he says, "that those who desire that the Church of England may come up to the true standard of the earliest and best-recommended ages, should be accounted her enemies, that those who would revive the main of her first Reformation should be misconstrued [as] mal-intentioned. I say, her *first* Reformation, when all her Managers were *English*, when she was neither embarrassed with novelists abroad, nor overset with the Regale at home. . . . Those consult the honour of the Church farthest who endeavour to wipe out some marks of disadvantage, and recover her natural complexion, who would restore the original state, and make everything shining and solid. . . . I confess our disinterested attempt has met with unkind usage. . . . I despise the Censure and pity the Men. God grant us the blessing of Benign Temper, and that while we differ, it may be done without breach of Charity; that we may at least reserve good wishes for our old friends, and contribute our prayers for the benefit of each other." [1]

[1] "Further Defence," 1720.

If Bishop Gadderer's advice had been taken, if a little time had been allowed, a little patience shown, these arguments might have prevailed, but they came too late. Spinckes had already determined to continue the separation, and in the same year (1720) in which the "Further Defence" was published he, with Hawes and Gandy, consecrated Hilkiah Bedford and Ralph Taylor. Bedford died in 1724, and three more bishops, Blackburn, Doughty, and Hall, were consecrated by the "Non-usagers." "James III." seems to have been consulted on the appointments, and to have issued formal Commissions for the Consecrations.

Blackburn showed a copy of the testimonial sent to "King James" on his behalf, and the commission for his consecration, to Dr. Bowes, who has left an interesting picture of the good old man, his "most valuable friend . . . a Nonjuring Bishop equal to most of our bench." Blackburn, to keep himself independent, became corrector of the press to Bowyer, "and was indeed one of the most accurate who ever took upon him that laborious employ."

"I waited upon him often in Little Britain," writes Dr. Bowes, "where he lived almost lost to the world and buried amongst old books. . . . I

begged his blessing, which he gave me with the fervent zeal and devotion of a primitive Bishop. I asked him if I was so happy as to belong to his diocese. His answer was, I thought, very remarkable. 'Dear friend,' said he, 'we leave the sees open, that the gentlemen who now unjustly possess them, upon the restoration, may, if they please, return to their duty, and be continued. We content ourselves with full episcopal power as suffragans.'"[1]

Collier and Brett, left almost alone in their struggle for the Usages, consecrated John Griffin, with the assistance of the Scottish bishop, Archibald Campbell.

Collier died in 1726, and the year after, Spinckes also passed away "with such resignation and serenity as reminds me of 'thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory,'" says the author of his "Life." It is sad that two such devoted men should have ended their days in separation. Spinckes was succeeded by Richard Rawlinson and George Smith, whose consecration, since he had aided Brett in the New Prayer-book, seems to mark a change of view on the part of the "Non-usagers." The line of succession of those who adhered to the Usages was carried on by the consecration of Thomas Brett the younger.

[1] Nicholls, "Lit. Anecdotes," i. 252, 253.

Before the separation on the Usages took place, some endeavours had been made towards union with the Eastern Church. Arsenius, Archbishop of Thebais, had come to London in 1714 to seek some help for the suffering Church of Alexandria; and Archibald Campbell, "having a scheming turn for everything he thought of general usefulness to the Church," approached him on the subject. Collier and Spinckes entered heartily into Campbell's views, and a proposal for a Concordat was drawn up,[1] and entrusted to the archbishop for transmission to Russia, where he was himself going. Peter the Great took great interest in the matter, and forwarded the proposal to the Eastern patriarchs. He was also so favourably impressed by what he heard of the "orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches" (it is thus that the Nonjurors describe themselves in the "Proposal") as to ask them to furnish him with suggestions for the education and improvement of his subjects; and a scheme for the establishment of colleges, etc., in Russia was actually drawn up by Francis Lee, and apparently sent to St. Petersburg.[2] A long correspondence took place

[1] The Proposal and subsequent correspondence is given by Mr. Lathbury, "History of Nonjurors," 309–361.

[2] This document is printed in the preface to Lee's "Dissertations

between the Nonjurors and the Russian ecclesiastical authorities, and arrangements were made for a conference to be held at St. Petersburg, but the death of Peter in 1725 brought the negotiations to an end.

In any case, a favourable conclusion was hardly to be expected, since the Eastern patriarchs, though their letters are full of kindness and courtesy, refused to unite with the "Catholic remnant" on any terms short of absolute acceptance of the orthodox faith, in which they include Transubstantiation and the Invocation of Saints, while the Nonjurors declared that "though they believe a perfect mystery in the Holy Eucharist, through the invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the elements, whereby the faithful do verily and indeed receive the Body and Blood of Christ, they believe it yet to be after a manner which flesh and blood could not conceive;" and with regard to invocation they say that "though they believe both saints and angels . . . do unite with us in our prayers and thanksgivings . . . yet are they jealous of detracting from the mediation of Jesus Christ, and

on Esdras." Lee died shortly after, in 1719, at Gravelines, where he had gone "to meet a person of no small note," unnamed—probably the Pretender, who was at Gravelines at that time.

therefore cannot use a direct invocation to any of them, the ever-blessed Virgin herself not excepted."

The correspondence has the sad interest which belongs to all efforts to repair the broken unity of the Church; it shows also that whatever were the reasons which led to the breach between the Nonjurors themselves, the objection of Spinckes and his friends to the new Communion Office related only to the expediency of its use, and not to any matter of doctrine, as among his proposals in the "Concordat" one is, that "the most ancient English Liturgy, as more nearly approaching the manner of the Oriental Church, be in the first place restored, with such proper additions and alterations as may be agreed on to render it still more conformable both to that and the primitive standard."

NOTE.

It may be convenient for those who cannot readily refer to the First Prayer-book, to give shortly the order of the Liturgy in that book, marking the insertions and alterations introduced in the Nonjuror's edition of 1718.

FIRST PRAYER-BOOK.	NONJUROR'S BOOK.
The Lord's Prayer and Collect.	
Introit (a Psalm, varying according to season.	

FIRST PRAYER-BOOK.	NONJUROR'S BOOK.
	St. Matt. xxii. 37–39.
Kyrie.	
Gloria in Excelsis.	
Collect, Epistle, and Gospel.	
Creed.	
(Sermon and Exhortation; the latter not to be read above once a month in places where there is daily Communion).	
Offertory.	
	Offertory Prayer abridged from Liturgy of St. Basil.
Sursum Corda.	
Sanctus.	
Prayer for the Church.	Recital of signal instances of Divine mercy from Liturgy of St. James.
Prayer of Consecration.	Prayer of Oblation from Apostolical Constitutions.
Prayer of Oblation.	Consecration.
	Prayer for the Church.
Lord's Prayer.	
	Christ our Paschal Lamb is offered up for us once for all. . . . Let us keep a joyful and holy feast to the Lord.
Short address to communicants.	
Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution.	
Comfortable Words.	
"We do not presume," etc.	
Communion of priest and people.	

FIRST PRAYER-BOOK.	NONJUROR'S BOOK.
Agnus Dei (sung during communion).	
Post Communion.	
Thanksgiving, " Almighty and Everlasting God," etc.	
The Blessing.	

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM LAW—A.D. 1686–1740.

"Where is the lore the Baptist taught,
The soul unswerving, and the fearless tongue?"
Christian Year.

Refuses Oath of Abjuration—"Letters to Hoadley"—"Christian Perfection"—Ordained priest by Gandy—Becomes tutor to Edmund Gibbon—"Serious call"—Friendship with Byrom—Becomes acquainted with writings of Jacob Böhme—"Demonstration of Errors in 'A Plain Account of the Lord's Supper.'"

ONE distinguished Nonjuror, William Law, stands out clearly from among his brethren.

He had begun at Cambridge a career which promised to be brilliant, when the Oath of Abjuration was forced on the University. To his sensitive conscience any paltering with an oath was impossible, and, with what bitterness of regret may be easily imagined, he laid aside all prospect of success and activity.[1]

[1] Among the "Rules for my Future Conduct," found among Law's papers, is, "To fix it deep in my mind that I have but

"The benefits of my education seem partly at an end," he wrote to his brother; "but that same education had been more miserably lost if I had not learnt to fear something more than misfortunes."[1]

At this time Law was about eight-and-twenty; too young, too full of eager life, to console himself, like so many Nonjurors, by study; too little zealous in the cause for which he suffered to take up the barren trade of political adventurer. A year or two after his ejection from Emmanuel, in 1717, he wrote the famous "Letters to Bishop Hoadley on the Constitution of the Church," which have long survived the work which called them forth. Jones of Nayland thought that "every clergyman of the Church of England ought to read[2] these 'Letters.'" "Law's brilliance quite astonishes me. I think it the most striking specimen of writing I ever came across,"[3] is the

one business upon my hands, to seek for eternal happiness by doing the will of God."—"Life and Opinions of William Law," by Rev. J. H. Overton.

[1] Ibid.

[2] "I can venture to say, there never was a cause more effectually battled and exposed upon earth, than this of Bishop Hoadley, against the Church and Church Communion, in the "Two Letters" and the "Reply of Mr. William Law," which every clergyman of the Church of England ought to read."—"An Essay on the Church:" William Jones, "Works," v.

[3] R. H. Froude, "Remains," i. 337.

verdict of one who was himself among the most brilliant pioneers of the Oxford Movement.

The "Letters" had an immediate success, and drew much attention on their author.

"Law is much here commended," says a letter-writer of the time. "He is a very modest man, very youthful and bashful, though very obliging in aspect and conversation."[1]

This pleasant little sketch is the only description that has come down to us of Law in his early days. For some years he disappears from view. He was in deacon's orders, and it was said that he acted for a time as curate to Dr. Heylin. He could not, as a Nonjuror, have been licensed; but it is possible that he was permitted to officiate informally. He is also reported to have been "a great beau," and perhaps the admiration bestowed on a successful writer, who was also a very agreeable young man, may have drawn him aside from the unworldly ways in which he had been brought up. If this were so, it was not for long.

The following fragment found among his papers is without date, but can hardly refer to any later period of his life:—

[1] Bishop to Dr. Charlett, A.D. 1717: Ballard MSS., xxxi.

"I may not come to Thy table, but suffer me, I beseech Thee, to touch the hem of Thy Son's garment; O God, let this punishment fill my Soul with deep humility, that seeing myself thus separated from Thy faithful servants, . . . I may never dare to prefer myself to any one, or censure or despise any one of my brethren, but may always humble myself with this reflection, that I have been forbid to shelter myself under Thy Altar, and am not suffered to hide myself among those holy crowds which offer to Thee the Sacrifice of Thy dear Son."[1]

We have no explanation of this exclusion, but it seems probable that he had sinned in the eyes of the Nonjurors by joining with the Establishment (perhaps by assisting Heylin), and that the penance was imposed for this offence, rather than for any deeper stain.

However this may be, about 1720 a great change seems to have taken place, and through years of silence and obscurity (for nine years he published nothing, except a short reply to the infidel Mandeville), Law devoted himself to the study of the ascetic and spiritual life.

In 1726 he published his treatise on "Christian Perfection," and in the following year, he being

[1] "Materials for a Biography of W. Law." Walton, p. 348.

then forty-one, he was ordained priest by Gandy, in the presence of Mr. Rawlinson, Gordoun, Bowyer, Bettenham, and Charles Smith.[1] He left a prayer written at this time.

"O God, surely it is not in anger that Thou permittest and inclinest my soul to offer myself to a further office at Thy holy Altar? Be not angry with me, O God, for presuming upon Thy Holy Spirit, for hoping that I am called by Thee to this Holy Office. . . . I humbly in Thy Presence renounce all former sins; O help this resolution. I here offer and devote myself . . . to live the remainder of my days in penitence and piety. Lord, grant me a burning zeal for the salvation of souls."[2]

Soon after his ordination, Law became chaplain and tutor in the family of a Nonjuring gentleman, Mr. Gibbon, the grandfather of the great historian, and in this capacity returned to Cambridge in charge of his patron's son. He does not appear to have been a very successful tutor. His keen satiric mind was scarcely fitted to attract and

[1] "Notes and Queries," 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 244. "List of Nonjuring Ordinations," from Rawlinson's MSS. The date here given is January 18, 1727. Mr. Bowyer was the famous publisher, "the last of the learned printers," who had been educated by Ambrose Bonwicke the elder, and was a devoted Nonjuror. Gordoun was probably Robert Gordon, afterwards bishop.

[2] Walton, pp. 351, 353.

influence a young man of little ability. But he had in hand a work of wider influence than the formation of Edmund Gibbon's mind.

In 1729 appeared the "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life," the work with which his name has ever since been chiefly associated. It came out at a time of peculiar coldness and laxity, but the brilliance of its style, the novelty of its form, at once secured readers; and once read, it was a book that cut deep into the heart and conscience, and could not be forgotten. Mr. Keble expressed this piercing quality in a single sentence—"I was sorry," he said to Hurrell Froude, "to hear you call the 'Serious Call' a clever book. It seems to me as if you said the Day of Judgment would be a pretty sight." [1]

The "Serious Call" has been lately reprinted, and is, perhaps, too well known for quotation, but it throws so much light on its author's feelings and practice that the insertion of two passages may be excused. The first is from the chapter on the "Times and Hours of Prayer."

[1] "Autobiography of Isaac Williams." The warning was taken home. "I have read most of Laws' 'Serious Call,' about which I remember what you said to me three years ago."—Froude to Rev. J. Keble, "Remains" of R. H. Froude, i. 336. And again in his "Journal:" "Read what Law says about prayer this morning. I think an immense deal of him."—Ibid. i. 206.

"All people that have ever made any reflections upon what passes in their own hearts, must know that they are mighty changeable in regard to devotion. Sometimes our hearts are so awakened, have such strong apprehensions of the Divine presence, are so full of deep compunction for our sins, that we cannot confess them in any language but that of tears.

"Sometimes the light of God's countenance shines so bright upon us, we see so far into the invisible world, we are so affected with the wonders of the love and goodness of God, that our hearts worship and adore in a language higher than that of words, and we feel transports of devotion which can only be felt.

"On the other hand, sometimes we are so sunk into our bodies, so dull and unaffected with that which concerns our souls, that our hearts are as much too low for our prayers; we cannot keep pace with our forms of confession, or feel half of that in our hearts which we have in our mouths; we thank and praise God with forms of words, but our hearts have little or no share of them.

"It is therefore highly necessary to provide against this inconstancy of our hearts by having at hand such forms of prayer as may best suit us when our hearts are in their best state, and also be most likely to seize and stir them up when they are sunk in dulness. . . . It is for want of considering devotion . . . as something that is to be nursed and cherished with care, as something that is to be

made part of our business, that is to be improved with care and contrivance, by art and method, and a diligent use of the best helps,—it is for want of considering it in this light that so many people are so little benefited by it. . . .

"And it is amazing to see how eagerly men employ their parts, their sagacity, time, study, application, and exercise, how all helps are called to their assistance, when anything is intended and desired for worldly matters, and how little they use their parts, sagacity and abilities, to raise and improve their devotion! . . . *Mundanus* aims at the greatest perfection in everything. The soundness and strength of his mind, and his just way of thinking upon things, makes him intent upon removing all imperfections. . . . The one only thing which has not fallen under his improvement, nor received any benefit from his judicious mind, is his devotion; this is just in the same poor state it was, when he was only six years of age, and the old man prays now in that little form of words which his mother used to hear him repeat night and morning . . . without considering how improvable the spirit of devotion is, how many helps a wise and reasonable man may call to his assistance, and how necessary it is that our prayers should be enlarged, varied, and suited to the particular state and condition of our lives. . . . Devotion is nothing else but right apprehensions and right affections towards God. . . . As prayer is the proper food of this holy flame, so we must use all our care and

contrivance to give prayer its full power, as by alms, self-denials, frequent retirements, and holy readings, composing forms for ourselves, or using the best we can get, adding length of time, and observing hours of prayer. . . . Those who have most leisure are more especially called to a more eminent observation of these holy rules of a devout life, and they who by the necessity of their state, and not through their own choice, have but little time to employ thus, must make the best use of that little they have."

A passage from the chapter "containing some reflections on the life of Miranda" may also be given as throwing light on Law's view of the religious life.

"God may be served and glorified in every state of life; but as there are some states of life more desirable than others, that more purify our natures, that more improve our virtues, and dedicate us unto God in a higher manner; so those who are at liberty to choose for themselves seem to be called by God to be more eminently devoted to His service. . . . If, therefore, persons of either sex, moved with the life of Miranda, and desirous of perfection, should unite themselves into little societies, professing voluntary poverty, virginity, retirement, and devotion, living upon bare necessaries, that some that come might be relieved by their charities, and all be blessed with their prayers,

and benefited by their example; or if, for want of this, they should practice the same manner of life, in as high a degree as they could by themselves, such persons would be so far from being chargeable with any superstition or blind devotion that they might be justly said to restore that piety, which was the boast and glory of the Church when its greatest saints were alive. . . . For a religion that opens such a scene of glory, that discovers things so infinitely above all the world, that so triumphs over death, that assures us of such mansions of bliss, where we shall so soon be as the angels of God in heaven, —what wonder is it if such a religion, such truths and expectations, should in some holy souls destroy all earthly desires, and make the ardent love of heavenly things be the one continual passion of their hearts? . . . If truth itself hath assured us that *there is but one thing needful*, what wonder is it that there should be some among Christians so full of faith as to believe this in the highest sense of the words, and to desire such a separation from the world that their care and attention to the one thing needful may not be interrupted? . . . And if in these days we want examples of these several degrees of perfection; if neither clergy nor laity are enough of this spirit; if we are so far departed from it that a man seems like St. Paul at Athens, *a setter forth of strange doctrines* when he recommends self-denial, renunciation of the world, regular devotion, retirement, virginity, and voluntary poverty, it is

because we are fallen into an age when the *love not only of many*, but of most, is *waxed cold*."

When Edmund Gibbon left Cambridge Law resumed his work as chaplain, in old Mr. Gibbon's house at Putney. The "Serious Call" had made a deep impression; and many of those to whom it proved an awakening force, came to learn further of the spiritual life, from the lips of its author. Among Law's disciples the most famous were the Wesley brothers; the one from whose pleasant diaries we learn most of his character and talk was that humblest and kindliest of minor poets, John Byrom.

Byrom's career had been broken, like Law's, by the Oath of Abjuration. After leaving Cambridge he studied medicine in France, apparently without much success, for he seems never to have practised. He was now settled in Manchester, his native place, living in close friendship with Doctor Deacon, who was in charge of the Nonjuring congregation in that town, supporting himself meanwhile as a physician, while Byrom got a somewhat precarious living by teaching shorthand. In the exercise of this calling he made frequent journeys to town, and from the day when, a month or two after his first reading of the "Serious Call,"

he visited the author at Putney, he seems never to have missed an opportunity of meeting with Law.

In their many conversations, Law appears as a bright, keen talker, a delightful companion, in spite of his occasional sharpness and roughness.

"Our young brethren were mightily pleased with him, as anybody must have been," writes Byrom after a journey made from Putney to London by water with Law and a party of young men, who had seen "by the instance of a happy poor man that true happiness is not of this world's growth."

The friends talked over all kinds of subjects, sometimes diverging into political castle-building. Law said that Byrom should take orders "when our king came over." But wherever their thoughts might stray, they came always back to religion. Law "commended Taulerus, Rusbrochius, Thomas à Kempis, and the old Roman Catholic writers, and disliked, or seemed to condemn, M^me^ Bourignon (and) Guion for their volumes," to which it seems Byrom was much addicted. "It was wrong to have too many spiritual books; the first time that a man was touched by the reading of any spiritual book, that was the time to fall in with grace, that

it passed into a mere reading instead of practice else."

Byrom's journal is full of such notes, hints, criticisms, suggestions. He apparently found a ready welcome in Mr. Gibbon's house, in which Law held the position of an honoured guest; but in 1737 this pleasant home was broken up by the death of the master, and for a year or two Law seems to have led a struggling life in London.

Before this time Law's mind had entered on a new development. Among his friends was a physician, Dr. Cheyne,[1] who to his medical studies added a deep interest in mystical philosophy, and at his suggestion Law made acquaintance with the works of Jacob Böhme. He was greatly struck by them, and felt, as he said afterwards, "an impulse to *dig* in these writings, which he followed with constant prayer . . . till at length he discovered the wonderful treasure hid in that field." He learnt German that he might study Böhme's works in his own tongue. For eight years he wrote nothing, and when he again broke silence, his writings were saturated with the spirit of his teacher.

The influence which Böhme's writings exercised

[1] Dr. Cheyne is commended by Bishop Wilson as a "most excellent religious physician and philosopher."

on Law was so absorbing, the contempt which this influence excited in many of his former disciples was so great, that it is impossible, in any notice of Law, however brief, to pass over the name of the unlettered shoemaker who cast the spell of his strange genius over one of the keenest minds of the eighteenth century ; but the subject is not one that the present writer is capable of undertaking. The estimate formed of Böhme by a modern thinker, Bishop Martensen, will serve to defend Law from the charges of folly and weakness so freely brought against him by his contemporaries.

"He always remains one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of the human mind. A humble peasant without learning or scientific education, who combined with simple Christian faith and piety the most profound philosophical speculation, who was upborne and encircled by a gigantic imagination ; whose works may, it is true, be called chaotic and shapeless, but in which, as one roams through their labyrinths, one is constantly and irresistibly persuaded that a stream flows through them which has its source in the everlasting hills . . . it is undeniable that there are few men whose life and thought so pregnantly express the saying of the Apostle, that 'in God we live and move and have our being.'"[1]

[1] "Jacob Böhme," by Dr. H. L. Martensen, Metropolitan of

While Law pursued these studies he became increasingly strict in his life and more constant in prayer. He was fully aware of the danger of being "spiritually speculative." "I could almost wish," he writes to Dr. Cheyne, "that we had no spiritual books but such as are wrote by Catholics;" and he speaks to Byrom of the danger of attempting to "build spiritually on an unmortified life."

A prayer found among his papers is attributed by Mr. Walton to this period of his life.

". . . Drive, I beseech Thee, the serpent and the beast out of me, and do Thou take possession of my whole heart, soul, spirit, and body, that I may be all Thine, the stringed instrument, sound, and harmony of Thy Holy Spirit, united to all

Denmark, trans. by F. Rhys Evans, p. 2. Böhme fascinated men of the most various sorts. Charles I. and Sir Isaac Newton studied his works. "Why need I be afraid—say rather, how dare I be ashamed—of the Teutonic Theosophist, Jacob Behmen?" asks Coleridge. "Many indeed and gross were his delusions, and such as to furnish frequent and ample occasion for the triumph of the learned over the poor ignorant shoemaker. . . . Oh, it requires deeper feeling and a stronger imagination than belong to most of those to whom reasoning and fluent expressions have been a trade learnt from boyhood, to conceive with what might, with what inward strivings and commotions, the perception of a new and vital truth takes possession of an ignorant man of genius. . . . Need we then be surprised if . . . he should at times be so far deluded as to mistake the tumultuous sensations of his nerves and the co-existing spectres of his fancy, for parts and symbols of the truths that are opening on him?"—"Biographia Literaria," part i. pp. 141–150.

Thy harmony in heaven and earth, willing nothing but in Thy will, loving nothing but in Thy love, speaking nothing, doing nothing, but what Thy Holy Spirit speaketh and doeth in me. . . . O Eternal Father of all spirits, take the veil from off my heart, remove all that is between Thee and me, all that hinders my knowledge and love of Thee, the manifestation of Thy Divine Life, love, spirit, power, and holy Presence in me."[1]

The first work which Law published after he entered on these studies, was drawn forth by a book published anonymously, but generally attributed to Bishop Hoadley, entitled "A Plain Account of the Lord's Supper," in which the author endeavoured to explain the mystery of the Holy Sacrament, "according to the common rules of speaking," and to reduce the Lord's command to a bare memorial act. This work was received with much approbation by the Latitudinarians of the time.

In a "Demonstration of the Gross and Fundamental Errors" contained in the "Account," Law exposed this miserable attempt to degrade the highest mysteries of the Faith.

It would occupy too much space to give any adequate account of his argument, but a few

[1] Walton, "Materials for a Biography of W. Law," p. 350.

fragments from this treatise [1] may be interesting as showing the belief which he held, then and afterwards, through all the mysticism of his later years.

"It is, he says, "the same Omnipotent WORD that *here* speaketh, that spoke the creation into being; and the effects of His speaking in the institution of the Sacrament are as *extraordinary*, and as much above the effect of human speaking, as when the same WORD *spake and they were made, commanded and they were created.* . . .

"The common rules of speaking are like other things that are common amongst men, viz. poor, empty, and superficial, hardly touching the *outside* of the mere human things we talk about. . . . The author seems to be in the same mistake concerning Jesus Christ and His Kingdom as His disciples were in before they had *received power from on high.* . . .

"The outward *matter* and *form*, indeed, or that wherein the positive institution consists, is sufficiently plain and intelligible from the *bare words* of the institution, and is by them made unalterable. This is the only plainness of the institution. . . . But take the same words of the institution, understood and interpreted according to the *Articles* of the Christian faith, and seen in that *light* in which the Apostles afterwards saw them when they *knew* their Saviour; and then everything that is great and adorable in the

[1] Law's "Works," v. pp. 1–308.

redemption of mankind, everything that can delight, comfort, and support the heart of a Christian, is found to be centred in this holy Sacrament. Then there wants nothing but the wedding garment to make this holy supper the *marriage feast* of the Lamb; and it is this holy solemnity this author is taking so much pains to wrangle us out of by so many dry subtilties of a superficial logic. . . .

"I shall begin with these words, which are only a *command* to observe the institution, '*Do this in remembrance of Me.*' . . . To understand these words only by themselves is to understand them only as a *heathen* may understand them, who knows nothing of the Scripture besides; and this is the knowledge, or rather the *total ignorance*, of the Sacrament which this author is contending for. There are plainly two distinct and essential parts of the Sacrament, which constitute its whole nature. The first is in these words: '*This is My Body which is given for you; This is My Blood . . . which is shed for the remission of sins*' . . . the other is the *eating the Body and drinking the Blood of Christ.* This is plainly another essential part of the Sacrament, *entirely distinct* from the other. The one respects Christ, as He is the atonement and satisfaction of our sins, the other shows that He is to be owned and received *as a principle of life to us.* . . .

"Jacob's ladder, that reached from earth to heaven, and was filled with angels ascending and descending between heaven and earth, is but a

small signification of that communion between God and man which this holy Sacrament is the means and instrument of.

"Now, here it may be proper for you to observe that whatever *names* or *titles* this institution is signified to you by, whether it be called a *Sacrifice* propitiatory or commemorative, whether it be called a Holy Oblation, the *Eucharist*, the *Sacrament* of the *Body* and *Blood* of Christ, the Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper*, the *Heavenly Banquet*, the *Food of Immortality*, or the *Holy Communion*, and the like, matters not much; for all these *words* or *names* are right and good, and there is nothing wrong in them but the striving and contention about them . . . but all of them fall far short of expressing the whole nature of the Sacrament, and therefore the help of all them is wanted. . . .

"Further, this author's absurd interpretation of the word *remembrance* in the Sacrament is founded on this gross error, that the things to be remembered are things *done* and *past*. . . . But neither Christ nor His benefits and blessings have the nature of things *done* or *gone* and *past*, but are always present, always in being, always doing, and never done. . . . '*Behold*,' He saith, '*I stand at the door and knock*.' Thus He stood at the door of Adam's heart as near as He stood to the Apostles, and thus He stands, and will stand, knocking at the door of every man's heart till time shall be no more. Happy he that does not consider this Christ as absent, and is only for such a *Supper of the Lord* as does not admit of His Presence."

CHAPTER VII.

JOHN WESLEY AND THE "OXFORD METHODISTS" —A.D. 1729–40.

"My first and last inalienable friend,

. . . . . .

When first sent forth to minister the Word,
Say, did we preach ourselves or Christ the Lord?
Was it our own disciples to collect,
To raise a party or to found a sect?
No: but to spread the power of Jesus' Name,
Repair the walls of our Jerusalem,
Revive the piety of early days,
And fill the earth with our Redeemer's praise."

CHARLES WESLEY *to his brother*, A.D. 1755.

John and Charles Wesley, Morgan, and Kirkham begin devotional meetings at Christ Church—Joined by Gambold and Clayton—Their influence in Oxford—Clayton settles in Manchester—Intercourse with William Law—Death of Wesley's father—The Welseys go to Georgia—Their return—Moravian influence—Peter Bohler—Wesley's conversion—Preaching—Formation of United Societies—Lay preachers.

THE lives of the Wesley brothers cannot be said to belong to the undercurrents of history, but such varied lines of thought were touched in the little circle of friends who began in the course of 1729

to meet for study and mutual edification in Charles Wesley's rooms at Christ Church, that some notice of the group of men known afterwards as the Oxford Methodists, cannot be omitted.

These gatherings had already begun when John Wesley returned to Oxford, after three years spent as his father's curate at Wroot, a small living which Mr. Wesley held together with Epworth. In this lonely village three books had been his companions, the "Imitation of Christ," Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living," and the "Serious Call" of William Law, then just published, and this study awakened in his mind the desire for a more complete devotion to the service of God than he had ever before experienced.

He joined Charles and his two companions, Morgan and Kirkham, in their evening readings of the Greek Testament, and as an older man, and already in priest's orders, he naturally became their guide and leader. The first beginning of the society which was soon to spread so wide, and bear such unexpected fruit, cannot be told better than in the words of one of its early members, William Gambold,[1] a gentle, fervent, anxious soul, who

[1] Gambold became Rector of Stanton Harcourt, but resigned his living in 1742 to join the Moravians. He explained his reasons for this step in a touching farewell address to his parishioners. "It is

was destined to end his life as a bishop among the Moravians.

Gambold was nineteen when he first made Charles Wesley's acquaintance; he had lost his father, a pious clergyman, and was longing for some spiritual help and comfort. "No man," he says, "did care for my soul, or none, at least, understood its paths." While in this condition, some careless acquaintance spoke to him of "the whimsical Mr. Wesley, his preciseness and pious extravagancies."

"Upon hearing this, I suspected he might be a good Christian. I therefore went to his room and

not in consequence of any resentment, or of any worldly motive, that I give up my parish," he says. "It does not, I assure you, proceed from any dislike that I have to the worship of God in the Church of England . . . but . . . the blessings purchased by the Blood of the Shepherd of our Souls I longed to enjoy in fellowship with a little flock of His sheep who daily feed on the merits of His Passion, and whose great concern is to build up one another in their most holy faith, and to propagate the truth as it is in Jesus, for the good of others. His Gracious Presence, the power of His Word, and the virtue of His Blood, I wanted to have a more lively sense of, for my own comfort and support in the Christian warfare; and I had reason to hope for those means of happiness specially where brethren dwell together in unity. . . . I pray . . . for myself, that I may be faithful to the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and prove His servant, truly devoted to Him, where I am going; and may you, where you remain, be as obedient to the influence of His Spirit and the dictates of His Word as I wish to be; so shall we one day rejoice before the Great Shepherd of our souls."—"Oxford Methodists," pp. 180, 181.

without any ceremony desired the benefit of his conversation. . . . After some time he introduced me to his brother John, of Lincoln College, 'for,' he said, 'he is somewhat older than I, and can resolve your doubts better.' . . . I shall say no more of Charles than that he was a man made for friendship; who by his cheerfulness and vivacity would refresh his friend's heart; with attentive consideration would enter into and settle all his concerns; so far as he was able would do anything for him, great or small; and by a habit of openness and freedom, leave no room for misunderstanding. The Wesleys were already talked of for some religious practices which were first occasioned by Mr. Morgan of Christchurch. From these combined friends began a little society; for several others, from time to time, fell in, most of them only to be improved by their serious and useful discourse, and some few espousing their resolutions and their whole way of life.

"Mr. John Wesley was always the chief manager, for which he was very fit; for he not only had more learning and experience than the rest, but he was blest with such activity as to be always gaining ground, and such steadiness that he lost none. . . . It was their custom to meet most evenings either at his chambers or one of the others, where after some prayers (the chief subject of which was charity), they ate their supper together, and he read some book. But the chief business was to review what each had done that

day in pursuance of their common design, and to consult what steps were to be taken the next.

"Their undertaking included these several particulars: to converse with young students, to visit the prisons, to instruct some poor families, and to take care of a school and a parish workhouse. . . . He (John Wesley) earnestly recommended to them a method and order in all their actions. After their morning devotions (which were at a fixed and early hour, from five to six being the time, morning as well as evening) he advised them to determine with themselves what they were to do all the parts of the day. By such foresight . . . they might correct the impotence of a mind that had been used to live by humour and chance, and prepare it by degrees to bear the other restraints of a holy life.

"The next thing was to put them upon keeping the fasts, visiting poor people and coming to the weekly Sacrament; not only to subdue the body, increase charity, and obtain Divine grace, but (as he expressed it) to cut off their retreat to the world. He judged that if they did these things, men would cast out their name as evil, and by the impossibility of keeping fair any longer with the world, oblige them to take their whole refuge in Christianity. . . ." [1]

If John Wesley was the head of this movement, the young Irishman William Morgan, whose name

[1] Quoted from the *Methodist Magazine* for 1798: "The Oxford Methodists," by L. Tyerman, pp. 157–162.

appears in the foregoing extract, may be termed its soul. It was he who stirred his friends to labour in the prison and the workhouse. He would bring beggars from the street into his rooms (he was a gentleman commoner at Christchurch), and talk kindly with them, and in the villages round Oxford he would gather the children about him and teach them the Catechism. He had the Irish grace and warmth, "a sweetness and simplicity that disarmed the worst tempers," habits of devotion learnt in childhood, and that eager thirst to be up and doing, which often belongs to those whose days on earth are few.

Old Mr. Wesley followed his sons' course with deep interest.

"You have reason to bless God as I do that you have so fast a friend in Mr. Morgan, who, I see, in the most difficult service is ready to break the ice for you," he writes. "I think I must adopt Mr. Morgan to be my son, together with you and your brother Charles." [1]

Morgan's bright eagerness was early quenched—he sank into lingering illness, hastened probably by fasting and overwork, and returned to Dublin to die in 1732—but his example was not lost.

[1] S. Wesley to John Wesley : "Oxford Methodists," p. 6.

"The poor at the Castle[1] have still the gospel preached to them," writes Wesley in 1731, while his friend was disabled by illness, "and some of their temporal wants supplied, our little fund rather increasing than diminishing. Nor have we yet been forced to discharge any of the children Mr. Morgan left to our care; though I wish they do not find the want of him; I am sure some of their parents will."

Another influence now came to bear on the knot of young men who, under the nickname of the "Holy Club," had become conspicuous, though not popular, figures in University life.[2] A Brasenose tutor, William Clayton, was introduced to John Wesley through Mr. Rivington (the firm was already well known to Churchmen) in 1732. Clayton had been brought up in the High Church traditions which still lingered about the Collegiate

[1] The Castle is one of the prisons of Oxford.

[2] The young men had often to bear a good deal of ridicule, and seemed rather to pride themselves on it. Mr. Wesley sends his sons excellent advice on this subject. "Be not high-minded, but fear. Preserve an equal temper of mind under whatever treatment you meet with from a not very just or well-natured world. Bear no more sail than is necessary, but steer steady. The less you value yourselves for these unfashionable duties, the more all good and wise men will value you, if they see your actions are of a piece, or, which is infinitely more, He, by whom actions and intentions are weighed, will both accept, esteem, and reward you."—December 1, 1730: "Life and Times of Samuel Wesley," by L. Tyerman, p. 408.

Church, now the Cathedral, of Manchester, and he was also on terms of close intimacy with Dr. Deacon, who was steeped in Christian antiquity, and especially in the study of ancient liturgies. Clayton entered eagerly into Wesley's designs, was forward in all works of charity, and apparently acted as his lieutenant during his occasional absences in town, when he was beginning to interest himself in the work of the S.P.C.K.

"My little flock at Brasenose," he writes at one of these times, "are, God be praised, true to their principles, and I hope to themselves too. Bocardo,[1] I fear, grows worse upon my hands. . . . The Castle is, I thank God, in much better condition." [Here follow minute accounts of his teaching and reading with the prisoners and with some poor families.] "The boys can both say their Catechism as far as the end of the Commandments, and can likewise repeat the morning and evening prayers for children in Ken's 'Manual.' I have obtained leave to go to St. Thomas' Workhouse twice a week, and indeed I cannot but hope it will be a noble field of improvement. . . . You cannot imagine the pleasure it is to me to know that you are engaged every morning in prayer for me. I wish for nine o'clock more eagerly than ever I did before, and I think I begin to perceive what is meant by that union of souls which is so much

[1] The debtors' prison.

talked of in Père Malebranche and Madam Bourignon, which I never understood before. Good sir, continue your prayers for me, for I feel that I am benefited by them." [1]

When Clayton left Oxford for a curacy at Salford, he carried the same energy into his neglected parish, and in the course of his first year was able to present for confirmation no less than seventy persons, all above sixty years of age. He kept up constant intercourse with Wesley, who appears to have set a high value on his opinion. Wesley consulted him as to methods of devotion, and also on the question of giving his Society a more definite form.

"My own rule is to spend an hour every Friday in looking over my diary," says Clayton, "after which I examine the resolutions set down in the account of my last weekly examination, and enquire how I have kept them. . . . About Saturday . . . I do not look upon it as a preparation for the Sunday, but as a festival itself; and therefore I have continued festival prayer for the three primitive hours, and for morning and evening, from the Apostolical Constitutions, which I think I communicated to you whilst at Oxford. I look upon Friday as my preparation for the celebration of both

[1] Letter from Clayton to J. Wesley: "Oxford Methodists," pp. 27–29.

the Sabbath and the Lord's Day. . . . I bless God I have generally contrived to have the Eucharist celebrated on Saturdays as well as on other holidays, for the use of myself and the sick people whom I visit. . . . I was at Dr. Deacon's when your letter came to hand, and we had a deal of talk about your scheme of avowing yourselves a society, and fixing upon a set of rules. The doctor seemed to think you had better let it alone; for to what end would it serve? It would be an additional tie upon yourselves, and perhaps a snare for the consciences of those weak brethren that might chance to come among you. Observing the Stations[1] and weekly Communion stand upon a much higher footing than the rule of a Society; and they who can set aside the command of God and the authority of His Church will hardly, I doubt, be tied by the rule of a private Society."

Wesley was also desirous for some rules of life from the Fathers, and very anxious as to the disuse of the mixed Chalice. In the same letter Clayton answers his inquiries on these subjects.

"Dr. Deacon . . . has never read the Fathers with a particular view to their moral doctrines. . . . However, if you will give me a month's time, I will

[1] The Wednesday and Friday fasts. "Our fasts are our encampments which protect us against the devil's attack; in short, they are called *stationes*, because *standing* (*stantes*), and staying in them we repel our plotting foes."—S. Ambrose, quoted in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities."

try what I can do for you. I have made some progress in the earliest authors . . . as to the mixture, Mr. Colly told me he would assure me it was constantly used at Christchurch. However, if you have reason to doubt it, I would have you to enquire; but I cannot think the want of it a reason for not communicating. If I could receive where the mixture was used, I would; and therefore I used to prefer the Castle to Christchurch; but, if not, I should not think myself any further concerned in the matter than as it might be some way or other in my power to get it restored."[1]

Wesley continued for a time to seek help from Clayton.

"How shall I direct my instructor in the school of Christ?" asks Clayton, in answer to some request for advice; "or teach you, who am but a babe in religion? However, I must be free to tell you my sentiments of what you enquire about. On Wednesday and Friday I have for some time used the office for Passion Week out of Spincke's Devotions,[2] and bless God for it. I found it very useful to excite in me that love of God, and sorrow

[1] Clayton to Wesley, July, 1733: "Oxford Methodists," pp. 31–35. Mr. Welbourne, Rector of Wendlebury, desired the Master of University, who ministered to him on his deathbed, in 1764, to put some water in the chalice.—"Life of Bishop Horne."

[2] "The True Church of England Man's Companion in His Closet," collected from the writings of Archbishop Laud, Bishop Andrewes, etc., with a preface by the Rev. Mr. Spinckes.

for having offended Him, which makes up the first great branch of repentance . . . Refer your last question to Mr. Law. I dare not give directions for spending that time which I consume in bed, nor teach you, who rise at four, while I indulge myself in sleep till five. Dear sir, pray for me, that I may press forward in the paths of perfection, and at length attain the land of everlasting life."[1]

Through the whole of the time at Oxford William Law had been the Wesleys' most valued adviser. The brothers had frequent resort to him in their perplexities, going on foot to Putney that they might have more money to devote to charity. The influence of the "Serious Call" is noticeable in their method of life, and was strongly felt by many of their friends and pupils. "Mr. Law," says one of them, "is really a divine man." Wesley suffered frequently from low spirits. He wanted more scope. His pupils sometimes drifted away to less exacting guides.

"My dear friend," Law writes in answer to his complaints, "you reverse matters from their proper order. You are to follow the Divine light wherever it leads you, in all your conduct. It is God alone gives the blessing. I pray you calmly mind your own work, and go on with cheerfulness, and God,

[1] Clayton to Wesley, September 10, 1733: "Oxford Methodists," pp. 37, 38.

you may depend upon it, will take care of His. Besides, sir, I see you would convert the whole world; but you must wait God's own time. Nay, if, after all, He is pleased to use you only as a hewer of wood and drawer of water, you should submit, yea, and be thankful to Him that He has honoured you so far."[1]

The self-suppression which Law (with what efforts who shall say?) had learnt in the school of circumstance, seemed at no time possible to the uncontrolled and dominant soul of John Wesley. His father was broken in health, and the old man's one desire was that his son might succeed him at Epworth. He thought he had interest to secure this, if John would consent.

"If you are not indifferent whether the labours of an aged father for about forty years in God's vineyard be lost, and the fences of it trodden down and destroyed; if you consider that Mr. M—— must in all probability succeed me if you do not, and that the prospect of that mighty Nimrod's coming thither shocks my soul . . . if you have any care for your own family, which must be dismally shattered as soon as I am dropt," wrote Mr. Wesley; "if you reflect on the dear love and longing which this poor people has for you . . . you may perhaps alter your mind, and bend your

[1] "Life of W. Law," by Canon Overton, p. 80.

will to His, who has promised, if in all our ways we acknowledge Him, He will direct our paths."[1]

Wesley was unshaken by this pathetic appeal. He said that he could do more good at Oxford than at Epworth, and also that he could there lead a holier life; and perhaps he already felt that dislike to constrained and settled work which made him say long after, that if he were to preach a year together in one place, he would preach himself and his hearers asleep.

In the following year his father died. He met the sufferings of his last illness with the same brave and patient cheerfulness with which he had confronted the toils and troubles of his long life.

"Oh, my Charles," he said to his son, "God chastens me with strong pains, but I praise Him for it, I thank Him for it, I love Him for it."

Shortly afterwards Wesley accepted an invitation from the S.P.C.K. to go out as a missionary to the Indians in Georgia, and Charles, just in deacon's orders, also went thither in the capacity of secretary to the governor of the colony, General

[1] Letter of S. Wesley, November 29, 1730: "Life of Samuel Wesley," by L. Tyerman.

Oglethorpe. With this troubled and unsuccessful mission we have no concern here, but one circumstance of the voyage exercised a powerful influence over Wesley's future life. On board ship was a small party of Moravian emigrants, and their piety, charity, and the calm trustfulness which they displayed, when a violent storm threw most of the passengers into agonies of fear, made a deep impression on his mind.

When, worn out by hardships and utterly dispirited, ill in body and mind, John Wesley returned to England in 1737, he found out the little Moravian community which was settled in London, and among these kindly people sought sympathy and help.

He also visited his friend Clayton at Manchester, and renewed his acquaintance with Law, but the old influences had lost their force. "Renounce yourself and be not impatient," said Law, when Wesley unfolded his troubles; but this counsel was hard to follow. Law, himself in a state of unrest and transition, striving to follow the mystical dreams of Jacob Böhme, seems to have been unable to make allowance for the difficulties of this strong, sore-hearted man. "Nothing I can speak or write will do you any good," he says on

one occasion with some impatience on his own part.[1]

In 1738 a new agent appeared on the scene. Peter Böhler, a Moravian newly arrived from Germany, preached the doctrine of Justification by Faith in its extremest form. This man assured Wesley that the cause of all his troubles was a want of saving faith. He brought to him "several living witnesses who testified that God had given them in a moment such a faith in Christ as translated them out of darkness into light." Here was the assurance for which Wesley had thirsted, for the want of which he was walking in weariness and sadness of heart. "Here," he says, "ended my disputing; I could only cry out, 'Lord, help Thou my unbelief.'" With extraordinary docility he accepted the necessity of an instantaneous and sensible conversion, and at once endeavoured to force this doctrine on his friends. He was positive on this point, and as his brother Charles declared,

[1] The following entry occurs in Byrom's "Journal" for 1737: "Charles Westley (*sic*) called while I was shaving. . . . He defined the mystics to be those who neglected the means of grace. . . . I told him it was from the mystics . . . that I had learnt that we ought to have the greatest value for the means of grace. . . . I believe that Mr. Law had given his brother, or him, or both, very good and strong advice, which they had strained to a meaning different from his."

"very shocking. . . . I was much offended at his worse than unedifying discourse."[1] But in a few weeks, Charles, warm-hearted, excitable, and weak from recent illness, was himself a convert to the new teaching.

The sequel must be told in Wesley's own words.

"In the evening (of May 24) I went very unwillingly to a religious society[2] in Aldersgate Street, where one was reading Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone, for salvation; and an assurance was given me that He had taken away *my* sins, even *mine*, and saved *me* from the law of sin and death."

That night he was "brought in triumph by a troop of friends" to the bedside of his brother Charles, "and declared, 'I believe.'"[3]

That Wesley on this memorable night underwent a new spiritual experience can scarcely be

[1] Charles Wesley's "Journal:" "Oxford Methodists," p. 342.

[2] These religious societies were still very numerous both in London and the country (Wesley found five in Bristol), and afforded a ready field for the earliest Methodist work.

[3] Tyerman's "Life of John Wesley," i. pp. 136, 137.

doubted. He suffered its meaning to be interpreted to him by the teaching of Beter Böhler, and he could not rest till his friends and disciples had passed, or imagined themselves to pass, through a similar crisis. Mr. Broughton, the energetic Chaplain of the Tower,[1] is described as "the very life of all those that oppose the faith," because he could not be brought to succumb to this supposed necessity. The week after his "conversion," Wesley told the friends with whom he was staying that he had never been a Christian till within the last five days. "Have a care, Mr. Wesley," said his host, "how you despise the benefits received by the two Sacraments." [2]

To Law he wrote a letter which, as addressed to a man who had been his master in the spiritual life, is probably unique.

"For two years," he says, "I have been preaching after the model of your two practical treatises, and

[1] Edward Broughton was one of the Oxford Methodists. While chaplain to the troops in the Tower he regularly visited the prisoners in Ludgate, and every night read prayers for a religious society at Wapping. He was afterwards secretary to the S.P.C.K., an office which he held for thirty-four years. He died in 1777 while on his knees, engaged, according to his custom, in prayer, before going to church for the Sunday morning service.—"Oxford Methodists," pp. 334–360.

[2] Southey's "Life of Wesley," i. 143.

all who heard allowed that the law was great, wonderful, and holy. . . . Still I and my hearers were more and more convinced that by this law man cannot live; and under this heavy yoke I might have groaned till death, had not a holy man, to whom God has lately directed me, answered my complaint at once by saying, 'Believe, and thou shalt be saved.' . . . How will you justify it to our common Lord that you never gave me this advice?"

He ends by telling Law, on the authority of Peter Böhler, that he is in a very dangerous state, and asks whether his roughness and morose behaviour can be the fruit of a living faith.

"I am to suppose," said Law in reply, "that till you met with this holy man you had not been taught this doctrine. . . . Did you not above two years ago give a new translation of Thomas à Kempis? . . . an author that, of all others, leads us the most directly to a real living faith in Jesus Christ. . . . Let me advise you not to be too hasty in believing that because you have changed your language or expressions, you have changed your faith. The head can as easily amuse itself with a *living and justifying faith in the blood of Jesus* as with any other notion, and the heart, which you suppose to be a place of security, as being the seat of self-love, is more deceitful than the head."[1]

[1] Southey's "Life of Wesley," i. 136–140; and Canon Overton's "Life of W. Law."

Wesley was in no mood to listen to advice or warning. The brothers began to preach their new doctrine wherever they could gather hearers together, in private dwellings, in the rooms of the religious societies, in parish churches when they could get the use of them, in the open air when they could not, amid scenes of indescribable excitement and confusion. One woman "could not avoid crying out aloud in the street," another "fell into a strange agony of body and mind, her teeth gnashed together, her knees smote each other, and her whole body trembled exceedingly. We prayed on, and within an hour the storm ceased, and she now enjoys a sweet calm, having remission of sins, and knowing that her Redeemer liveth." [1]

It is not surprising that the Bishop of London forbade the Wesleys to preach in the churches of his diocese, or that the stewards of the London religious societies closed their rooms against them.

"Had they (the Methodists) pursued the order which the Church prescribed, an order which they more particularly professed to observe," wrote William Wogan to Broughton, ". . . what noble instruments might they not have proved in the hand of God to reform a corrupt, degenerate age!

[1] Wesley to Whitefield: Tyerman's "Life of Wesley," i. 224.

. . . But, alas! may we not rather say they have verified the story of Phaeton, and by an unskilful guidance of the reins of zeal, instead of ministering true guidance to the world, they have set it on fire."[1]

Wesley's connection with the Moravians was soon broken off. A closer acquaintance revealed many incompatibilities; Böhler had left England, and the leader of the sect, Count Zinzendorf, exacted a deference which Wesley never paid to living man. But while he had learnt to distrust the Moravian teaching, his admiration for their discipline, which he had studied at Herrnhut[2] during the first months of his conversion, remained unchanged.

In July, 1740, he formed the "United Society,"

[1] "Life of William Wogan," by James Gatliffe. Wogan was a somewhat remarkable person. He had been brought up to business, but "professedly forsook the vain conversation of the world" in 1708, and for fifty years devoted himself to the study of divinity, especially the works of the Fathers, to abundant almsgiving, and the practices of an ascetic life. During the greater part of this time he lived in great retirement at Ealing, where he is buried beside his wife, with whom he spent eight happy years. His principal work was a devotional "Commentary on the Proper Lessons," once much valued; his chief solace the care of his garden. His opinion seems to have been much considered by Churchmen. "I had some talk with Mr. Rivington about Methodists; he said they were all wrong, that they had left Mr. Law, that Mr. Wogan was against them."—Byrom's "Journal," 1739.

[2] The headquarters of the Moravians in Lusatia.

adopting the Moravian system of bands and classes, which has ever since been retained among the Wesleyan Methodists. At the same time he opened his first meeting-house, in a disused building, on the present site of Finsbury Square, which, having once been a foundry for cannon, became known as the Foundery.

His old friends were aghast at these proceedings.

"It is reported," writes one of his former pupils, Harvey,[1] "that the dearest friends I have in the world are setters forth of strange doctrines, that are contrary to Scripture and repugnant to the Articles of our Church . . . it is said that you inculcate faith without laying stress upon good works, and that you endeavour to dissuade honest tradesmen from following their occupations, and persuade them to turn preachers."[2]

"If by 'Catholic principles' you mean any other than scriptural," returned Wesley, "they weigh nothing with me.[3] . . . God in Scripture commands

[1] Harvey to Wesley, Stoke Abbey, December 1, 1738: "Oxford Methodists," by L. Tyerman, p. 217. Harvey afterwards, under strong pressure from Whitefield, adopted Calvinistic views, but never left the Church. He became Rector of Weston Favel, and published voluminous works, which seem to have been much admired in their time.

[2] Wesley employed his first lay preacher, Joseph Humphrey, in 1738.

[3] In a copy of Brett's "Collection of Liturgies," which belonged

me according to my power to instruct the ignorant, reform the wicked, confirm the virtuous. Man forbids me to do this in another's parish. . . . Whom then shall I serve? . . . I look upon *all the world as my parish;* thus far I mean, that in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear, the glad tidings of salvation. . . . If you ask, how can one do good, of whom men say all manner of evil? . . . I fear you have herein made shipwreck of the faith. . . . Blessed be God, I enjoy the reproach of Christ! Oh, may you also be exceeding vile for His sake. God forbid you should ever be other than generally scandalous, I had almost said universally."[1]

Wesley carried out his programme to the

to Wesley, occurs the following note in his writing: "I regard the Homilies more than any Father whatever, uninspired, in matters of doctrine, and more than all the Fathers put together in matters of practice.—J. Wesley."—"Notes and Queries," 2nd Series, vol. iii. p. 478.

[1] Wesley to Harvey: "Oxford Methodists," pp. 412, 413. While Wesley was regarded unfavourably by Churchmen for his views on conversion and his disregard of all ecclesiastical order, and by the civil authorities for the riots to which his proceedings often gave rise, the High Church views which he still retained gave great offence to the Dissenters. "I have been much surprised," writes a friend to Dr. Doddridge, "with a book called the 'Country Parson's Advice to His Parishioners,' which is circulated with extreme diligence by Ingham and other Methodists in our parts. It wilfully disguises, but evidently contains and recommends, all the doctrines of Popery, and none more than that fatal one of consigning conscience and fortune into the hands of the priesthood."—May 28, 1742: Doddridge's "Correspondence," iv. 86.

utmost of his power. He went from place to place, preaching to immense and eager crowds; and the obloquy which he appeared to court was not wanting. His sermons were frequently interrupted by disgraceful riots; and to magistrates and other constituted authorities he became "generally scandalous." His short, dark, alert figure traversing the country lanes on horseback, often with a book before him on the saddle, was a familiar sight literally from one end of England to the other.

In the course of his ceaseless journeys he came to Epworth. He was refused the use of the church, but standing in the churchyard, on his father's tombstone, he preached day after day to thousands.

"While I was speaking," he says of one of these sermons, "several dropped down as if dead; and such a cry was heard of sinners groaning for the righteousness of faith as almost drowned my voice. But many of these soon lifted up their heads with joy, and broke into thanksgiving, being assured that they now have the desire of their hearts, the forgiveness of their sins."

Among his hearers was his brother-in-law, Whitelamb, the Vicar of Wroot, where he himself had once been curate. The letter which Whitelamb wrote to him on this occasion shows how

strong was Wesley's hold on the affections of his friends, and how deeply some among them mourned his change.

"Dear Brother,—I saw you at Epworth on Tuesday evening. Fain would I have spoken to you, but that I was quite at a loss how to address or behave. . . . Your way of thinking is so extraordinary that your presence creates an awe, as if you were an inhabitant of another world. . . . Indeed, I cannot think as you do, any more than I can help loving and honouring you. . . . The sight of you moves me strongly. . . . I cannot refrain from tears when I reflect, 'this is the man who at Oxford was more than a father to me, this is he whom I have heard expound or dispute publicly, or preach at St. Mary's with such applause. And oh, that I should ever add, whom I have lately heard preach at Epworth!"

With time and experience Wesley learnt to moderate the extravagance of his early preaching, but the good effect of his calmer judgment was more than counterbalanced by his reckless employment of lay helpers. When the first lay Methodist began to preach, Wesley was much displeased, but yielding to the solicitation of his mother, he went to hear him. "It is the Lord," he exclaimed, after hearing the sermon, "let Him do what seemeth Him good;" and with the singular

readiness to adopt fresh lines of action, which was at once a main source of his weakness and one of the secrets of his power, he thenceforth made lay preaching a principal feature of his system.

The preachers were men, honest for the most part, and zealous, but always untrained, usually illiterate, sometimes but just turned from careless or even sinful lives, and they caught up and reproduced his teaching in its crudest form, without the safeguards with which he tried to invest it.

The young high-hearted band which had gathered round him at Oxford,

> "Learnt his great language, caught his clear accent,
> Made him their pattern to live and to die,"

was broken and dispersed.

Some, among whom was Clayton,[1] clung loyally to the Church of their fathers, and served her to the end. Some became Moravians. One, Ingham,

[1] Clayton was for many years one of the chaplains of the Collegiate Church of Manchester. He was so much beloved that on his return to his duties after a period of suspension (incurred by his open espousal of the cause of Charles Edward, in 1745) the bells were rung for three days together. In addition to his chaplaincy he had a school; one of his pupils, Edward Byrom, used to say that he never left his presence without feeling himself improved in knowledge and better disposed to religion. He died in 1773 of a painful illness, borne with much patience. Crowds of people attended his funeral, and his old pupils placed a monument in the church "as a grateful token of their affectionate esteem."

passed from Moravianism to a wild sect, called from their founder Sandemanians, and preached its tenets in Yorkshire, where some of his congregations lingered long, and perhaps are still to be found. The zealous and eloquent Whitefield embraced the doctrines of Calvin, and his legacy was an offshoot of Methodism known as the Countess of Huntingdon's Connection. There are few sadder chapters in the history of the Church than that which relates the breaking up of that fervent company, while their gifted leader, not knowing what he did, drew the mass of his followers away from the communion which he once hoped to reanimate.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1731–46.

"Do Thou look down upon Thy servant N., who is departed hence with the sign of faith, and, as I trust, is in a state of ease, consolation, and rest. Pardon all his transgressions, voluntary and involuntary; give Thy holy angels charge over him, and be graciously pleased to grant him perpetual peace in the region of the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and all who have pleased Thee from the beginning of the world."—*From the "Commemoration of the Dead," in Deacon's "Collection of Devotions."*

Reunion of Usagers and Nonusagers—Fresh separation made by Archibald Campbell—Campbell consecrates Lawrence and Deacon—Deacon's Prayer-book—Deacon heads separated body at Manchester—Manchester Nonjurors join Charles Edward—Execution of T. T. Deacon and Syddall—Deacon's death—His followers continue separation.

THE separation between the Usagers and Nonusagers had gradually lessened, and might have been closed but for the influence of the Chevalier,[1] who for some unexplained reason seemed desirous that the breach should continue. Is it possible that James, who was still full of hopes of restoration,

[1] See a letter from Carte, the historian : Lathbury, "History of Nonjurors," pp. 369–371.

thought that by discouraging the Usages, he might conciliate the Protestant interest?

Notwithstanding the pressure which he attempted to exercise, the new Communion Office seems to have been generally adopted, and in 1731 the bishops of the two lines united in the consecration of Mawman. A few priests and one bishop, Blackbourne, still held aloof,[1] but Blackbourne died in 1741, and Robert Gordon (the last bishop of the regular Nonjurors) was consecrated in the same year by Brett, Smith, and Mawman.

It might have been hoped that the little Church would now be at peace, within its narrow borders, but another and more lasting separation had already been set on foot.

Archibald Campbell was dissatisfied with the new Prayer-book on grounds precisely opposite to those taken by Blackbourne. He considered that it did not go far enough in the direction of the revival of primitive usage. He held that—

"It is the indispensable duty of all who call themselves Christians . . . to examine all doctrines . . . and when they are fully satisfied that they do belong to and are part of the grand depositum, it

[1] They put forth their views in a pamphlet attributed at the time to Law, but, as Mr. Overton considers ("Life and Opinions of W. Law"), on insufficient grounds.

is their duty and interest to give immediate assent to them, however long they have been forgotten . . . and as the standard of Catholicism is fixed in a perfect harmony . . . with the Holy Scriptures . . . as understood . . . by the illuminated Fathers; so it must be a very unapproveable, nay, sinful exercise of the power of discipline, if it is employed in discharging any Catholick, apostolical, primitive, well-vouched tradition, or significant material usage, practised in its infant purity." [1]

Campbell found a kindred spirit in Roger Lawrence, who, having been brought over, apparently by Hickes, from some form of Dissent, had distinguished himself by learned works on the Invalidity of Lay Baptism, and the Sacerdotal Power. Campbell conceived the idea of founding a Church in which the use of the earliest centuries should be fully carried out, and, with strange inconsistency, consecrated Lawrence to be a bishop of this visionary communion by his own unassisted authority. The two together consecrated a third bishop, Thomas Deacon, already named in this volume, and with a few adherents they succeeded in forming a body which, though never recognized by the Regular Nonjurors, who considered the

[1] Preface to Campbell's "Doctrine of the Middle State, and of Prayers for the Dead, and of the Necessity of Purification," quoted in appendix to Deacon's "Collection of Devotions."

consecrations invalid, held its ground for many years.

Of Campbell and Lawrence little more is known; Deacon, a man of learning and energy, soon became the real leader of the new sect. In 1734 he published a Prayer-book for the use of his flock which he recommends in the preface "to every pious Christian, as the *Oldest* and therefore the *Best* Collection of Devotions extant in the whole Christian world."

This book is drawn from the "Apostolical Constitutions," a work of great antiquity, from which Deacon took the Liturgy known as the Clementine, together with many devotions both for public and private use, combining with them the Psalms and Lessons, and certain Collects, from the Book of Common Prayer. Among the revived offices are those for the ordination of deaconesses, for setting apart penitents, and for their public confession and absolution, and for daily private communion with the Reserved Sacrament, this last to be used apparently by lay persons. There are also directions for baptism by immersion, and for the confirmation and communion of infants, who are to be carried to the bishop in the arms of their sponsors.[1]

[1] Dr. Deacon's children were all baptized by "trine immersion,"

With simplicity which has in it something heroic and touching, Deacon submits this work as an Eirenicon to the divided Churches of Christendom, "Greek, Roman, English, and all others," appealing to them to lay aside all modern hypotheses, customs, and private opinions, and submit to all the doctrines, practices, worship, and discipline, not of any particular, but of the ancient and universal Church of Christ.[1]

The centre of this small community was in Manchester, where Deacon "mortified himself," to use his own words, "with the practice of physic." He had probably chosen Manchester as his abode on account of the strong Jacobite sympathies

and confirmed when a few weeks old, as is noted in a paper which his great-grandson, Colonel Deacon, had the great kindness to show the author. Colonel Deacon remembers that his own father, in the early days of the Oxford Movement, was accustomed to compare its teachings with that of the "Primitive Church," in which he was brought up.

[1] "A Compleat Collection of Devotions, both Public and Private, taken from the Apostolical Constitutions, the Ancient Liturgies, and the Common Prayer-book of the Church of England." London, 1734. The Lectionary in this book is the same as in the Common Prayer-book, with a few alterations, some of which, *e.g.* the provision of special lessons for all the days in Holy Week, and the substitution of lessons from the Prophets for those from Proverbs for the latter Sundays after Trinity, anticipate the changes made in the New Lectionary. The order of the Psalter is quite different, and it is one of the curiosities of the book that John Wesley, of all unlikely people, was consulted (through his friend Clayton) on the arrangement.

which prevailed in that town and in Lancashire generally, and which seem to have been quickened rather than crushed by the severities of 1716. Here he found a small number of enthusiastic followers. In a "Layman's Apology for Primitive Christianity," one of his congregation, Thomas Podmore, having stated that the Greek Church "has departed from Primitive usage in three points, and the Roman and Anglican in fifteen particulars each," thus concludes—

"I now come to point out that pure Episcopal Church in England in whose bosom, praised be God, I have the honour and happiness to repose, . . . and if he would know where such a pure perfect Church is to be found, I will tell him in one word, at MANCHESTER."

Dr. Deacon had many friends outside the limits of his own small congregation. Law's friend, John Byrom, who was a person of consideration in the town, in right of his old family and literary reputation, lived with Deacon on terms of constant and familiar intimacy.

The clergy of the Collegiate Church were also in friendly relations with the Nonjuring bishop. They were, with few exceptions, Tory, if not Jacobite in politics, and in religion they represented

the old school of Churchmanship, the school of Sancroft and Ken. "The MSS. sermons of some of the Fellows which I have read," writes their historian and successor, Canon Raine, "vindicated what are called Catholic principles in a very masterly manner;"[1] the services were conducted with a careful order and reverence which in too many places had fallen into disuse, and crowded congregations testified to the influence which they exercised.

The authorities of the day did not appreciate work of this description. One of the Fellows, Mr. Cattell, writes that the bishop in his visitation (in 1743) declared weekly Communion to be "a great and grievous innovation and a heavy charge to the parishioners—no matter for primitive practice or ancient Canons; they are all Popish. The Church of England enjoins her members to receive but three times a year." This worthy prelate, who was also visitor of the College, actually got his way, and though the weekly communicants averaged seven hundred souls, contrived to substitute a monthly celebration.[2]

[1] "Rectors of Manchester," ii. 167.

[2] Byrom's "Remains," part ii. vol. ii.: Letters to Byrom, April, 1743. It is a comfort to learn that the clergy reverted after a while to their old use, as we learn from a letter of Bishop Walker's.

It is small wonder that the indignant clergy fraternized with Dr. Deacon, and condoned his eccentricities and irregularities for the sake of his loyal love for "primitive practice."

When Charles Edward made his brave and luckless effort to recover his father's crown, he was received in Manchester with enthusiasm. Clayton fell on his knees in the street and invoked blessings on his head. Byrom so far departed from his habitual caution as to pay his respects publicly to the son of his king. Dr. Deacon's homage went further. Three of his sons, with many other Lancashire men, joined the prince's standard.

When the day of reckoning came, the three young Deacons were among the prisoners. One, happier than his brothers, died of fever; the two others were carried to London, and the elder, Thomas Theodorus, was condemned, together with sixteen other officers of the Manchester regiment, several of whom seem to have been of his own

"In September, 1813, I went to the Great or Collegiate Church in that town (Manchester). The Holy Communion was administered, as I believe it is every Sunday. . . . I then observed that the elements were not upon the altar, but covered on a side table within the rails. One of the assistant clergy . . . uncovered the elements and brought them to the Warden, into whose hands he delivered them."—Dr. Walker, Bishop of Edinburgh, to Bishop Jolly: "Bishop Jolly on the Eucharist," p. 146. The use of the credence table was at that time unusual.

religious persuasion, to suffer the terrible penalty of treason, in July, 1746. The clergyman who visited them wrote to comfort Dr. Deacon—

"Had you, sir, been present the last day that I attended them," he says, "your soul would have been ravished with the fervour of their devotions. . . . Great is the honour they have done the Church, the king, themselves, and yourself."

Young Deacon's own letter, written the night before his execution, is full of brave and humble trust.

"Before you receive this, I hope," he says to his father, "to be in Paradise; not that I have the least right to expect it from any merit of my own, or the goodness of my past life, but merely through the intercession of my Saviour and Redeemer, a sincere and hearty repentance of all my sins, the variety of punishments which I have suffered since I saw you, and the death which I shall die to-morrow, which I trust in God will be some small atonement for my transgressions, and to which I think I am almost confident I shall submit with all the resignation and cheerfulness that a true pious Christian and a brave loyal soldier can wish. . . . My tenderest love to all the dear children. I know I shall have your prayers without asking, which I am satisfied will be of infinite service." [1]

[1] Printed by the Hist. Man. Com. from Lord Kenyon's MSS.

The poor young fellow (he was only twenty-two) met his fate with the courage which he desired. His colonel, Mr. Francis Towneley, his friend and townsman, Syddall, and six others, were executed at the same time. No clergyman was with them in their last moments, but one of their number, a barrister named David Morgan, read suitable prayers from Deacon's book of devotions, the rest responding reverently, while the mob who had assembled to witness the scene, stood round, hushed to respectful silence. About half an hour was thus spent, and they then distributed papers declaring their loyalty to James III. In Thomas Deacon's paper he also declares that he dies a member of "a pure Episcopal Church which has reformed all the errors, corruptions, and defects of the modern Churches of Christendom."

The heads of Deacon, Syddall, and Chadwick were sent to Manchester, and fixed on the Exchange. The stricken father, accompanied by a friend, went to look once more on his son's face, and stood before it bareheaded in prayer for some time. As was natural, other friends came also, and gazed on the blackened remains as on the relics of martyrs. Perhaps, considering the bitterness to which party spirit can attain, even in our

milder times, it was also natural that the meaner sort among their opponents should jeer at the reverence shown at this sorrowful sight, and ask whether prayers were offered "*to* or for" the young Jacobites.

Sympathy with Dr. Deacon added to the ranks of his adherents, or, at any rate, of his congregation, and in this same year he published, with unflagging hopefulness, a "Form for admitting a Convert into the Communion of the Church."[1]

In 1747 he put forth a Catechism, in which he explains and enforces the principles laid down in his Prayer-book. It is said that 700 copies of this book were sold in a few weeks.

"As the Lyon sends forth the Jackal, so are our clergy by the Doctor's book trying how the game lies," writes a pamphleteer of the day.[2] "Sir, I assure you they (the Prayer-book and Catechism) were intended for the use of several of our Church. The clergy themselves solicited subscriptions to

[1] The book was published anonymously, but is attributed to Deacon by Mr. Lathbury. It also contains a Litany for the use of those who mourn the Iniquities of the Present Times, Prayers on the Death of Members of the Church, and an Office for those who are deprived of the Holy Eucharist.

[2] "Manchester Politics, 1748" (by Owen, a Nonconformist minister), quoted in note to Byrom's "Remains," part ii. vol. ii. p. 493.

them . . . and do the clergy have these books? Yes, all the honest (*i.e.* the Jacobites) do."

A second edition of this book, with a slightly different title, was published in 1749. This was Deacon's last effort in the cause which he had so much at heart. In the same year a blow fell on him which must have been even heavier than the deaths of his elder sons.

> "A third then was a little boy at school,
> That played the truant from the rod and rule;
> The child, to join his brothers, left his book,
> And arms, alas! instead of apples, took." [1]

Byrom's journals of this period are full of the efforts made to procure the release of the "young boy," but entreaties were in vain. Charles Deacon, after three years in gaol, was transported for life.

When, two years later, Law sends ten guineas for Dr. Deacon's use, the money is handed over to a friend, Deacon being no longer capable of managing for himself. Before the end came he consecrated J. B. Brown, whose real name is supposed to have been Johnstone, as his successor, an irregularity which he justified in his "Catechism" on the ground that in times of persecution consecration by a single bishop was lawful.

Dr. Deacon died in 1753, aged 55, and is buried

[1] J. Byrom.

beside his wife in the churchyard of St. Anne's, Manchester. "The greatest of sinners and most unworthy of primitive Bishops. . . . The Lord grant the faithful hereunder lying the mercy of the Lord in that day." So runs the inscription of his grave, chosen doubtless by himself.[1]

His little congregation lived on under the high-sounding title of the "Orthodox British Church,"[2] outlasting the regular Nonjurors by several years, and only ceasing to exist in the present century. At one time it had two bishops—one, Kenrick Price, at Manchester; and another, William Cartwright, who had married one of Deacon's daughters, at Shrewsbury. A striking instance of the tenacity with which the members of this little "Orthodox Church" clung to the hope that their doctrines would revive and spread, is to be found in a small book of devotions, printed in 1761, for use "in all Religious Societies where there is a Priest, and in the houses of all the

[1] The Rev. J. L. Fish, Rector of St. Margaret Pattens, possesses an interesting relic of Dr. Deacon, his altar vessels, of glass, inscribed with the sacred monogram.

[2] This designation, which seems to have been assumed after Deacon's death, is to be found, on an additional title-page, in a copy of Deacon's Prayer-book in the British Museum, which belonged to Bishop Cartwright. Thomas Podmore, at Shrewsbury, is described on his gravestone as "Ecc. Orth. Brit. Diac." He was a schoolmaster in Shrewsbury.

clergy."[1] The copy in the British Museum is interleaved for corrections, and a MSS. note in the beginning suggests that the Psalms be pointed for singing, and continues—

"I am afraid it will be long before we are able to perform these offices with that solemnity which they deserve, but nevertheless, when they are put to the press, it may be as well to have them made ready for more solemn use."

There are offices for Lauds, Tierce, Sext, None, and Compline; among the MSS. corrections is a proposal to add Nocturns. Mattins and Vespers are omitted, being contained in the public offices of the Church. The book is without author's name, but its source is sufficiently indicated by the direction, that if there should be no priest to say the office, "every one of the Society or House" should retire privately, and use the devotions in the second part of Deacon's Prayer-book.

As late as 1797 an early work of Dr. Deacon's, on the "Duty of Praying for the Dead,[2] was reprinted at Shrewsbury.

[1] For the knowledge of this interesting volume, and of some other Nonjuring books, the writer is indebted to the kindness of Mr. H. Jenner, of the British Museum.

[2] "The Doctrine of the Church of Rome Concerning Purgatory . . . inconsistent with the Necessary Duty of Praying for the Dead, as practised in the ancient Church." London, 1718.

Deacon and his adherents were certainly irregular, and it would be impossible to find grounds of defence for their independent action; but they must be reckoned among the forces which carried through the eighteenth century a tradition of better times.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1745–60.

"Affliction, then, is ours;
We are the trees, whom shaking fastens more."
G. HERBERT.

Severe treatment of Scottish Episcopalians—Chapels destroyed—Execution of Rev. Robert Lyon—Clergy forbidden to minister except in their own houses, and then only to four people beside the household—Clergy imprisoned and laymen fined for evading law.

IN England the severities which followed the insurrection of 1745 were confined to those who had borne arms in the field. The treatment of the Scottish Jacobites was very different.[1] The

[1] The authorities for this chapter are Stephens' "History of the Church of Scotland," and Skinner's "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland." Mr. Skinner, though not a Jacobite, himself suffered imprisonment, and his chapel at Longside was burnt down under the auspices of a female zealot, who, it is said, rode round the blazing building, crying out, "Hand in the Prayer-books!" The ruin of the Scottish Church had one result which the Presbyterians had not anticipated. In the Highlands and islands, where attachment to the Church had been strongest, great numbers of the peasantry became Roman Catholics. A report made to the Home Office in the beginning of George III.'s reign mentions that "Many

Government was resolved to break the strength of the forces which maintained the Stuart cause, and among those forces one, and not the least, was the attachment which still bound a considerable proportion of the people of Scotland to the Episcopal Church. The terrible and shameful story of the ruin worked by the Duke of Cumberland in the Highland glens has been often told. It is not perhaps so well known that Episcopal places of worship shared the fate of the farmsteads and cottages. Not in the Highlands alone, but all over Scotland, the humble "meeting-houses" which had been built and used on sufferance during the years of quiet, were set on fire by parties of soldiers sent out for the purpose,[1] and such as could not be burnt without endangering neighbouring houses, were pulled down or closed. At Stonehaven, where the population was almost entirely Episcopal,

of the Protestants in the North, by being so remote from their parish ministers, have their children baptized by the Popish priests, . . . and were careful to keep them in that Communion in which they had been baptized."

[1] The soldiers were not always willing to carry out their orders, and were kept up to their work by local fanatics. At Ellon, a fellow went about crying out, "This hoose of Baal must come doon," till he compelled the unwilling attention of the authorities, and the chapel was destroyed. It is refreshing to read that a soldier, meeting this worthy soon afterwards in a sequestered spot, gave him a sound beating.

the chapel was spared at the entreaty of the Sheriff of Kincardineshire, but the furniture was burnt in the street, and the building converted into a cavalry stable. The remains of the Bible and Prayer-book of the chapel at Cullen, marked with fire and pierced with bayonets, were long preserved in the house of a lady at Elgin. In the neighbourhood of Aberdeen "all the Episcopal meetings are pulled down. The altars, pulpits, and seats are employed to heat the ovens." [1]

The clergy were persecuted with extraordinary rigour. The two chaplains of the prince's army, Robert Lyon of Perth, and Thomas Coppock, an English Nonjuror, were hanged at Carlisle. The record of Mr. Lyon's last days is of singular beauty and interest. During his service with the army he had never preached on political subjects, or prayed for any king by name, but kept wholly to his spiritual work. During his imprisonment he—

"frequently administered the Holy Eucharist to his fellow-prisoners in Carlisle Castle, so particularly upon Wednesday, the 15th October, 1746,

[1] Extract from a letter written in 1746 by Mrs. Gordon from Aberdeen to her sister, Miss Jane Bowdler, at Bath: "Lyon in Mourning." Mrs. Gordon's house was borrowed for the Duke of Cumberland, and she gives an extraordinary account of the depredations committed on her furniture and effects by the duke and his staff.

he had the happiness to communicate about fifty of them, among which number were Mr. Coppock, the English clergyman, and Mr. Buchanan of Arnprior, and upon the 26th of the same month he also administered the Sacrament of the Holy Communion to a great number of communicants, his fellow-prisoners. He suffered at Penrith upon the Festival of St. Simon and St. Jude, and performed the whole devotion of the day upon the scaffold, with the same calmness and composure of mind, and the same decency of behaviour as if he had been only a witness in the fatal scene."

Dying speeches were usually written or printed, and distributed among the spectators, but Lyon himself delivered his last testimony, in which he upheld the righteousness of the cause for which he suffered, and declared that it was his greatest honour to be a priest of the Church of Scotland, blest with a Liturgy nearer the Primitive than any Church of the day, "excepting, perhaps, a small, but, I am told, very pure Church in England, who, I am told, has lately reformed herself in concert with the above Rule."[1]

[1] In the tender farewell letter which Lyon addressed to his mother and sister he implores them to be constant "in the Faith and Communion of our holy persecuted Mother, the Church of Scotland. . . . Nothing must appear too hard which tends to the salvation of your souls, and the disciple is not to expect better treatment than his Lord and Master." He commits to their special care

Lyon was the only Scottish priest who suffered the penalty of death, but two others, at least, Taylor and Falconer, endured for many months the misery of imprisonment on board the crowded and filthy vessels which were used as gaols for the insurgents.[1]

In the same year (1746) an Act was passed enjoining the strict execution of all former laws against Nonjuring Episcopal ministers. No clergyman who had not taken the Oath of Allegiance and Abjuration, and registered his letter of orders in a civil court, might officiate in any "Episcopal meeting-house," nor in any private house if more than four persons were present beside the household,

the lady whom he had hoped to make his wife, and the courageous sister, Cecilia Lyon, who had followed him to Carlisle, and remained near him to the end, and had been of "unspeakable service" to him, and concludes with an entreaty that they will pray "for rest and peace, for light and refreshment to my soul, that I may find mercy in the day of the Lord. . . . Farewell, my dear mother; farewell, my loving sisters. Let us fervently pray that we may have a joyful and happy meeting in another world:" "Lyon in Mourning," i. 3–11. Bishop Forbes had the copy of the Communion Office used by Lyon in Carlisle Castle (that in Laud's Prayer-book), bound up with the MSS. of the "Lyon in Mourning."

[1] While these prison-ships lay in the Thames, the English Nonjurors, especially their bishop, Robert Gordon, showed all the kindness in their power to their unfortunate brethren. Mr. Falconer, on his release, remained in London, and assisted Gordon for many years.

and if an uninhabited place, any meeting of five or more was to be considered a meeting-house within the meaning of the Act. For the first offence the officiating minister was to be imprisoned for six months ; for the second to be *transported for life* to one of his Majesty's plantations in America. With even-handed justice, any layman found attending these forbidden meetings might be fined £5, of which one-half went to the informer. For a second "offence" he might be imprisoned for two years. Further yet, no peer might be elected a peer of Parliament, nor any person become member for a shire or borough, or even vote for such election, or that of a magistrate, deacon of crafts, or collector, who had in the preceding twelvemonth been twice present at divine service at any Episcopal meeting-house not held according to law. In one word, the laity of the Church of Scotland were forbidden the exercise of their religion under pain of losing their rights as citizens.

These regulations might seem sufficiently stringent, but the Government did not think that enough had been done. It was, of course, possible that some of these proscribed clergy might qualify, by taking the oaths, for holding public services, and,

as a matter of fact, five offered to do so.[1] It appears to have been felt that this would be out of the question. In 1748 an Act was brought in, providing, amongst other things, that *no letters of orders granted by a Scotch bishop*, shall be sufficient to qualify a minister for registration, and even if he had previously qualified, his registration should be null and void. "Every man," said the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, in the debate on this clause, "who has taken orders from a Nonjuring Bishop, whether in England or Scotland, must be supposed to be disaffected to our present happy Establishment."

The Bishops of Oxford, Salisbury, Lincoln, and Gloucester opposed this monstrous proviso, and in the course of his speech the Bishop of Salisbury (Sherlock) gave noble testimony to the character of the Church which it was designed to crush.[2]

"These clergymen," he said, "by the purity of their religious doctrines, by their learning, by the

[1] Of these, two—Skinner (the historian), and Livingstone—repented, and were absolved by Bishop Gerard.

[2] Bishop Sherlock was in friendly relations with at least one of the Scottish clergy. He presented a valuable Hebrew Concordance to the Reverend John Skinner as a token of the esteem in which he held a work on the Old Testament which the author of the "Ecclesiastical History of Scotland" composed during the imprisonment to which he was condemned, for holding services in his own cottage after the burning of his chapel.

decency of their behaviour, and chiefly by their sufferings, recommended themselves to the affections and esteem of all ranks of people. . . . These are the men whom we ought to gain over by mild usage, if possible. . . . We ought not to require that a minister's letters of orders should be registered in the Court books of any civil judicature whatever, much less declare orders insufficient. . . . That is . . . an encroachment on one of the most essential rights of the Church. . . . Now that we are a little more cool, it is to be hoped that we shall not give a wound to that Church which is a chief barrier of the Protestant religion."

The Duke of Newcastle replied, with a frank Erastianism which is not yet quite out of date, that—

"The Right Reverend Prelate has such a regard for the Church that he would choose to expose the Protestant Succession to be undermined by wolves in sheep's clothing, rather than allow the Parliament to determine who shall be deemed the proper instructors and leaders of the people." [1]

And though, by the help of the bishops, who voted against the clause as one man, it was thrown out, the Ministry forced it through on report by a majority of five. By a further enactment, no unqualified minister might perform divine service

[1] Lords' Journals, May, 1748.

in a house not his own, even if none but the family were present, and any house so used might be seized and shut up till the proprietor bound himself under a penalty of £100 not to permit the offence to be repeated.[1]

Even in this extremity neither the clergy nor their flocks lost courage. In the very thickest of the trouble Bishop Gerard was elected to the See of Aberdeen, and consecrated in secret at Cupar. Many clergy did duty on the same Sunday, sixteen several times, keeping as much as might be within the limits of the law.

"Sometimes they had little chapels, if such they might be called, in the recesses of narrow streets or alleys, where they convened the more resolute of their adherents with caution and by stealth. Frequently these places of worship were in the lofts of ruined stables and cow-houses, and were only approached by moveable ladders, placed under the charge of some vigilant friend, and at one time the existence of such retreats was carefully concealed, except from those in whom the greatest reliance could be placed."[2]

[1] There is a record of such a bond in the Court Book of St. Andrews, in which Margaret Skinner binds herself and her heirs never to allow a certain house "to be used and employed by any person or persons of the Episcopal Communion:" "The Episcopal Congregation of St. Andrews," p. 24.

[2] Bishop Russell, "History of the Church in Scotland," quoted by Stephens, iv. 343.

An example of the manner in which the law was carried out and also of the courage and perseverance with which the faithful members of the Church endeavoured to do their duty in spite of it, is to be found in the history of the Episcopalians at Stonehaven.[1] The officer in command of the troops at that place, having heard that some persons were in the habit of meeting at a certain house in the High Street, despatched a corporal to investigate matters. About forty persons were found in one room, and in a small apartment adjoining, the corporal discovered Mr. Greig, the priest in charge of the Stonehaven congregation,

"with a book in his hand, in which he was reading, and he heard him several times in his reading making mention of St. Paul the Apostle. . . . The above forty persons did hear Mr. Greig. . . . A certain Jane Stevens also occupied a neighbouring room, to which people came, and heard and responded."

Mr. Greig was duly sent to the Tolbooth, where he was soon joined by two of his brethren, Mr. Troup of Muchalls and Mr. Petrie of Drumtethie, who had been convicted of similar offences. The

[1] Quoted by Stephens, iv. 338, from the "Black Book of Kincardine."

Tolbooth was an ancient building situated on the north quay of the harbour, and apparently well out of sight of the military. The room occupied by the imprisoned clergy looked seawards, and leaning from the window, they were accustomed, no doubt with the connivance of a friendly gaoler, to perform the forbidden service of the Church in the presence of an attentive congregation assembled on the quay below; and on weekdays, when service was over, Mr. Troup was accustomed to cheer the spirits of his flock by playing Jacobite tunes on the bagpipe. During his imprisonment this good man baptized many infants.

"The fishermen's wives from Skaterow were often to be seen trudging along the sea beach with their creels on their backs, in which were carefully concealed the unconscious bantlings that were to be secretly presented at the baptismal font. After wading at the 'water yett,' the conjoined streams of the Carron and Cowie, which could only be done on the reflux of the sea, they had to clamber a considerable distance among ragged rocks before reaching the back stair of the Tolbooth, where they had to watch a favourable opportunity of approaching the cell of their pastor. After the child was baptized, the mother, again carefully depositing it in her creel, returned by the same route."

Another record of the difficulties which surrounded the performance of the most sacred rites appears in the register of the Chapel at Muthill in Perthshire, under date of March 20, 1750.

"N.B.—With such *excessive severity* were the penal laws exercised at this time, that Andrew Moir, having neglected to keep his appointment with me at my own house this morning, and following me to Lord Rollo's house at Duncrub, we could *not take the child into a house*, but I was obliged to go *under the cover of the trees* in one of Lord Rollo's parks, to prevent our being discovered, and baptize the child there."

These severities continued in full force through the reign of George II. In 1755 an old man of seventy, Walter Stewart of Ochilbeg, was imprisoned at Perth for having officiated, in his own house, to more than four persons, and four of his congregation were fined £5 each. One of them, a notary public, received a much heavier sentence. He was declared incapable of holding any office, civil or military.

In the same year James Connacher, who habitually officiated many times in the same day to four persons at his own residence, "was marked out as a victim whose ruin was to confound the

remains of a vanquished party. . . . He was apprehended in his own house by a party of soldiers on a day (the 30th of January) when it was to be expected that he and his hearers would be engaged in their forbidden worship." He was charged with celebrating marriages without being legally authorized. The marriages were allowed, it being proved that they were with consent of friends and due publication of banns, but the judge observed that "Nonjurat Episcopal ministers of the prisoner's activity and diligence were *dangerous to our happy establishment*," and although the jury recommended him to mercy, Mr. Connacher was sentenced to banishment from Scotland, never to return *on pain of death*.[1]

The Nonjurors were scarcely suffered to bury their dead with prayer. The last Lindsay of Glenquiech stood by his father's grave with drawn sword, lest some informer should break in on the peace of the funeral service.[2]

Who can wonder if the courage of many flagged and failed under such heavy and continued pressure? if young men who had been preparing

[1] Quoted from "Scots Magazine," 1755, and Arnott's "Criminal Trials," by Stephens, iv. 360, 361.

[2] "Lives of the Lindsays," ii. 282.

for Holy Orders shrank from the cost, and turned to some easier calling, and if laymen gave unwilling attendance at Presbyterian services, or abandoned all attempt at public worship, rather than face the loss of civil rights?

Yet a faithful remnant was never wanting.

CHAPTER X.

WILLIAM LAW—A.D. 1740–61.

"This world I deem
But a beautiful dream
Of shadows that are not what they seem,
Where visions rise,
Giving glad surmise
Of the sights that shall greet our waking eyes."

C. WHYTEHEAD.

"Thou Child of Paradise, thou Son of Eternity, look not with a longing eye after anything in this outward world. . . . It stands not in thy sphere of Existence ; it is, as it were, but a Picture and transitory Figure of things, for all that is not eternal is but an Image in a Glass, that seems to have a reality which it has not."—W. LAW, *Spirit of Prayer*, p. 17.

William Law (*continued*)—Life at Kingscliffe—His studies—He is joined by Mrs. Hutcheson and Miss Gibbon—Charities and mode of life—Writings and opinions—Correspondence—Last years and death.

IN 1740 Law quitted London and retired to his native place, Kingscliffe, in Northamptonshire, where his father had carried on business as a grocer, and where one of his brothers still lived. Among the family possessions was an ancient house, built in what was once the courtyard of a

Royal hunting-lodge, and known from its position as the Hall Yard or King John's House. The house stands a little back from the village street, and nearly opposite the fine old church; behind it gardens and meadows stretch up the hillside, and in Law's time the prospect was closed by the trees of Rockingham Forest, now cut down and cleared for farm land.

In this peaceful abode Law spent four years in solitary meditation and study. There is no trace in his writings that he was stirred by the hopes or the fears of the time. He was a Nonjuror, holding that "the continuing of usurped power" does not "lose its evil nature . . . as soon as Providence has suffered it to become successful;" but he considered it the duty of private persons to submit to the Government under which they found themselves, and there was little room in his mind for politics. He seems to have drifted away from his brethren of the Nonjuring Church; the conflicts of Usagers and Nonusagers did not interest him.

"As to any defects, mutilations, or variations in the outward form and performance of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord in the Church," he wrote to one in difficulties,[1] "I am under little or no

[1] "Collection of Letters," p. 20; "Works," vol. ix.

concern about them, and that for this very good reason—because all that is inwardly meant, taught, or intended by them, as the life, spirit, and full benefit of them, is subject to no human power."

He was "neither Protestant nor Papist, according to the common acceptation of the words."

"I cannot," he says, "consider myself as belonging to one society of Christians in separation and distinction from all others. . . . As the defects, corruptions, and imperfections which, some way or other, are to be found in all Churches, hinder not my communion with that under which my lot is fallen, so neither do they hinder my being in full union and hearty fellowship with all that is Christian, holy, and good, in every other Church division."[1]

He shrunk more and more from controversy, unless he felt that the foundations of the spiritual life were in danger.

"How far he has answered, or does answer, any good ends of Providence, or is an instrument in the hands of God," he writes to a lady who had consulted him on a letter of John Wesley's, "is a matter I meddle not with, only wishing that every appearance of good, every stirring of zeal, under whatever form it appears, whether in knowledge or ignorance, in wisdom or weakness, may be

[1] "Collection of Letters," p. 20; "Works," vol. ix.

directed and blessed by God to the best ends it is capable of."[1]

But when one Dr. Trapp put forth a discourse "On the Folly and Danger of being Righteous overmuch," Law's heart burned within him, and some of the noblest passages in his writings are to be found in the stirring and affecting pages of his "Answer" to this publication.

Byrom notes in his Diary a visit which he paid to Kingscliffe during this time. Law talked of the mystic writers: of Jacob Böhme, of course; of the Philadelphian Society and Francis Lee, many of whose MSS. were in his hands;[2] of Sir Isaac Newton, whose views of attraction and of the laws of motion he thought had been influenced by the study of Böhme;[3] and then he spoke of the danger of being "spiritually speculative," and of building such speculations on an unmortified life. To this danger he was keenly alive, and he never

[1] "Collection of Letters," p. 121; "Works," vol. ix.

[2] Law seems to have borrowed these MSS. from Lee's daughter, Mrs. La Fontaine. They afterwards came into the possession of Mr. Walton, author of the "Materials for a Biography of W. Law."

[3] "When Sir Isaac Newton died there were found among his papers large abstracts out of J. Behmen's works, written with his own hand:" Law to Dr. Cheyne. These were, perhaps, the "cartload" of papers on religious subjects which Bishop Horsley found among Newton's notes, and which he considered unsuitable for publication.

allowed his fervent imagination to outrun the bounds of the Catholic Faith. "I could almost wish," he wrote to his friend Dr. Cheyne, who seems to have been fond of indulging in wild and startling theories, "that we had no spiritual books but such as are wrote by Catholics," and he declared that "Doctrines of religion I have none, but such as the Scriptures and first-rate saints of the Church are my teachers for."

His reading was extensive. He was a good linguist, understanding French, Spanish, and Italian, as well as German, and he delighted in many of the Roman books of piety.

"He who through a *partial orthodoxy* is diverted from feeding in these green pastures of life," he writes, "whose just abhorrence of Jesuitical craft and worldly policy keeps him from knowing and reading the works of an Alvarez du Pas, a Rodriguez, a Du Pont, a Guillorée, a Père Surin, and suchlike Jesuits, has a greater loss than he can easily imagine."[1]

In 1743 Law's solitude was interrupted. Two ladies, desirous of spending a life of religion and good works under his direction, came to live at Thrapstone, a small town about ten miles from

[1] Quoted by Canon Overton, p. 138.

Kingscliffe. One, Mrs. Hutcheson, had been committed to Law's charge by her dying husband; the other, Hester Gibbon, he had known from her girlhood during his residence in her father's house at Putney. The distance of Thrapstone proved inconvenient, and Law, having a house too large for his own requirements, invited the ladies to share it.

Law and his companions led a life almost monastic in its strictness and simplicity, the life which in the "Serious Call" he had long ago marked out as most suitable for all Christians whose circumstances permitted them to give themselves wholly to the service of God. The united incomes of the two ladies amounted to nearly three thousand a year; Law himself possessed a modest competence. But the annual expenditure of the joint household was not suffered to exceed three hundred pounds; the whole of the remainder was devoted to works of charity.

Several years earlier Law had founded a school for girls at Kingscliffe; one for boys was now added by Mrs. Hutcheson, with provision for apprenticing the scholars when their education was finished. Schoolhouses were built, and dwellings for the master and mistress. The old were cared for as well as the young; six almshouses

with a weekly allowance for the inmates were provided for "ancient maidens" or widows belonging to the parish of Kingscliffe, known for industry and Christian behaviour. The almswomen were bound to make their Communion monthly, and to attend mattins on Wednesday, Friday, and Holy Days. Law himself superintended the religious training of the schoolchildren, and composed prayers for their use. They were to attend the parish church both on Sundays and weekdays whenever there was a service, to sing the psalm at all funerals, and to repeat chosen passages of Holy Scripture frequently and reverently. Rules were also made for their conduct out of school, and among other things the girls were taught to curtsey to "all ancient people," whether rich or poor, whom they might meet. When they had committed any serious offence, especially if they had told lies, stolen, or behaved undutifully to their parents, they were to kneel down in school and make public confession of the fault, expressing their sorrow and praying for forgiveness of God, and the mistress, herself kneeling with the rest of the children, recited a prayer for pardon and strength.

The poor were relieved with a generosity which was perhaps sometimes over lavish, with insufficient

inquiry into the needs and deserts of the applicants. Complaints were made that Law and his friends drew poor to the place by their continual benefactions, and the rector so far forgot himself as to preach against his too bountiful parishioners, who were perhaps obnoxious to him as Nonjurors and Behmenists, as well as for their indiscreet liberality.

But at least their hearts were right in the matter, and they spared neither time nor pains in doing good. They kept four cows, chiefly for the purpose of supplying the poor with milk, and every morning Law assisted in the distribution with his own hands. He made a point of tasting the daily provision of soup which was made for the same purpose, and it is said that the only thing which in later life roused his naturally irritable temper was the discovery of any carelessness in this service of the poor. He himself wore the coarse shirts which were made for the clothing of the ragged, and habitually ate his meals on a wooden platter, because the making of such plates was an industry of the town. A window of his study commanded the courtyard to which the applicants for relief were accustomed to come, and he was never too much absorbed to listen to their troubles or investigate their needs.

The religious life of the household was planned as carefully as its external work. Law always rose at five, and spent the first hours of the day in devotion and study. At nine o'clock, after the mid-day dinner, again in the afternoon, and before going to bed, the whole household assembled for prayer.[1] On Wednesdays and Fridays, and any other days when there was service, all went to Church, Nonjurors though they were. At other times the Psalms for the day formed part of the family devotions, and every day Law explained some portion of the Scripture. A great part of the day he spent in his study, dividing the time between his books and writing, and the applicants for relief at his window. He was accessible to all who sought his advice, writing freely and fully, not only to friends, but to many unknown, and sometimes anonymous correspondents.

For recreation there were walks and rides, and some friendly intercourse with neighbouring gentry. Law was pleasant and kindly in his ways, a lover of children (his little great-nephews were frequent and welcome visitors), always ready for a few

[1] The keeping of the ancient hours of prayer is strongly recommended in the "Serious Call." See Chapter XX. on "Frequency of Devotion equally desirable by all Orders of People."

minutes' friendly chat with Mrs. Hutcheson and Miss Gibbon at their tea-table, fond of birds, though he could not bear to see them in cages, and especially delighting in sacred music.

From the height of spiritual vision on which his soul dwelt, Law looked at the outer world with sympathetic eyes. He was no morbid recluse. To his neighbours he appeared active, cheerful, even merry, with that brightness which seems the special portion of the single-hearted.

He lived at Kingscliffe for twenty-one years, during which time he wrote his principal mystic works, "The Appeal to all who doubt," "The Spirit of Prayer, or the Progress of the Soul rising out of the Variety of Time into the Riches of Eternity," and the "Spirit of Love."

It is impossible to understand Law's position without some acquaintance with these remarkable books; but the present writer can only venture to approach the simplest of them in the spirit attributed by Law himself to the old shepherd whom he represents as studying the works of Böhme with the help of his wife. "'John,' said I, 'do you understand all this?' 'Ah,' says he, 'God bless the heart of the dear man, I sometimes understand but little of him, and mayhap Betty does not

always read right, but that little which I do understand does me so much good that I love him when I do not understand him.'"

Arguments from reason, "evidences of Christianity," the whole apparatus of the Apologists and theologians of the time, Law puts on one side as things of no account. He appeals to the inner light, the Divine thirst in the soul of man, which can only be slaked by Him, Who is Himself the Water of Life. It is easy to feel the charm of these works and their spiritual power, but the theories which he had learnt from Böhme, even when set forth in his own clear and fascinating style, are obscure and hard to follow.

If we turn from Law's theology to his practical teaching, it may be summed up in the words of À Kempis, "Blessed is the soul which heareth the Lord speaking within her, and receiveth from His mouth the word of consolation."[1] He is never tired of speaking of this inward light, the Unction from above, the "Pearl of Eternity," the "Temple of God within."

"Accustom thyself," he says, "to the holy service of this universal Temple. In the midst of it is the Fountain of Living Water, of which thou

[1] "Imitation," book iii. chap. i.

mayst drink and live for ever. . . . There the Birth, the Life, the Sufferings, the Death, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of CHRIST are not merely remembered, but inwardly found, and enjoyed as the real states of thy soul, which has followed CHRIST in the Regeneration. When once thou art well grounded in this inward worship, thou wilt have learnt to live with God above time and place."[1]

Such words must not be taken to imply a disregard of forms and ordinances.

"Can you think," Law asks in a later chapter of the same work, "that I am against your praying in the words of David, or breathing his spirit in your Prayers? . . . Remember how very lately I put into your hands a Book called "A Serious Call to a Devout Life, etc.," and then think how unlikely it is that I should be against times and methods of devotion. . . . But till the Spirit of the Heart is thus renewed, till it is emptied of all earthly desires, and stands in an habitual hunger and thirst after God (which is the true Spirit of Prayer), till then all our forms of Prayer will be, more or less, but too much like *lessons* that are given to *scholars* . . . but be not discouraged. . . . Go to the Church as the Publican went to the Temple, stand unchangeably (at least in your desires) in this Form and State of Heart, and when anything is read, or sung, or

[1] "Spirit of Prayer," pp. 73, 74.

prayed that is more exalted and fervent than your Heart is, if you make this an occasion of further sinking down in the Spirit of the Publican, you will then be helped and highly blest by those prayers and praises which seem only to fit and belong to a better heart than yours."[1]

The doctrines which Law taught, he also lived. The harshness and sharpness of tone so apparent in his early life had melted away. The severity which some have found so repellent in the "Serious Call" is changed for a tender and touching appeal, its keen sarcasm is softened into kindly humour. "God alone must do all the good that can be done by our writings, and therefore we must remove all *meum* and *tuum* from them," he wrote to Byrom.

The following letter, addressed to a clergyman in the north of England, is very characteristic of his matured tone of mind and feeling:—

"Not my will, but Thine be done! When this is the one will of the soul, all complaints are over. Then it is that Patience drinks Water of Life out of every cup, and to every craving of the Old Man this one Hunger continually says, 'I have meat to eat that ye know not of.' . . . Hence you may know with the utmost certainty that if you have no inward peace, if religious comfort is still wanting,

[1] "Spirit of Prayer," p. 157.

it is because you have more wills than one. . . . That which God is and works in Angels, that He must be and work in you, or you can never be like to or equal with them. . . . And now, my dear Friend, choose your side. Would you be honourable in Church or State, put on the whole armour of this world, praise that which man praises, cloath yourself with all the graces and perfections of the Belles Lettres, and be an Orator and Critic as fast as ever you can—and above all be strong in the power of flattering words.

"But if the other side is your choice, and would you be found in Christ and know the power of His Resurrection, would you taste the powers of the world to come, and find the continual influences of the Triune God feeding and keeping up His Divine Life in your triune soul, you must give up all, for that one Will and one Hunger, which keeps the Angels of God in their full feasts of ever new and never-ceasing delights, in the nameless, boundless Riches of Eternity."[1]

To one in trouble he writes—

"Receive every inward and outward Trouble, every Disappointment, Pain, Uneasiness, Temptation, Darkness, and Desolation with both thy hands, as a true opportunity and blessed occasion of dying to Self, and entering into a fuller fellowship with thy self-denying and suffering Saviour."[2]

[1] "Collection of Letters," pp. 77–97.

[2] Ibid., p. 160.

Nothing can exceed the tenderness of his letters to his friend Langcake, his "dear soul," the "son of his love."

"I cannot tell you how much I love you," he says in one of these. "But that which of all things I have most at heart with regard to you is the real progress of your soul in the Divine Life. Heaven seems awakened in you. It is a tender plant. It requires Stillness, Meekness, and the Unity of the Heart, totally given up to the unknown workings of the Spirit of God."[1]

"What you happen to hear of Mr. J. W. (John Wesley) concerning me or my books, let it die with you," he says to the same correspondent when Wesley attacked him. "Wish him God speed in everything that is good."

His latest work[2] has little of his peculiar doctrines. It is an "Earnest Address" to his brother clergy, entreating them to lay aside all controversy and vain reasoning, all worldly wisdom and self-seeking, and turn their thoughts to the one thing needful, the new birth of the soul in God.

"All the mysteries of the Incarnate, dying Son of God, all the price that He paid for our Redemption, all the Washings that we have from His

[1] "Collection of Letters," p. 170.
[2] "Works," vol. ix.

all-cleansing Blood poured out for us, all the Life that we receive from eating His Flesh and drinking His Blood, have their infinite value, their high glory and amazing greatness in this, because nothing less than these supernatural mysteries of a God-Man could raise that new creature out of Adam's Death, which could be again a Living Temple and deified habitation of the Spirit of God."

These words were written within a few days of his death.

Law was now seventy-five years old, vigorous still, and keen, with clear voice and piercing eye—"the organ of his immortal soul filled with Divine light"—but his earthly pilgrimage was fast drawing to its close.

On Easter Day, 1761, he attended, as usual, the services at his parish church, and afterwards took a walk with his friend Langcake. They passed through the little town into the fields, and on a rising ground, looking down on the landscape in its spring radiance, Law began to talk of universal Redemption, of possible hope for all creatures, and even for the fallen angels; the eternal fire might, so he dared to hope, have the blessed effect of quickening that original root of goodness which had lain dormant in them. It seemed to Langcake

that he spoke "like an Angel . . . as if he was ready and ripe for glory."

A few days later he caught a severe cold, which produced internal inflammation, and after a fortnight's suffering, he passed out of this world of shadows to the realities on which his heart had long been fixed. "I feel a fire of love within," are his last recorded words. His body lies under a plain altar-tomb, on the south-east side of the parish church where he had so regularly worshipped.

By the few who knew him he was deeply mourned. One who had only made his acquaintance in the last year of his life writes that the visit "has left such a tender impression upon me that when my heart thinks '*Law is here no more,*' I feel a pain not to be expressed."[1]

His memory is treasured at Kingscliffe, even to this day, though nearly a hundred and forty years have passed since his departure. A lady whose home was in the village, and for a time in the Hall Yard house itself, still recalls the veneration with which she was taught to look at the worn hearthstone on which it was said that Law was

[1] F. Okeley to Byrom, March 5, 1763: Byrom's "Remains," ii. 64.

wont to rest his feet while he wrote. When, some years ago, the church was first decked with flowers, the villagers remembered to have heard that it had been so in Mr. Law's time, and that he himself put up a silver star for the Epiphany. The almshouses are still there, and not many weeks since an "ancient maiden" wrote to the lady above mentioned, to tell of her joy and thankfulness in the "beautiful home" provided for her. Till recent years the "Leather Breeches" and "Green Girls" schools remained as in the days of their founders; but alas! some fifteen years ago they were turned into a Board School, to the indignation of the poor, who said that "Mr. Law founded the school to teach religion." By a curious coincidence, the four sides of Law's tomb fell out on the day that the new school deed was signed, and the angry villagers declared that he had "turned in his grave."

These recollections, trifling though they are, testify to the deep impression which Law's life left on those who knew him. With the exception of the "Serious Call," which has stirred the conscience of multitudes, it is difficult to form any estimate of the influence exercised by his works. Law was a man out of sympathy with

his generation. He founded no school, his disciples were few, and for the most part obscure; but his works spread, passing through various editions, and contributing their share to the silent undergrowth of that century of seedtime.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1760–88.

"Pause where we will upon the desert road,
Some shelter is in sight, some sacred safe abode!"
Christian Year.

Low state of religion generally—Effect of Bishop Wilson's teaching in Isle of Man—Return of Nonjurors to Established Church—Gradual separation of Methodists—First Evangelicals—Samuel Walker of Truro—Beginning of High Church revival—Bishop Horne—Jones of Nayland.

"ATHEISM and Materialism are the present fashion. If one speak with warmth of an infinitely wise and good Being Who sustains and directs the powers of nature, or expresses his steady belief of a future state of existence, he gets hints of his having either a very weak understanding, or being . . . a very great hypocrite. . . . What hurts me most is the emphatic silence of those who should be supposed to hold very different sentiments."[1]

This, and such as this, is the account we get from contemporary writers of the state of society

[1] Sir John Gregory to Dr. Beattie, 1767: Forbes' "Life of Beattie," i. 134.

in the early years of George III. But even in this forlornest hour, traces of better things might be discerned.

Here and there, in secluded places, the traditions of elder days were still preserved. An interesting letter from Bishop Hildesley, written on his arrival in the Isle of Man, shows how deep a mark was made by his saintly predecessor, the "primitive" Bishop Wilson, who passed away in 1755 at the age of ninety-three. Hildesley notes the constant attendance and reverent behaviour of the Manx people at divine worship, "*universally* kneeling . . . and plainly showing that they are met to worship God and not one another," their acquaintance with Scripture, and the unusual and striking custom of Morning Prayer said daily on the shore during the fishing season, "in which the boatmen join with great attention and devotion."[1] But of such green spots in the desert, little record can now be found.

A few Nonjurors still lingered here and there, but they had sunk almost wholly out of sight. The younger men among them wearied of their

[1] This seems to have been an ancient custom, but Bishop Wilson drew up a special service to be used by "all the clergy of the diocese, who are in duty bound to attend the boats during the herring fishing."

isolation, and Bishop Gordon's later letters are much occupied with his anxiety for the remnant of his scattered flock. "James III." died in 1766, and though Charles Edward's fortunes were still watched with pathetic interest, the restoration of the Stuarts had become, at least in England, the dream of a few old men. In 1774 there was only one priest left in London to assist Gordon to minister "to the poor faithful remnant, so much are we minished and brought low; God pity and help us, and leave not the poor remnant destitute." By this time the Scottish bishops seem to have begun to contemplate submission to the Government.

"I guess," writes Bishop Gordon to his friend Forbes, "from Mrs. Bowdler's correspondence with Mr. Cheyne, that in case of a certain event [does this refer to Charles Edward's death?] our people won't be received by the Scotch bishops upon the footing they stand now. Dreadful to hear! It will be no less than breaking and shattering the faithful remnant of Confessors to pieces. . . . Mr. Brett,[1] with his family (in case of said event), as Mr. Dodwell did, seems resolved to go to the publick [Church service], and has mustered up all the old battered, refuted arguments, to apologise for his so doing. . . . Oh, the world—the world and the interests thereof! I have long

[1] Nicholas Brett of Spring Grove, grandson of the bishop.

thought him lukewarm and a moderate man. The Bowdler family still remain faithful. The conveniences of the world are not their object, in comparison with weightier matters."[1]

The Scottish primate declared that in case of the "certain event," he and his brethren must, by all means, take care of the faithful remnant, and he endeavoured to stop Brett's secession; but the controversy soon came to a natural end. Brett died in 1776, so much beloved by those who knew him that "when his funeral passed through Wye, there was scarce a house in the town without one or more persons looking out of the windows in tears." Gordon lived only three years longer. He was tenderly watched through his last illness by the son of his old friend, Mr. Bowdler. "Never," wrote John Bowdler, "was I witness to such piety, resignation, benevolence, and true politeness. He was a truly primitive bishop, a tender husband, a warm friend, and a fine gentleman."

John Bowdler did not remain in the Nonjuring communion, but he always retained "a solemn feeling of regard" for the memory of those whom

[1] For correspondence between Gordon and Bishop Forbes, see "Lyon in Mourning." A great part of it is filled with details concerning Charles Edward and his wife, who are usually referred to as "Cousin Peggy" and the "fairest fair," it being evidently considered unsafe to mention their names even in a private letter.

he had loved and honoured, cared for the poor of Bishop Gordon's congregation, and in after years did what he could to help the Scottish Nonjurors for love of his old associates.[1]

On Gordon's death no attempt seems to have been made to provide another head for the Nonjuring Church. The younger members of the old Nonjuring families came to their parish churches, glad, no doubt, to put a stop to a state of things full of inconvenience, and to mix unhindered in the life around them. They brought back with them, and, in some cases, at least, transmitted to their descendants, the spirit of that higher Churchmanship which Hickes and Brett, Spinckes and Collier, had upheld with struggle and sacrifice. They had been taught to hold the Holy Eucharist in higher reverence, and were accustomed to communicate more frequently than the lax practice of the eighteenth century had made customary,[2] and from their ranks came many of those who in this century have helped to repair the waste places of the Church. It may be permitted to mention the names of three such hereditary Churchmen, well-

[1] "Memoirs of John Bowdler," by his son, the Rev. T. Bowdler.

[2] John Bowdler in his old age received Holy Communion every week from his son's hands.

known and honoured by many still living—the Rev. Thomas Bowdler, Mr. Robert Brett of Stoke Newington, and the late Rev. James Skinner.

The Methodist movement, from which such great things had been hoped, failed to fulfil the expectations of its founder. Wesley's untiring zeal, his fervent sincerity, won sympathy from many of the more earnest clergy, who passionately longed for some reformation and revival. But their sympathy was largely tinged with distrust and anxiety. This mingled feeling shows clearly in the letters of Samuel Walker, the devoted parish priest of Truro, one of the earliest of those pious Evangelicals to whom the Church in her darkest hour owed so much.

"Many are praying and some working," he writes. "The Methodists have the lead among the latter. I suppose, if God spare the land, we shall be principally indebted to them; nevertheless, I could wish their foundations deeper laid, without which they will generally come to nothing."

Walker found that their view of faith "hath had this effect on most of the Methodists I have conversed with, that they have thought believing to be feeling, and faith by them hath been placed in the affections instead of the heart, the consequence of which hath been doubting when the stir of the affections hath been less."

The difficulty caused by the employment of lay preachers increased continually.[1] Wesley had raised a spirit which he could not guide. Fifteen years had barely passed since the foundation of the United Societies, when the pressure of his followers compelled him to face the question, whether or no they should separate from the Church. He laid his difficulties before Walker, to whom Charles Wesley had also written in anxiety and sorrow.

Would that Walker's advice had been followed!

"The main stress of the matter," he wrote, "lies in this necessarily previous question, whether it be unlawful for the Methodists to abide in the Church. For, if not, it is their duty to abide. . . . In this view, what have you to do with lay preachers? This, I know, is a tender point, but methinks it comes into the very heart of the question. . . . I beseech you, Sir, be determined in your own mind, that, as you do not think a separation lawful, so

[1] "Lay preaching, it must be allowed, is a partial separation, and may, but *need* not, end in a total one. The probability of it has made me tremble for years past, and kept me from leaving the Methodists. I stay, not so much to do good as to prevent evil. . . . If he wavers still, and trims between the Church and them [the lay preachers], I know not what to do. As yet it is in his power, if he exert himself, to stop the evil. But I fear he will never have another opportunity. The tide will be too strong for him, and bear him away into the gulph of separation."—C. Wesley to Rev. S. Walker, August 21, 1756: "Life of Walker," p. 215.

you will not yield to it on any hand, nor be driven into it by any apprehensions whatever . . . and remember, Sir, how needful it is that something be done in your lifetime. Is there not much cause to fear that otherwise there will be little peace afterwards?"[1]

Wesley took a middle course. He retained the lay preachers, but he made a public and solemn declaration of his purpose never to separate from the Church. An open breach was for the time prevented, but the organisation which he had framed with so much skill moved on its inevitable way, and drew him in its wake. Thirty years later the schism was complete, though, with characteristic inability to see anything which he did not wish to perceive, Wesley continued to assert his unalterable attachment to the Church.

"I can scarcely believe it," wrote Charles Wesley in 1784, "that in his eighty-second year, my brother, my old intimate friend and companion, should have assumed the Episcopal character, ordained elders, consecrated a bishop, and sent him to ordain our lay-preachers in America! I was there in Bristol, at his elbow, but he never gave me the least hint of his intention. Thus our partnership is dissolved,

[1] S. Walker to Rev. John Wesley: "Life of Walker, pp. 164–173.

but not our friendship. I have taken him for better, for worse, till death do us part, or rather, reunite us in love inseparable. I have lived a little too long, who have lived to see this evil day."[1]

The Evangelical revival arose almost at the same time as the Methodist movement, and may have caught from it some of its enthusiasm, but the spiritual ancestry of the first "Evangelicals" is to be sought among Puritans rather than among the followers of Wesley. Few more instructive and beautiful lives can be found in their ranks than that of Samuel Walker, already mentioned. In 1746 he became curate of Truro, with sole charge of the parish, the rector being, according to the too usual custom of the time, non-resident. Mr. Walker was then an accomplished young man, with attractive manners, an eloquent preacher, diligent in his work, but fond of amusement. He came to Truro looking forward to a useful and pleasant life, in the cheerful

[1] C. Wesley to Dr. Chandler, an Episcopal clergyman, then starting for America: Jackson's "Life of C. Wesley," ii. 399. This was the origin of the "Methodist Episcopal Church," which from its first settlement in Baltimore has spread over America, and which was, as C. Wesley told his brother in 1785, "intended to beget a Methodist Episcopal Church here. . . . When once you began ordaining in America I knew, and you knew, that your preachers here would never rest till you ordained them. . . . Before you have quite broken down the bridge, stop and consider."

society of a county town. He found instead something of which he had not dreamed, a call to voluntary poverty and entire self-devotion. The change was worked through the influence of Mr. Conon, Master of the Grammar School, of whom Walker said afterwards that he was "the first person he had ever met with, truly possessed of the mind of Christ." Gradually Mr. Walker came to feel that his guiding principles had been the desire of reputation and the love of pleasure; but it was only by degrees, and after much inward struggle, that he could bring himself to part with his favourite amusements, or learn to feel "any reasonable measure of indifference about the esteem of the world," and then only with "heart-felt pangs of fear and disquietude."[1]

When once his mind was made up, he carried out to the full his new principles. He held, besides his curacy, the Vicarage of Talland, with leave of non-residence, a mode of adding to a slender income which was quite in accordance with the custom of the day; this he resigned, changed the abode for humbler lodgings, gave up many of the comforts to which he had accustomed himself, and

[1] "The Life and Ministry of the Rev. Samuel Walker, B.A.," by the Rev. E. Sidney.

lived henceforth in the plainest way. A prospect of happy marriage was open to him, but he put it on one side, lest it should interfere with the usefulness of his labours. He toiled early and late, publicly and privately, seeking the souls of his flock. The good people of Truro were very angry when they found their agreeable young parson transformed into an ascetic preacher of "righteousness, temperance, and judgement to come," and requested the rector to get rid of him, and to provide them with more genial ministrations. The rector, "the most timid creature in the world," was anxious to oblige his flock, and called twice on Mr. Walker, each time intending to give notice of dismissal, but he was so much abashed by his curate's dignified courtesy that the words were never spoken, and Walker continued his labours without interruption.

He soon drew round him an attached and zealous congregation, filling the venerable church, part of which still adds its mellow grace to the new glory of the cathedral. He found them ignorant in the extreme. "Above all things, it breaks my heart to attend their sick-beds," he wrote to a friend, "when I too often find them secure and ignorant—so uninstructed as to leave

me at a loss where to begin." He set himself with the utmost diligence to teach both young and old; catechising, preaching, gathering together guilds of men and women for prayer and spiritual instruction, and seeking continually while he worked to deepen the foundations of his own life. "I have been confessing my sins and seeking the cause," he writes in his diary one day when he had been disappointed by the fewness of his communicants.

His religion was of a stern type, and his mistrust of "feelings and frames" was intensified by his experience of the easy doctrine of the Methodist preachers, who began to swarm in Cornwall, but he had the gift of winning hearts to God.[1] Several offers of preferment were made to him, but he would never leave his people, to whom he grew more and more devoted, till the complete break-down of his

[1] Mr. Walker took great interest in the soldiers who were quartered from time to time in Truro. Among the letters which he preserved was one "wrote at a barick table with fourteen men," which showed how some among them profited by his labour. "Dear Father in the Lord,—Since I left you, I have had great trials, and is likely to have daily. But still I trust to Christ for to enable me to withstand them all; for on our march here, each day religion was thrown in my teeth by calling me Methodist, and saying that I had made confession of all my sins to Mr. Walker. I made answer and said they might say what they pleased, but the day would come when they must confess to a greater than he, that is, the Lord Jesus. . . . May the God of all glory bless you . . . for under God you was the means of bringing me to salvation. . . ."

health made it necessary that he should lay aside all thoughts of work for a season. His sickness was cheered by the love of many friends, and his needs provided for by the contributions of his congregation.

For a while he clung to the hope of returning to his "dear charge" at Truro, but after many months of suffering, borne with such unselfish patience that a friend remarked, that "in the smallest things concerning my own convenience and comfort he behaved as if I had been the sick person," it became clear that recovery was hopeless. "I feel nothing come so near my heart as the fear lest my will should thwart God's in any circumstances," he wrote from his dying bed.

The prayer was heard. In great suffering, but with "no doubts, great confidence, great submission, no complaining,"[1] Samuel Walker passed to the presence of his Lord on Sunday, July 19, 1761, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

The Evangelical Revival continued to gain strength. When Walker died, Romaine was working in London, Venn had begun his ministry at Huddersfield; many others were rising up, full of

[1] His last message to Mr. Conon, the friend to whom he owed his conversion.

zeal and the love of God, whose names are still familiar and honoured. The warmest, the most eager, the most self-denying religion of the last half of the century, is to be found in their ranks.

Another movement was beginning, less fervent and stirring, but with the germ of vigorous growth. In the "Life" which William Jones, known as "Jones of Nayland," from the village in which he chiefly lived, wrote of his college companion and lifelong friend, Bishop Horne, we trace a development of thought which was doubtless taking place in many who found no chronicler.

George Horne was the son of a clergyman of so independent a character that he "would rather be toad-eater to a mountebank than flatter a great man against his conscience," and of a temper so domestic and kindly that he was accustomed to awake his little son by the sound of a flute, lest the baby should be roused suddenly and cry. Young Horne inherited his father's independence, his amiability, and his love of music, and these qualities at once recommended him to William Jones's admiring friendship, when the two young men met at Oxford in 1755.

Both had suffered from the blighting influence of the time, and Jones relates how "the dying

flame of Christian faith" was revived through the instrumentality of one of the Fellows of their College (University), a gifted and attractive man, a few years older than themselves, named George Watson. Mr. Watson was deeply imbued with what was then called Hutchinsonianism. Mr. Hutchinson was a self-educated student of Hebrew and natural science, from which he had evolved a system of philosophy which had many adherents in the last century, especially in Scotland. His Hebrew is said to be unsound, and his science as untenable as his philosophy, but whatever the merits of his theories, they represented a revolt against two prevailing modes of thought which choked the springs of religion, the "mechanical system of philosophy, which represented the world in its relation to God as a building to a mason," and the no less mechanical interpretation of Scripture, which could see nothing beyond the bare letter of the text, and wasted its ingenuity in trying to ascertain the genus and species of the tree "whose leaf shall not wither."

When Mr. Watson, shyly at first and with reserve, unfolded his opinions to his young friends, both Horne and Jones embraced them with enthusiasm, and from that time two main points of

the Hutchinsonian system, the treasures of spiritual teaching to be found in the Books of Moses, and the Divine symbolism of the material creation, became guiding principles of their minds, and may be found throughout their writings.

With hearts thus quickened to a fuller apprehension of Divine truths than could be gained from the fashionable writers of the day, the pair of friends, who still went hand in hand, soon reached a farther stage.

When, in 1750, Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, published an "Essay on Spirit" "with design to recommend the Arian doctrine, and prepare the way for suitable alterations in the Liturgy," Horne persuaded his friend, then curate of Finedon in Northamptonshire, to undertake an answer. Jones's rector, Sir John Dolben, had an excellent library, well stocked with old-fashioned divinity, and with this assistance the two set to work.

Jones's Reply shares the oblivion of the essay which called it forth, but his labour had more enduring fruit. "This enquiry," he says, "brought many things to our view of which we had never heard." In search of arguments against Deism they had studied the works of Charles Leslie, and from Leslie they went on to Hickes, whose writings

displayed to their wondering eyes a whole world of forgotten truths.

"He shows," writes Horne, "the greatest knowledge of primitive antiquity, of Fathers, councils, and the constitution and discipline of the Church in the first and purest ages of it. This kind of learning is of much greater value and consequence than many now apprehend. Much, I am sure, is done by that cementing bond of the Spirit which unites Christians to their Head and to one another, and makes them consider themselves as members of the same body, that is as a Church, as a fold of sheep, not as straggling individuals. What I see of this in a certain class of writers determines me to look into that affair."

The practice of religion they learnt from the "Devotions" of Bishop Andrews, from Jeremy Taylor, and the early works of William Law. Horne "conformed himself in many points to the strictness" of the "Serious Call," though he never could sympathize with Law's later works, and, indeed, wrote a "Caution" to their readers.

Horne was ordained in 1753, and for the greater part of his life remained at Oxford, where he became President of Magdalen and Vice-Chancellor, and at Magdalen he completed the chief work of his life, his "Commentary on the Psalms."

"The employment detached him from the bustle and hurry of life, the din of politics, and the noise of folly. . . . Happier hours than those which have been spent on these meditations on the Songs of Zion he never expects to see in this world. . . . He has written to gratify no sect or party, but for the common service of all who call on the Name of JESUS wheresoever dispersed, and howsoever distressed, upon the earth. . . . Enough has been given to the arts of controversy; let something be given to the studies of piety and a holy life. If we can once unite in these, our tempers may be better disposed to unite in doctrine. When we shall be duly prepared to receive it, God may reveal even this unto us." [1]

It is difficult now to realize that Dr. Horne expected adverse criticism because he understood the Psalms to speak of Christ and the Church, and not merely of David and Israel.

Mr. Jones became Perpetual Curate of Nayland in Suffolk, to which was afterwards added the living of Paston in Northamptonshire. He was not so far in advance of his age as to object to pluralities, but he was a diligent and faithful pastor of his village flock, "writing, as nearly as the difference of the times would permit, after the pattern given by the divine Herbert in the 'Country

[1] Preface to Bishop Horne's "Commentary on the Psalms."

Parson.'" When he first came to Nayland there were but few communicants, but by his diligent instructions he effected a great change; and his successor in the parish bore witness that the effect of his ministry was visible in the lives and conversation of his parishioners. He took special pains with the children.

"I am," he says in the preface to his "Essay on the Church," "a curate in a country parish, who make it my business, and have found it my pleasure, to teach the children of my people, privately in my own house, and publicly in the Church. . . . The Catechism of the Church of England, though a most excellent summary of the Christian doctrine, is deficient in one point, viz. *the Constitution of the Church of Christ;* the knowledge of which in a certain degree is necessary to that *charity* which is the *end of the commandment*, and for want of which so many are drawn away from the Church, who would certainly have remained with it if they had known what it is."

He made it his business to supply this want, and the catechisms which he prepared for the use of the children of Nayland are, perhaps, among the most interesting of his works. It would be difficult to surpass the force and clearness of his "Churchman's Catechism," or the grace with which

in the "Book of Nature" he teaches spiritual lessons by means of the things that are seen.

A fragment from the "Chapter of the Priest and the Sacrifice" shows the character of his teaching:—

"Except we partake of this Sacrifice we have no more life in our souls than our bodies would have without meat and drink. So long as there are offerings there must be priests to offer. . . . No man can act for a king but he who hath the king's authority; so no man can act for God but he whom God hath appointed. . . . Priests must be appointed by God to commemorate the Sacrifice of Christ, and communicate the benefits of it from the altar to the congregation, and to pronounce pardon and absolution (that is, forgiveness of sin) from Him to the penitent sinner."

And a few lines from the "Chapter of Glory" illustrate his mode of conveying instruction:—

"The glory of the light dwelleth in the sun, and from him it is spread over all the creation below, where no object has any light of its own. So the glory of the invisible heavens is with God, and from Him it is communicated to angels and saints, who have no glory but what they receive from Him. All objects on which the sun shines are in a glorified state, compared with those on which it doth not shine, so it is impossible to be in the presence of God without being shone upon and

glorified; therefore when God Himself shall be made manifest, and His light shall shine, *we shall all be changed*, and our change shall happen in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye; for so doth light break out suddenly and shine upon all things."

Mr. Jones' gift of teaching was not exercised on the children of his parish alone. He took pupils,[1] and appears to have been highly valued as a tutor. It was only in his later years that his name became associated with larger fields of activity. In 1790, through his acquaintance with Nicholas Brett the younger, who had maintained an hereditary friendship with the Scottish Episcopalians, he was able to be of some service to that persecuted body;—but this subject belongs to the next chapter.

[1] Among his pupils was Mr. Palmer, father of the first Earl Selborne.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1760–91.

" As, when a storm has ceased, the birds regain
Their cheerfulness, and busily retrim
Their nests, or chant a congratulating hymn
To the blue ether or bespangled plain;
Even so, in many a reconstructed fane,
Have the Survivors of this Storm renewed
Their holy rites with vocal gratitude."

W. WORDSWORTH, *Ecclesiastical Sketches.*

Scottish Episcopalians no longer actively persecuted—Dr. Seabury's arrival in England—Inquiries as to Nonjuring bishops—His consecration at Aberdeen—On the death of Charles Edward, Scottish bishops insert George III.'s name in Liturgy—Apply to English Government for relief from disabilities—Death of Cartwright—William Stevens.

THE active persecution of the Scottish Episcopalians ceased with the accession of George III., and soon, "in hopes of being winked at by such a mild eye," as Skinner quaintly observes, "they adventured to have separate houses of worship erected again in some small towns and country places, in as easy a manner and with as little noise

as possible."[1] Mr. Skinner himself had some sort of shed built for the purpose in his own parish of Longside, which served till 1799, when it was replaced by a humble chapel; and his son, John Skinner, though he ventured in 1777 to officiate in Aberdeen to a congregation of three hundred, dared not attempt to raise a church, but arranged the two upper floors in his own house for use as a substitute.

In this "upper chamber" in 1784 an event took place, the interest and importance of which it is impossible to overrate.

It is well known that the determination of the Governments of George I. and George II. to keep under the Church in every possible way had led them to frustrate every effort for the establishment of Episcopacy in America.[2]

[1] Skinner, "Ecclesiastical History," ii. 681. The congregation of Ellon built a place of worship to look like a carpenter's shop. At Perth the clergyman stood in the hall of a dwelling-house, four people occupying each of the adjacent rooms, to comply with the letter of the law which forbade a larger assembly.

[2] "I believe that there scarce is, or ever was, a bishop of the Church of England, from the Revolution to this day, that hath not desired the establishment of bishops in our colonies. Archbishop Tenison, who was surely no High Churchman, left by his will £1000 towards it, and many more of the greatest eminence might be named who were and are zealous for it."—Archbishop Secker to Horace Walpole, "Stephens," iv. 396. Archbishop Secker himself bequeathed £1000 for this purpose.

After the Declaration of Independence and the disestablishment of the Church (which took place at the same time, in a fashion imitated too closely from the "rabbling" of the Scottish Episcopalians in 1688), such of the clergy as remained in America determined to obtain the desire of their hearts in some way or other. It seemed hopeless to look for help to England, where the independence of the Colonies had not yet been acknowledged; and through Dr. George Berkeley, who inherited the deep interest taken by his distinguished father in the welfare of the American Church,[1] and who, having spent some time at St. Andrews, had friends among the Scottish bishops, they inquired whether it would be possible to have bishops consecrated for America in Scotland.

"Had my honoured father's scheme for planting an episcopal college, whereof he was to have been president, in the Summer Islands not been sacrificed by the worst minister that Britain ever saw," wrote Dr. George Berkeley to John Skinner, then Bishop of Aberdeen, in 1782, "probably under a mild monarch (who loves the Church of England as much as I believe his grandfather hated it) episcopacy would have been established in America. . . . From the Churches of England and Ireland America will not now receive the Episcopate; if

[1] Dr. Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne.

she might, I am persuaded that many of her sons would joyfully receive bishops from Scotland."

But long persecution had rendered the Scottish bishops timid. The relations between Great Britain and America were still unsettled, and, fearing that the Government might think that "they always wished to fish in troubled waters," they refused the application.

Undismayed by this repulse, the clergy of Connecticut elected Dr. Seabury, and sent him to England with instructions to obtain consecration from the English bishops if possible; if not, to seek some other source.

The bishops were more than willing, and as the independence of America was by this time not only accomplished, but acknowledged, it might have been thought that they were free to proceed as they thought best; but the Government once more interfered, fearing to wound the susceptibilities of the newly established states by the sending them a bishop from the mother country.

In this dilemma Dr. Seabury endeavoured, with the help of two American clergy who had returned to England, Dr. Chandler and Mr. Boucher, Vicar of Epsom,[1] to find out whether any English bishops

[1] Jonathan Boucher held a living in America, from which he was

still remained from whom he might obtain consecration. Bishop Gordon had been dead about three years, but Mr. Boucher, having some acquaintance with Kenrick Price, though apparently ignorant of his claim to the Episcopate, wrote to him, telling him that Dr. Seabury desired to know "if there were still any bishops in England of the late Bishop Gordon's principles . . . From a view of the Liturgy[1] at Mr. Price's it does not appear that anything will be required that Dr. S. may not very safely assent to."

Price forwarded the letter to his colleague Cartwright, who wrote that, when living in London fifteen years before, he had known Bishop Gordon and one of his presbyters, Mr. Falconer, who kept up correspondence with Scotland, but that since that time he had heard nothing of the Scottish Church. "I do not know whether there be one orthodox bishop left in Scotland or England, but Bishop Price and my unworthy self." He adds that it would be the happiest moment of his life if he could assist in giving Episcopacy to America.[2]

ejected at the Revolution because he continued to pray for the king. On his return to England he was presented to Epsom.

[1] Probably Deacon's "Collection of Devotions."

[2] Cartwright's letters in this chapter are taken from his correspondence in Bodleian MSS. Add. D. 30.

Happily for the American Church, they were not compelled to have recourse to this irregular and uncertain source. Dr. Berkeley had written again to Bishop Skinner, announcing Dr. Seabury's arrival in England. "Surely, dear sir," he says, "the Scotch prelates, who are not shackled by any *Erastian connection*, will not send this supplicant empty away."

Archbishop Moore was consulted, and expressed no objection, and on the 14th of November, 1784, Dr. Seabury was publicly consecrated by Bishop Kilgour, the primus, assisted by Bishops Skinner and Petrie, in the room in Longacre, Aberdeen, (since pulled down), which was then used as the Episcopal church.[1]

The address presented to Bishop Seabury on his return to America expresses the warmest gratitude to the Scottish bishops.

"To these venerable fathers," wrote the clergy of Connecticut, "our sincere thanks are due, and they have them most fervidly. May the Almighty be their rewarder . . . turn the hearts of their

[1] It is a curious instance of the obscurity in which the Episcopalians still lived, and of the complete absence of general interest in ecclesiastical affairs, that no mention of this event was made in any newspaper, and it was first noticed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for the following February.

persecutors, and make their simplicity and godly sincerity known unto all men . . . and wherever the American Episcopal Church is mentioned in the world, may this good work which they have done be spoken of for a memorial of them."

Brighter days were indeed beginning for these devoted men, though the relief came slowly. The death of Charles Edward in 1788 removed the chief obstacle to making peace with the Government. No one could seriously look on the Cardinal York as a candidate for the throne, and few indeed would have wished to search further for a Legitimist pretender. The Diocesan Synod of Aberdeen took the first step by formally declaring that they considered themselves released from their allegiance to the House of Stuart. In a short time, all the bishops, except one aged prelate, Bishop Rose of Dunkeld, who still clung to the traditions of his youth—followed the example which had been set by Bishop Skinner at Aberdeen, and issued orders for the insertion of George III.'s name in the Liturgy.

"Well do I remember," said an old Jacobite, "the day when the name of George III. was mentioned in the morning service for the first time—such blowing of noses, such half-suppressed sighs,

such significant hums, such smothered groans and universal confusion, can hardly be conceived." But such regrets were now nothing more than a fading sentiment.

The separation of a hundred years was closed at last, and the Scottish clergy, having thus tendered their submission to the Hanoverian line, turned their minds to procuring some remission of the penal laws to which they were still subject. In 1791 the primus, Bishop Skinner, with Strachan of Brechin, and Abernethy Drummond, Bishop of Edinburgh, came to England to plead their cause.

They had few friends in London, and Bishop Drummond, who had some acquaintance with Jones of Nayland, through their common friend, Mr. Brett, wrote to beg him to give them any assistance which might be in his power. Jones forwarded the letter to "a great person" (probably his old college friend, Lord Liverpool), and both he and Dr. Horne, who was now Dean of Canterbury as well as President of Magdalen, gave all the help they could.

Bishop Horne's cousin, William Stevens,[1] was at that time one of the leading lay Churchmen in London, forward in every good work. He, with

[1] Note at end of chapter.

Sir James Allan Park, Dr. Gaskin, Vicar of Stoke Newington, and a few others, formed a committee to take charge of the case, and a Bill for relief of the disabilities of the Scottish clergy was drawn up and introduced into the House of Commons. The committee had "no small difficulty in making some persons understand who and what these poor petitioners were," a fact which is the less surprising when we learn that Mr. Stevens himself, though he took a deep interest in ecclesiastical affairs, did not know, till he heard of Dr. Seabury's consecration, that any bishops were still to be found in Scotland.

The effort was partially successful. The Bill passed the House of Commons unanimously, a Presbyterian, Lord Melville, declaring that "he did not believe a more valuable body of men existed" than the handful[1] of clergy who now asked the protection of the law. But it was thrown out in the Lords by the efforts of Thurlow, on the ground that it might awaken the jealousy of the Kirk.

Much sympathy was felt for the disappointment of the Scotch bishops. Their committee renewed

[1] In 1688 there were in Scotland fourteen bishops and nine hundred clergy. During the hundred years of persecution these had dwindled to six bishops and sixty clergy.

their efforts, and in the following year the Bill was again brought in and successfully carried through. The Scottish Episcopalians were freed from all penalties, and might once more worship God in freedom.

The interest, once awakened, was not suffered to die out,[1] and deep respect and regard was felt for the little Church which had endured so much and so bravely. Bishop Horne expressed his belief that—

"if the great Apostle of the Gentiles were on earth, and it was put to his choice with what denomination of Christians he would communicate, the preference would probably be given to the Episcopalians of Scotland, as most like the people he had been used to."

"Your Communion Office,"[2] wrote Bishop Horsley to the Bishop of Edinburgh in 1799, "is really a very fine and edifying composition. Our Office, as it stood in King Edward's First Prayer-book, was nearly, I think, the same; and I have long lamented the alterations that were made to humour those who, we find by experience, never will be satisfied."[3]

[1] Among other acts of kindness, Bishop Skinner's son was maintained at Oxford by Mr. Stevens and a few friends, the gift being made, to spare the bishop's feelings, in the name of an imaginary "Berean Society."

[2] The present Scottish Office, revised in 1764.

[3] Quoted by Bishop Jolly, "Christian Sacrifice in the Eucharist," p. 123.

The history of the Nonjurors, properly so called, closes with the restoration of the liberty of the Scottish Church, but a few words may be given to the little fragment, the remnant of a remnant, which still clung to the high-sounding title of the "Orthodox British Church." Bishop Cartwright, if he may be so styled, seems to have felt his isolation keenly, but he remained firmly persuaded of the goodness of his cause.

"However few in number we be, and however obscurely our Taper may burn, we cannot think of relinquishing our Union and Communion with the Primitive Catholic Church of the purest ages, and incorporate ourselves with those who have betrayed and deserted the rights of the Church to the caprices of Princes and Sectaries," he writes to Mr. Boucher. ". . . We are verily persuaded that a submission to the established Royal Supremacy in Spirituals is utterly incompatible with the nature and extent of the Apostolical Commission."

Though Cartwright could not make up his mind to join the Established Church, he would have been thankful to be allowed to unite with the Scotch Episcopalians, but the irregularity of his position seems to have led them to reject his advances. Cartwright could not but allow the

irregularity; but he was persuaded that his consecration, though irregular, was not invalid, and in 1795 he consecrated another "bishop," Garnett, who himself consecrated Boothe, with whose death in Ireland the line closed, in 1805.

Cartwright is said to have been dignified and venerable in appearance, esteemed and regarded by all who knew him. His letters are those of a man of considerable attainments and pious kindly spirit. "I will love all those who love our common Lord," he says to Boucher.

At the close of his life, being probably unable to obtain the ministration of any priest of his own persuasion, he received the Holy Communion from the hands of the Rev. G. Rowland, one of the clergy of Shrewsbury. He died in 1796, aged 69.

Among Cartwright's correspondents was Dr. Douglas, Bishop of Carlisle, who wrote on behalf of the archbishop to inquire whether he traced his succession to Sancroft. Cartwright replied that he and his brethren derived their orders through Bishop Campbell, from the Scottish Church, and sent the Bishop of Carlisle some account of his practices, which the bishop thought "Primitive [I will add Catholic and Apostolic] and very desirable." In a further letter the bishop

says that he has forwarded Cartwright's letters to the archbishop. He adds that when young he had himself attentively studied Spinckes and Collier. "There cannot be a doubt that the old Usages, as they are called, are of high antiquity," but he judged that their omission was not a sufficient ground of separation.

Too much has, perhaps, been said about Bishop Cartwright and his few adherents; but, though they were irregular and eccentric, they had some small share in keeping alive a reverence for primitive traditions in days when such things were held of small account.

As an instance of this, it may be mentioned that Deacon's "Prayers for the Departed" were reprinted at Shrewsbury in 1797, a year after Cartwright's death.

NOTE.—WILLIAM STEVENS.

Mr. Stevens' name ought not to be passed over without notice. He was apprenticed to a wholesale hosier at the age of fourteen, yet in his leisure time he managed to learn Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and was accustomed to read the Bible daily in the original languages. He was also a diligent student of theology, especially the works of Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, and Hickes—"those fathers of our Church, those masters in the great art of holy living." He was active in good works, being for many years auditor to the S.P.G. and treasurer of Queen Anne's Bounty. He made a

rule of giving one-tenth of his income to the Church and another to the poor; yet another portion was assigned to "gifts," such as books, wine for sick friends, etc., and occasionally such an item as £500 to enable a young man to complete his studies at the University, his private expenditure being reduced to very narrow limits. He regularly attended the week-day prayers at St. Vedast's, Foster Lane, "even against the customs of that city where he dwelt." It throws a light on the extraordinary want of reverence prevailing at the time, to read that he stood up when the praises of God were sung, *even when he was the only one who did so.* He was a great friend and admirer of Jones of Nayland, and wrote his life. This good man lived to be the friend of Joshua Watson, Sir John Richardson, and other active Churchmen in the beginning of the nineteenth century, and died almost suddenly, in 1807, at the age of 77, in the house of his friend, John Bowdler of Hayes. "What is the matter?" asked Mr. Bowdler, seeing him change colour. "Only death," was the calm reply. He passed away a few hours after, with the words, "My time is come, O dear good God!" on his lips.—"Life of W. Stevens," by Sir J. A. Park; Notices in Archdeacon Churton's "Life of Joshua Watson."

CONCLUSION.

"I trim thee, precious lamp, once more
Our father's armoury to explore,
And sort and number wistfully
A few bright weapons, bathed on high.

"And may thy guidance ever tend
Where gentle thoughts with courage blend,
Thy pure and steady gleaming rest
On pages with the Cross imprest;
Till touched with lightning of calm zeal,
Our fathers' very hearts we feel."

The Churchman to his Lamp.
(REV. J. KEBLE, in *Lyra Apostolica.*)

Establishment of *British Critic*—Birth of Keble and Pusey—Foundation of National Society—Alexander Knox—H. J. Rose—The *British Magazine.*

IN reading the lives of Churchmen at the close of the last and beginning of the present century, one is continually struck by the tone of depression and dryness of spirit. They appear lonely, isolated, without means of united action, fettered by a dead conservatism. Zeal seems to be abandoned to the Methodists, personal religion to the Evangelicals, the Sacramental life to the Romanists. The

Church, in the phrase of Alexander Knox, had been "given safety at the expense of perfection."

Here and there vigorous efforts were made to break through the crust of habit. In 1793 Jones of Nayland set on foot the *British Critic*, in the hope that it would prove a means of communication between the scattered lovers of the Church; but his expectations were disappointed. "Its divinity is lamentably deficient; it is not executed by the sort of persons for whom my plan was designed," he writes. He also endeavoured to form a society for the "Reformation of Principles," but this, too, proved unsuccessful; and, indeed, though his intentions were admirable, his proposals were not drawn up in a manner which would seem calculated to arouse much enthusiasm.

"If the teachers want to be taught, wherewith shall we teach them?" he asks in a tone not far from despair, in a "Letter to the Church of England," which was one of the last things he wrote. "O learned Andrews, O blessed Ken, O holy Beveridge, O wise and sagacious Leslie, your days are past!"

Mr. Kirby of Barham, who had shared his efforts and disappointments, tried to comfort him.

"You started an idea which has pleased my

mind ever since," he wrote in answer—"that dark times are preparatory to succeeding brightness; 'light is sown to the righteous;' and that which is sown must lie hid for a time, but a spring shall raise it up at the end."[1]

How it would have cheered the hearts of those good men if they could have known that a boy was already growing up in a Gloucestershire parsonage, "trained," as he said of himself, in "Cavalierish and Episcopalian prejudices," who would see the glory of that springtide, and waken thousands to its light!

John Keble was eight years old when Mr. Jones died on the morning of the Epiphany, 1800, and four months later the child was born whom we know and venerate as Dr. Pusey.

Meanwhile a band of men, fired with new hopes and fresh energy, were coming forward to take up the work as it fell from the tired hands of the elder generation. The two Watsons, Mr. Norris of Hackney, Mr. Sikes of Guilsborough, Mr. Lathbury at Woodbridge, Sir John Richardson, the Bowdlers, and many others, were preparing the way for a new era.

"Why," wrote Mr. Norris to Archdeacon Watson,

[1] "Life of Rev. William Kirby" (the entomologist).

in 1809, "are we to suffer our English phlegm to keep us in a state of individuality? I want to see a centre formed to which every zealously affected Churchman may resort, and counterplot the numerous and most subtle devices against our very existence which every day is bringing to light. If we but knew our strength as our enemies know theirs, we should all be encouraged and strengthened . . . and so, friend John, I shall proceed, and wherever I can find a sound Churchman, I will lay hands on him if I can."[1]

The firstfruits of this resolution was the foundation of the National Society in 1811 by the Rev. H. H. Norris, T. Bowles, and Joshua Watson, on the principle that "the first and chief thing to be taught to the children of the poor was the doctrine of the Gospel according to the excellent Liturgy and Catechism provided by the Church of England."

This was followed after a few years by the establishment of the *Christian Remembrancer*, with a view to assist the studies of the country clergy, whose thoughts, as Mr. Norris complains in a letter to Joshua Watson, had been too much occupied with "the antiquities of the signs of inns, and speculations as to what becomes of swallows in the

[1] "Life of Joshua Watson," by Archdeacon Churton.

winter," for lack of some periodical dealing with subjects of deeper interest.

One of the first to put into plain words the feeling which was stirring more or less consciously in hundreds was an Irish layman, Alexander Knox, disabled from active work by almost continuous ill-health, who employed his enforced leisure in study and meditation on religious subjects, in which the position and prospects of the Church had a large share. In the course of a long letter to Hannah More (whom he greatly esteemed, though he had small regard for her once popular writings), he dwells on the secession of the Irish Methodists from the Church, and asks—

"Is not the want of fixed steady principles the almost universal disease? . . . Sentiment is but as the wing of the soul . . . but if it has not clear definite principles . . . what is it to do when its wing is tired? . . . Alas! what I complain of I see in those whom I cannot think of but with cordial respect and love. . . . A remedy is to be looked for, and what is that remedy?

"I think God Himself has given it through Jeremiah. . . . 'Ask for the old paths, wherein is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.' What, then, with respect to us, are the old paths? Not, surely, those paths which are not yet three centuries old . . . when

fifteen centuries lie behind to be traversed; we must make our way into these, and rise high in them before we can be sure of having what has really stood the test of time. . . . This, I venture to assert, is the true spirit of the Church of England. . . . Trust not to the uncertain sounds of scarce three centuries, when you may listen to the concurrent voice of acknowledged wisdom and universal revered piety through all the successive ages of the Catholic Church."[1]

The way was fast preparing for the Catholic Revival. The traditions of the seventeenth century had been obscured, but not forgotten; men were ready and eager to receive the new thoughts, and to find in them the echo of old truths heard in their childhood. The "Ecclesiastical Sketches" of Wordsworth, to give a single instance, show the reawakening of the ancient spirit from its hundred years of sleep.

In 1828 the Rev. Hugh James Rose published a volume of sermons on the Commission and Duties of the Clergy, a copy of which he sent to Mr. Keble, who had lately brought out the Christian year. Keble, in his acknowledgment, speaks of "the delight (I hope not unimproving) with

[1] Alexander Knox to Mrs. Hannah More, January, 1810: "Remains of A. Knox," iv. 231–253.

which I have read your animating appeals, . . . and . . . the satisfaction it has afforded me to find my own notions and criticisms on some favourite subjects exactly coinciding with yours;"[1] and when, four years later, Rose undertook the editorship of the *British Magazine*, with the object, as stated in the opening address, of giving to Churchmen a point of union and a means of promoting their common cause, Mr. Keble became one of his most frequent contributors.

The writer has tried to carry down the story of our Catholic ancestry through their day of failure and discouragement. The line was never broken.

> "Yet along the Church's sky,
> Stars are scattered, pure and high,
> Yet her wasted gardens bear
> Autumn violets sweet and rare.
> Relics of a springtime dear,
> Earnests of a bright new year."

Mr. Rose was an hereditary Churchman, the descendant of Scottish Nonjurors.[2] Mr. Keble learnt in his home at Fairford the truths which appeared so new to a forgetful world, and "the highest praise which he seemed able to give to

[1] "Twelve Good Men," by Dean Burgon, i. 135.

[2] His grandfather, a cadet of the ancient house of Rose of Kilravock, was the son of Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, deprived in 1688.

any theological statement was, 'It seems to me just what my father taught me.'"[1] Dr. Pusey was trained in the same school. "I was educated," he wrote, "in the teaching of the Prayer-book . . . the doctrine of the Real Presence I learnt from my mother's explanation of the Catechism, which she had learnt to understand from older clergy."[2]

The lessons which they had thus learned they taught to multitudes whose hearts were already prepared to listen; but here, on the edge of the Oxford Movement, this volume must end.

"God has sown, and He will reap;
Growth is slow when roots are deep."

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[1] "John Keble," by Rev. W. Lock, p. 81.
[2] "Life," i. 17.

THE END.

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